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。本刊下期專題爲"女性與文學"。截稿日期爲1995年8月1日。

編者語
女性與工作

葉漢明

自由主義婦解分子曾尖銳地指出：當代女性地位並未因現代化和經濟發展而有太大改善。發達社會中女性就業率和平均收入仍低於男性；兩性的行業仍有縱橫分隔，女性一般集中在低級職位及文職和服務業等"女性工作"；在經濟轉型的社會中，女工比男工更易成爲犧牲者。針對這些不公平現象，自由主義者要求政府立法消除各種歧視。他們注視的是女性就業問題，爭取的是男女在社會上經濟關係的平等。

另一方面，激進婦解分子的視線已從女性就業轉移至廣義的女性工作上。他們攻擊家居私隱化觀念，指出家內無償工作與家外受薪職業的公、私領域之分是人爲的，是一種意識形態，對貶低女性地位有合理化的作用。歷史顯示，十九世紀後，人類才開始把工作限於受薪職業，從而貶低家內作業的地位，而一套"男主外，女主內"的公私畛域的分野及高低等級的界劃亦隨之形成，並被視爲正確、自然而可欲的發展結果。七八十年代以來，世界女權運動的一個重要課題就是要求擴闊工作的定義和確認家務及社區服務和看顧工作的貢獻，同時爲身爲父母的員工爭取支援，使男女均能兼顧家庭兒女，爲打破家務女性化的傳統提供起碼的條件。若只爲女性爭取"家務社會化"的支援，就等於說婦女可兼顧家庭事業，男人卻可置身於家務之外，坐享男權制之利。

事實上，即使男女就業機會均等，女性仍須應付家庭與事業間的矛盾、家內外工作的雙重負擔，因婚姻及教養子女而中斷事業的遺憾、或因事業而忽略家庭而產生的罪感等。本期多篇文章和報導都涉及女性的工作與家庭間的密切關係、家庭與事業間的矛盾、多變的生命周期和斷續的工作經驗史等。各研究者非常重視女性的親身經歷和感受。一位作者就以相當敏感的筆觸描述身處男同事羣中的唯一女工程師的主觀感受。另一位作者也道出本是男性世界的大學中女講師的尷尬身份。正當女性不斷"入侵""男性行業"之際，"女性行業"中的女性呼聲也愈來愈響。本期一個護理學研討會的簡報就强調以女性爲主的護理學專業人士的意見、以及她們對提高女性健康護理服務水平的貢獻必須受到重視。

女性已進入"公共領域"，但我們距離家內外工作地位平等、男女參與家內外工作程度相若的時代仍遠。除了社會資源的條件外，更有賴慣性成規和深層觀念的轉化，目前難以一蹴即就。不過，我們起碼要立即破解有關工作的內外、公私和男女之別等權力的象徵系統和語言符號。

主　　編：葉漢明
編輯委員會：孔慧怡、李泳欣、馬淑儀、賀雅琳、葉漢明
出 版 者：香港中文大學香港亞太研究所性別研究計劃（主任：張妙清）

第八期 5月/1995年

WORK, FAMILY, AND IDENTITY IN THE MAKING OF WOMEN'S WORKING LIVES — A RESEARCH PROJECT ON WOMEN WORKERS IN HONG KONG

Pun Ngai

A study on Hong Kong's working women in the past three decades was carried out intensively between 1993 and the summer of 1994, The project, financially supported by the Committee on Asian Women, involved researchers affiliated with Hong Kong Women Workers' Association and Association for the Advancement of Feminism. The research product, together with reports on other five Asian countries — Korea, the Philippines, Indonisia, India, and Bangladash, is to be published in English in June 1995. It will then be translated into Chinese as a monograph which also include ten life-histories of women workers in Hong Kong. The Chinese version is hopefully to come forth in the summer of 1995.

The primary aim of the study is to probe into how women's working lives were moulded with the rise and fall of Hong Kong's manufacturing sector in the past thirty years. Emphasis is placed on the impact of recent economic restructuring on women's work patterns, opportunities, and identities. Thirty five women workers were invited as informants. They either worked or are still working in the manufacturing sector. Of the same age cohort between 30 and 45 years of age, these women had experienced Hong Kong's golden epoch of industrial take-off and have endured the present period of economic restructuring. In-depth, semi-structured interviews were conducted to collect the following information.

A) Women's ecperiences:

Only women's experiences were recorded in consideration of the feminization of Hong Kong's manufacturing sector. Many unskilled, low-paid jobs in the sector were taken up by women who were the most vulnerable group in the restructuring process. Besides, most works on Hong Kong's workers were written about men. Women workers, married or single, are under-researched or misrepresented especially in terms of their work attitudes. As women's life situations are usually different from men's, it is unwarrated to apply overgeneralized gender-blind or biased findings to women. With women as interviewees, researchers can grasp the significance of gender in work. It is also hoped that with such a study, more gender-informed policies can be formulated.

B) Historical experiences:

Individuals are active historical agents whose lives are dynamic, always responding to changes. However, in census or quantitative research reports, ordinary people usually appear as aggrergate data. For example, in the rates of labour force participation, unemployment or underemployment, even though the data provides us with an outline of the overall market structure and the market positions of workers, we do not know which specific group has left or reentered the labour market. Work experience or work history is absent in this kind lf data.

Hong Kong's women workers at their 30s or 40s have been in the labour force for at least 20 or 30 years. They changed jobs frequently or sporadically; they quit or reentered the job markes; they were promoted or sacked. Their work histories can be continuous or truncated, long or short, depending on how they react to different sets of events in their lives. This project reveals different patterns of work histories through in-depth interviews. We intend to grasp the complexity and diversity of women's work lives which may be too complicated to be illustrated by any single typical trend.

C) Contextual experiences:

Individuals are also social beings embedded in social, economic, and political contexts. Their outlooks on life, values, and perceptions are shaped by the social environment. Their choices for action are conditioned by government policies, the provision of social welfare, political climate, economic development, demographic changes or individual families, as well as the structural positions of the individuals in society.

To contextualize women workers' experiences, the project chronologizes the rise and fall of the manufacturing sector in three periods, from 1960 to 1975 as the age of survial, from 1975 to 1985 as the age of relative affluence, and from 1986 to the present as the age of restructuring or crisis. In the early period, Hong Kong as a refugee society was characterized by a minimal government. The rock-bottom provision of social services dictated that most people had to rely on their families in surviving the economic stringence. The government became more active in the second period, though mass political participation was still rare. Social welfare in the areas of education, public housing, and medical care was provided freely or cheaply, Infrastructural establishment facilitated the emergence of a stable sociey. In the last epoch, the 1997 problem has come to haunt the territory. Massive capital relocation in mainland China resulted in underemployment of industrial workers and the community is clouded by an uncertain future.

In the first part of the study, the three stages of development are examined to show that the fortune of female workers shifted as Hong Kong went through periods of survival and relative affluence arriving at the current period of resturcturing. In response to the economic reform in China, labour use has become casualized and work, intensified in Hong Kong.Women's casual work has been increasingly crucial to the organization of labour process in the manfacturing sector as well as service sector, and women workers' status become further marginalized. Moreover, intensification of work takes various forms in the service sector and affects women's everyday life in every corner while labour protection is further diminished. The study argues that this process tends to reshape class relations in Hong Kong. Suffering from the weakening control over their labour, i.e., the loss of bargaining power over the cost of their labour, and the erosion of collective and individual force of resistance, women workers are now in a increasingly unfavourable position.

The second part of the study employs the concepts of family wage economy and life-course, stressing different fortunes of female workers under the impact of the current economic restructuring. We hold the view that diverse life-chances and experiences of female workers are largely related to their positions in the family and their individual life-courses. The perceived needs and resources of the family may significantly determine whether a woman should work, when she starts to work, for how long she will stay employed, and whether she is able to maintain a decent standard of living when she quits work. Working daughters had to continue to make sacrifice throughout their life-courses. Deprived of individual means of advance and security, their fortunes depend very much on whether they are married, and how they can maintain a more favourable position in the marriage bargain. Some who remained single pursued a strategy of individual survival. If they were fortunate enough to have siblings and kin around to support them in times of crisis, they could make do with what they had and try out alternative ways of living. Those who were married had a more secure basis for exploring various options in reaction to diminishing economic opportunities in the labour market as the family by marriage is generally a source of support financially and emotionally. Generally a double-earner strategy, plus occasional help from kin could see them through the worst situations. Others experienced a deterioration in living when marriage brought in new burden of child care and the partners lost their needed support.

The final part of the study discusses in particlar wormen workers' attitudes towards the government's training programmes as the official remedies to the current problem of occupational restructuring. What economic restructuring meant for these inflicted women workers and how they evaluated their lives and developed their own identities are also explored in this section.

In short, the study contributes to the findings that women were the first contributors to Hong Kong's export-processing industry and yet the first victim of the restructuring of Hong Kong's manufacturing sector. Now after thirty years of toil, not only have their working conditions not been improved, but they are facing the problem of casualization of labour use and intensification of work. Minimal legal protection,unemployment allowance, and pension continue to further jeopordize their working lives.

(Pun Ngai is a graduate student in the Department of Anthropology and Sociology, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.)

Research Report

Gender and the Professions in Hong Kong: The Politics of Work and the Social Construction of Gender

Maria Tam

"Gender and the Professions in Hong Kong: The Politics of work and the Social Construction of Gender" is a pioneering and systematic research on women professionals in Hong Kong. Five professions are chosen for the study. They are administrative officers, engineers, lawyers, corporate executives and medical doctors. The investigators of this inter-disciplinary research are Maria Tam (Anthropology Dept, CUHK), Ching Kwan Lee (Sociology Dept, CUHK), Eliza Lee (Government & Public Administration Dept, CUHK) Fanny Cheung (Psychology Dept, CUHK), and Kimberly Chang (Division of Social Science, HKUST).

As gender is one of the fundamental principles of social organization permeating different areas of social life, this research uses gender as an analytical perspective to explore a social group that is crucial to Hong Kong — professionals, managers and administrators. Not only have they been a mainstay to Hong Kong's development into a cosmopolitan and economically vibrant society, these professional groups hold the key to our society's stability and prosperity as Hong Kong confronts the twin challenges of economic restructuring and political transition in the 1990s. The main purposes of the research are: (1) to arrive at an overall assessment of the economic, social and occupational status of women in five professionals; (2) to understand the worldviews, the mentalities and the identities of women professionals; and (3) to map the social and cultural processes giving rise to these objectives and subjective dimensions of the lives of women professionals.

This research uses both quantitative and qualitative methods to collect data — a large-scale survey and ethnographic interviews. A large scale survey will be implemented in the coming summer vacation, the purpose of which is to understand the aggregate distribution of and the gender differences in the professions. The total sample size is in the range of 1,500 to 2,000, with 300 to 400 respondents of both genders drawn from each of the five professions. For the ethnographic interviews, in-depth interviews, group discussions and participant observations will be conducted so as to capture the worldviews, everyday experiences, dilemmas, motivations and strategies of women professionals as they confront structures of opportunities and constraints. These data provide valuable clues for understanding the production and reproduction of gender relations within the professional communities. The sample for the ethnographic interviews consists of 250 women professionals — 50 from each of the five professions.

The research is now in progress. Two focus group interviews and several in-depth interviews have been conducted. A pool of data base on women professionals in Hong Kong is being generated. Readers who know potential interviewees are encouraged to contact the investigators either directly or through the Gender Research Program.

(Maria Tam is lecturer in the Department of Anthropology, The Chinese University of Hong Kong.)

Report of First South East Asian Nursing Research Conference

"Quality Care: Research Achievements and Challenges"

Sheraton Hotel, Kowloon, Hong Kong

5-7th December, 1995.

Eleanor Holroyd

This conference was organised by the Department of Health Sciences at the Hong Kong Polytechnic. Sessions were arranged with focus on research concerning the quality of care in various nursing practice settings such as women's health, maternal health, child health, mental health, aged care and community care. The central issues of these papers were quality assurance, research methodology and measurement. Keynote addresses were delivered by nine leading nurse academics and clinicians of international repute while a total of 60 papers were presented in the concurrent sessions.

This was the first conference of its kind in the Asian region, providing an important opportunity for nurses from both the clinical and academic areas to exchange and develop collaborative and cross cultural research in nursing. It was estimated that well over 200 people attended during the three days the conference was held.

This report will focus predominately on papers presented which highlighted issues pertaining to women's health both within the Asian region and internationally, in order to raise an awareness of nursing's contribution to women's healthcare.

Dr Sheila Twinn from the Department of Nursing at the Chinese University presented a case study of the Maternal and Child health services which gave directions for developing quality assurance measures in Hong Kong's Public Health Nursing system. Ms Rose Cheng, S.L. Lai and Heidi Sin, students of the Hong Kong Polytechnic BSN honours course pressented their study on identifying Chinese women who are at risk of post natal depression in order to provide support for the determining of post natal women's health seeking behavior. Annette Gupton from Canada reported on her work on childbirth evaluations from women having trail of labour and repeated cesarean sections.

The opening address by Porfessor Sally Redferns (Nursing Research Unit, University of London) best sums up the general theme and directions of the conference stating that nurses are in an ideal position to improve the quality of health. Such directives have particular relevance to women's healthcare today as health promotion is coming increasingly into the forefront. Nursing as one of the largest groups of professionally employed women is in a prime position to capitalise in this area in a variety of roles. With increasing autonomy in multi-dimensional health care teams, more frequently as team leaders nursing professionals can promote the consumer rights of women's standards of care across the healthcare spectrum. In such a way, nurses' unique voice in health care can be recognized ensuring that women get a just and equal place in healthcare provision.

(Eleanor Holroyd is lecturer in the Department of Nursing, The Chinese University of Hong Kong.)

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, perferably in the form of floppy disk (indicating 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 "Women and Literature" is 1st August 1995.

Personal Experience with an Organization as Seen through the Eyes of a Female Participant

Catherine W. Ng

INTRODUCTION

The title of this article is a direct quote from Ritti and Funkhouser's 1991 book *The Ropes to Skip & the Ropes to Know: The Inner Life of an Organization* (pp.263-264). By way of story telling, the authors portray and analyze organizational behaviors vividly and captivatingly, mainly because the stories are true-fictionalized but based on true happenings that a lot of us can relate to. However, not untypically, the stories are seen and told from a male perspective, and the writers have the good sense to admit that.

Organizational Behavior, not unlike many other disciplines of studies have traditionally been male-centered. After all, who normally gets to determine what effective organizational behaviors are, managers (75.8% of those in Hong Kong were male in 1991) or the operating core? Yet, '[g]ender issues are not ... confined to private plots of life ... We take our gender with us into the workplace' (Minas 1993, p.2). So, I decided to write a 'true tale' about a woman's organizational experience.

THE STORY

Once upon a time, there was The Company. It researched, developed, manufactured and marketed telecommunication equipment; was approximately 20 years old; employed 200 odd full-timers; and had all the usual departments: Administration, Finance, Accounting, Marketing, Sales, Research and Development (R&D), and Manufacturing. In the fall of 1988, its R&D Department put out a job advertisement for a software engineer, and Sarah applied.

Do you think you would have problems working in an all-male team?

Kerry, one of the three Project Managers in the R&D Department of The Company, was the first to interview Sarah. He was the no-nonsense type and seemed to know his trade well. Sarah believed she had impressed him with the way she handled his questions, most of which were of a technical nature; or else, she figured, Kerry would not have shown her around the company immediately after the meeting, and would not have requested two other staff members, Steve the Computer Wizard, the brightest of all the software engineers in The Company, and Ben, another Project Manager, to interview her immediately after the tour. He probably wanted a second, and a third, opinion.

A couple of days later, the Director of R&D, Ted, called Sarah. He would like to conduct a final interview with her. Ted was sort of nice, gentlemanly. Judging by the questions he asked Sarah, such as 'What do you think your strengths are?', it was quite apparent that he knew more about management than electronics. Toward the end, he gingerly said, "You know, we have 27 engineers in the department. They are all men. Do you think you would have problems working in an all-male team?" Sarah told him she had been researching and developing computer software in a predominately male environment for more than five years, and hence, he did not have to worry about that. He smiled, nodded, and seemed relieved, at least on the surface.

And, Sarah was hired. The first women engineer in The Company's R&D Department, ever!

Boy, you are good!

Chris, the Director of Marketing, was not on the best of terms with Kerry; not unlike Marketing and R&D managers in most companies. He would like every product to have all the features desired by his customers while it was Kerry's job to fend off whimsical requests from the 'technically-ignorant Marketing guys'. What made Kerry especially mad at Chris was the latter's penchant for going directly to the former's 'boys' to find out how much time it would take them to develop a certain software or hardware feature. Chris knew from past experience if he tried to obtain that information from Kerry, the latter would triple the estimated time needed and tell him the enhancement was doable but very complicated to implement.

Not much of a politicker, Sarah seemed to get along fine with Chris, and Chris with Sarah, and that friendly relationship prompted comments like 'Good work, Sarah. Well done.', 'Boy, you are good!', 'It's nice to have a women engineer around. Hang in there.' and 'Keep up the good work, Sarah.' from Chris when he saw some of Sarah's above-average accomplishments. That reminded Sarah of something she once read about women in the army: 'When the women surpassed some of the men in physical training one day, their warrant officers said, "Guys, the girls deserve a good round of applause." But they had only done what the men did each day and naturally it was resented.' (Muir 1992, p.110)

Barbara the good male technician type

The Director of Manufacturing, Mark, on the other hand, seemed a bit embarrassed every time he spoke to Sarah. He would usually start with hi-how-are-you perfunctorily. After Sarah had replied with very-well-thank-you, he would get straight into business and explain the reasons why he wanted to see her. When Mark needed something from the other R&D engineers though, he seemed to have a lot more to say to them than 'hello' and 'I want ....'. They bantered; they discussed exciting sports events; and they joked around.

One day Sarah came to know Barbara, one of the handful of women technicians in Manufacturing. Barbara wore t-shirts and jeans all the time. She smoked socially and swore at times, and did not enjoy being treated like some weak lady. Sarah felt those were signs of her going out of her way to be one of the 'boys'. After a few games of squash with the guys, she would light up a cigarette and beckon to the men, "Want a drink?" "Sure, if you are buying," someone would reply. And Barbara would say, "Ok. What would you like?" "Carlsberg." She would then go to the bar to get herself and the others a round of drinks, shouting on the way back, "Next time it'd be yours, buddy."

Kerry often praised Barbara in front of Sarah. He thought she was very competent, independent, matter-of-factly, decisive, no-nonsense, strong, and so on. In short, he thought she had all the traits of a good male technician.

Sex Favoritism?

Ted was greatly interested in, and had up his sleeves, all kinds of the good management techniques, such as management-by-walking-around-and-doing-nothing-it-seems, management-by-objective, management-by-planning/scheduling-and-close-monitoring-of-project-progress, etc. He liked to call meetings to keep abreast of what the project managers and engineers were up to. To the disgruntlement of all the engineers, he once suggested members of staff filling out weekly time sheets. The engineers complained that the mounting paper work was taking more and more of their time which could better be spent on R&D. Neat numbering systems for projects and expenses and sales etc. sprang to Ted's mind continuously and he was very proud of them.

He often described the R&D Department as one big happy family, and he would do anything to keep it that way. He hated to see staff leave and worked hard to reduce the staff turnover rate since the day he assumed the position of Director of R&D. He genuinely hoped for the best for this first women engineer in the team and yet harbored doubts all along as to whether Sarah could make it or not; making it in the sense of being technically capable of R&D work as well as socially comfortable working with men.

He considered himself a fair manager. However, that was not how he was perceived. One had heard Steve the Computer Wizard and Kerry say, "You go and ask Ted for that, Sarah. He would say yes if you did the asking for us. He likes you." In the eyes of the engineers, Ted was easier on Sarah. Was he showing sex favoritism? Practicing Affirmative Action? Or was he bending over backwards to justify his decision to hire a women engineer in the first place? Or could it be that ... Sarah seemed to have a different interpersonal style?

You see, Kerry and Ted did not see things eye-to-eye. Ted wanted to keep the budget down, while Kerry wanted to spend as much as possible on state-of-the-art equipment. Ted wanted meetings and written progress reports from the engineers, while Kerry wanted to save his 'boys and girl' from all the bureaucratic paper work. Ted commanded Kerry to supervise his subordinates closely so that no disaster would go unnoticed until it became full-blown and irreparable, while Kerry wanted to give the engineers lots of freedom and room for creativity ... and so forth. It should not be surprising that the majority of Kerry's 'boys' saw him as their protector and Ted as a bureaucratic nuisance. Meanwhile, Sarah interpreted both as just doing their jobs, and liked them as much, or as little. That was probably why she attracted the What's-the-matter-with-you?Are-you-with-Ted-or-us? look from the other engineers.

Norm

Norm was one of the older members of the staff. He had been an engineer all his life, competent but not exceptionally brilliant. He was nearing bald and had a not-huge-but-visible pot belly; a warm and optimistic individual who hugged and joked with everyone in sight. If he ever got to meet ET person to person, he would initiate a conversation with him, or her, or better still it, with 'Hi, there! Whatever you are, you look nice. Welcome aboard.' and shake its hand, finger I mean, unreservedly. That was how he pretty much greeted Sarah on her first day at work. He never measured her against the other guys in the department to see if she was a notch above or below them. Corporate ladder climbing had probably never been his goal in life. In his opinion, life was too short for that.

Strange thing about Norm was that although he was as friendly with Sarah as with everyone else in the office, he had a slight, a very slight, attitude toward Barbara. On a few occasions, he could not restrain himself from making remarks such as 'Just like one of the boys, eh, Barbara?' in a lighthearted manner. You see, Norm liked normality; or should I say he liked normalcy? Outrageousness was something he disapproved of.

Not a record of a smart WOMEN engineer in his organic database

Steve the Computer Wizard was a genius; tall, thin, and always in longsleeve white shirts and dark blue jeans. He ate his lunch at his desk almost everyday with his computer, and never joined in company picnics or Christmas parties. In fact, more than once he openly show his contempt for those social functions calling them 'a waste of time'. He hated all kinds of bureaucratic paper work, meetings, and the administration and management in general, calling them exactly the same as what he called organizational social events: a waste of time.

If you had any technical problems, be it software or hardware, you should ask Steve. Ninety-nine point nine percent of the time he had a solution for you. For the remaining point one percent of the time, he gave you ingenious ideas to go about the problem. Steve was patient, that was when he was dealing with smart people. With those not-so-smart and, God forbid, dumb people such as Ted, Chris, Norm, John, Dave, Joe ... etc. he appeared to be too reticent and reluctant in explaining things. After a while, the not-so-smart people would not go to Steve even though they knew he was probably the only one who had a solution. Needless to say, Ted was worried about the effect Steve had on the big, happy and harmonious family.

One time after struggling with a software bug computer problem for over two days, Sarah decided to seek out Steve's help. In order to show him she had done a lot of debugging work and had thought of just about all the possible errors and mistakes she might have made, she told him all there was to know about the bug from its discovery, to her logical, systematic and methodological trouble shooting, to her losing sleep throughout the fruitless struggle and wrapped up with 'Do you think there is something else I should do?' For a moment he was silent. Sarah at first thought she had lost this so-called genius. Then she thought better. He was actually debating with himself whether this was a smart engineer or a dumb one, because his subsequent reaction would depend on that judgement. On the one hand, he was inclined to believe that she was smart despite the fact that she was a woman. Yet, he was also trying to retrieve from his organic database (some call it the brain) a record of a smart WOMEN engineer whom he had met in his University days or come to know in previous working experi-

ence. The lack of that record prevented him from confirming his suspicion. The 'dilemma' was the reason for the slow coming of the reply, which was 'Tried taking that statement out of the program. That would ...', and he went on to give a succinct rationale for his suggestion. He then said, 'I think that will do the trick.' He was right.

From then on, Sarah made very sure she would go to Steve only after she had done as much as she possibly could think of; and a good measurement of that was by sticking with the problem for at least two days, preferably five. She needed to show Steve that she was not a hopeless and useless woman who could not seem to tackle even the slightest problem by herself, but someone worth his while in explaining things.

Men and women were equal if women could do all the things men could, such as going to a men's club

Ben was one of the other two Project Managers in the R&D Department. His idea of gender equality was that men and women were equal if women could do all the things men could, such as going to a men's club. Kerry sought his assistance in interviewing Sarah before she was employed, and one of the questions he asked her was 'How did you become a software engineer?', or something similar like 'Why did you want to be an engineer?' Had she known better then as when she came to know later, she would have interpreted his question as 'Why don't you do something every woman does instead of engineering?', or 'Since you are a woman, you must have a whole different evolution pattern in becoming a computer professional. Tell me about it."

As much as Ben was skeptical about recruiting a female staff, he was also painfully aware that Ted seemed to be paying a lot of attention to Kerry's team because of Sarah. It was no secret knowledge that all the project managers were under some pressure from Ted to support, if not in spirit, at least in appearance, the precedent of hiring the first female engineer. Ben did not think too highly of the precedent and thought that was the least of his concern. His way of expressing his dislike of Ted's favoritism toward the other sex was making comments like 'Why would women want to work here anyway!?', jokingly of course.

Women are good to have but ...

Those who favored having more women among the staff usually cited the following reasons: a balance of viewpoints, more diversity, and guys would behave better as a result. They thought that the department was not having any women engineers in the past because not enough of them had been applying. 'It is not that we don't want to hire women engineers. They are so rare to find.' That was the common sentiment.

Then a miracle happened: Sarah came along and they snatched her up. She should have been elated about being employed because of her sex. But she was not. How come?

SOME ISSUES FOR DISCUSSION

Researches have indicated that women have different organizational experience from men (Sheppard 1993), and this difference is likely to be more pronounced in a male-dominated workplace (Spencer and Podmore 1987). Kanter contended that '[t]hose women who were few in number among male peers and often had "only woman" status became tokens: symbols of how-women-can-do, standins for all women.' (1977, p.207) Being a token is a doubleedged sword: if you excel, you are more likely to be noticed; yet your failure rate is higher due to loneliness and stress of continually being put under the spotlight. Mentoring is one among many types of support women need in the workplace. Mentors are to help their proteges to learn the ropes, and may 'help tokens achieve acceptance into the dominant culture as individuals rather than as stereotypes' (Marshall 1984, p.107). In the long run, claiming a rightful place in organizations is a better strategy than blending in because the latter 'sees the achievement of an understated femininity as reducing the threat to male normality' while the former 'stresses a need to be on guard against the possible exploitation that comes from being seen as feminine' (Sheppard 1993, p.146).

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(Catherine W. Ng is Assistant Professor II in the Department of Management, Hong Kong Polytechnic University.)

COMMUNICATION ACROSS CULTURES: "THE VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN" CONFERENCE IN PERSPECTIVE

Lisa Fischler

What does it mean to hold an internatinal conference on gender issues in the 1990s? Several months ago at The Chinese University of Hong Kong an international conference was held concerning violence against women in both American and Chinese societies. Academics and practitioners from Hong Kong , Taiwan, the People's Republic of China, and the United States were invited to present papers which addressed the issue of violence against women in these respective societies. Marking the first time that an international conference had been held in Hong Kong on this topic[1], the *Violence Against Women* Conference at Chinese University served as an opportunity to bring together people, from widely differing backgrounds and societies, who were involved in and concerned about issues such as domestic violence, sexual harassment, rape, and the legal aspects of such issues. What it also did was highlight an interesting question that has been raised about two other conferences on gender issues in Chinese societies. One of these conferences is represented in an edited volume, *Engendering China: Women, culture and the state*[2] The other, the Fourth United Nations World Conference on Women, will be held this coming September in Beijing. Of these conferences, some writers have speculated that "perhaps liberated Chinese women intellectuals and Western feminists... do not have much to say to each other "[3] To the contrary, as evidenced in the Hong Kong conference, they have plenty to say, and to each other in a face-to-face forum. The question remains, however, of how effective the communication at the conference was.

Clearly, there are many different notions of "communication" which I could (and will) use to answer this question. In a similar fashion, there were many different notions of what constitutes such problems as domestic violence, sexual harassment and rape drawn on in order to present the various papers at the *Violence Against Women* Conference. This is to be expected at a conference which was organized to create "a dialogue between academics and practitioners."[4] Yet, the differences between academics and practitioners were not the only ones which emerged in the course of the conference. There were different paradigms used among academics to broach their subjects. [5] Different research results were presented by researchers from the same country, thereby illustrating a variety of approaches to conducting research, and differences among organizational groups and research institutes. [6] It was also evident that the resources, support and institutional bases for responding to issues like domestic violence and rape were different in each society. The conference was convened, it seems to me, exactly beacuse these diffences exist and because there is still lack of community agreement, even in the United States, on what the most appropriate responses should be (or even whether there should be a response at all).

So, is it more important in the 1990s, when convening an international conference of gender issues, to conclude that "Westerners who attend next year's International Congress on Women in Peking may feel that their Chinese sisters are not only at the bottom of a well, they are living on a different planet,"[7] or is it more important to acknowledge the differences and go ahead and hold a conference wherein a dialogue might be opened to bridge them? One can admit that "the discussion of gender, as distinguished from sex, sometimes seems more concerned to make statements about American ideological issues than Chinese ones."[8] One can also question the usefulness of concepts such as "agency" and "subject position" for women in China.[9] However, it is also important to point out that Chinese women have opened the first non-state women's hotline in Beijing whereby calls from women all over China are received and listened to. It is important to note that a Harmony House exists in Hong Kong to deal with the problem of domestic violence and battered women. If the Americans who attended the *Violence Against Women* Conference did not know about these facts before they came to Hong Kong, they know them now.

On the other hand, the Chinese women who attended the conference were given a chance to hear what rape crisis centers in the United States are about. They were also informed that "sexual harassment" can hold different meanings for American women of different ethnic backgrounds. In addition, more students from Hong Kong were given the opportunity to hear different views on gender issues. [10] The problem lies in trying to decide how much understanding of what was presented each person who listened took away with them. Did any of the participants conclude that the "cultural differences" between East and West were just too great? Did any of the "grassroots" women who attended feel that the conference was too academic? Did the American clinical psychologists' papers and experiences in treating rape give Hong Kong social workers any new insights in their struggles to have domestic violence and marital rape recognized as serious social problems? Did the American academics who participated learn about the differences in experiences among women in Taiwan, the P.R.C. and Hong Kong?

"Experience" is a key word here. It not only helps explain some of the differences among women across cultures and within societies, it can slso serve as a major focal point for international conferences on gender issues. "To compare experiences" would be a sufficient reason, in my opinion, for which to convene such a conference. How to make it work to begin to bridge differences in experiences is another factor that needs to be considered. There was one local physician who attended the *Violence Against Women* Conference at Chinese University. Several women who planned and participated in the conference would have liked to have seen more medical practitioners there.[11] Inviting more physicians to attend and participate might encourage their support in dealing with the problem on a society-wide basis. [12] This point has also been raised by Legislative Councillor, Christine Loh, in several articles on women's health care in Hong Kong .[13] As with international conferences, the goal is to bring people of different backgrounds and experiences together in order to raise interest in and generate support

for the issue at hand. The initial problem, however, is getting the people who are involved together in the first place.

Viewed from this vantage point, the *Violence Against Women* Conference at Chinese University solved this initial problem and gathered concerned people together. What suggestions, then, can be made about where one might go from here? As I am only part of the way to becoming an academic, and with insufficient experience to qualify as a practitioner, let me turn to what I see as some of the suggestions offered by several of the people I interviewed about their perspectives on the conference. The *Violence Against Women* Conference focused attention on projects that had been and are still being carried out in relation to problems like domestic violence, sexual harassment, rape and legal issues surrounding these problems. If a volume is published of the conference papers, in Chinese, then it can have a potential impact on undergraduate studies[14] or on public information. Published additionally in English it could contribute to furthering knowledge about Chinese societies in countries like America.

Moving beyond the academic circle, there could be additional conferences held in which even more "grassroots" women and women's groups were invited to participate. [15] Providing three languages of translation–Cantonese, Mandarin and English, as the *Violence Against Women* Conference did, would be a necessity for providing an equal basis of communication for those who attended the conference. With translation not being a problem, it might then be possible to hold rather unconference-like, smaller-number discussion groups within which definitional questions, points of clarification, detailed problems, and more issues might be addressed. [16] The cost, of course, for providing excellent conference translation services is no small detail. Neither are the mechanics of arranging small, informal discusion groups.

So, what about alternate venues? *The Violence Against Women* Conference was held at Chinese University's Cho Yiu Hall. For all its formality, this hall provided facilities for more than adequate translation services. It also contains seats and desks in concentric circles which by United Nations logic, minimizes problems of status and rank seating that other arrangements might evoke. But, where in Hong Kong can conferences be held where both adequate translation services and a small discussion group format can be arranged?

What about alternative conference formats? The strength of the conference held at Chinese University was that it interspersed some workshops between the formal paper presentation sessions. It also concluded with a "resolution" on violence against women that was meant to represent both what the conference had accomplished and what the conference participants, as a whole, resolved to achieve in the future concerning this issue. In the weeks that followed the confenence, there were articles that appeared in the newspapers about the conference. Some of the local women who attended tha conference were either quoted, or had their papers quoted, for perspectives on the problem of violence against women. However, there are so many issues "out there," that either directly or indirectly relate to violence against women, which are being raised, but not all together in any one forum. This, I would like to suggest, is the type of obstacle that future international conferences on gender issues should resolve to overcome.

Take the Fourth United Nations World Conference on Women, for example. It will be held in this Sepember in Beijing. In the months leading up to this conference, there will be many activities and gatherings planned to inform people in Hong Kong about what the conference is about and why women's groups in Hong Kong are going to participate in it. In the process, the women's groups themselves will give people a chance to learn what they are all about. But how much understanding is contingent upon more involved people making the connections among the issues they are addressing clearer?

In Hong Kong, there are issues of equal opportunity and discrimination being raised in the debate between Anna Wu's "Equal Opportunities Bill" and the government's "Anti-Discrimination Bill." In the field of health care, Christine Loh is calling for a more preventative approach for treating women. In law, the fight for implementing CEDAW and a "Women's Commission" is still going on. In economics and employment, various women's groups are working to end age discrimination and to get "equal pay for equal work." In education, university departments are trying to implement gender studies programs. Groups like Harmony House are still working to combat domestic violence. The Legislative Council and the newspapers have broached the issue of "second wives" in mainland China. These and many more issues seem to be related to women, their lives, their situations, their health, their bodies. Fortunately, these issues also affect all members of society. Unfortunately, I am unable to answer the question as to how they are all related or in what future forum they might all be addressed. I can only suggest that future international conferences on gender issues might like to answer it.

1 Personal interviews with Choi Po King, December 29, 1994; Ann Jordan, January 11, 1995; Phyllis Wong, January 25, 1995.
2 Christina K. Gilmartin, Gail Hershatter, Lisa Rofel, and Tyrene White eds.)1994, *Engendering China: Women, Culture and the State* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press).
3 Jonathan Mirsky, "The Bottom of the Well," in *The New York Review* October 6, 1994, p. 24.
4 Interview with Ann Jordan, January 11, 1995.
5 Interview with Choi Po King, December, 29, 1994.
6 Interview with Phyllis Wong, January 25, 1995.
7 Jonathan Mirsky, "The Bottom of the Well," in *The New York Review* October 6, 1994, p. 24.
8 Ibid.
9 Ibid.
10 Interview with Choi Po King, Decmeber 29, 1994.
11 Interview with Choi Po King, December 29, 1994; Phyllis Wong, January 25, 1995.
12 Interview with Choi Po King, December 29, 1994.
13 See, for example, *South China Morning Post* November 7, 1994.
14 Interview with Choi Po King, December 29, 1994.
15 Interview with Phyllis Wong, January 25, 1995.
16 Interview with Ann Jordan, January 11, 1995.

(Lisa Fischler is a PhD candidate at the University of Wisconson-Madison).

Research Project

Violence Against Women — the Hong Kong Experience

Antoinette Lee

"Violence Against Women — the Hong Kong Esperience" is a research project funded by a UPGC grant, with Dr. Fanny Cheung, Dr. Catherine Tang and Ms Ann Jordan as the investigators. The project aims at:

(1) examining the scope of Violence Against Women (VAW) as perceived by different groups of people in Hong Kong,
(2) exploring the cultural beliefs that affect people's decision on what behaviours to be regarded as VAW and what not to,
(3) investigating the perceptions and attitudes towards the issue of VAW by different groups of people in Hong Kong,
(4) examining possible reaction to VAW, and
(5) examining the treatment of victims of VAW by legal and other professionals.

It is hoped that through better understanding of the situation of VAW in Hong Kong and Hong Kong people's perceptions and attitudes towards this issue, we shall be in a better position to conceive this problem, as well as to eventually contribute to preventive measures and public education in this area.

The study will focus on four main areas of VAW, namely wife abuse, rape, sexual harassment and child abuse. There will be three stages in the investigaton process. In both the first and second stages, we shall conduct in-depth focus group discussions and interviews. These interviews will be semi-structured in nature, with open -ended questions used to facilitate group members to freely express their perceptions and attitudes towards VAW as well as their knowledge of VAW as it applies to Hong Kong. In the first stage, we shall conduct focus group discussions with 7 groups of people from the general public, namely, male college students, female college students, working class males, working-class females, housewives, rural females, and married professional males and females. In the second stage, we shall invterview victims of VAW individually or in a group, including victims of wife abuse, rape, sexual harasment and child abuse. So far, we have completed the focus group discussions with the general public and one group of victims of VAW. The results of the first two stages will form the basis for devloping a questionnaire to be used in a survey.

In the third stage, we shall distribute questionnaries to public service providers and professionals who come into contact with victims of VAW with regard to their perceptions and attitudes towards VAW, and compare them with those of the lay general public. Construction of the questionnaire is now underway and we are contacting various professional groups to solicit their opinions.

Preparation is underway to extend this study to examine similarities and differences in perceptions and attitudes towards VAW across Chinese societies.

(Antoinette Lee is research assistant of the research project on Violence Against Women--the Hong King Experience)

The Female Inheritance Movement and Daughterly Identity

Eliza Chan

The female inheritance movement was the talk of the town in 1994: 'gender equality', a term which many people in Hong Kong have rarely talked about, suddenly evolved into a fashionable topic for people of all ages and in all occasions. At one level, gender equality was the main issue of the movement. But there is one level of the movement that is never discussed before: the movement was about drawing the boundary between nuclear family and the lineage as a corporate kin group, through the women's assertion of their daughterly identity.

The lineages in the new Territories are patrilineal, i.e., the properties are passed along the male line. The popular saying among Chinese, 'Three things are unfilial, and the worst is to have no sons' expresses the Chinese preference for sons as successor[1]. A son is responsible for the death rituals of his parents, and making sure that they are properly worshipped. Therefore, the preference for sons extends beyond the wish for security at old age, and the need for a prosperous life after death is a more important issue for the villagers. Having sons is to be certain that one's life after death will be well provided for. Sons are also expected to take care of the widowed mother and other unmarried sisters until they get married.

However, there are quite a number of families who bear only daughters. According to James Watson's research on a lineage in San Tin, Yuen Long, sonless families were not unusual. The generalogy showed 237 lineage members died without an heir. There are different remedies to the situation. Either the sonless man could adopt a child from his fellow agnates, or marry in a son-in -law (uxorilocal marriage) who agrees to let his son adopt the sonless man's surname. In the first case, the son of an agnate should be chosen to ensure that the sonless man and his adopted son would have the same surname without requiring the child to change his surname. In the second case, the son-in-law usually comes from a poor family.

Families without male forbears to inherit the male line could resove their problem by the above means. But the adopted sons were not obliged to take care of their adopted parents. The rights of the male successors were well-defined, whereas obligations toward the adopted parents and unmarried sisters were not closely watched. The women in the movement complained that the male agnates who inherited their parents' properties did not keep in touch with them (ng t'ong ngo loi wong; 唔同我來往)[2]. These adopted sons also did not take care of their parents' death rituals or the annual ancestral worship. These women's parents remained 'floating ghosts' (遊魂野鬼).

Adopting agnates as sons did not efface the humiliation of the families without male successors. These families were categorized as 'jue fang' (絕房)[5], a label which could not be shedded off at will. 'Jue' (絕) means 'terminated' or 'discontinued'; when combining 'jue' and 'fang' together the phrase describes the disruption of the male line. The daughters of those families who did not have any male successors were therefore the 'daughters of the terminated fangs' (jue fang nu; 絕房女).

When the kinsfolks who inherited the properties did not fulfill their duties, the daughters themselves had to shoulder the responsibities. The

women I interviewed called themselves 'son and daughter combined' (仔係佢，女又係佢), meaning that they performed the roles of sons and daughters simultaneously. These roles included burying their fathers and paying for their daily and medical expenses. The death rituals of their parents (especially fathers) were remembered with great relish, therefore narrated with meticulours details by the women. When I asked them if it was only men who could host their fathers' funerals, they told me that daughters could serve as hosts too. One woman told me that the daughter hosting the father's funeral should wear a red waist belt, and upon marriage, the girl must bring along a hen and 12 chicks to her marital home. This was to make sure that she would have a happy marriage. To host her father's funeral was regarded as pernicious to her marital happiness. I asked another woman the same question, her response was, 'Yes, they (the people in her village) said that the men are responsible, but I don't know why I have to shoulder all the expenses [of burying her parents].' Aside from shouldering the majority of the domestic chores and death rituals, the women also had to endure the humiliation of being a member of the 'terminated fang'. A common swear word among the villagers was, '[You will have] no male successors!'

Though the women were then in their middle age, or well beyond middle age, and they had families of their own, the regret of being born a member of the terminated fang could not be easily mended, A woman I know had all her brothers and father died in her childhood, leaving behind her old mother. She was very worried that her mother would pass away very soon, because in her own words, her mother was her only relative on earth. I said, 'Don't you have your family — your husband and your children?' 'No, it's different [from my mother, my natal family]', she mused. Their little brother were dearly remembered. Their brothers' freak deaths touched them deeplyl; if they hadn't died, then the women and their families would not have been labelled 'terminated fangs'.

These women also did not evade their origins as daughters of the terminated fangs though such identity was denigrading. Quite the contrary, they asserted their daughterly identity to advance their inheritance rights in the recent inheritance movement. When they narrated their personal stories in retrospect, their identity as daughters from terminated fangs was consciously felt. The women thought that their personal misfortune in different stages of their lives was attributed to their being 'brotherless'. Not only was their childhood (when they had direct contact with the people who inherited their parents' properties) affected by having no male successors in their immediate families, they also thought that their marriages and their directions of life were adversely affected (even in stages when the people they interacted with were totally different from their natal kinsfolks). The series of setbacks they confronted in later stages of their lives were considered as the aftermath of the untimely death of 'little brothers', who, if surviving, would save them from the tribulations ensued.

Viewing the women's narratives in another light, the misfortune associated with their identity as 'daughters of the terminated fang' could be a means through which the women justified their inheritance rights. The misfortune of the daughters, on the other side of the coin, reflected the male kinsfolks' irresponsiblity (not taking care of the agnates from whom they inherited the bequest). Having no male successors, which previously served as a poignant reminder of ill luck, was redefined to evoke sympathy and the sense of justice, which the women never had experienced before.

To assert their daughterly identity, the women vigorously drew the boundary between their nuclear family and the lineage. One women said, 'If I have brothers, I won't need the money [available if the movement was successful]. The male kinsfolks are outsiders,' Brothers were eligible for inheritance since they belonged to the same nuclear families as the daughters did. Those who did not originated from the same families, no matter how closely related genealogically, were categorically 'outsiders' as far as inheritance is concerned. 'Insiders' mean members in the daughters' immediated families, regardless of gender.

I argue that the nuclear family is a potential threat to the solidarity of the lineage, when the daughters of the terminated fang — the most marginalized group — took their daughterly identity seriously and struck back for their inheritance rights.

1 This saying is borrowed from an article written by James Watson, 'Agnates and Outsiders: Adoption in a Chinese Lineage' in *Man*, 10, 293-306. According to Watson, the aphorism is 'attributed to the sage Mencius'.
2 Transliteration in Cantonese.
3 Please refer to Chen Chi-nan's Ph. D dissertatuib *'Fang' and Chia-Tsu: The Chinese Kinship System in Rural Taiwan*. 1986. Published by University Microfilms International, Ann Arbor, Michigan, U.S.A.. p. 4.

(Eliza Chan is M. Phil Candidate of the Anthropology Department, the Chinese University of Hong Kong.)



REPORTER

Queenie Lee

International Conference on Violence Against Women: Chinese and American Experiences

The International Conference on Violence Against Women : Chinese and American Experiences was held on 16-19 November 1994 at the Cho Yiu Conference Hall, The Chinese University of Hong Kong.

The Conference was jointly organized by the Gender Research Programme, The Hong Kong America Centre and the David C. Lam Institute for East West Studies of the Baptist College. The Hon. Ms. Anna Wu, Legislative Councillor officiated at the opening ceremony.

There were three keynote speeches from Prof. Margaret Andersen on "Systems of Subordination: The Persistence of Violence in Women's Lives", Prof. Li Yu-ning on "Chinese Conceptions of Womanhood" and Prof. Judy Long on "Sexual Harassment: Gender Paradigm of the 1990's". Over 100 participants from Hong Kong, China, Taiwan and the United States attended the 3-1/2 day conference.

Research and work experiences concerning various forms of violence against women, including marital violence, rape and sexual harassment were explored and discussed among various sectors: academics, welfare and medical professionals, grassroots women groups and students. Over 30 papers on the various issues were presented and discussed. There were two workshops on marital violence and sexual harassment where veteran social workers on women's affairs shared their experiences with the audience.

Theoretical perspectives for the understanding of violence against women in the wider context of gender relationships and equality were explored. A primary aim was to call public attention to violence against women, and the conference was able to identify the following gaps in current services for survivors of violence against women in Hong Kong:

Marital Violence: Local participants noted the absence of inter-departmental coordination in the handling of marital violence cases. Survivors of marital violence and their children need coordinated support and service among the police, medical professionals, social welfare officers, the Legal Department, the Housing Department, as well as the schools (of children of survivors) and the Education Department. The present lack of coordination (and a coordinated policy) has caused much anguish and failure of resolution among survivors.

Rape and Sexual Assault: As in marital violence, the Conference noted that the lack of mandatory reporting of rape and sexual assault cases among medical and social service professionals in Hong Kong constitutes a glaring gap which needs to be closed. Participants also called attention to the absence of a referral system for rape and sexual assault survivors between police and the social service system, which deprives them of much-needed counseling. Furthermore, participants also noted the inconsistencies in judiciary decisions regarding such cases.

Sexual Harassment: The legal framework for the prosecution of sexual harassment cases is not yet in place in Hong Kong. The Conference also noted that in order to reduce the incidences of sexual harassment, major employment institutions, including the Civil Service, ought to take the lead in implementing a set of workable policies and procedures, as well as conduct rules for their staff. Above all, public education heightening the awareness of this form of violence is important in promoting a healthy and effective working environment for both women and men.

A Resolution was reached at the end of the conference as follows:

WHEREAS, violence against women is a global problem;
WHEREAS, violence against women permeates all social classes of all nations, races and cultures;
WHEREAS, violence against women is a form of institutionalized power and control;
WHEREAS, violence against women is and should be a crime;
WHEREAS, violence against women degrades all humanity;
WHEREAS, every woman has the right to a quality of life equal to that of every other member of society;
THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED that we, the participants in the International Conference on Violence Against Women: Chinese and American Experiences, do hereby declare that violence against women requires international solutions, which includes the transformation of all systems that have a negative impact on the lives of women;
THEREFORE BE IT ALSO RESOLVED that the Hong Kong Government should
Devote public resources to community education aimed at raising general awareness about the prevalence of violence against women.
Strengthen social work services to provide counseling and support networks for sexual assaulted victims, battered women and their families.
Set up an interdisciplinary group to collect accurate and consistent data and to oversee and to develop policies regarding violence against women; and monitor the provision of services rendered by the police, medical and legal personnel, to increase provision of training to relevant departments.
Legislate the mandatory establishment of sexual harassment policies and procedures for implementation in public and private organizations.
This 19th day of November, 1994.

The resolution and the summary report of the conference were submitted to the policy branches of the government and the media.

Results of the survey on "Public's perception on equal opportunities for women and men 1993-1994"

The final report of the CNTA commissioned survey on the Public's perception of equal opportunities for women and men was presented on 23 January 1995 at the Legco Panel on Home Affairs.

The survey, conducted by the research team of the Gender Research Programme, covered a sample of over 2,000 respondents aged 15 and above. It aimed at collecting information on the experience of inequality, on the public's perception and attitude towards equal opportunities, and on biographical data on socialization of females and males.

The distribution of respondents by socio-demographic characteristics largely coincide with the general population as reported in the Hong Kong 1991 census. 47.7% of the respondents are female and 52.3% are male. A 25.7% of the respondents are within the age group of 15-29, and a 45.2% are in the age group of 30-44, 66.2% of all respondents are married, 64.2% of the respondents reported that they were currently employed.

Findings indicate that 13 out of 15 situations were considered by more than 50% of respondents to be "quite unequal" to "absolutely unequal", especially in cases like "indigenous women in the New Territories do not have inheritance rights" (88%), "women are sexually harassed by their male boss or colleagues at work" (86%) and "Parents support sons to have more education, but less education for daughters" (82%).

Regarding employment conditions, male respondents regarded "work performance and efficiency" as the explanation for gender difference, while female respondents considered "family responsibility and employers' discrimination" the answer. Where differences on gender were reported, men are perceived to be in a more favourable position with regard to wage attainment and promotion opportunities.

In the family, "taking care of sick family members", "coaching children's school work" and "maintaining social ties with kin" are largely considered as "mainly women's responsibility".

Responding to the improvement measures considered "quite or very necessary", 85% and 77% of the respondents felt the need of legislation on women's inheritance rights and CEDAW; 84% supported the provision of childcare service, while 77% favoured women's centers, women's clinics and women's complaint department; 80% felt it necessary to have police/medical professional training to cater for the need of women victims of violence.

Women candidates in elections

District Board

In the last District Board Election in September 1994, there were 98 women who stood for the first ever direct election, making a record 12.9% out of 757 candidates. In comparison with the 1991 District Board Election, there were only 50 women candidates out of the total 473 who ran for office, making up a 10.6% of the total number of candidates. Meanwhile, the number of women representation in the district boards remains at a modest 9.9%. There were altogether 2 women elected as district board chairpersons, a rise from the 1991 figure of 5.3% to 11.1%.

Municipal Council

In the municipal council election in March 1995, 11 women ran for Regional Council office, marking a significant rise from 1991's 8.3% to 18.3% of the total number of candidates. Two women won in the election making the representation in the Council 7.4%. In the Urban Council, women candidates account for 10 of the 75 candidates, making only 13.3% when compared with the 1991 figure of 16%. Three women won the election, making a 9.4% representation in the Council.

Top 10 Discrimination News in 1994

Pressure group "The Movement Against Discriminations" saw greater discrimination against women in 1994. According to the group chairman, women face age and sex discrimination when seeking employment; other problems include sexual harassment, and the militant protest against women's inheritance rights in the New Territories. Among other 10 widely reported and socially significant discrimination news are AIDS patients being rejected by some clinics, the Equal Opportunities Bill put forward by legislative councillor Anna Wu, the government's proposed Sex Discrimination Bill and the setting up of an Equal Opportunities Commission. The pressure group listed the issues in the hope to arouse the public and the government's concern over the bridging of existing gaps.

Hospital Authority announces protocol for battered women treatment

The Hospital Authority is offering a comprehensive and sensitive treatment at all accident and emergency departments to victims of domestic violence. A protocol will be implemented to identify the physical and psychological symptoms of battering, to ascertain a victim's coping mechanism, to treat injuries and to inform women of related after-care services.

(Queenie Lee is research assistant of the Gender Reseach Programme, HKIAPS.)

消息報導

李泳欣

〈中美婦女被侵犯經驗〉國際研討會

由香港中文大學香港亞太研究所性別研究計劃、港美學術交流中心、及香港浸會學院林思齊東西學術交流研究所合辦的《中美婦女被侵犯經驗》國際研討會，已於一九九四年十一月十六日至十九日於香港中文大學祖堯會議廳舉行。

立法局議員胡紅玉女士爲大會主持開幕典禮及致辭。主題演講包括 Prof. Margaret Andersen 的「兩性從屬關係——暴力在女性生命中之延續」，李又寧教授的「華人女性觀」及 Prof. Judy Long 之「性騷擾問題——九十年代之性別觀」。共有一百多位來自香港、中國、台灣及美國的學者、福利及醫療專業人仕、基層婦女團體及學生參與討論。在三天半的會議議程中，各與會者就"婚姻暴力"，"强姦"及"性騷擾"各項婦女面對的暴力作出研究及工作經驗之交流。

在這個首次的國際性大型婦女與暴力研討會中，共有 30 篇論文發表。其中包括香港及中國的家庭暴力狀況調查、個案研究經驗、對策及法例成效；在强姦問題方面，分別有來自美國的學者及前線醫護人員，發表强姦受害者之個案處理、强姦後之復元及有關之法律問題，本港及中國的學者，亦與大會分享就强姦問題之研究成果；會議亦積極討論了性騷擾問題，包括中國社會對性騷擾之觀感，香港法律界對性騷擾之回應，以及美國、香港及台灣的校園性騷擾個案研究。

除了論文發表以外，會議安排了兩個以婚內暴力及性騷擾爲題的公開討論。大會亦邀得本港社區婦女服務團體的資深代表，與各人分享香港及中國對抗虐妻及强姦、性侵犯行爲的寶貴經驗。

會議提出了各項理論架構，從兩性關係及性別不平等的角度，了解中美兩地婦女所面對的暴力行爲。會議的另一個目的，是喚起公衆對這問題的關注，十多間本港報章的代表，亦採訪了是次會議。婦女面對暴力的情況，得到廣泛的報導及引起關注。

經會議討論後，各與會者提出了本港爲面對暴力的婦女提供服務的不足之處：

本港嚴重缺乏對婚內暴力個案的處理守則。有關的前線工作人員如醫療人員及社會工作者遇到這類個案時，無須提交法定舉報；對此，美國與會者指出法定舉報對個案跟進及輔導服務等的重要性。

另外，本港亦缺乏婚內暴力個案的跨部門合作。事實上，婚內暴力的受害者及其子女，急需警察部門、醫療專業人仕、福利工作員、法律部門、房屋署、學校及教育署等機構提供服務。現存的架構嚴重缺乏各部門於服務提供及政策上之協調。

與婚內暴力問題一樣，强姦及性侵犯的有關醫療及福利工作人員亦無須提交法定舉報，警務及福利機構間也缺少完善的聯繫制度，令受害人未能及時接受急需的輔導。此外，與會者亦提出現存司法制度中對有關案件的判決偏低及缺乏一致性。

本港未有對性騷擾個案確立一套完整的司法審核程序。會議認爲主要的機構如公務員架構，應起帶頭作用，落實針對性騷擾問題的政策及步驟，制訂員工的行爲守則。大會更認爲加强公民教育是面對性騷擾問題有效的方法，提倡爲兩性提供一個更有效率及健康的工作環境。

大會結束前，與會者通過決議如下：

婦女被暴力對待問題是全球問題；
婦女被暴力對待問題在不同文化背景、種族、社會、經濟體系、階級及國籍均存在；
暴力對待婦女是一種權力與控制的表現；
暴力對待婦女是一種罪行；
暴力對待婦女損害人類社羣之尊嚴；
婦女與社會其他成員一樣擁有優質生活之權利；
因此，《中美婦女被侵犯經驗》國際研討會在此決議並宣佈，婦女被暴力對待問題必須得到國際重視，共同尋求解決辦法，以改善與婦女生活有關之一切制度。
研討會決議要求香港政府提供資源，加强社會人士對婦女受虐的認識和關注，並宣傳現有服務，使婦女認識其個人權益。
提供輔導服務和支援服務與被暴力對待之婦女，包括被性侵犯之婦女以及其子女。
成立跨部門工作小組，以搜集全面的數據，統籌及監察各政府部門（包括警方、醫護人員、法援處）爲被暴力對待之婦女所提供之服務。
立法促使各公、私營機構訂立針對性騷擾之政策及程序。
一九九四年十一月十九日

該決議及會議討論之總結已提交有關政府決策科及傳媒。

《公衆對男女平等之觀感調查：一九九三至一九九四之結果》

由政務總署委托性別研究計劃進行的「公衆對男女平等之觀感調查」之結果，已於一九九五年一月二十三日立法局內務會議發表。

是次調查通過全港隨機抽樣超過二千多名十五歲或以上男女居民，進行約半小時之訪問，目的旨在收集被不平等對待之經驗，公衆對平等機會之看法，及性別角色社教化的背景資料。

是次被調查之被訪者人口資料與一九九一年之人口普查大致相同。47.7% 被訪者爲女性，52.3% 爲男性。介乎 15 － 29 歲之被訪者佔 25.7%，而 30 － 44 歲佔 45.2%。共有 66.2% 之被訪者爲已婚人士。64.2% 之被訪者報稱爲在職人士。

調查發現在 15 個處境裏，其中 13 個超過一半之被訪者認爲是「幾唔平等」至「完全唔平等」，在「新界婦女原居民無繼承權」（88%），「女性在工作上受男上司／同事的性騷擾」（86%）及「父母支持仔讀多啲書，女不需要讀咁多書」（82%）等項目上尤其如此。

在工作上，男被訪者普遍認爲兩性待遇不同的主要原因在於「男女工作效率及表現不同」，而女被訪者則認爲在於「男女在生兒育女及做家務的責任不同，影響對工作投入」，及「上司或老闆對男性或女性存有偏見、歧視」所致。另外，男性亦認爲他們在薪酬及晉升機會方面有比女性好的待遇。

在家庭方面，「照顧生病家人」，「同細路溫習功課」及「聯絡親戚朋友、約見面、做人情」等，被認爲主要是女性家人的責任。

對一系列促進男女平等機會的措施，85% 及 77% 被訪者認爲要「立例保障全港女性可享有與男性同樣的繼承權」及引入「聯合國消除對婦女一切形式歧視公約」；84% 被訪者認爲有需要在地區上設立多元化服務的婦女中心，提供足夠托兒服務，多設立婦女保健中心及設立婦女事務委員會；另外，80% 被訪者認爲需要加强訓練警務人員，使他們更了解受暴力侵犯的婦女。

《女性參與選舉》

區議會選舉

在一九九四年九月的區議會選舉中，共有 98 名女性候選人參選，佔 757 位候選人的 12.9%。而一九九一年只有 50 位女性候選人，佔 473 名候選人的 10.6%。現在，女性區議員在各區議會的總人數中只佔 9.9%。此外，共有兩位女性被選爲區議會主席，比一九九一年的數字增加了 5.8%。

市政局選舉

在一九九五年三月舉行的區域市政局選舉，共有 11 位女性候選人角逐，數目明顯由九一年的 8.3% 增至 18.3%；當選的女性議員佔全部議席的 7.4%。在市政局選舉方面，有 10 名女候選人參選，佔總候選人 13.3%，比九一年之 16% 少；當選的女性議員佔全部議席的 9.4%。

《一九九四年十大歧視新聞》

「反歧視大聯盟」團體認爲整體婦女受歧視的情況非常普遍。這些歧視包括求職時遭遇的年齡及性別歧視、性騷擾、及反對婦女享有土地繼承權的暴力行動。其餘被廣泛報導及引起社會關注的有關歧視新聞爲愛滋病人被某些診所拒絕；立法局議員胡紅玉提出平等機會法案；港府提出性別歧視法案及成立平等機會委員會等。「反歧視大聯盟」希望藉著十大新聞，引起公衆及政府部門的注意，消除各種不平等現象。

《醫管局頒佈協助被虐婦女手則》

醫院管理局將在屬下所有的意外及緊急部門設立一項全面的服務，協助被虐婦女。這項服務包括一套完善工作手則，確認婦女被虐後的生理及心理徵狀，處理各種婦女所受之傷害，爲受害者設計應變機制，及爲婦女提供善後服務及協助。

（李泳欣爲香港亞太研究所性別研究計劃研究助理）

大學講師與「女」大學講師

蔡寶瓊

在一個系務會議上，各人正要決定接待到訪學者事宜，當時來訪學人有兩位，恰巧一男一女，各有學術專長。與會的一位講師（男）自告奮勇說：「某某先生專研的範圍與我的相近，我可以接待他。」剩下的一位（女），還未有人願意主動接待，系主任就對著系內唯一的女性講師說：「某某，你是女人，不如由你去接待這位女學者，如何？」

某某女講師一時不懂得招架，暗自嘀咕之餘，得出以下的總結：「那位男講師既是男人，又是學者，其學者的公共身份，無庸置疑。不過，一位女性如果恰巧又是學者的話，那她作爲學者的身份只是次要的。別人，包括系主任與及其他同行，都先以她的「女性」身份待之，至於她作爲學者的種種資料，譬如她的專業研究範圍，都只是次要的。」換言之，女性學者，其專業或學術身份，永遠被看成爲次於其生理上女性的身份。

年前在一個學院會議中，主席介紹將來任教的講師說：「今年將有兩位新同事加入：A博士畢業於美國××大學，專研教育××範疇；至於B博士，噢，她是位女士，畢業於美國××大學，是香港以外的華人，但下嫁一位香港人，至今還沒有 family 。」（註：古老的英語假設家庭一定有孩子，故沒有 family ，即還未有孩子，或沒有生育。）

A博士是男人，故此我們只關心他的學位、研究範圍、著作量等等，因爲這些是「公共範疇」，即男人所屬範疇的事物。A博士的婚姻、生育、性取向等等，並不影響他的「公共」身份，因爲他是男人。

至於B博士的身份則有點「特殊」。她明明是女人，在我們這個男性中心社會裏，是屬於「私人範疇」（家庭）的人物，而她卻偏偏以一個男性的面貌——博士——出現。故此也難怪會議上的中年男性主席要向與會者交待B博士的私事了——她「下嫁」誰，有沒有生育等等。

大學本應是男性的世界，偏偏因社會經濟轉變了，導致女性「入侵」。作爲傳統男性文化的堡壘，大學又如何招架呢？在收生方面，八十年代末開始，大學上下已不斷響起警鐘，提醒各院系注意性別率的「變壞」（ deteriorate ）狀況（即男女生比例趨向平均）。

至於講師方面，距男女各半的狀況仍很遠，但大學亦已有獨到的應變招數，即堅持並公開其女性講師的「私有範疇」屬性，包括婚姻狀況及其假定（ presumed ）性態（ sexuality ）。

在〈香港中文大學概況〉（英文版）中，男性講師個人資料只包括其學位（學士、碩士、博士等）。女性講師則資料豐富極了。從未結過婚的女講師（假定仍是處女，即不屬於任何男人），稱 MISS（小姐）；結過婚但想保持父姓，又或離婚者（通通非處女），稱 MS（女士）；已結婚，願冠夫姓，表明身份已屬夫家者，稱 MRS（太太）……

女性已加入「公共範疇」，但其性態（ Sexuality ）仍然是她們身份界定的要素。

（蔡寶瓊爲香港中文大學教育學院講師）

書評

葉宋曼瑛著：《也是家鄉》，香港：三聯書店，1994，189頁。

紐西蘭並不是個華僑人口衆多的國家，而到目前爲止，研究早期華僑史的人，也鮮有以女性爲研究重心的。《也是家鄉》一書寫八位紐西蘭女華僑的故事，可以說是個雙重冷門題目。作者本人也是個紐西蘭華僑，這本書 1980 年首先在紐西蘭以英文出版，成爲該年度紐國的暢銷書；《也是家鄉》是中譯本，附圖片一百二十多幅，部分甚有歷史價值。

本來口述史以談話爲基礎，而八位受訪的女士有六人以漢語方言（廣州話、中山話等）講話，所以理論上說，《也是家鄉》多半該是還原，不是翻譯。但事實上本來以漢語爲訪問基礎的六章都有相當多的歐化句子，書面語與口語夾雜的情況也非常明顯，再加上某些片斷語言節奏也未脫英語的影響，所以從風格來說，這未嘗不是一個缺陷。

但文學成分畢竟不是口述史最重要的原素。從構思，選材、訪問內容和輔助材料來看，《也是家鄉》都有非常可取的地方。找八個人做訪問，然後把內容寫出來，這個構想看似簡單，但如何利用這些訪問併出一幅二十世紀華僑圖畫，卻是一項挑戰。作者顯然細心衡量過每一位受訪者的份量和她們代表的不同背景及經歷，因此雖然訪問篇幅不長（不足一百四十頁），牽涉的歷史和社會層面卻非常廣。

八位受訪者中，讓人覺得際遇最特別的該是第一章的畢振華——在紐西蘭禁止華人入境的時期，五歲的畢振華以傳教士養女的身份到紐西蘭；二十二年後，她成爲執業醫生，又以傳教士的身份回中國的醫院服務。可是正因爲她的際遇獨特，代表性反而不及其他受訪者強。如第四章的劉月仙和第六章的李影芳都是在抗戰時期以「難民紙」進入紐國，戰後才批准成爲居民的；這在她們同輩的婦女之中就比較常見。又和第三章的黃玉蘭五十年代隨夫以愛國華僑身份回歸大陸，六十年代挨批挨鬥，七十年代舉家再回紐西蘭，也就反映了全球各地很多華僑的經歷。至於女華僑如何適應不斷轉變的二十世紀生活，李影芳六十歲考車牌，今日是麥當奴快餐店常客就是最佳說明。

孔慧怡

《也是家鄉》八位主角的經歷是二十世紀社會轉型的雪泥鴻爪，對研究華南僑鄉婦女的位置和家庭結構尤其有指標作用。受訪者中有五人出身「華僑世家」，父親甚至祖父是早年到加拿大、美國、澳洲及紐西蘭的勞工；其中第三章的林瓊意更是生於加拿大，十歲才送回中國受教育的，因此本書雖然只訪問紐西蘭華僑，卻也側面提供了其他僑居國的一點情況。

以時代背景而言，《也是家鄉》雖然只寫二十世紀的移民，但也提及十九世紀華僑女性生活的一鱗半爪。如林瓊意的母親於十九世紀生於加拿大，但一輩子是個文盲，由父母安排嫁給一名比她年長三十多歲的加僑爲第三侍妾，一生從未踏足中國，過的卻是最傳統中國婦女的日子——僑居國政府政策加上中國傳統觀念對女性造成的壓迫，在這個例子中表露無遺。

相信作者爲《也是家鄉》所作訪問得到材料，遠比書中發表的多，如林瓊意追述母親經歷的例子也許仍有未用上的；果眞如此，實在是個大損失。此書篇幅不長，卻包括了劉紹銘長達十六頁的一篇散文作爲附錄，文章與華僑史及婦女研究都沒有關係，顯得格格不入。其實如果把這十六頁用來加强口述史的篇幅，這本書會更紮實，更有份量。

（孔慧怡爲中文大學翻譯研究中心主任）

書評

馬淑儀

北京市婦女聯合會、廣州市婦女聯合會、香港大學合編：《京、穗、港在職女性就業調查報告》，出版地不詳，1993，221頁。

爲探討在職女性對就業的認識和體驗，及爲當地政府制定政策提供參考資料，北京市婦女理論研究會、廣州市婦女問題研究會與香港大學社會行政學系共同組織了"京、穗、港女性就業比較研究"。一九八八年十二月舉行第一次會議，三地學者携手討論有關課題及設計問卷。翌年三月京、穗、港三地同時分別進行問卷調查及資料分析。九〇年三月第二次會議在廣州市舉行，決定由北京負責撰寫整體報告，同年十月此報告分別在香港舉行總結報告，並在廣州市開新聞發佈會以廣宣傳。

這個在京、穗、港三地所作的女性就業比較研究，是個跨地域、跨行業、跨體制的創舉。在調查內容上，問卷不單涉及就業問題、也與女性就業觀念、心理、文化等因素有關。在研究方法上，調查採用了定量與定性相結合、個案調查與總體統計相互關照的技術和跨學科的方法。三地問卷均使用抽樣調查法，北京及廣州按地區經濟、社會發展情況、及行業分佈特點發放問卷。香港則以分層隨機抽樣方式、通過政府統計署，在全香港住戶中選出調查對象。但在總報告中，並未說明樣本的總數量及三地各個的樣本數量，實爲可惜。該報告是由京、穗、港在職女性就業調查總報告及三地分報告，加上所採用之調查問卷及答案的統計數據（節錄）集合而成。根據總報告就政策建議所得出的初步結論，三地就職女性對參與社會經濟活動持肯定態度，就業不但給她們帶來經濟需要，還有發展興趣、交友及實現人生價值之效用。三地在職女性對事業與家庭都有同樣矛盾，特別是中青年就業女性，她們肩負生育、哺育子女的任務，矛盾更爲突出。最後，三地婦女的女性自我意識、獨立及創新意識等都有不同程度的增强趨勢，令傳統觀念發生不同程度的變化。

總報告就大陸婦女就業政策提出各項建議，包括法律保障、多樣化的婦女就業、婦女生養子女的立法保障、婦女教育的加强、健全職業培訓計劃的建立及家務勞動社會化等。這些可作爲大陸制定社會政策的藍本及借鏡。但總報告沒有提及香港婦女政策，只在香港分報告中，列出香港學者部份建議與北京及廣州的相同點，例如再培訓計劃、托兒服務、彈性工作時間等。若能合併在總體報告中，當可令內容更加緊湊。

整體而言，這個在不同地區及不同的社會經濟背景下所作的比較研究，有一定參考價值。若能在進一步以兩性角色來分析三地的兩性就業模式、兩性人力資產、兩性在個別行業的工作和升遷制度，及其它社會因素對婦女就業的影響等，則裨益更大。

（馬淑儀爲香港中文大學護理學系講師）

GENDER STUDIES: NEWS AND VIEWS

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EDITORIAL
Women and Work

Yip Hon Ming

Liberal feminists have sharply pointed out that modernization and economic development do not appear to have improved women's relative social standing substantially today. Women's employment rates and average earnings are still lower than that of men. Horizontal and vertical occupational sex segregation persist with women clustered in lower-paying and lower-prestige jobs and the areas traditionally labeled "women's work" such as the clerical and service sectors. In a society undergoing industrial restructuring, female labourers tend to be more liable to fall victims of unemployment or underemployment than their male counterparts. To counter this phenomenon of inequality, liberals have urged for legislation against various forms of discrimination. Their focal point is the problem of women's employment. What they strive for is economic equality between men and women in society.

On the other hand, radical feminists have diverted their attention from women's employment to women's work in a broad sense. They attack the concept of privatization of the family and argue that the distinction made between the private sphere of unpaid or under-paid domestic work and the public sphere of paid employment is artificial, ideological, and a justification for the subordination of women. As history reveals, it is only since the 19th century that work has become synonymous with paid jobs and then "home" is situated as subordinate to "work." Thereafter a social package has come into being in which the divide between men's public domain outside the family and women's private domain inside is presented as right, natural, and desirable. In the 1970s and 1980s, feminists broadened the definition of work to include housework, the task of reproduction, and caring and service work at home and in the community. They also proposed to find ways to support parents and home-makers, both men and women, preparing the ground for breaking the tradition of the feminization of housework. Observably, to advocate supports only for women reinforces patriarchy and fosters the notion that women can do both domestic and occupational work.

In reality, even with equal employment opportunity, women are more likely than men to experience the conflict between family and work roles, the double burdens of housework and occupation, the interruption of career due to marriage and dedication to childrearing, or the guilt of negligence of families because of career commitment. In this issue, several articles and reports refer to the close linkage between women's work and family, the clash between women's career and family life, and women's precarious life-course and intermittent work history. The authors are all researchers who highly value women's perceptions and personal experiences. Catherine Ng relates, for example, with a subjective and very sensitive touch, the subtle feelings of the only female engineer in a man-staffed organization. Choi Po King offers a satirical view of female lecturers' awkward identities in the university which used to be basically a man's world. While women continue to "invade" "men's occupations," they also lift up their voices in the "women's vocations." A report on a nursing research conference urges that nursing professionals' views and their contributions to the promotion of health care provision be recognized.

Women have entered into the "public sphere." The time has yet to come, however, when housework and occupational work enjoy equal standing and men and women have similar involvement in work both in and out of the home. The coming of the age await provisions of required social resources, and most importantly, transformation of persistent coventions and deep-seated ideologies. We cannot wait, nevertheless, to dismantle the symbolic system and discursive code of power in terms of the distinction between public / male and private / domestic / female worlds of work.

Chief Editor: Yip Hon Ming

Editorial Board: Eleanor Holroyd, Eva Hung, Queenie Lee, Susan Ma, Yip Hon Ming

Publisher: Gender Research Programme, Hong Kong Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies. The Chinese University of Hong Kong (Co-ordinator: Fanny M. Cheung)

No.8(May/1995)