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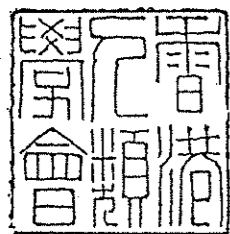
## From the Editors

Hong Kong's culture has experienced and will continue to see a lot of changes as it weaves together Chinese and non-Chinese elements. In this issue, authors address some of these changes: Wong and Chan on the construction of a "Hong Kong image", Lee and Tsui on the Monkey God cult that helps relief physical and mental problems in an urban setting, and S Y Wong on gender inequality in a rural community. From a broader perspective, D Wu discusses issues in the socialization of Chineseness.

The Hong Kong Anthropological Society continued to enjoy another active year which started with the 8th Barbara Ward Memorial Lecture delivered by Dr David Wu, which is printed in this issue. There were altogether 10 monthly lectures, and the topics ranged diversely from gift giving behavior in rural northern China, the family and state in Taiwan, controversial issues of motherhood and infanticide, to the sense of identity among the Macanese, and views of life of the Japanese and Americans. The Society experimented with Cantonese lectures on Saturday afternoons, which proved to be very popular among the public. Local trips, as always, were very well received by members and non-members alike, and these included celebrating Mid-Autumn Festival in a village with the lanterns of Chu Ko Liang, a trip to Lantau to see the Buddha at Po Lin Monastery, and an evening at the Gurkha barracks. The Film Festival, now establishing itself as one of the Society's traditions, was also a success.

Readers interested in receiving more information on the Society are welcome to contact the Honorary Secretary, c/o the Department of Anthropology, the Chinese University of Hong Kong, Shatin, N.T., Hong Kong.

Siumi Maria Tam and Grant Evans  
May 1995



Cover photo *Beijing: Sunday outing with the only son (D. Wu 1985)*

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# DROWNING YOUR CHILD WITH LOVE: FAMILY EDUCATION IN SIX CHINESE COMMUNITIES

## THE 8TH BARBARA WARD MEMORIAL LECTURE 1994

DAVID Y. H. WU

### I. BARBARA WARD AND THE STUDY OF CHILDHOOD SOCIALIZATION

This talk has three parts. First, I would like to discuss my appreciation of the late Professor Barbara E. Ward's teaching. Second, in connection with one of her published works, I would like to discuss the meaning of Chinese family education in the history of China. Third, I shall report in summary my own research on Chinese childhood socialization, which I have been working on during the past three years.

Although I have read most of Professor Ward's published work, I never had the pleasure of actually meeting her. Once I almost met her, but missed her by about 20 minutes, when I visited the Department of Anthropology at the Chinese University during a visit from the United States some 10 years ago. I was most inspired by Professor Ward in one of her papers.

In 1970, Professor Ward published a paper on "Temper Tantrums in Kau Sai: Some Speculations upon their Effects," which appeared with a sub-title: "The Approach From Social Anthropology," as a chapter in the 7th A.S.A. Monographs series on Socialization, edited by Philip Mayer (Mayer 1970). I must thank Dr. Grant Evans for reminding me recently about this paper. I remembered this paper very well,

because, at the time of its publication, I was a graduate student and was very much interested in the topic which was then a popular one in the United States -- the study of culture through looking into how parents bring up their children. The publication of Ward's paper then carried a special meaning. First, as most of my colleagues in anthropology among the audience know, some 20 to 30 years ago, very few British social anthropologists were concerned with psychology, or the study of emotion in parent-child relationships. Professor Ward's paper came as a surprise to me at that time. Second, I was pleased to see a paper dealing with child rearing practices in a Chinese community, for little on Chinese child rearing was published at that time. The study of the boat people in Hong Kong was significant in contributing to anthropological literature on Chinese society.

In this article, Ward discusses three kinds of temper tantrum she observed in the village of Kau Sai where she began with her fieldwork during 1952-53. She went back to her field site again in 1963 and saw little change in the way parents treat their children. She reports: "Both in the village and in Hong Kong generally I noticed very early that it was quite a common thing to see children, especially small boys - between the ages of, say, five and ten - in a screaming rage: laying on the floor or the pavement (sidewalk), kicking and screaming, red in the face and making no end of noise - an obvious tantrum,

and nobody taking any notice." She then discusses three kinds of temper tantrum she observed in Kau Sai.

The first type took place when a child felt himself left behind or deserted by his parents or others, which was common among the boat children (when they came ashore).

The second type involves the child's "crying and stamping if he did not get what

he had to chase the ball and the bigger boy kicked the ball further and everybody laughed at him. This is the first part of the boy's activity in the morning of the day. Then Ward followed the boy, and later saw him playing "cooking" with other children. While they were "cooking", another adult came and knocked over the imaginary rice and sent the pots and pans flying. *The adults laughs and the children laugh too.* The boy continued to play and do other things.



Guangzhou: playing house (D. Wu 1986)

he was asking for immediately." An example was given for illustration, when a girl asked for 10 cents from her father to buy sweets; she would not stop crying until the father gave in.

The third type is one that interested Ward most and was elaborated in her discussion. It is "the kind of tantrum or crying that was deliberately provoked or caused by adults or older boys." The example she gave was in what she observed when, "a six year old boy is playing ball with a group of boys: a bigger boy comes along and kicks the ball away from them." So, the

Finally, at about noon, the boy was hungry and he went to a shop and spent his 10 cents to buy some biscuits. Unfortunately, the boy dropped the biscuits. He fell into an uncontrollable rage when the biscuits fell on the ground and were smashed. The boy started to cry loudly and nobody paid any attention to him. This episode was further elaborated in Ward's description:

Professor Ward makes in this article several important observations and interpretations concerning Chinese culture, family, and how parents treat children as unimportant in adults' life. She concludes by

saying that: (1) This third kind of rage springs from an accumulation of frustrating situations; (2) From very early on babies in the village are subjected to adult provocation of one kind or another. (As we know, infants and young children in Chinese society provide entertainment for adults; adults pay a great deal of interests in babies, but children are considered not important.) Ward offers a structural-functionalist interpretation of the whole thing. Young children's temper tantrum give way, by adolescence to a

the most densely crowded Chinese communities."

It seems to me that Professor Ward was ahead of her time in her observations and descriptions of issues that few of her peers was paying attention to. It was much later, perhaps 10 to 15 years later, that many anthropologists began to discuss such psychological and emotional issues in the parent-child relationship.



*Foshan: after school (D. Wu 1986)*

marked degree of emotional control, Ward discusses how Kau Sai children's self-reliance and emotional control are connected with the Chinese successful adjustment to conditions of overcrowding. She says: "It is at least plausible to suggest that early habituation to frustration and interference may do much to make possible the kind of living on top of each other that is so common. This and the playing down of aggressive behavior ...probably also contribute to the remarkably low crime-rates typical of even

One issue constantly debated among anthropologists since the 1950s is the question "where is culture? Where does culture reside?" Simply put, colleagues in the field of Culture and Personality during the 1950s and 1960s saw culture being external to the individual mind and body. Culture is something one can observe. For example, similar to what Ward described her observation in Kau Sai, children' behavior explains how culture develops, and can be understood through observation. By the 1980's, psychological anthropology had

begun to focus more on understanding how the minds of people work. Culture is regarded as internal nowadays, in the minds of individuals. However, how one learns about culture or cultural processes in the mind is indeed a very challenging task for anthropologists interested in ethnopsychology. Ward's interpretation in her temper tantrum paper touches upon these concerns in more recent years of how emotion develops in the mind, for example, in the mind of the boy she described so vividly.

Let us reexamine Ward's observations of his temper tantrum. Ward's third kind of temper tantrum, that is deliberately provoking children to feel upset and frustrated, is what we call teasing, in the common sense meaning of the term. One way to learn about cultural meaning through the study of socialization as stated by psychological anthropologists recently is to understand the context, discourse, and communication practices in connection to some specific behavior that children have experienced. For instance, teasing is a popular method of teaching children about important cultural values. In order to carry Ward's discussion a little further in this direction, allow me to cite an example from the United States to illustrate how the cultural values are learnt through behavior such as teasing. There have been studies among working class people, such as one carried out in Baltimore, where anthropologists observed that adults or care givers playfully provoke young children into defending themselves. This is a way to train children to use the language of retaliation through teasing. One can observe the situation to realize how adults teach and expect children to fight back, to learn to guard their rights to defend themselves when attacked and to be self-assertive. Teasing children allows this class of people in that particular community to learn particular cultural values. In comparison, research among some Eskimo groups, such as the Utku Eskimo, found that these cultures

strongly disapproved of negative feelings expressed by children in the similar situation of teasing. Utku Eskimo encourage children to respond to similar teasing by ignoring adults, or by laughing. Children in that culture from a very young age learn to cope with the feeling of injury to self. The example in Kau Sai, if we are allowed to expand on Ward's discussion, perhaps provides an interesting and concrete example of how adults and parents tease children to train them to control their emotion in front of adults. With this opening of Barbara Ward's work and its relationship with psychological anthropology, I would like to continue, in the second part of my talk, to address Chinese conceptions of children, childhood, and family education for children.

## II. ON THE CHINESE CULTURAL CONCEPTIONS OF CHILDREN, CHILDHOOD, AND EDUCATION FOR CHILDREN

What the late Professor Ward was interested in and what I continue to be interested in is inherited from anthropological thinking of how to understand some basic meanings in human development. I shall discuss the concept of children and childhood, which was developed very early in Chinese history. In contrast, as I have learned from literature, the concept of children developed very late in European history, sometime after the 16th century. Before then, children were considered to be little adults. There was no clear delineation between the concept of children and that of adults. China, in comparison, has had for more than 2000 years a clear conceptual category of childhood. Chinese conceived in its early written history the meaning of child, childhood, and the importance in educating children at a young age. This I shall discuss later, while at this point I would like to bring up a current concern in China regarding children. This is China's single child problem, which has a close relationship with

the issue of "ni-ai (溺愛)," or drowning a child with love.

### China's single child "problem" and "ni-ai"

During the last decade, many concerns have been expressed in China over the single child problem: if parents could not carry on their duties properly, then the entire generation of single children would be brought up without discipline; hence Chinese parents are accused of drowning their children with love. This very issue brought me to China in early 1980 to engage in research on whether single children were brought up differently from children with siblings, children brought up in traditional Chinese society.

It seems to me that concern over child rearing in China today should be understood in the context of political discourse. Government authorities are concerned that single children are not disciplined properly, and wonder whether the next generation of citizens will remain ideal socialists. What is at issue is the perception that single children are very bad, the perception that they are egocentric and causing problems for parents and society. This question of "whether the modern Chinese children are monsters" needs to be examined. This concern over children's moral education reflects a long tradition in China, rather than just the result of the new population policy of a socialist state. The question that should be asked is this: Is parents' indulgence of their children merely carrying on the tradition or the indulgence is a new phenomenon in recent years? Some scholars refer to such concerns as a sort of moral panic about the "little emperors" and "little empresses." Similar to other "moral panics", Chinese anxiety about the younger generation has complex roots in history. We have to trace a Confucian discourse of Chinese childhood, and the ideal child socialization or education at home, to

comprehend the national panic about single children.

### A Confucian discourse of childhood socialization:

I have read much classical Chinese literature to find out where the concept of "drowning your child with love," or "ni-ai", comes from. I came upon one source which indicates that a poet and scholar of the North Song Dynasty, Lin Pu (林逋) (AD. 967-1028), might have been the one who coined the term "ni-ai", which is still popularly known today. He wrote an essay which in part says: "Fathers and older brothers should be blamed for drowning their sons and younger brothers with love and deserve to suffer from the consequences of their (youngsters' bad) conduct." We learn from this that in traditional Chinese society, not only fathers were responsible for educating the young, but older brothers as well. Even before the Christian era, Chinese scholars had written about the proper ways of educating young children. The concept of family education, *jiaxun* (家訓) and *jiajiao* (家教) have prompted many scholars from generation to generation to comment on this issue. One person, who perhaps can be called the founding father of Chinese family education, his work often cited by other scholars for generations, is Yan Zhitui (顏之推) (AD. 531-591) who served as a prime minister during the volatile South dynasty, when the "Western barbarians" from Central Asia invaded north China. Yan wrote a text, "A Collection of Twenty Essays of Family Education" which set the standard for latter-day Confucian scholars in writings aimed at members of one's family or clan. Once a person become a successful scholar, especially if he occupied a high position in government, he would often write something like: "To my fellow sons and grandsons, beware that if you do not behave, the whole family would be shamed." Let me quote, in my free translation one short passage of

Yan's writing, which was also a conflation of his childhood. He said: "Our family has always emphasized strictness in teaching children... (when I was a young child, at age six, with my two older brothers) we walked properly and took every step delicately, spoke gently and calmly, and showed great reverence and fear (in the presence of parents and elders) as if we were approaching the emperor at the court." There is a Chinese expression of "ru lu bo bing" (如履薄冰) - as if you are walking on brittle ices. The Chinese children were supposed to behave in this manner in front of a scholar official, father, or other elders.

### Neo-Confucian scholars on moral education

After the Song Dynasty, especially in the Ming and Qing, Neo-Confucian scholars wrote volumes on moral education. One of the often discussed concept is "*dong shi*" (懂事) or understanding things. As some scholars explained, this is the time at which a child can learn to be able to reason. Scholars debated on the age a child comes to his senses, and thus can be subjected to correction and discipline. Early training and teaching is emphasized when a child becomes "*dong shi*." Some scholars, Si Ma Guang (司馬光) in particular, maintain that when a child can talk and eat by himself (about 2 years old), the child has reach the age of "*dong shi*." Parents should then start to give the child very strict teaching and discipline. The first thing parents should teach, according to master Si Ma, is for the child to eat with his right hand, not the left hand, which is the wrong way. Si Ma believes early indoctrination is very important for children, and they should learn moral essences, rules of conduct, and proper ways of dealing with people. Once a child is stuffed with correct ideas, there will be no room in the child's mind to receive evil or bad ideas. Included in the discussion among these scholars is the saying that "to educate a

child, one must start very early; to educate (or tame) a daughter-in-law, one must start from the first day the bride is brought to the house." - by the second day, it would be too late to train the bride to obey. The family regulations, wrote the scholars, are such that as soon as a child begins to understand adults' commands, he must not only be taught to obey, but also lose his freedom of action. The child must constantly be taught not to engage in silly behavior. Perhaps, as described in Professor Ward's paper, the boy's activity of engaging in ball playing and playing house with other children were regarded by Chinese in Kau Sai as silly behavior, and thus not to be encouraged.

Recent studies mention the fact that "after the fourteenth century many texts on family education emphasized teaching children no to leap, argue, joke, or use vulgar language." There was one particular scholar of the Ming Dynasty, Huo Tao, who set up family rules to such an extent that children had to learn the rules of how to control their facial expressions, and bodily postures, as well as manners of speech. At the age of 3 or 4, children in traditional scholar official families should have learnt to sit still and properly. This tradition could be observed in China's kindergartens during the 1980s, when one observed how four or five-year-old children could sit still for long hours in a manner Confucian scholars of ancient times would have approved of.

A Chinese visiting the United States in the late 19th century wrote about his own childhood and remarked that a Chinese boy at 16 is perhaps as grave and stiff as an American grandfather. In another text written for both parents and children, the renowned Confucian scholar, Zhu Xi (朱熹, AD. 1130-1200) wrote a popular work about exemplary proper conduct that today is still in print. This is entitled "*tong meng xu zhi*" (童蒙須知), or "what children must know in early teaching." One of his students

helped to rewrite this text into a rhyme book (each phrase consists of three characters, thus "The Three Character Book" 《三字經》). The above short history of Confucian teaching in family education gives us some clues for understanding the meanings of adult teasing and provoking children that Professor Ward may not have expected in her field observation in the little tradition of Kau Sai. I shall continue in the third part of my discussion to explore the cultural concept of family education. This part is based on my own research dealing with early childhood socialization and maintenance of Chinese cultural identity.

### III. EARLY CHILDHOOD SOCIALIZATION AND CHINESE IDENTITY

Since 1991, six research teams have been carrying out studies at several Chinese communities under my direction. The field sites include Shanghai, Southern Taiwan (Pingtung and Kaohsiung), Singapore, Bangkok, Honolulu, and Los Angeles. Following the same research design, all the teams conducted visual ethnography, multi-vocal interviews, and community surveys (questionnaires) of parental attitudes. The visual or multi-vocal ethnography involved the use of video camera to film the daily routines of selected families. An edited tape of a selected family, with scenes of interactions between parents and children, was then shown to parents for solicitation of explanation of the meanings of behaviors, actions, and the correct and wrong practice of child rearing. The China tape was shown not only to the Chinese parents, but also to Chinese American parents for comments expressing their approval or disapproval. The video tapes from five field sites were shown in these five places. The community survey helps to collect information about parental attitudes toward child rearing and discipline. The underlying theoretical concern is to test if traditional Chinese values still work in family education, and to see how

much Chinese cultural values in child rearing have changed in China and overseas. The following discussion of preliminary findings of our research will be concentrated on the surveys.

#### Shanghai

For the community survey and a "reflexive discussion" of video tapes, six hundred parents were involved in our study. They were randomly selected from 120 neighborhood wards in Shanghai. Participants were parents from the families with a four to five-year-old child.

First, we asked the question "what is a good child?" This is an open-ended question. Parents were asked to list in ranking order of importance three answers which describe their image of a good child. The first criteria of a good child in Shanghai is moral character. A good child is someone who loves others, is cooperative, and group minded, respects elders, and has good manners, thus, being obedient and being "dong shi" (understanding things).

Second, a good child is one who is intelligent and eager to study and likes going to school or "ai xue xi" (愛學習). In other words, being smart and eager to learn is the second criteria for a good child. The third criteria also deal with behavioral conduct, more or less morally related. A good child is someone who follows the rules, loves manual work, and is independent. Independence means a child does not rely on adults. By the age of five, a child should be able to wash himself/herself, or tie his/her shoelaces. The fourth criteria is being healthy. A healthy child is a good child. The fifth deals with personality. A child who is lively, active, autonomous, perseverant, confident, and brave qualifies as a good child. In sum, the three most important things to measure an ideal child by are moral character, intelligence, and desirable conduct.

The response for the criteria of good parents was that the first characteristic of good parents is responsibility. Responsible parents pay attention to their child's education, especially achievements in school. Also, a good parent is able and serious about teaching and disciplining the child. It is desirable that good parents become their child's "liang shi yi you" (良師益友) or good teachers and companions. The second criteria ranked high is that a good parent is someone who sets an example for children. The third is someone who keeps up the harmony of the family.

Let me summarize and further point out the goals of family education. The questions asked were: "why do you bother with teaching and disciplining your children?" and "what can family education do for the child?" The Shanghai parents answered that they cared about moral education for children. This is their first answer. Second, they sought to educate children to be knowledgeable and intelligent. Third, they sought to nourish children's personalities and character. To develop children's healthy body and mind and to train abilities are the important goals of family education. In sum, Shanghai parents said they pay great attention to their children's moral education. Some of the traits for moral education include, first, to have to respect for adults and elders, and second, to have good manners. Also parents should make sure that their children perform very well in school.

Basically, boys and girls are treated equally. In the family, parents say discipline is still very important in the minds of parents, whether they actually discipline their children or not. Our further analysis shows that apparently, mothers discipline boys more severely than girls. I should like to mention some of the new values that have emerged that depart from traditional ways of Confucian teaching. One is about whether or not parents should allow their children to

talk back. The issue in question was the statement, "when parents discipline the child, he/she must obey and should not talk back." In our study, parents were asked whether they agree or disagree with this statement, on a scale of four points: strongly agree, agree, disagree, and strongly disagree. We discovered that 77% of Shanghai parents objected to the idea that children should not talk back. Furthermore, 25% of parents agreed that "if parents are wrong, parents should apologize to their children". Among the team researchers in our project, many are ethnic Chinese born in the United States. They reported that their parents, Chinese Americans, would never apologize to them when they were children even if the parents were wrong. As they said "In traditional Chinese society, we are brought up to know that our parents would not apologize to us even if we, the children were wrongly accused by parents." But in Shanghai, parents now said that they should apologize. This is an extremely complex issue and parents' statement should perhaps not taken at face value. Shanghai parents attributed their progressive views to the fact that they are more democratic. But I do not agree. I suggest we look at the single children to see how they have become more assertive; they are the ones that are in control, while parents are helpless sometimes. If the child engages in a temper tantrum, it is up to the parents to apologize, and to promise ice-cream in order to calm the child down.

Tradition is still carrying on. There are several questions in our survey which are concerned with traditional values. We designed questions to test how much these values are prevailing among Chinese parents. For example, there is a question on "collective shame": "If your child fails in school, would the whole family feel ashamed?" We expected that almost all parents would agree but only 50% of parents agreed with this statement. Another 50% said that they did not care, because it is the child's own business.

The other test of tradition is in asking "if your child is bullied by other kids, would you go to argue with the kids' parents or report to the kids' parents?" 60% of parents said "no": they thought they should maintain harmonious relationship with their neighbours - affirming traditional Chinese values.

Further interesting findings about parents' still traditional attitudes concern sex and gender issues. We asked about the statement, "parents should not display intimacy in the presence of their child." 94% of parents agreed that you should not embrace or kiss in front of your child. A related question, was "would you teach your child about relationships with the opposite sex?" Most parents replied that they should not teach such things.

#### Singapore

In our early study, we hypothesized that parents would be most conservative in Taiwan, ethnic Chinese parents in United States least traditional, and Singapore parents less traditional than in Taiwan. We were wrong. Our sample in Singapore includes more than 500 parents. They participated in both methods. In addition we held group discussions with parents to further solicit their explanations. We found that Singapore Chinese are both "Western" and "Asian" as described by parents themselves in our discussion groups. Somehow they value both Western ideas and Chinese traditions. In some respects, they are more traditional than parents in Taiwan and Shanghai.

Let me discuss the goals of socialization. The three main concerns of family education expressed by these Singapore Chinese parents are: First, education as the most important goal for family education - Children must go to school. Second, Chinese identity: Parents must teach children to remember Chinese

culture and to remain Chinese, which include the value that Chinese should not marry non-Chinese. Third, assertiveness. The parents said they were Westernized, so the children must be assertive. We may question this statement as discussed below.

According to my observation, in Singapore, many Chinese traditions have been carried on, though parents are not conscious of them. These parents are still very traditional especially in family education, moral education and interpretation of social relationships. For example, parents still think that ideally they should have authority. They think children must be disciplined. There are several questions dealing with strict discipline, and we had a high percentage of approval among Singaporean Chinese when comparing to answers given by parents in Shanghai and Taiwan. They very much believed in discipline. Indeed, the case of Michael Fay is now well known internationally. One statement we offered was, "if we discipline our child strictly, it would harm the development of his / her personality." We expected that Western psychology had become so popular in Singapore that most parents would agree with this statement. But, to our surprise, it turned out that in Singapore, 52% of parents disagreed.

Another example of the existence of traditional ways of thinking is the acceptance of nagging parents as good parents. "In disciplining children, it would be more effective if parents take all the trouble to keep reminding children what they should do." In the Chinese world, frequent reminding means that parents are right. 71% of parents in Singapore agreed. So, what about the mix of Asian and Western values that parents say they adhere to? They said they do not discriminate against girls, which they said is more Western than Asian. They said they also allow their children to talk back. They also valued Asian culture and appreciate the statement: "you must teach

your children early enough to respect adults and elders." 99.4% of parents in Singapore agreed with this statement.

One more important point of Chinese child rearing values is that Chinese parents believe that parents should not praise their children very often, believing that it is very bad for children. Not to drown your child with love includes not to praise and compliment children. In many ethnographies, it is reported that when the child come back from school with a school report of being the second best in class, then parents usually would say, "you should be the first in class next time." If the child were the first in class this time, he /she would probably be in trouble next time if he/ she could not keep up. This actually happened in my family among my nephews. I heard those kind of lectures from my uncles to my nephews. As children, if any one of us become the first in class, my grandmother would give us 5 dollars, which was a big sum at that time. But, when my cousin came back the next time with second place, my grandmother asked, "where's my 5 dollars? Give it back!" And he gave her back the money that he did not spend, because the money was not for spending, but only for keeping. There is a common belief among Singaporean parents as to "why you should not praise your children." This has to do with the supernatural. The thought is that if you praised your children too frequently, all kinds of ill fate would occur to them. This saying has been passed down from parents and grandparents.

#### Southern Taiwan

In Taiwan, researchers were able to collect information among 2000 and 1500 parents in 2 separate surveys. The most prevalent answer to the question "why do you educate your child early at home?" is that "we need to mold and change children's character." Again, moral education as Confucian scholars had been teaching is still very strong in Taiwan, at least as an ideology.

The teaching of moral character includes respecting elders, identifying with Chinese culture, and teaching children about manners and obeying rules. This teaching contradicts actual behavior, for very few people in Taiwan pay attention, for example, to the traffic rules. But in any case, when one talks to parents, they express this ideal for family education. The second answer to our question about the goals of family education is "for the child to acquire desirable behavior." This includes being independent, not lying, and knowing about the opposite sex. This third answer reflects a new value - parents do believe that they should teach children to have the knowledge of or interest in the opposite sex. For the related question "should parent be intimate when in front of their children?" more than half of parents replied that they would embrace in front of their child, and they approved of early sex education. The last goal of family education is to provide an environment for children to achieve higher education.

Again, when comparing Taiwanese answers with China and Singapore, moral education is still very important. One interesting aspect of the child-parent relationship as discussed by Taiwanese parents is that a good parent should love and care about their children but discipline is still very important. The tradition carries on in the sense that family education must teach the children to respect their elders, keep and maintain Chinese identity, and have good relations with neighbours, as reflected by their answers to questions such as "if other child have a fight with your child, would you go to argue with or report to the child's parents?" Parents in Taiwan, like those in Shanghai, said, "we should not damage adults relationship just because children are fighting." The sense of the family as a collective is less pronounced in regard to achievement. The Taiwanese parents think that if a child fails in school, it is not the entire family's shame, but only the child's own business. Most parents also think that

physical punishment should not be used on children. Another question asks "do you think parents are always right?" In Taiwan, about half of the parents believe in this. One thing new in teaching children in Taiwan and Singapore, is that parents teach children to beware of strangers. This is something new, emerging from modern living.

#### Other communities

We also have interesting findings from other Chinese communities. Due to limitations of space, I shall only highlight a few points. In Bangkok, parents emphasize the teaching of respect for elders, maintaining family harmony, and keeping good social relationships. These values are still important among the Thai Chinese.

In Honolulu, it is interesting that the second and third generation Chinese are more conservative than the first generation immigrants in the area of discipline of children. Children are not allowed to talk back to parents.

In Los Angeles, we had similar findings concerning the conservative cultural values of Chinese parents. One interesting point brought up by researchers is the double standard required of children. Chinese parents expect children to be assertive like other Americans when they are with the others. When children are at home, they are expected to follow the "Chinese tradition" by obeying the parents and never arguing with them.

In sum, our research demonstrates that if there is a core of Chinese cultural values, socialization in the family plays an important part in teaching them. And we do indeed find the characteristics of Chinese identity in socializing of young children in many Chinese communities today. Apparently, Chinese parents' value of family education for young children is deeply rooted in a long history of moral teaching. Despite changes

in environment, political system, and ideology, we can still detect emphasis of discipline, moral character, and school achievement in Chinese socialization. No matter how much Chinese parents love and care about their young children, the ancient saying of "not drowning your child with love" continues to shape the teachings of Chinese parents, educators, and authorities at present, and perhaps will shape future Chinese generations as well.

## 養子不教誰之過？

吳燕和

文章摘要

本文旨在討論中國人的家庭觀念與行為，範圍包括以下三部份：(1)華德英教授曾於五十至七十年代，在香港西貢滯西的漁民村落進行田野調查，期間發現當地年長者經常對兒童作出嘲弄，本文以心理人類學的理论，探討該種行為作為兒童教養的文化意義；(2)在中國政府所推行的一孩政策下，家長溺愛子女的問題隨之增加。第二部份透過參閱中國歷代的典籍以闡釋儒家思想對溺愛問題及兒童教養的看法；(3)第三部份以上海、新加坡、南臺灣、曼谷、檀香山，以及洛杉磯等六個地區為例，報導當地華人的家庭教育模式，以展示九十年代各地區兒童教養方式之異同。





皆班家顧錢安兒來」然，是  
 孩上種照賺活孫回食雖了卻  
 小兩為工生顧間野，開繫  
 顧沒這作做的照時買此分聯  
 負有而性比人女抽「因是  
 子到和們。女人家子多母。上們  
 的輪服她求家將替此父用理他  
 們才洗無務會照該樂亦去的在面  
 或過飯，家社好應亦女回孩員層  
 女吃言做些了「們子錢小成化  
 婦先括性把反色她。們帶照庭會。  
 的祖總女要顯角，當她，為家社的  
 東先由都明的要妥而涌作個在密  
 全，務者重排，東和一但緊

動享尊嫌強那她夫是  
 勞上的阿前去詢丈只  
 女化樣女面就徵和往  
 婦文同婦者裏先們往  
 到在到涌作那會她，  
 識能受東在去定當蟬  
 意不及個會歡一，寒  
 民們力一時喜前上若  
 居女權外有如定實際  
 的婦的另然，決事得  
 涌但等和難由做但變  
 東，同姑們自在。會  
 然值性玉她很女兒見就  
 雖價男以，己子意起  
 的和。例自，的一  
 力有重為調裏們在

、母上做和外種落由便忙孩掉  
 飯幫需已難要和則部前幫小辭  
 燒需不自餵女雞作全飯會的會  
 是更女婦。婦餵工多晚少們們  
 數時婦主任果責類不吃很他女  
 多有果由責如負這差家女將婦  
 務兒如則的，會，則回子女，  
 家女但方女別的班服班夫子顧。  
 的。地子特夫上衣下文的照兒  
 方「掃是較丈不洗們，作們孫  
 肩地毆打然比為子。她服工她帶  
 女掃加和仍工作妻上。衣外給家  
 子打「香則分，果身責好在涌在  
 由和菜上飯的作如們負洗果東留  
 香買，燒田工；她女去如回作  
 上親班，種出田在婦先。帶工

例班夫間，對人梅性常  
 的上是時習相「往男通  
 飯子二作溫。說自由出  
 燒妻其工間上，獨會外  
 夫但；的時身涌時也涌  
 丈，的子點夫東多時東  
 個休飯妻多文開很有開  
 兩退燒但女在離卻以離  
 現已女，子就少性所性  
 發夫子作望任較男，女。  
 中文是工希責任。方。女  
 究是時有們的女」地菜子  
 研一有是他飯，熱他買望  
 在其且皆，燒性不其窩探  
 。而倆長以男路和梅往  
 子，婦較所於生窩去是



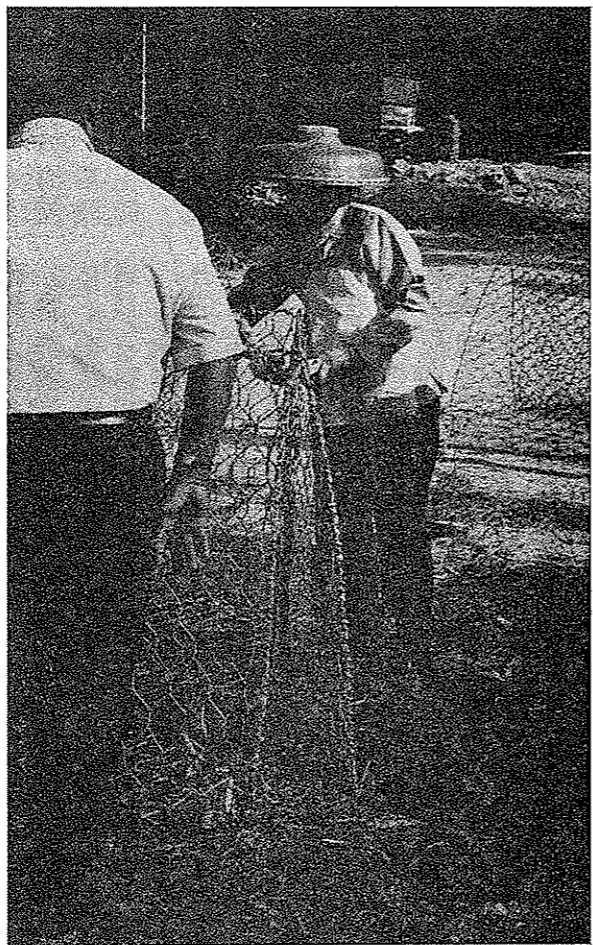
為孩子開生日會的青年婦女 (顏孔昭 1992)

概多邊飯班書  
 一咁一，上讀  
 題識飯懶要間。  
 問邊煮鬼着時飯  
 有人邊好趕點做  
 所女一婆為多去  
 對的夫老因女夫  
 或唯文我嫌子文  
 見，我的，阿望的  
 的知至「」倆由  
 夫不甚：！婦才  
 文「」說煮夫以  
 和：！我唔而所  
 附答野對都，

積過  
 小面反  
 積果則  
 的但話  
 的田的  
 種田的  
 果種果忙  
 如去種幫  
 是妻菜丈  
 的幫種給  
 趣是又子  
 有只，妻  
 夫大由  
 文較來

是動願給有友隨兒女，  
 勞兼交而朋，女以務  
 中的間務同和習，所家  
 目性時家不會溫務。做  
 心男夠份別後中家耐手  
 民於不部性家家做盼幫。  
 居屬而一因回在附的去多  
 涌過作將則課留盼親喚子  
 東多工會求下則的母呼兒  
 在動為們要子兒親拒親較  
 動勞因她但兒女母抗母亦  
 勞的們，常，候少被務  
 務性她務做通要聽子會家  
 家女果家去。玩備兒常的  
 屬。於有女異外準較經負  
 所子差出時亦兒肩

祖前的  
 已去世的  
 飯，所以吃  
 需吃香燭，  
 的需吃  
 在世的人  
 先也需



在地盤工作的中年婦女 (黃世忻 1992)

的方，  
 用三視，  
 運價重  
 可評受  
 上作不  
 位工動。  
 崗的勞低  
 在們的較  
 、她性亦  
 報對女位  
 回會見地  
 濟社可會  
 從析，社  
 權面整

四、家務勞動

是動願給有友隨兒女，  
 勞兼交而朋，女以務  
 中的間務同和習，所家  
 目性時家不會溫務。做  
 心男夠份別後中家耐手  
 民於不部性家家做盼幫。  
 居屬而一因回在附的去多  
 涌過作將則課留盼親喚子  
 東多工會求下則的母呼兒  
 在動為們要子兒親拒親較  
 動勞因她但兒女母抗母亦  
 勞的們，常，候少被務  
 務性她務做通要聽子會家  
 家女果家去。玩備兒常的  
 屬。於有女異外準較經負  
 所子差出時亦兒肩

在稍中要們晚外間  
 們點家會她吃在時  
 她地到更載家而有  
 便作回們接回係後  
 方工前她具時關班  
 ，果飯，工準作下  
 作如晚僻通能工們  
 工。在偏交們為她  
 的飯量點排她因許  
 近午盡地安保會容  
 附做會的們確不才  
 戶家也作她，更樣  
 住回們工為地們這。  
 己時她果主工她，務  
 自午，如僱返。宿家  
 在中遠。求往飯渡做

所。應不請和三作作  
 ，作侍，或樓至工工  
 庭工當」數酒十和份  
 家的樓身日來二定這  
 顧期酒困的往需穩了  
 兼長間太班，約入棄  
 需些一「上長次收放  
 還一涌作節太每使也  
 作絕東工調間(縱她  
 工拒在份意時長以後  
 了會拒這隨作太所最  
 除時婉為可工也，  
 女有曾因般且間)鬆  
 婦們就說工而時鐘輕  
 她姑她散，的分較  
 以玉，像假家十比。

幫替年)因所們家最解，是  
 她先新兒，們她對們人柱力境  
 求，曆孫外她，入她家支動環  
 要作農顧另，已收且助濟勞的  
 人工在照。多而的而幫經的同  
 家掉如女作不」女，的們不  
 的辭(子工入計婦要務中她應  
 女隨情替找收家為次家家，適  
 婦乾事或再的補認是好是主去  
 當些妥，才已幫皆只做不之用  
 有辦新後自「人獻是們家利  
 候們女翻妥得是家貢務她一被  
 時她子子辦覺只的濟任；非地  
 有，或房情們錢們經的題並性  
 時夫將事她的她的要難們彈  
 忙丈前，為賺和庭重決她可。

做有「姑的工成民的。做謂耐應使且男不  
 但或有玉同(，居好事，所苦「念而的並  
 ，老只，而嘔嘔涌是回易沒克們後觀，作做  
 低太，做約做快東才這容也的她休種略工作  
 偏有之作不唔得示力」較作性，退這策不工。  
 位只言工皆也過顯能休比工女力性。應比有動  
 地，換有姐做會這作退作的揚動男樣適們們勞  
 作賞。沒芬，間」工「工差讚勞如一種她她務  
 工讚作才的腳時！有有找較以獻正」一使且家  
 的被工人事有，嚟要應涌件更貢，福為有況除  
 性較不女共手做閱性不東條會們做清成沒。免  
 女會才的曾有野好女性在為社她去享力並重可  
 雖然性人」個我有企為女們認這勵樣「動賞尊們  
 的的有另：)嚟般所上些所去」性種更示  
 工病沒和說作日一，加一，勞該該女這性表



## SEXUAL DIVISION OF LABOUR AND WOMEN'S STATUS IN TUNG CHUNG

*Wong Sai Yun*

### Abstract

This paper focuses on the sexual division of labour and its relation to women's social status in Tung Chung. It also looks at the cultural factors that contribute to the construction of women's status. Although women contribute physically and mentally to the maintenance of the household, they do not enjoy the same amount of reward, power and prestige awarded to men. Their contribution is used as an adaptive strategy in the process of socio-economic change in the valley. As a result, in Tung Chung, women are still subordinated to men, though in recent years inequality between the sexes is less acute.

## THE IMAGE OF HONG KONG: LOOKING THROUGH TRAVEL PHOTOGRAPHY

**CHAN WING LEE & WONG SIU WAH**

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### INTRODUCTION

Photography is significant in influencing tourists' perception of this "Pearl of the Orient" -- Hong Kong. Our discussion is mainly based on the 216 photographs on postcards and in two travel books about Hong Kong which were bought at the Tourist Association. Although tourists would regard what the Tourist Association promotes as "typical" Hong Kong images, it is worthwhile to compare the different manners of representation on postcards and in travel books, since these differences differentially influence tourists' perception of Hong Kong.

### CONTENT ANALYSIS

Our photographs are classified according to their dominant focal themes. Our analysis places them in seven categories -- History, Nature, Religion, Urbanization, Daily Life, Culture and Economy.

#### **Daily life (127 photos)**

We believe that what tourists are eager to find is something different from their own living experience. The majority of the 216 photographs have the focal theme of the "Hong Kong" way of life. In particular, the book *One Day in Hong Kong* contains a body of photographs about the life of Hong Kong during one day. The photographs are arranged in temporal order. We can see that at any one time, different scenes can be observed in different corners of Hong Kong. Unlike Western city life, the presentation of

the distinctive Hong Kong way of living in travel photography has its main focus on the lower or middle-lower classes. The subjects are mainly elders and children. Their life is always relaxed -- some are chatting or doing exercises or playing cards in the parks, some are going to market together and some are gathering in a restaurant. The picture of an "affluent society" is given. Some focus on family life and some on the working situation of manual labourers. The latter shows the hard-working nature of Hong Kong people -- one of the main factors contributing to the economic prosperity of this "Little Dragon".

"Hong Kong life" is typically presented as scenes of everyday life. Elders bring along their birds to drink tea in traditional tea houses; middle-aged and elder persons still use the traditional double-decker trams (1) and ferries. These scenes are not common in other cities. What is primarily focused on here is the people rather than the surroundings. The subjects have no particular or stylized pose. Hong Kong is a bustling city, and at every corner people are to be found. Background scenes are mainly streets, markets and schools.

We find four basic human necessities -- clothing, food, housing and transportation -- can be seen in the photographs of everyday life.

For clothing, boutiques selling western clothes are shown. Clothing in Hong Kong is strongly influenced by the West. Many of the older generation, however, still dress in old-fashioned clothing as shown in other photographs.

For eating, Chinese always prefer to eat at home. In the early morning, hawkers are busy selling goods in the market and housewives are busy buying food to prepare meals for their families. Yet many food stalls are easily accessible.

For housing, the crowded living environment, especially in the deteriorated housing estates, is portrayed.

For transportation, Hong Kong has various means, such as the MTR, motor cars and even old-fashioned vehicles like trams and Star Ferries.

Crowding is an outstanding characteristic of Hong Kong life. Hong Kong is a "concrete jungle" with a lack of green areas. Neon lights shining among closely packed establishments enhance the image of Hong Kong as the "City of Light". Background scenes are frequently crowded with buildings (2) and (6), and streets are full of black-haired heads and stalls selling food or other things. Photo is an image of Hong Kong living conditions: several-storey blocks packed with hundreds of households, with clothing drying outside flats.

Looking at people's everyday lives, we see remnants of Hong Kong's past: --drying fish, old-fashioned salons, street painters, second-hand goods sellers, indigenous clothing (3) and tea shops (4). Traditional customs like marriage ceremonies and the Lunar New Year are emphasized. "Typical" Chinese religious worship is also depicted.

Different from the fast-paced city life, Hong Kong's social life, to a certain degree, seems to remain 'authentically Chinese.'

#### **History (7 photos)**

Some travel photographs depict the history of Hong Kong, a city contrasting tradition and modernity. Transportation is one of the foci. Tourists often think the past is more authentic. Hence, long-standing remnants of Hong Kong history are popular among tourists. The rickshaw (5), a "typical"

traditional Hong Kong means of transportation, is an example, though this means of transportation has been replaced by motor vehicles.

Junks (6) are another type of marker for the history of Hong Kong. Hong Kong has grown from a fishing port to an entrepot, and the fishing industry and the use of junks are decreasing in importance, but in travel books and on postcards, tourists can see the relics of Hong Kong history.

Double-decker trams (1) began operation in 1904 and are still used today, a picturesque reminder of an earlier era, and popular among tourists because of cheap fares and because the slow moving trams allow tourists to view the street scenery comfortably. It is not unusual to find various tram tours for tourists.

In Photo (7) the city, packed with multi-storey buildings, appears as the background for the focal theme -- the Star Ferry, which began operation in 1870, stands as a historical marker of Hong Kong and is still a convenient means of transportation. In this photo, several themes are superimposed -- "Fragrant Harbour", "Barren Rock", modern city and longstanding historical relic.

An analysis of the image of 'historical' Hong Kong is not restricted to modes of transportation. Other things like temples and the custom of drying dried fish have historical value as well, although we classify these two images as 'Religion' images, and 'Daily Life', respectively. Superimposed imagery in photography is common.

#### **Religion (15 photos)**

It is widely believed that Chinese are superstitious and that worship many gods. One group of photographs focuses on temples and religious establishments, and another on worshippers and priests. For the former, the establishments are grand, and their backgrounds are greenwoods, to foreground the isolation of the temples from urban life. The temples also have a historical

character. The Great Buddha of Lantau Island (8) is now a religious marker of Hong Kong which deepens the sense of Chinese tradition and culture. The vast number of established temples implies the superstitiousness of Hong Kong Chinese. This aspect of social life is also a main attraction in Hong Kong.

#### **Urban life (23 photos)**

Terms like 'concrete jungle', 'the most sophisticated buildings in the world', etc., are often applied to the urban area of Hong Kong. The modernity of some areas of Hong Kong is promoted as one of the city's representative motifs.

Urbanized areas mainly consist of high-rise buildings with high population density, easily accessible transportation, busy traffic and the like.

It is easy to find pictures which focus on the urbanized areas of Hong Kong, especially areas like Central and Tsim Sha Tsui. We have 11 pictures which focus on the 'urbanized area' theme.

The major subjects of these pictures are high-rise buildings, highly-populated areas, or the busy traffic in Central and Tsim Sha Tsui. Among them, six photos show a bird's-eye views of Central and Tsim Sha Tsui. Photographed in this way the urbanized area of Hong Kong is highlighted. This type of picture contributes an important feature of the image of Hong Kong- that is, commercialized and rapid-paced city life.

The subjects of the remaining three photos are famous, outstanding examples of high-rise architecture in Hong Kong, such as, the Hongkong and Shanghai Bank and the Exchange Square. The focus on these buildings emphasizes the modernized nature of Hong Kong and the high standard of technical know-how.

Photo (9) is of congested traffic. Busy traffic is an essential element making the picture of a modern city complete.

Concerning the surroundings of these pictures: similar grouping can be applied here. The first group of six photos mainly consist of Victoria Harbour, virtually the representation of urban Hong Kong. The busy harbour full of ships, together with the high-rise and highly-populated buildings, portrays the busy, restless city life of Hong Kong, where anything new can happen which is full of excitement etc.

Picture (9) is of the colonial-style Supreme Court. The building illustrates that Hong Kong is a colony of Britain. To tourists, Hong Kong's colonial experiences contribute to its uniqueness:- a Chinese city with enormous western influence. The uniqueness of Hong Kong is well-illustrated by this picture.

#### **Culture (18 photos)**

Though Hong Kong has long been laughed at as a 'cultural desert', the Hong Kong tourist association, in a bid to add some flavor to the picture of Hong Kong, has boosted the occasions of cultural festivals and performances of Cantonese opera through the medium of travel photograph. By so doing, the so-called Hong Kong culture is marked and highlighted.

The majority of culture-related pictures are mainly focused on regional cultural festivals.

Firstly, the Cheung Chau Bun Festival is the subject of many travel photographs. Two photos explicitly portray this festival. One of the two (10) focuses on the Chinese opera performance during this festival; the other is mainly of children happily celebrating the festival.

The Dragon Boat Festival (11) and the Ta Chiu Festival are also the subjects of some travel photographs

From the photo we get the idea that Chinese opera of various types is a distinctive feature of Hong Kong culture. As opera is mainly held at specific Chinese

festivals, we can say that the details of traditional Chinese festivals are promoted and portrayed as culture shared by the majority of the people in Hong Kong, though in fact it is limited to certain districts. Chinese opera is distinctive and is obviously different from 'Western' opera. Hence, by promoting the unique clothing, make-up and body movement through travel photographs, Chineseness of Hong Kong culture is emphasized, exaggerating the difference between the culture of the tourists' countries and that of Hong Kong. The portrayed difference becomes the selling point of the Hong Kong tourist industry.

Dragon and lion dancing are also a focus of travel photographs, as well as, colourful flags and traditional fishing boats. Photographs of these objects, give details of activities during the festivals, portraying the distinctive 'Chinese' way of celebrating festivals, and adding to the degree of 'Chineseness' of the culture.

These pictures are often full of colours. Red, yellow and gold are the most common colours found in the pictures. In Chinese culture, different colours carry specific meanings. Hence we can say that various colours play an essential role in representing the Chinese culture of Hong Kong.

#### Nature (22 photos)

There are also photos in which the main theme is the 'naturalness' of Hong Kong. The New Territories of Hong Kong is promoted as the "land between". For the sake of satisfying tourists need for something natural, pure, etc., the New Territories is portrayed as unspoiled rural land (despite the recent development of new towns) where traditional ways of living are still maintained adding another dimension to the proposed image of Hong Kong.

Our photos on the theme of 'Nature' (12) can be roughly divided into two groups. The first group is of farmland and farmers' activities, and the main subjects are the patterns of farm plots. By using farmland as

the main subjects, the stress is put on 'unspoiled rural land', 'tradition' and 'ancient farming methods' and 'ruralness' of the New Territories.

Five photographs (12) focus on working farmers and fisherman. Among these pictures, three are of working Hakka women, firstly because women generally represent domestic spheres and, secondly, because the distinctive clothing of the women in the pictures symbolize a specific ethnic group. This increases the distinctiveness of the New Territories.

The other pictures focus on 'picturesque' scenes of sunset harbour views, countryside and the like. This kind of scenery contributes a sense of peaceful, romantic feelings to the image of Hong Kong, meeting tourists' demand for travel to exotic, naturally beautiful places.

#### Economy (6 photos)

Five photos have the main theme to promote the image of economic prosperity. The subjects of most of them are related to the container industry. Choosing the most famous industry to be the representative motif of the Hong Kong economy, helps to promote greater consensus about the economic miracle of Hong Kong among tourists, since this gives the impression that other industries in Hong Kong are as prosperous as the container industry.

The remaining photo is of construction industry, with the focus on bamboo scaffolding, used in construction since the beginning of Chinese history. By emphasizing this traditional way of construction, the image of traditional Chineseness is enhanced. Tourists get the idea that the economic miracle in Hong Kong is to a certain extent, attributable to Hong Kong's maintenance of its 'Chineseness', in different ways.

#### Generalizations

Based on the above thematic classification we make several general points about the content of our data. First, we find that, in many cases, several themes are superimposed in a photograph. For example, the dominant theme we find in one photo is that of Daily Life, as reflected by two little children and a concrete house. A secondary theme is implied the superstitiousness of Hong Kong Chinese: good fortune couplets displayed on doors fight off evil things and promote prosperity and security. In addition, the historical value of the "walled city" is shown. A photograph can convey different meanings at the same time. The meaning revealed depends on the interpretation of the tourists.

Without doubt, the short narratives attached to the photographs are important hints for tourists' interpretations. There are two points above the narratives. First, the short, factual descriptions of the pictures can inspire tourists' illusions and guesses concerning the imagery shown. Incomplete interpretation can be finished by tourists' own experience during journey. Perhaps these travel photographs are a stimulus to motivate tourists to travel Hong Kong. Second, the limited length of the narratives produces some sweeping statements, some of which are very misleading. For example, under some photos, it is stated that 'mush of Hong Kong has remained immune to the influences of time and the West.' The truth, of course, is that, no matter whether westernisation in Hong Kong is superficial or not, Hong Kong is much influenced by the West.

We find a feeling of ambivalence in the photographs because of the superimposed themes and the limited length of narratives. Very often, tourists mentally tend to have positive, rather than negative, evaluations of a strange place. Ambiguity can foreground the beautiful side and overlook the ugly one. In photo (9) from the short narrative, information about the historical usefulness of the Cross Harbour Tunnel is conveyed, but

the by-product of serious air and noise pollution, may be overlooked.

The idea of Hong Kong as a city of contrasts of traditions and modernity is given. It is not difficult to find traditional relics like the trams and Star Ferries, temples, tea shops and the like in this modern city. "Chineseness" is promoted. Hong Kong, though geographically a part of Mainland China, is different from China because the former, in terms of its technology and living standard, is more advanced. It is interesting to find that behind this Little Dragon, many traditional Chinese customs such as clothing, dressing, food, religious practices, ritual (like marriage) and visits to tea shops in the early morning still exist. While we see multi-storey residential buildings, we also find three-storey per-war establishments and one-storey brick houses; while the MTR is very convenient, we also find double-decker trams crowded with people; we find various western religious like Protestantism and Roman Catholicism in Hong Kong, but many Chinese worship their gods at festivals; and while industries like finance and insurance prosper, some Hong Kong Chinese still engage in fishing and farming. Very often, what we see in Hong Kong are double images.

Based on the classification of photographic representations by focal themes, we see that the image of Hong Kong is variety. Perhaps Hong Kong was known as "the Shoppers' Paradise" and "the Pearl of the Orient" many years ago. But, parallel to rapid changes in Hong Kong, the image of Hong Kong has been diversified -- an important entrepot, a modern city, the cultural mixture of East and West and the like. The touristic values of this Pearl are no longer only sightseeing and shopping.

The Hong Kong image is diversified rather than monopolised by any one particular theme, thus fitting the different tastes or styles of tourists who look for different things on their journeys.

The targets of these photographs are tourists and the imagery is tourist-oriented. For example, the crowded living environment of public housing estates would interest or surprise outsiders only, as we have internalised the conditions of crowdedness in this concrete jungle. Various images of the Hong Kong way of living- like the night market full of hawkers and customers, the trams and ferries, the traffic congestion (9), the bustling and noisy market and so on - are part of our everyday life. Perhaps tourists are curious how Hong Kong people can live in this densely populated place. Our living experience is the interest of many tourists.

Among our data, repetition of some images is easily found. Most common is the night scenery of Victoria Harbour. These photographs with the same theme vary according to perspective, colouring, light and the like. Junks are another popular image, reflecting the fact that Hong Kong was a fishing port long ago. The high frequency of a particular image easily influences the tourists' first impression of Hong Kong. They may internalised the frequent thematic focus as representing the real image of Hong Kong.

## CRITICAL ANALYSIS

### Authenticity

Erik Cohen says, "Authenticity" is an eminently modern value, whose emergence is closely related to the impact of modernity upon the unity of social existence.<sup>1</sup> This concept is socially constructed. As society changes and develops, modernity is a phenomenon eclipsing the past. For tourists, a journey is a way of searching for something different from the modern world. Tourists always have the mentality that past things are more authentic than modern ones. Thus the idea that authenticity can be found is one of the important assumptions behind a journey.

<sup>1</sup> Erik Cohen, *Authenticity and Commoditisation in Tourism*, *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 15, 1988. p.373

The idea of "authenticity" is negotiable. Tourists conceive authenticity in different degrees of intensity, depending on the degree of their alienation from modernity. Thus, when a tourist is more concerned with authenticity, he is less willing to accept a cultural attraction as authentic. Tourism typically involves the encounter with the "Other". According to Erik Cohen's classification, there are five modes of touristic experience by which tourists use different degrees of strictness of criteria to judge authenticity. The five typologies are as follows:

1. *"Existential" tourists:*

Being authenticity-eager tourists, they have strict criteria for interpreting authenticity. They are willing to abandon modernity (spiritually) and go native.

2. *"Experimental" tourists:*

Potential elective centres (the "Other" is strongly embraced when deeper experience is sought by tourists) resemble those of existential tourists.

3. *"Experiential" tourists:*

They employ fairly strict criteria of authenticity and actively participate in what they consider the authentic life of others.

4. *"Recreational" tourists:*

They tend to be prepared playfully to accept a cultural product as authentic as they adopt a much broader criteria of authenticity.

5. *"Diversionary" tourists:*

This group of tourists tend not to be aware concerned, with the 'authenticity' of their experience, but merely seek diversion and oblivion on their trip.

Very often,, "staged authenticity" which appears to put the backstage in the foreground, is produced in response to tourists' eagerness for authenticity. Various cultural products are increasingly 'staged' for tourists and are decorated so as to look more authentic. Such modified products are meaningless for locals. Some tourists may believe that travel photography is a way of

finding authenticity, because what are photographed are concrete images. However, some photographs are beautified by photographic technology, and the subjects in others stand in stylised poses to appear more 'authentic'.

"Staged authenticity" may create a 'false touristic consciousness' resulting from the inauthentic experience gained by tourists originally motivated by the desire for authentic experiences. Existential tourists are more likely to fall prey to "staged authenticity" as they are more eager to look for "authentic" things.

It is well known that Hong Kong is a "contact zone" between East and West -- a highly modernised city still retaining various traditional Chinese relics and customs. In Photo (6), this theme is projected. But it is obvious that this photograph is taken by deliberate design. The traditional junk foregrounded by the crowd of modernised and westernised establishments is not common nowadays. Though the photograph seems to objectively present the image, subjective interventions greatly affect its naturalness. What photographers select for tourists are images which will assure the marketability of their products. Hence, the common belief that a photograph is 'a window on reality' is, to a large extent, inappropriate.

Historical relics are popular with tourists, who always believe the past is more authentic. In Photo (5), the image suggests that rickshaw are pulled in the busy streets of Central. Although it is misleading to imply that this traditional vehicle is still used for transportation, the idea of authenticity is strengthened by letting the tourist see the rickshaw in the road rather than parked on the pavement. Here is another example of staged authenticity.

Photo (3) shows that visiting a tea house for *yam cha* is a long-standing habit of the Chinese. In order to show the nature of this tradition, the man is dressed in traditional Chinese costume and is using

delicate Chinese eating utensils. The image of Chineseness in this photograph is further enhanced by the background screen of Chinese pictures. Tourists may find this picture 'authentic' and 'Chinese', but local people find it rather 'inauthentic' because this scene can hardly be found in Hong Kong. The authenticity is staged.

### Image of Hong Kong

In order to promote Hong Kong tourism, pictures brilliantly present the best aspects of Hong Kong. Tourists are thus given a one-sided picture. Tourists perceive that what appears with the highest frequency is the typical image of Hong Kong and attach a high symbolic value to it.

Hong Kong people may be proud of their natural harbour and its might scenery. The scene appears fairly frequently (6) and (7). However, we think it is ironical that tourists view Hong Kong as a "Fragrant Harbour", as it is well known that the water is heavily polluted. Perhaps tourists are disappointed when they see floating piles of rubbish at the Star Ferry Pier.

Social, rather than economic and political life interests tourists, but they merely see the affluence and stability of the society. In fact, there are many social problems ranging from elders' problems to beggary. The inadequacy of social welfare makes many families remain in poverty. The rate of juvenile delinquency rises. These phenomena, though quite common, may be hidden from tourists' visage in travel photographs.

We think that the image of the traditional "Chineseness" of Hong Kong is overemphasised. One photo show a traditional Chinese way of living -- irrigating fields by manual labour in the New Territories. In fact, though the paddy fields are decreasing in number, various machinery has been adopted to save labour. Such traditional ways of living have gradually given place to modern urban life. Tourists, may find it attractive to think that Hong

Kong is a rather static city in which various aspects of traditional life are retained, but the actual situation is that some aspects of Hong Kong's lifestyle are, westernised -- Western holidays, western clothing, advanced technology and the like are adopted from the West.

In order to assure the profitability of such photographs, tourist photographers would not sell the ugly side of a subject. But we hold that is not encouraging to exaggerate the symbolic value of an image without considering deviations from fact.

### Commoditisation

According to Erik Cohen's definition, "commoditisation" is a process by which things (and activities) come to be evaluated primarily in terms of their exchange value, to a context of trade, thereby becoming goods (and services); developed exchange systems in which the exchange value of things (and activities) is stated in terms of prices from a market.<sup>2</sup> In tourist-oriented photography, the scenery and local people in Hong Kong become the "commodity" for outsiders and are viewed as objects rather than subjects. Commoditisation also leads to the loss of the intrinsic meaning and significance of the commoditised culture for local people. For example, one Photo presents the Dragon Boat Festival in Hong Kong. Originally, this traditional festival memorialized the death of an ancient Chinese hero. Now, as a focus for travel photography, this cultural custom gains the new meaning of also serving the interests of tourists. The presentation of fireworks at the Lunar New Year is another attraction for travel photography. This ritual show becomes a commoditised cultural product for tourists.

The market for travel photographs, especially postcards, is expanding. Such products are highly commercialised and standardisation or homogenisation of goods is

<sup>2</sup> Erik Cohen, Authenticity and Commoditisation in Tourism in *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 15, 1988, p.380.

a trend. Very often, tourists choose good-looking (for example, night scenery) and supposedly representative (for example, Chinese junks) photographs without much concern for the real meaning behind the photographic representation. Tourist agents try to accommodate the requirements of tourists to produce a vast body of photographs with particular themes. Repetitive focal themes and redundancy of photographs in travel books and postcards are not uncommon. The use of catalogues from which tourists choose travel photographs limits their choice and furthers the standardisation of the products.

It is worth noting that redundancy is not an accident. The agents of travel photography aim at making a particular type of photograph to institutionalise the image of Hong Kong. Such constancy is a way of promoting tourism. The effect produced by the standardisation cannot be underestimated, as postcards are highly mobile products. Their wide circulation produces a widespread stereotyped image of Hong Kong.

### Decontextualisation

Decontextualisation is a process whereby subjects appear in settings that lack concrete lived-in historical referents. It is a process that underlies many of the motifs popular in travel photography. For example, in Photo (6), the themes are the melting pot of East and West and the contrast between tradition and modernity. However, it is strange to see a traditional junk appearing in front of the commercial node of Hong Kong - Central. There is no hint in the photograph pointing to the historical origin of the referent in the setting.

Besides decontextualisation, a superficial interpretation of photographs may be easily misled by the ambiguity of time and place. Though it is stated in the book that the year of reprint is 1993, many photographs taken more than ten years ago have no clear narratives. For example, in photo (4), tourists may not know that thirty cents for a bowl of tea is "history" now. Without

explicit explanation it is easy for tourists to think that all the scenery represents present-day Hong Kong.

Such deliberate arrangement is a kind of mystification. The ambiguity stimulates the imagination or illusions of tourists. The short narratives encourage tourists to interpret the photographs by themselves.

### INFLUENCES OF TRAVEL PHOTOGRAPHY ON TOURISTS AND SUBJECT PEOPLE

#### Stereotyping Hong Kong for tourists

According to P.C. Albers and W. R. James, 'Photography is seen primarily as a means of transcribing "reality" rather than as a way of symbolizing it.' 'However, in reality, photographs are not simply the transmission of an already-existing appearance, but the more native labour of making things mean.' Before travel photographs become available in the market, there have been processes of selecting, editing and printing by the relevant authority. Hence, the 'final' pictures which appear in the market are those that fit neatly with the proposed image of the place. Travel photography is thus a major force in the manipulation of imagery. For example, 'Chinese' in various aspects is deliberately shown in Hong Kong.

In a bid to symbolize Hong Kong, the Hong Kong Tourist Association selects objects which carry high symbolic values to represent respective corners of the place. In our data, for example, ethnic subjects, especially old Hakka women who work 'naturally' in fields are quite common. By selected and repeated occurrences of ethnic subjects, the distinctiveness of ethnic groups in Hong Kong is symbolized and enhanced. Tourists who have come across the above type of photographs may 'mistakenly' get a general view about people in Hong Kong, especially those in the 'land between', may infer that the majority of the people in Hong Kong belong to that ethnic group, that women in Hong Kong usually dress in this way, or that all people in the 'land-between'

belong to one single ethnic group. Hence, when tourists rely on travel photographs to replace direct experience, they will certainly get a stereotyped image of Hong Kong.

Generally speaking, travel photography, as a powerful medium of manipulating the meaning of authenticity, tends to manipulate tourists during their journey. Firstly, tourists may rely on travel photographs to prove that their experiences are authentic. Hence, it is common to hear the tourist comment, 'as picturesque as in the postcard'. In other words, without seeing or experiencing those scenes which appear in travel photographs, tourists will find their experiences 'inauthentic'. We can say that the tourists are searching for 'inauthentic' (being highly selected, filtered) as authentic, while regarding something authentic (white-collar workers rushing in Central) as inauthentic. In brief, their evaluation and experience of their journey is distorted and manipulated by travel photography.

Even tourists who have come across scenery similar to that in travel photos will instantly compare the degree of authenticity of their direct experience with the indirect experience of viewing travel photography given them a measure to judge their own experiences. The greater the similarity between their own experiences and the scenery photographed, the greater their pleasure will be travel photographs can thus directly affect the degree of pleasure obtained during journey.

Owing to the effort of 'marking' some representative motifs of Hong Kong by the relevant authority, the problem of redundancy is unavoidable. However, in the production of travel photographs, redundancy is a device rather than a problem. By repeating a theme of a scene convention can be established. Because of this, the diversity of travel photographs available is of the least importance, because what tourists need are those conventionalized, highly symbolic scenes.



The limited objects available in travel photographs directly limit the choice of tourist sites visited. The reason is that what the majority of tourists would like to see are 'those authentic objects which appear in the photographs', hence, they will, most of the time, visit the 'seen' objects only. When they visit the 'unseen' sites, they will regard them as 'inauthentic'. For example, 'diversionary' tourists, who visit an 'ordinary' street in Yaumatei may forget the experience readily. However when they visit the Peak, they will try their best to 'absorb' what they see and take 'memorable' photos.

Travel photographs, especially postcards as mobile markers, are also used 'to advertise and anticipate travel, to keep as personal mementos of the sights encountered on a vacation, and to validate the tourist's trip to friends and family at home.' (Albers and James) 'The strength of the postcard lies in the medium itself, its ubiquity, diversity, and narrative text' (Albers and James). In brief, postcards and travel photographs can, as a whole, reinforce the 'marking' process of the subjects appearing in the photos and consolidate the proposed image of a place.

The major difference between 'mobile markers' (postcards) and 'on-site markers' is that the former carry much greater mobility and power to produce and reinforce stereotypes about a place. As mentioned above, 'a travel photograph becomes a concrete form of reality, replacing direct experience as a primary source of knowing.' (Albers and James) Hence, those who have not visited Hong Kong, who see travel photographs about Hong Kong will regard them as a reflection of reality. Without any direct experience, stereotypes about Hong Kong are therefore produced.

Because of the endless search for the marked objects, tourists may fall into a trap: 'to be experienced as authentic it must be marked as authentic, but when it is marked as authentic it is mediated, a sign of itself, and hence not authentic in the sense of unspoiled.' (Jonathan Culler) Because of

these contradictory feelings, tourists may lose the pleasure of traveling.

#### **Influences on the subject people**

For the subject people, internalization of the stereotype about their own country is common. For the people of Hong Kong, for example, as the night scenery of Hong Kong is promoted as picturesque and colourful, one finds that those who go to view night scenery are not only foreign tourists. Thus, people here may also internalize the promoted image of Hong Kong. Because of this 'self-internalization', they may contribute to the reinforcement of the stereotypes. For instance, they may buy imagery superimposed in travel photos. What they usually do is to receive and digest the defined, selected authenticity of their destination and act upon the biased representation. Hence, though we cannot deny that tourists can get an idea about a place by seeing travel photos, the idea is filtered and biased. In other words, by viewing travel photos, tourists and the subject people are only communicating through the pre-determined, filtered imagery which is deliberately produced by a party like a tourist agency.

Regarding as 'abnormal' communication between two parties when the two parties try to have deeper interaction, the experience of travel-photograph viewing may hinder rather than contribute to further interaction, because the tourists have got certain stereotypes about the subject people. Hence, in a bid to have 'real', 'natural' and 'equal' interaction, the tourists and even the toured will have to 'clear' their stereotypes first. Only by doing so can 'real' interaction be achieved.

#### Note:

Photos 1, 3, 4, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, in Hong Kong - Our World in Colour

Photos 2, 5, 6, 8 are postcards

#### Reference

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## 從旅遊攝影看香港的形象

陳穎儀、黃少華

### 文章摘要

本文探討旅遊攝影如何表達和建構香港的形象。作者從明信片 and 旅遊書籍搜集了216張有關香港的照片，透過分析照片的內容把照片的題材分成七類。作者指出旅遊攝影展示了香港的不同面貌，然而被製成照片的，都是經過挑選和被認為對香港的形象有利的。作者認為「代表香港」的照片所表達的並非香港的真正形象，而是某些被刻意推廣的元素。



photo 1

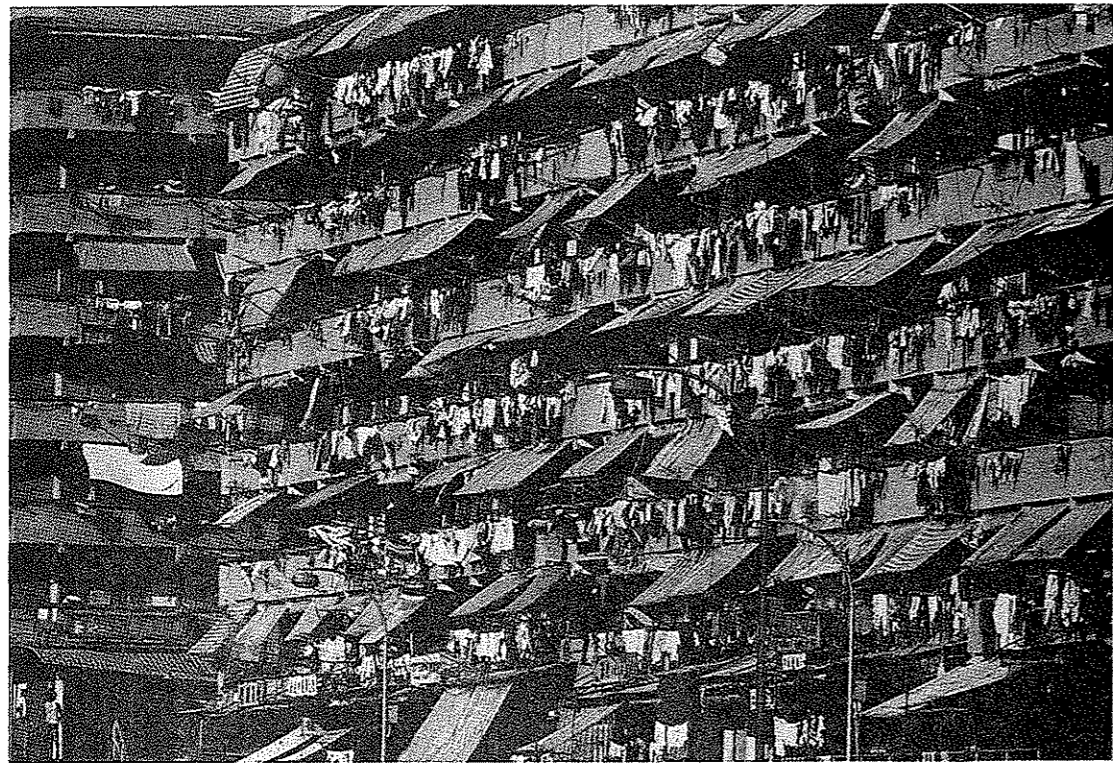


photo 2



photo 3

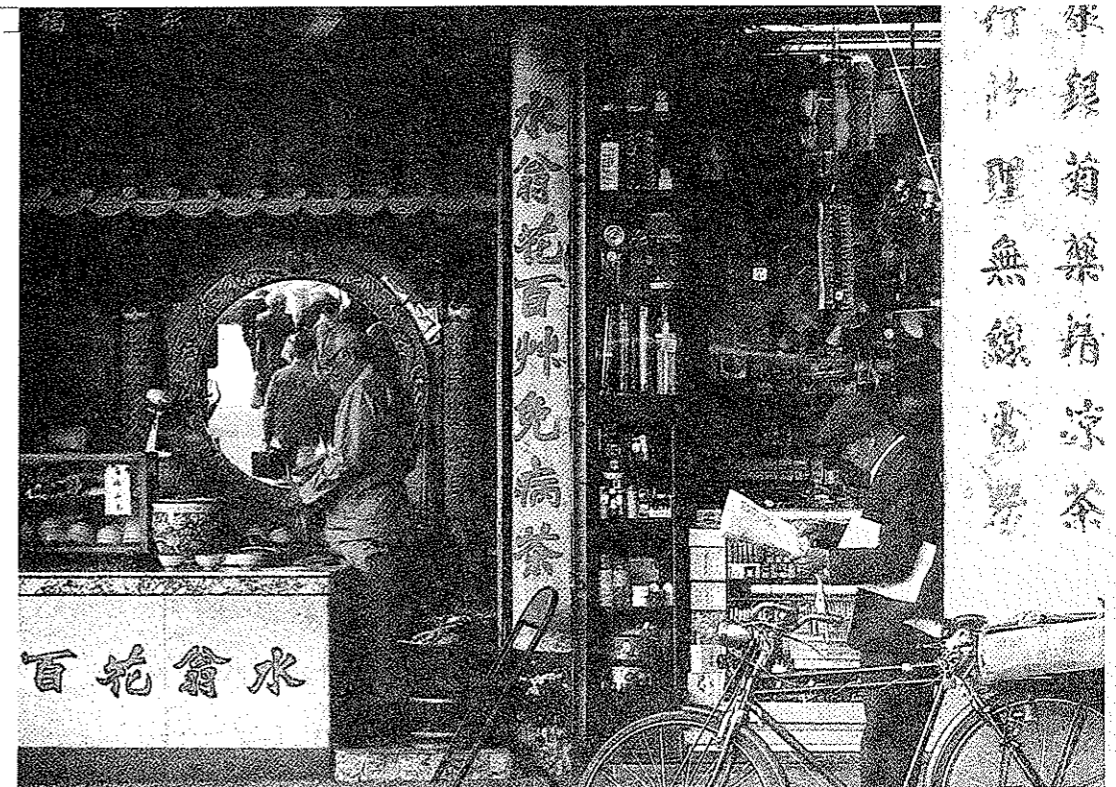
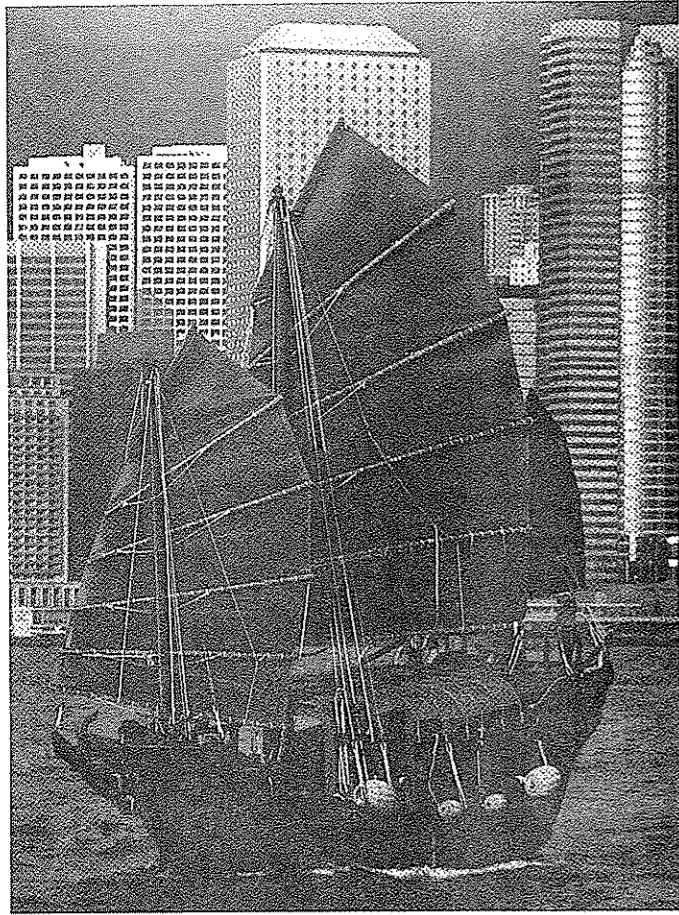


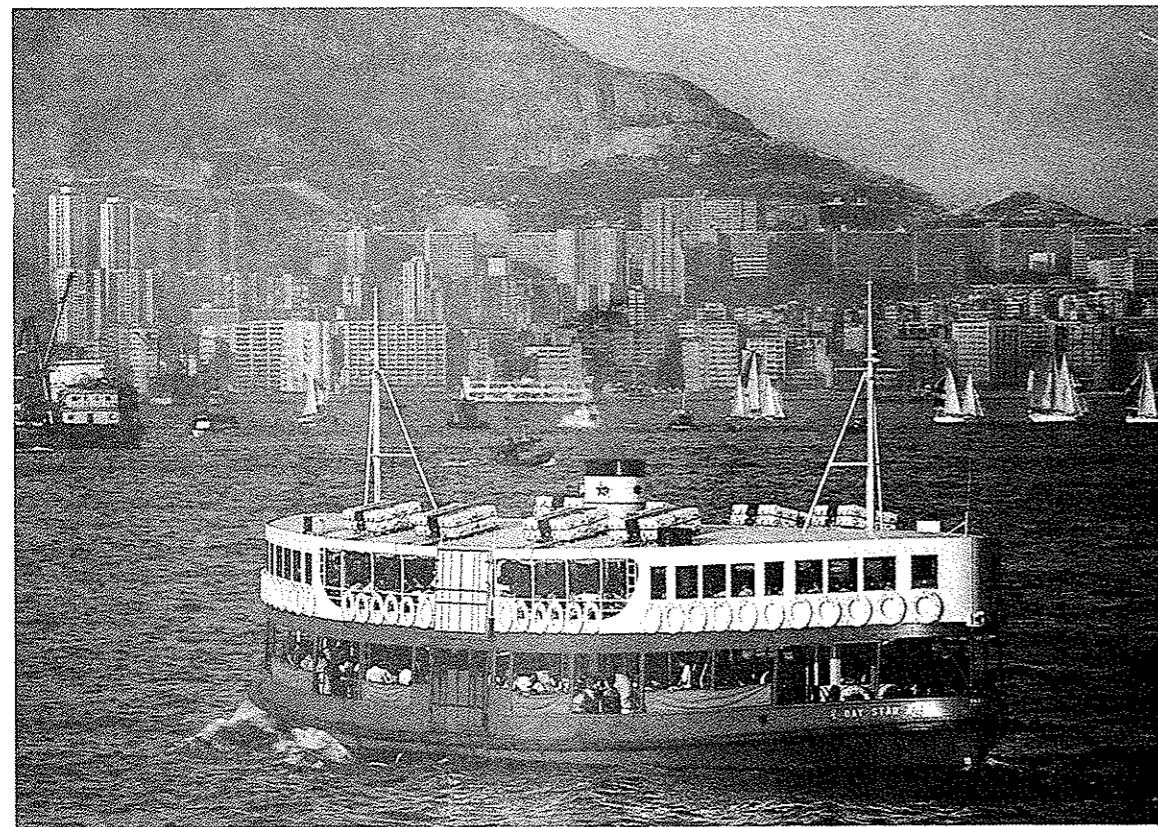
photo 4



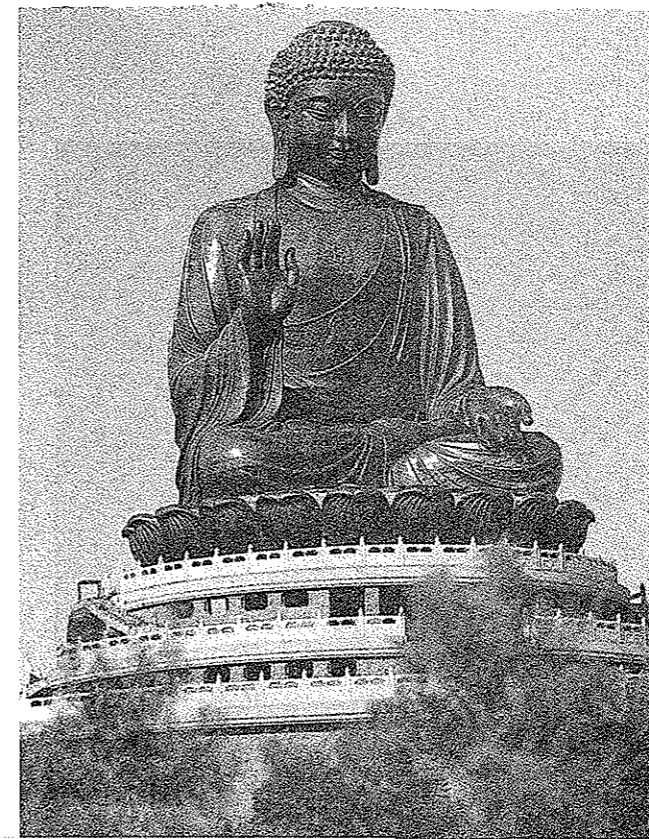
photo 5



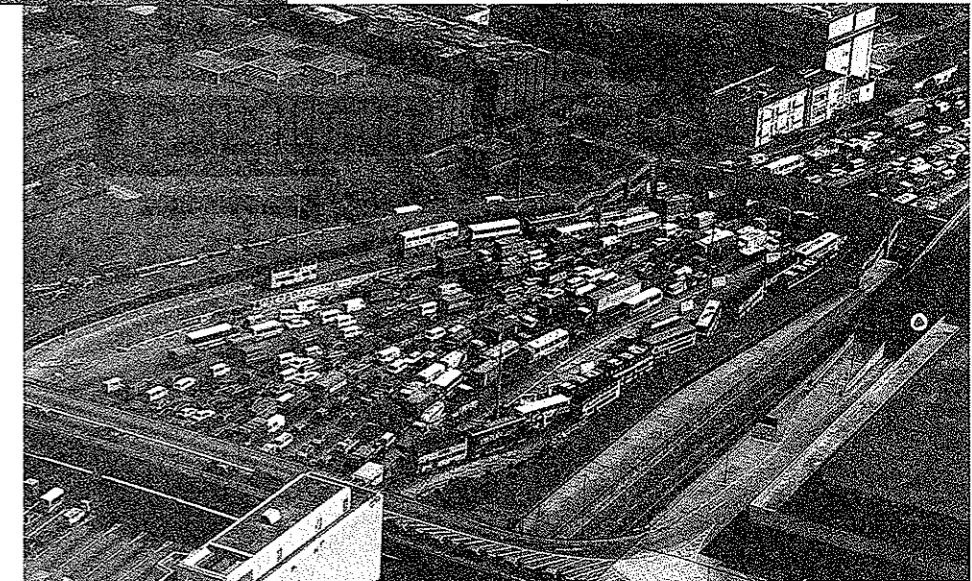
*photo 6*



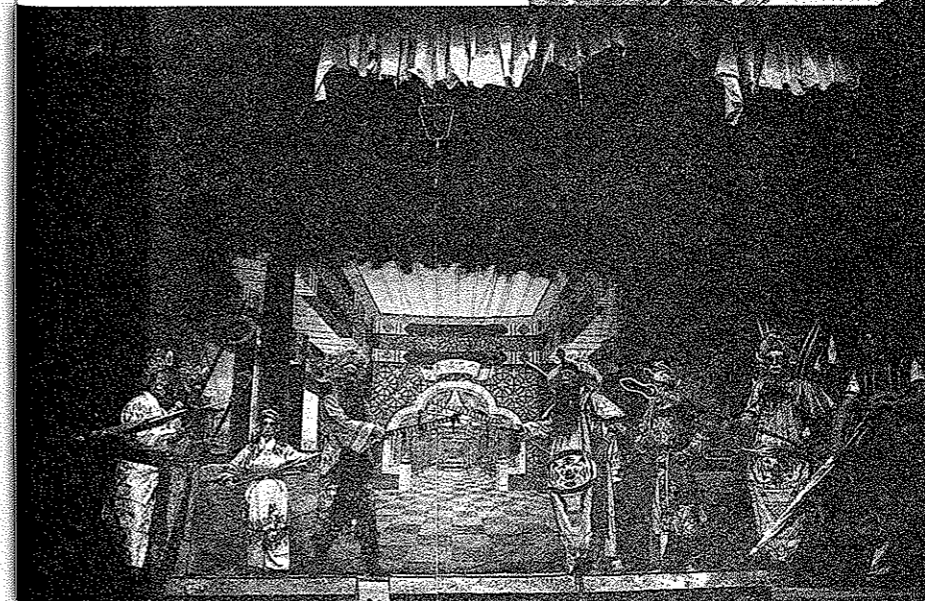
*photo 7*



*photo 8*



*photo 9*



*photo 10*

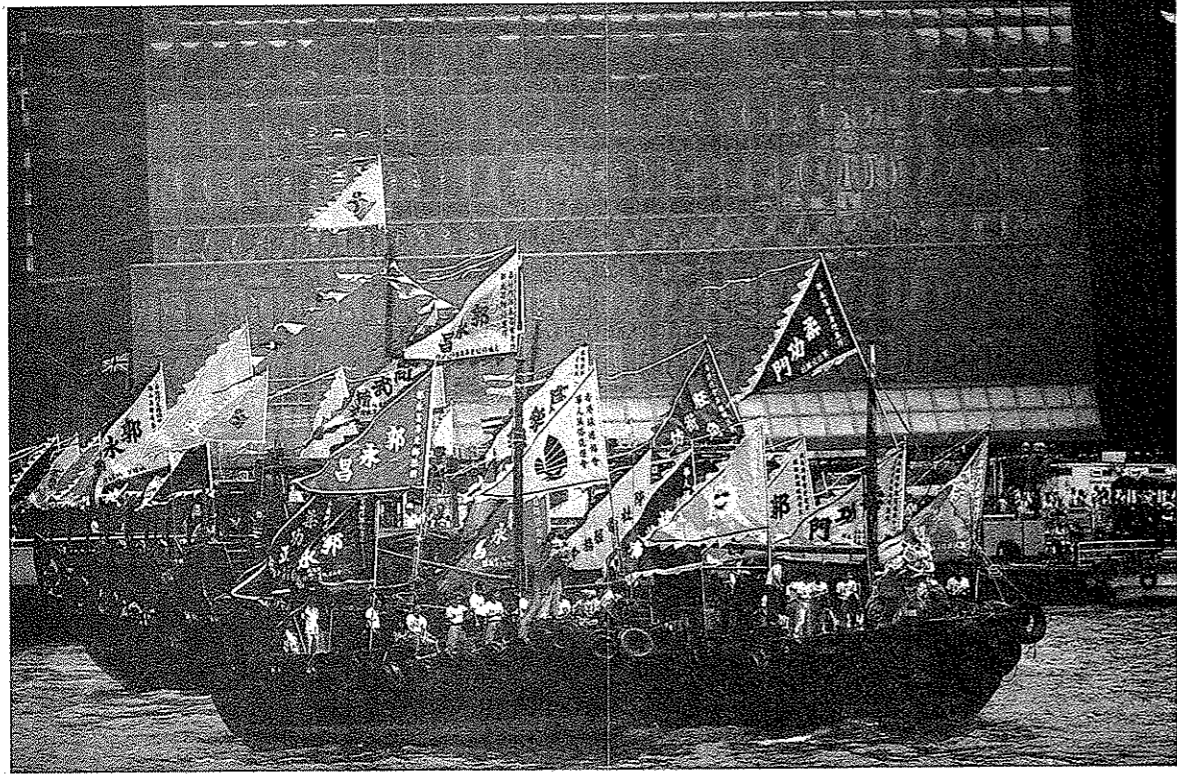


photo 11



photo 12

## 齊天大聖： 從神話記述到動態演譯

李偉儀、徐焯賢

香港人所祭拜的對象包羅萬有，眾多神祇的背後均有神話或傳說作為支持。牠們在成為神祇以前，多以人、物之形態存在於世，後來因著種種原因而得以神化，再成為大眾祭拜的對象。齊天大聖是其中一個顯例。

齊天大聖在九龍的秀茂坪村、竹園村，以及港島的香港仔等地區均受到當地居民建廟祀拜。其中秀茂坪村的齊天大聖廟建於民居附近一小山坡上，祀拜者多數是當地居民，據稱他們已在當地的公共屋村居住了二十多年。他們大多來自海豐和陸豐，早年在故鄉一帶以捕魚為業。據稱海豐和陸豐當地也盛行祭拜齊天大聖。

筆者曾於1993年以秀茂坪村的齊天大聖作為研究對象，進行了一連串的田野調查及訪問。這篇文章旨在以九龍秀茂坪區的齊天大聖祭拜為例，敘述齊天大聖如何從一個神話人物，因受到坊間民眾將之加以人格化及神化，成為了民間祭拜的對象；並且透過討論齊天大聖如何通過其使者一童身動態演譯其傳

說，而探討民間信仰傳說、信仰和社會需要的關係。

### 文獻回顧

本文所參攷的文獻資料主要分為三方面。首先是對神話的闡釋。筆者綜合了譚達先所著《中國民間童話研究》(1985)及《中國神話研究》(1983)二書之觀點，得悉神話可分為兩類，一是「自然神話」，是關於天地初開、萬物起源的故事；二是「神祇神話」，記述了各種神祇的故事。齊天大聖的神話乃屬後者。此外，譚也指出神話充滿了幻想情節。正如他所說：「……就整個作品的基本情節看來，與現實社會的人事關係是一致的，是按照現實生活中的樣子來塑造人物形象和講述事件的。可是在局部情節上，或者在個別地方出現了某些幻想性成份。……作品中同時出現了具有非凡力量的、能生產或變出金銀、糧食、酒肉的寶物，……這些寶物，往往能表現民間的意向、理想和要求。」(譚：1985 頁11)齊天

大聖的事蹟正切合了譚對於神話的見解。

關於齊天大聖的神話和事蹟，資料主要來自吳承恩的《西遊記》(1992)及殷登國的《中國神的故事》(1984)。

筆者並借用端納(V. Turner)「通道」(passage)的概念(1979)，闡釋「童身」作為齊天大聖的使者，被祂附身時的處境，以及童身作為神祇所賜與力量的擁有者，在社區中的角色與功能。

#### 齊天大聖的神話及其意義

齊天大聖是民間傳說中的人物孫悟空。現在很多有關齊天大聖的事蹟傳說都是來自明朝吳承恩所著的小說《西遊記》。《西遊記》全書共一百回，敘述玄奘、孫悟空、沙僧和豬八戒到西天取經的故事。據《西遊記》所述，孫悟空乃花果山一仙石孕育而成的仙胎，由於吸收了天地精華而擁有靈性。有一天，仙石破開，石中的「石卵」化成了一隻石猴。這石猴具有靈性，既會行路跳躍，也會說人話，遂成為猴群中的大王，並自稱「美猴王」。牠追隨一位仙人學道，仙人為牠改名孫悟空。悟空成道後，大鬧東海龍王的龍宮，奪去了龍宮寶物「如意棒」，龍王便因此上奏玉皇大帝。玉皇大帝遂下旨招降悟空，後來為了息事寧人，封之為齊天大聖。後世所祭拜之「齊天大

聖」、「大聖爺」、「大聖佛祖」等名稱皆來自此封號。

齊天大聖是十分頑皮的神祇，例如祂大鬧天庭，搗亂王母娘娘之蟠桃宴。玉皇大帝派天將拘捕，最後齊天大聖被困於如來佛祖手指化成的五行山內懺悔。五百年後，玄奘要往西天取經，觀音遂派大聖協助玄奘。途中玄奘、悟空先後遇上豬八戒悟能和沙僧悟淨。一行四人遇上重重障礙，例如火焰山、牛魔王、鐵扇公主、蜘蛛精和水妖等。悟空等三人合力保護，玄奘才化險為夷，得以順利取得西經，送返中土。如來佛祖論功行賞，把四人召回天界，玄奘封為旃檀功德佛，悟空封為鬥戰勝佛，悟能為淨壇使者，悟淨為金身羅漢，而玄奘之坐騎白馬則封為天龍馬。

齊天大聖的神話有兩重意義：(一)若用「通道」的觀念來分析，這個神話其實是述說一個過程—齊天大聖由反叛、野性，經過艱苦的鍛鍊後，最終修成正果。人類學家李維史陀(C. Levi-Strauss)認為所有神話基本上都環繞著一個主題，就是從自然到文化的過渡。(黃1992頁267)在神話中，齊天大聖由反叛到修成正果、得道成佛，其實就是野性(自然)到教養(文化)的過渡；(二)齊天大聖的神話，在述說大聖的經歷之餘，也在模塑著天界的形象，把天界塑造成與人間相似的權力架構，是一個有階級的官僚政治架構，而每個神祇皆有其職務；

這兩重意義不但出現在神話之中，也出現在童身演譯神話時及信眾之信仰系統之中。

#### 神話的演譯

齊天大聖是民眾崇拜的對象，而信眾主要是透過祭拜來表現自己對祂的信奉和對生命的寄望。此外，口述齊天大聖的事蹟也很普遍。通常一群信奉齊天大聖的人聚集一起時、或有非信眾初次來膜拜時，信眾便會詳盡的述說齊天大聖的事蹟及顯靈的故事，相互強化對祂的信仰。

另一方面，「童身」則親身以儀式作動態演譯，以表示他的個人信仰、齊天大聖的存在與威力。

「童身」是靈媒的一種，顧名思義，是孩童的身體。童軀是純潔、乾淨的象徵，是由一信徒暫時借出身軀予齊天大聖，以助祂整頓轄管範圍和幫助信眾解決疑難。齊天大聖附上童身的軀體，習稱「上身」。此過程的進行是需要一個潔淨的軀體作為媒介，否則齊天大聖便會因童身的污穢的不願上身，童身因大聖上身而得到的力量也會隨之消失。由此可見，作為齊天大聖的童身，保持純潔和乾淨是首要的條件。

童身不單需常常保持肉身乾淨，也需在心靈上經常保持是非曲直之心。在齊天大聖的儀式進行前，更有戒酒、戒色及戒葷等不可

違反的禁忌，並且進行儀式性的沐浴更衣，以表示身軀是乾淨的。由於女性被視為不潔，且與齊天大聖的性別不符，故只有男性才可以擔任齊天大聖的童身。這個性別分割也是由乾淨的概念引申而來的現象。

筆者訪問信眾時，他們指出並非任何人都可成為童身。每個童身都必須是「正人君子」，有著好的「本質」，例如沒有犯罪記錄或名譽不佳，才能受到齊天大聖的選擇。他們會得到大聖啓示和授予一些特定的素質，包括獲得「神骨」，好使他在「上身」後能夠刀槍不入；此外，還有說「神話」(神祇的語言)的能力。這樣，便能協助齊天大聖去幫助有需要的信眾，如治病、驅邪等。

被訪者表示做童身與玩神打是不同的。這是因為玩神打是可以學習得來的，而且不能決定找哪個神祇附身；神打功夫也不能用來濟世。

筆者曾觀察過三項有關齊天大聖附身的儀式，包括「扶乩」、「退土」，以及齊天大聖誕當日「童身」表演爬上「刀梯」、沸油洗面和跑過燃燒的炭等儀式。

「扶乩」於農曆每月的初一和十五早上九時許在大聖廟進行，是定期的儀式。在儀式中，童身被齊天大聖附身後，首先用劍或瓦片割舌頭，表示齊天大聖的神威。接著

便開始解答信眾的問題。他們於大清早便前來祭拜，然後排隊等候儀式開始。信眾多是相識的街坊，多數是中年女性。信眾的問題多圍繞疾病，包括對生理疾病和習稱「鬼上身」的醫治。其餘則有對於開業、姻緣、家宅、運氣的詢問。被齊天大聖附身的童身，所說的是稱為「神話」的神的語言。據信眾稱，這種語言部份是他們平日使用的海、陸豐方言，夾雜了一些他們聽不懂的話語。故此，童身的旁邊，會站著一位廟祝，負責翻譯「神話」。據稱，在緊急的情況下，童身也可請齊天大聖附身，在特定的日子以外進行扶乩。

齊天大聖誕在秀茂坪的一個露天球場進行，由於球場被童身認為是充滿孤魂遊蕩的地方，故此在齊天大聖誕舉行之際，於陰曆八月十四日進行「退土」儀式。所謂退土，是指將孤魂暫時驅逐，避免其作祟騷擾信眾及童身。儀式進行時，童身把辟邪的符紙、植物等放在一張竹蓆上，將之捲起，然後環繞球場的四周奔跑數周，同時以蓆拍地，表示除去土中的鬼物污穢。

陰曆八月十六是齊天大聖誕的正日，當日童身進行的儀式是爬上以刀鋒作梯級的刀梯、以煮沸的食油洗面和跑過燃燒的炭堆。當童身爬上刀梯的時候，不住向下面的信眾招手，表示向他們賜福，信眾也不斷的向童身膜拜。童身到達刀梯頂部的平台後，便把大量的紙符向信眾撒下，信眾便蜂擁執拾。然後

童身從一個盛滿沸騰食油的鍋中，光著手澆起油往面上潑，再向信眾顯示面部和手部均沒有被燙傷。接著，「童身」跑過燃燒的炭，數名信眾在後跟隨，以表示他們的信仰及齊天大聖的威力。

具體而言，這些儀式背後有三種意義：(一)童身透過一些自我折磨的行為，如以利劍割舌頭，爬刀梯等，以顯示大聖存在他的身體之內，所以在這些行為過後，他沒有任何損傷。(二)在儀式的進行中，童身會穿上神話中孫悟空的紅色衣服，頭戴金剛圈、面部插上鐵絲代表鬍鬚，均象徵他與齊天大聖的合一。此外大聖誕的儀式，也反映出與神話之一致性，如爬刀梯、過火坑等均與大聖在神話中的某些行為相似，如過火坑則與大聖在火燄山時的遭遇類同。大體而言，童身的服飾、行為皆有一套標準，而這套標準和神話之間顯出一致性，因為信眾是以神話作為大聖事蹟的根據。(三)童身的自我折磨的行為，背後存在了有一個理念，就是由齊天大聖代替信眾受苦。一方面在顯示齊天大聖的神力，另一方面其實在建立大聖在社區的形象，以及信眾心目中的地位。

據童身稱，他被附身的一刻完全失去知覺，對於曾進行各項儀式一無所知。事後雖無損傷和痛楚，但卻會非常疲倦。

總的而言，童身在齊天大聖的信仰中，也參與了祭拜。惟其祭拜

的方式卻與常人有所不同，從而也使之扮演了神、人間的中介者的角色，擁有著與常人不同的威力和經驗。

上述的附身儀式，在華人地區十分普遍，在其他地區也有所記載。一第儀式分為三部份。第一部份，參與者在儀式前需要與世俗生活有所隔絕，如童身需遵守戒酒、戒色及戒肉食等規則。第二部份，儀式進行時，參與者會表現一些與世俗生活有所違背的事情，處身於一個中間的位置。例如童身會透過自我折磨及特別的行徑如像猴子般跳躍，以顯示自己已進入一種與平常不同的狀態。第三部份，儀式之後參與者會重新加入原來所屬的群體，例如童身會穿回日常的衣服，在會場內與部份信眾同吃素葷兼備的食物。他也可恢復平日的工作和婚姻生活。由此可見，端納(1979)所指「通道」的概念，分為「隔離」(separation)、「中間狀態」(liminal state)，以及「歸併」(incorporation)，在儀式中均能得以呈現。

#### 香港的多神祇信仰

香港的民間信仰，是多神祇的信仰。神祇如土地公、社公、洪聖、觀音、北帝、天后、關帝、侯王、灶君等均是廣受祭拜的對象。諸神的神像或神龕會被供奉於廟宇或家中，自然界的事物如天、地、山、水、木、石也受到民眾的祭拜。

這種多神祇信仰的現象，在華人社區中是十分普遍的。這情況出現的原因大抵是由於人們相信諸神對於維持人間秩序，有著不同的職務和角色，各有所司。例如，齊天大聖的主要職責是降魔伏妖；而同時供奉於齊天大聖廟中的「元帥」及其夫人則是負責賜與後裔的。故此，祭拜者便向不同的神祇進行祭拜，以求整體生活的安寧。此外，不同的行業也會膜拜不同的神祇。紙扎舖以華光師傅作為行神；而商人則多拜關帝。

齊天大聖廟中除了供奉齊天大聖外，也有無數的小型齊天大聖像置於祂的身旁。此外，還有豬八戒、沙僧及唐三藏的神像。人們往往因搬家等原因而棄置家中供奉的神像，通常會將之送到廟宇、路旁或樹下，使之能繼續受到眾人的供奉。廟宇亦會儘量收留被棄之神祇，以顯示廟中原來的神祇的慷慨。當祭拜者前來參拜廟宇的神祇，也會順道對其他外來的神祇進行祭拜。這也是導致一廟供奉多神的情況出現的原因。

多神祇信仰也反映了人們對天界的理念。在信仰系統中，人們把天界與人間塑造成有著類似的性質和運作方式。而天界和人間最相似的地方，就是二者皆有著龐大的官僚架構和階級制度。以齊天大聖的神話為例，在天界中，玉皇大帝被描述為眾神的領袖，是一個至高無上的皇帝形象。滿天的神佛，如太白金星、東海龍王、二郎神、托塔

天王等，全是他的下屬，這些神祇均是中央「天庭」的官員。此外，每個地方均有神祇管轄，如山神、門神、土地、社公及城隍等，牠們的身份是各級地方官員，職位也較為低微。由於齊天大聖也是這官僚架構的一份子，故此在現實生活中，齊天大聖誕舉行之前，牠會先通過童身向天庭問准。

這種神話情節與現實社會的人事關係一致性的情況，筆者認為是由於天界及諸神予人一種高不可攀和難以捉摸的感覺。所以人們會把天界模塑成自熟悉的架構，從而使天界變得形象化和熟悉，更容易被信眾瞭解。凡人與神祇之間亦因而產生一種較為平等的、可接觸的關係。

#### 神祇祭拜與民間醫療的關係

從齊天大聖誕祭拜行為中，也可看到神祇祭拜與民間醫療的關係。參與祭祀的信眾中，部份會向齊天大聖祈求健康，因為他們相信牠具有治病的能力，不但可治癒身體上的毛病，心靈上的毛病如鬼上身等也可醫治。

在每次扶乩儀式中，均有不少人前來向齊天大聖求醫。這時，童身會給信眾一些紙符，沒有染血的可掛在身上、家中，染了童身血液的則可燒成灰燼、混在開水中服食，務求達到治病的效果。廟中也設有藥房，童身於齊天大聖離開身軀後會給信眾開配藥方及生草藥，

也可能提議病情嚴重者前往具規模的地方求醫。

在一年一度齊天大聖「顯靈」的儀式過中，當童身爬至刀梯頂部時，會向地面的群眾撒紙符，作為對信眾的健康之庇佑。全部儀式完結後，參與祭拜的信眾，尤其是婦女，會紛紛擁至「炭路」上，執拾炭片。據說把這些炭片拿到家中供奉，可為家人帶來平安。家人生病時也可將之混在洗澡水中，或將之搗碎混在開水中喝下，便能治癒疾病。

由此可見，在正統中醫和西醫醫療體系以外，民間信仰也擔當了醫療保健的任務，也反映了信眾對其所祭拜神祇的信任。

#### 總結

神祇附身以及對於神話人物的祭拜作為一種民間宗教現象，是受到特定的族群或群體所公認的。神話本身及對其之演譯，不單反映了人們的信仰，同時也鞏固了這個信仰。神話和信仰的互相推動，使習俗和相關的制度得以建立，並給各參與者頒佈規範。各式的習俗和行為等準則也因而得到合理化。

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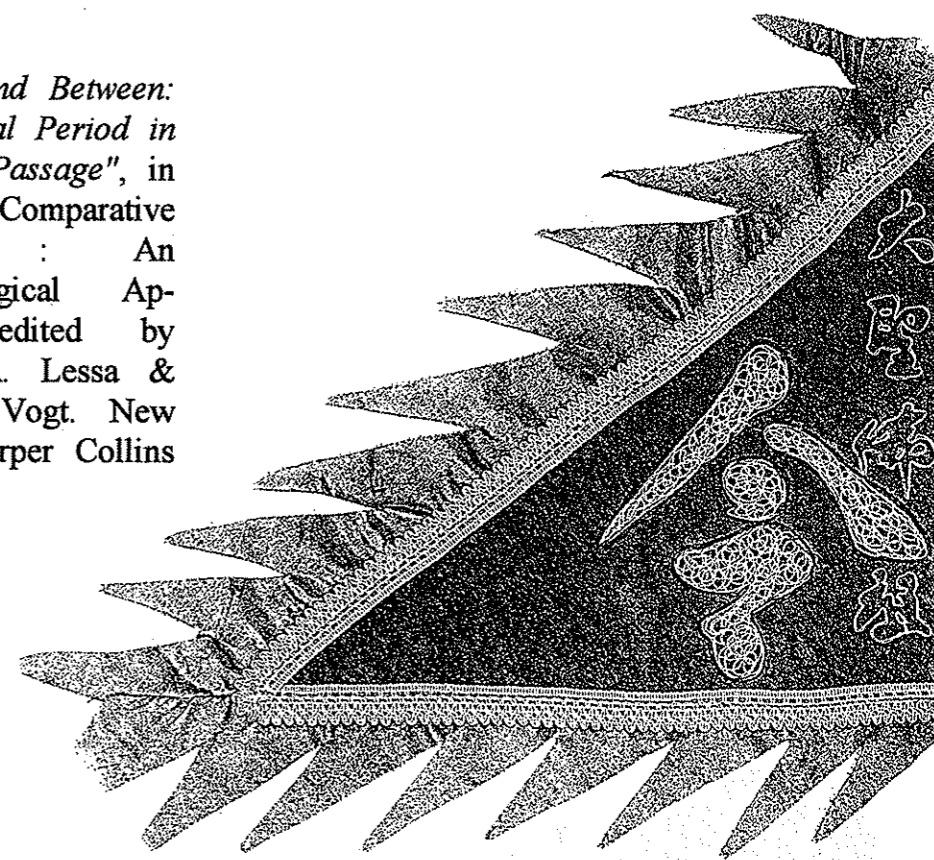
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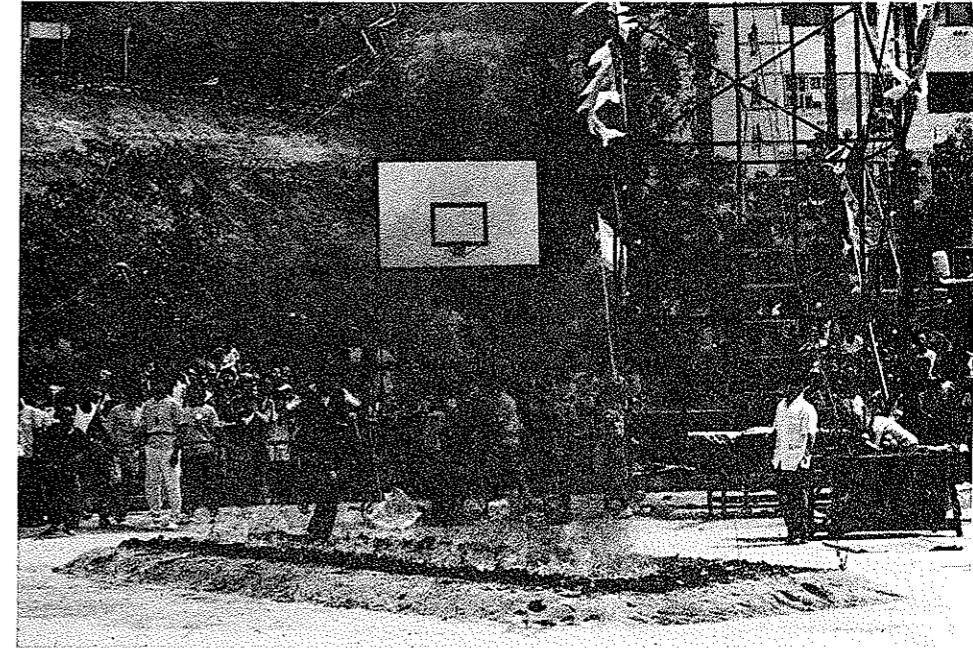


齊天大聖令旗，可供信眾放在家中以得到神祇庇佑





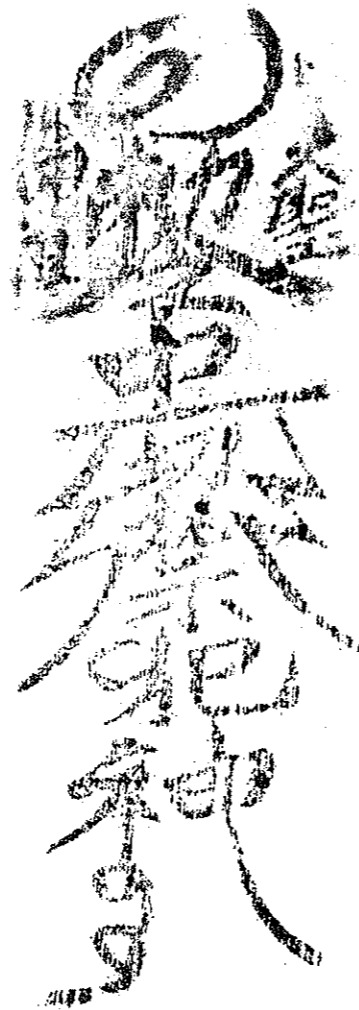
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THE MONKEY GOD:  
FROM MYTH TO INTERPRETATIONS  
THROUGH PRACTICE

*Lee Wai Yee and Tsui Cheuk Yin*

The Monkey God is a mischievous character in Chinese myth, but he has been transformed into a popular deity in folk religion. He has been worshipped as a community god in Sau Mau Ping, Kowloon, for the last thirty years. This paper discusses the myth of Monkey God: its transformation and cultural meaning, and how it is interpreted through the practice of his believers and spirit mediums.

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