

THE HONG KONG

A NTHROPOLOGIST

香 港 人 類 學



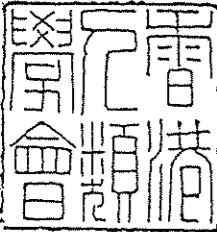
I S S U E N U M B E R N I N E

From the Editors

As we reviewed the essays of this issue of the Hong Kong Anthropologist, an obvious trend emerged--one that definitely reflects an increasing interest in and intellectual re-focus on the Territory itself. Instead of seeing Hong Kong's lifeways as residual of "traditional" Chinese culture or a function of the society's colonial past, more and more scholars agree that Hong Kong has a culture of its own which deserves research--longitudinal, in-depth and holistic. This collection of essays not only follows the journal's tradition of reporting on results of ethnographic research in Hong Kong (J. Bosco; Choi et al), but also deals with the methodology (S. Mintz) of doing them, and points towards new directions and possible areas to be explored (J. Hayes; S. Mintz and J. Lee). This is particularly timely as Hong Kong attracts world attention for its return to China next year, and surely there will both be more opportunities and the need to study Hong Kong, its people, its culture--and document the processes of change and continuity. As such, it is important to re-examine how the discipline of anthropology has developed in China in recent years (J. Wang), and rethink the roles of Hong Kong in such development.

Special thanks go to Mr. Joe Cheuk Yin Tsui for his efficient sub-editing and to Ms. Grace Tsang for her typing assistance. In the next issue, S.M. Tam will be replaced by Joseph Bosco, also of the Chinese University of Hong Kong. The editors would like to encourage more of our members to contribute their talents and knowledge to the Society publication.

Siumi Maria Tam and Grant Evans
June 1996



Cover photo: Drying salted fish in Tai O, Lantau Island (Grant Evans)

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FISH, FOOD HABITS AND MATERIAL CULTURE

Sidney W. Mintz

In this paper, I wish to describe briefly and in a quite preliminary fashion a research project on Hong Kong seafood eating habits, undertaken in cooperation with Ms. Jocasta Wai Yee Lee, of the Department of Anthropology of The Chinese University of Hong Kong.

It is paradoxical but true that, despite the almost universal liking of local people for food from the sea, this aspect of Hong Kong food culture has excited little interest among social scientists. As with many other things, substances and habits so important that they play a daily role in the life of nearly everyone are often not studied seriously or intensively by anyone.

There have been some extremely important and enlightening studies of fishermen and fishing village life, particularly those by the late Barbara Ward (Ward 1955, 1965). Eugene Anderson's studies of Hong Kong boat people, and their taxonomies for fish and seafood, were very informative (Anderson 1967, 1972). But that Hong Kong inhabitants buy fish with unusual frequency; that their standards for freshness and quality are extremely high; that fish figures importantly in their esthetic, ceremonial and religious life -- these are matters so well known to all Hong Kong people as to remain almost unnoticed.

It was Anderson who spoke of seafood in South China as being "the staple (and almost the only) animal protein" (1970:7). Even today,

seafood figures very importantly in the food habits (and thoughts) of Hong Kong people. But no one has set out to study that aspect of the local culture in particular, nor to assess how much, over time, the place of seafood in local diet and culture has changed.

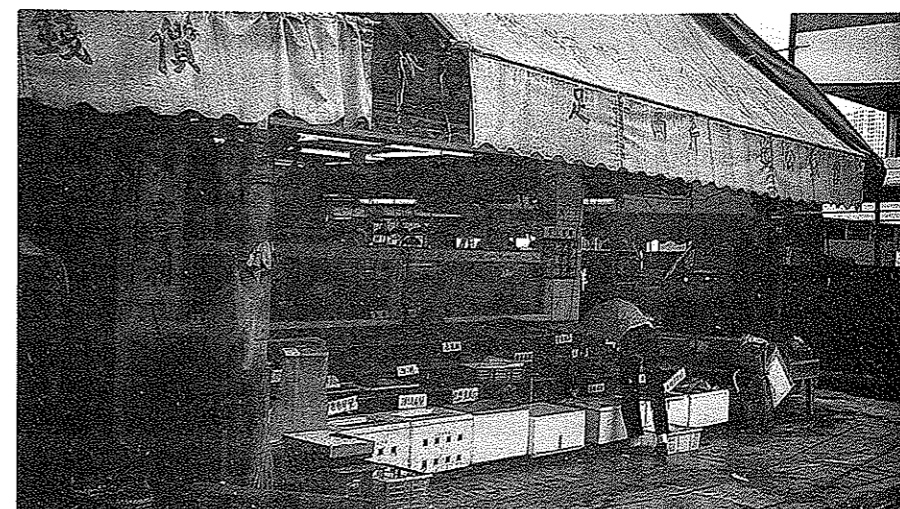
I can describe only a little of what Ms. Lee and I have learned so far from interviews conducted by our students, because the analysis of those interviews has just begun. Before doing so, however, I wish to situate the study itself inside a broader, more traditional anthropological field, which is the study of material culture. A long and sturdy tradition of studying the material world, and of looking at the manifold connections between the world of things, and the world of words, acts and social groups, has typified anthropology for more than a century. In referring here to "the world of things," I mean the concrete physical world, and particularly the ways in which human beings have employed it, altered it, and made use of it. Anthropology, in its beginnings as an observational science (resembling in many ways the sphere of natural history), had continuous occasion to deal with the physical world. This was particularly so because the peoples whom anthropologists first studied employed tools and technologies of a markedly different sort from those of the observers themselves.

When ethnographers of the last century and the first part of this one went to distant places to study the lives of other peoples, they were constantly aware of dramatic differences

-- in dress, in economic livelihood, in architecture, in weaponry and, indeed, in all else -- between the peoples they studied and the societies from which they themselves had come. Most of those ethnographers were European, white, male; they went to so-called "primitive" societies to do their research. Of course they reported on the curious objects, technical processes, foods and fashions of "their people." But in today's world, those same objects and processes have altogether

in order to achieve specific goals, such as grants of land, money or political representation; or to produce salable goods, which will get their value not for what they can do or what they can be used for, but from their "exotic" nature. Domestic animals may be kept -- now mostly to play with, or to be watched and listened to -- but not to be eaten. Nothing is made locally from tendons, bones, feathers or hides. Plants may be grown for beauty -- but hardly ever for medicinal or household use.

The significance of that concrete world, in other words, has become quite different, because the ways people see themselves in relation to it, the ways in which they study it and employ it, become more passive, less direct, less active, less informed, and less intent.



A shop in Castle Peak Bay selling live high-priced seafood (M. Tam 1992)

disappeared, or are now rapidly doing so, even in faraway places where they were once used and practiced daily. Machines that run on fossil fuels have replaced human and animal energy. Foods once processed by hand are now processed by machine. Objects once made locally or even at home -- baskets, buckets, weapons, clothing, houses, tools -- are made elsewhere. Substances once gathered, whether medicinal or aesthetic or culinary, are now purchased. Local people depend on such "old-fashioned" substances and objects less and less, replacing them in most cases with other objects and processes, involving less labor, and implying less "primitiveness" and more "modernity." When such older things are gathered, fashioned or retained these days, it is likely to be either for political or commercial purposes: to shore up a disappearing tradition

But this decline has been accompanied by a comparable decline of interest among members of the anthropological profession. One reason is that hardly anyone wants to study material culture when most of it can be found in a modern mail order catalogue. For another, there has been a marked shift toward studying what people say, rather than studying either what they do, or the similarities and differences between what they say and what they do. Finally, there has been some movement away from ethnography entirely, prompted on the one hand by the belief that ethnographic fieldwork may imply contempt for (or domination over) people; and on the other, by the feeling that good anthropology can be done with texts and thoughts, without having to engage in exercises that might confer

an unjustified aura of objectivity upon the data.

My intention here is not to question any of these views (though surely many of them deserve to be assessed). It is, rather, to recall the tradition of material culture studies, and to try to do so particularly in the context of contemporary Hong Kong life.

If one looks back in the anthropological literature, one can easily discover a tradition of material culture research, often entangled with older interests in theories of social and cultural evolution. But there is no need to go back that far. Of much more interest to the sinologist are the detailed historical studies by such museum figures as Berthold Laufer. Laufer, long at the Chicago (Field) Museum, worked on many substances and processes associated with mainland Asian cultures, such as turquoise and jade, and introduced substances, such as ivory and tobacco. Hardly remembered now, those studies were in the form, almost, of a celebration -- a celebration of the depth and breadth of Asian civilization. Indeed, they are still by no means totally irrelevant to contemporary life.

Berthold Laufer was primarily a historian, not an ethnographer. His research, however, often led him into modest ethnographic inquiries, which revealed among other things the close relationship between field study and historical -- textual and material culture -- research.

I want to illustrate that linkage here by quoting from one of his most penetrating little studies, on the cultural conceptions of crickets in Chinese culture. The monograph is called "Insect-musicians and cricket champions of China." In today's anthropology, with our exciting studies of ethnicity, the state, transnationalism, the self, and similar wide-ranging inquiries, it may seem on the edge of clownishness to call attention to the study of an insect; even the idea may provoke snickers.

But it should not. In a mere 27 pages of text (and readers may particularly appreciate this, if they are frequently readers of doctoral theses), Laufer reveals the existence of a remarkable juncture between the natural world and the cultural sense that Chinese civilization proceeded to make of it. In our history as culture-bearing creatures, Laufer says, humans seemed to look closely first at large mammals, and then at birds and fishes. But the Chinese, he reasons, were a "curious exception":

In accordance with their training and the peculiar direction in which their imaginative and observational powers were led, they were more interested in the class of insects than in all other groups of animals combined; while mammals, least of all, attracted their attention. Their love of insects led them to observations and discoveries which still elicit our admiration. The curious life-history of the cicada was known to them in early times, and only a nation which had an innate sympathy with the smallest creatures of nature was able to penetrate into the mysterious habits of the silkworm and present the world with the discovery of silk. The cicada as an emblem of resurrection, the praying-mantis as a symbol of bravery, and many other insects play a prominent role in early religious and poetical conceptions as well as in art, as shown by their effigies in jade (Laufer 1927: 5-6).²

Laufer goes on to describe the capture, care and training of crickets, the uses made of them as singers and warriors, and the Chinese aesthetic creations in words and art, stimulated by the love of crickets. (He also has some marvelous citations on crickets drawn from English literature, showing that these little insects have excited human attention and, indeed, affection, elsewhere.) Laufer's paper itself is an illumination of the mysterious boundary that lies between the concrete, material, physical world and its culturally

distinctive manifestations. In it we see how the natural world is drawn into a different sort of existence by the eyes and minds of those who perceive it, who accord it a distinctive status, and manipulate and elaborate it, in relation to their inner desires. Through practices and products, such as cricket traps and "houses," the writing of poems and tales of cricket champions and miracles, and the organization of cricket fighting championships, this culturally distinctive "world" is perpetuated and made to cohere in patterned fashion for those who, once having created it, are able to bequeath it to its human inheritors.

Can bodies of data detached from the material world be employed by anthropologists for these same ends? Of course they can. Laufer's cricket musicians are merely a nice case of how material culture can be employed anthropologically. Alfred L. Kroeber, trying to specify on what basis the material and the nonmaterial might be separated in the study of culture, concluded -- I think wisely -- that the literal difference, once taken note of, can be forgotten for most purposes. "What counts," he writes:

...is not the physical ax or coat or wheat but the idea of them, the knowledge how to produce and use them, their place in life. It is this knowledge, concept and function that get themselves handed down through the generations, or diffused into other cultures, while the objects themselves are quickly worn out or consumed. It is the ax itself that is effective in chopping, the idea of the ax that is effective in getting axes made and available for use....

The attempt to segregate material from nonmaterial traits of culture perhaps derives from a white-collar distinction unfortunately long made in Germany between *Naturwissenschaften* and *Geisteswissenschaften*: sciences dealing with nature and sciences dealing with the human spirit.

The latter corresponded to what we call the humanities and the social sciences. But there is nothing gained by implying that since humanistic and social studies have to do with "spirit" or "mind," whereas natural science deals with tangible objects, the latter is therefore of a different and lower order. Such a point of view smacks of old-fashioned theology with its contrasting of body and soul. Genuine science is characterized first of all by its method, only secondarily by subject matter, except that this must be in nature and must consist of phenomena. My having learned how to write or being a Christian are phenomena; and equally so are the alphabet and Christianity and ax-using; and so are axes and clothes and chairs; and they are all part of culture" (Kroeber 1948: 295-6).

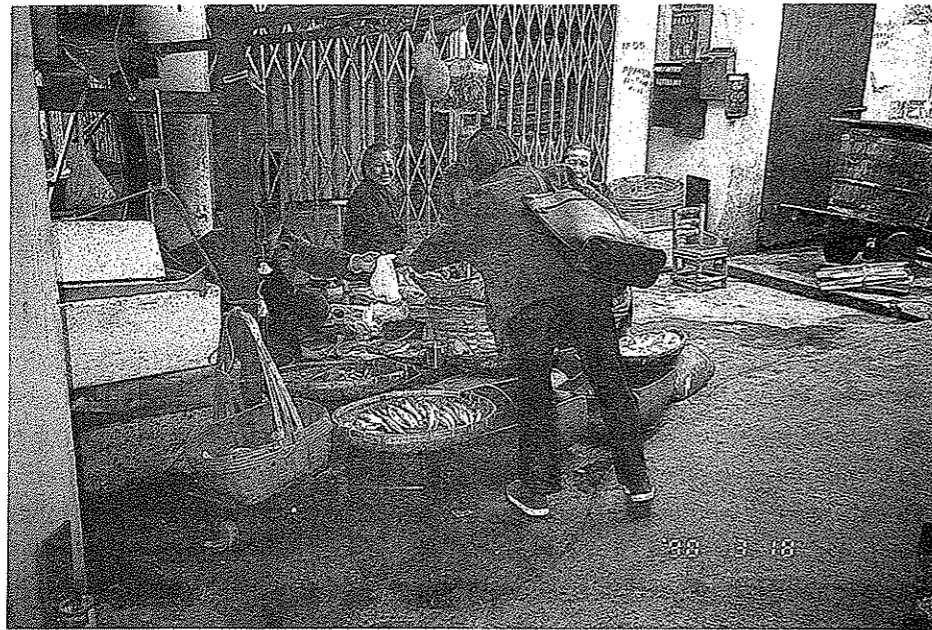
Elsewhere Kroeber tells us that the fundamental thing about culture probably is the "way in which men relate themselves to one another by relating themselves to their culture material" (Kroeber 1948: 68; italics added. S.W.M.). To that extent, material culture (like everything else humans conceive and make, including their ideas and values) is the tissue of which social relations are constructed. But even though material culture is by no means essential to the study of culture, it can be extremely useful analytically, in certain kinds of investigation. Let me try to show how.

South China is famous for the importance people attach to the sea and its products. There are few if any places in the world, I suspect, where the food provided by the sea is treated with comparable interest and enthusiasm. One is struck, for instance, by the fact that among restaurants, here in Hong Kong "Cantonese" has come to mean "seafood," above all else. Though a special place of honor is afforded live ("swimming") fish over dead fish, and steamed fish over all other modes of preparation, saying this only

broaches the subject. The importance of preserved fish and shellfish, of fish sauces, pastes and flavors, is also inescapable, as is the enthusiasm for shellfish. Any foreigner interested in seafood has only to go to a local market (even a relatively modest one) to discover that the people of Hong Kong matter-of-factly choose among

three-score or more different fish and shellfish -- often, among 100 or more different marine foods -- whereas anyone in the United States counts herself lucky if she can choose among a dozen. One also notices the keen attention shown here in choosing and buying fish, together with the decided preference for live seafood. In even modest *dim saam* restaurants, to order a fish is to engage in a discussion with the headwaiter, and to be shown the fish, wriggling in a net, before the cooking begins. Minutes later, the fish is on the table, usually covered with finely cut scallions and a small quantity of hot oil. The price of fish is extremely sensitive to time. I have not collected specific data, but it is accepted that the price of dead ("not swimming") fish will fall quickly during the morning. Generally speaking, steamed fish is considered a delicacy by everyone, while fish prepared otherwise -- most commonly, small fish that are fried -- are much less expensive and more common.

For an anthropologist such as the author, wholly ignorant of Hong Kong culture firsthand, discovering the lack of prior anthropological study of fish consumption here was striking. Other obligations, and my



Fish is commonly purchased in local wet markets (M. Tam 1990)

inability to speak Cantonese, made it impossible for me to undertake a serious field study of fish buying and fish consumption. Hence I did what was possible. I designed, with the help of experts and friends,³ a sociological questionnaire on fish buying, fish eating and social change, which my students have been administering.⁴ My co-worker, Ms. Jocasta Wai-Yee Lee, has supervised the interviewing. We had hoped to tabulate forty interviews, but the students had time to complete only twenty-nine. If we are able to resume the study at a later point, we hope to enlarge the inquiry to include interviews with restaurant managers, cooks and market workers, and staff members of the Agriculture and Fisheries Department.

Although we have not had time yet to analyze the interviews in their entirety, some description is possible. All of the 29 persons interviewed, without exception, spoke knowledgeably and enthusiastically about eating fish. Most ate fish several times a week; several reported eating fish daily. Knowledge about buying fish and cooking fish was shared by male and female informants; though women were much more commonly the cooks,

many of the male informants also cooked. A good deal of attention is paid to feeding fish to children, and to teaching children how to eat fish. Fish is thought of as an important food for children, though people also talked about their fear of bones when feeding fish to children. A large number of persons conceive of fish as particularly healthy food, stressing such things as the lack of cholesterol in most fish.

The number of different fish and shellfish mentioned by informants in their accounts was large; we have not compiled a complete list yet, but about forty different fish and shellfish are mentioned by name. Many informants stress the "lightness," "sweetness" and "slipperiness" of fish, saying that one could eat fish without feeling over-full afterward. Shellfish are mentioned as a means of restoring or compensating for bodily "imbalances," particularly among women. The lexicon of description for the flesh of fish is rich, but it is not easily translated. Though there is esteem for firm, white-fleshed fish, prepared by steaming (especially in relation to festive occasions outside the home), many special dishes were mentioned, including fish prepared by stir frying, those used in ethnically distinctive dishes (Hakka, Chiuchow), and otherwise.

There is much variation in preference, both for the sort of fish and the parts of the fish; some persons prefer to eat fish heads, others like the tail; yet others think the tail is too bony. Some favor fried fish over steamed fish, even though everyone concedes pride of place to steamed fish. Several informants took pains to describe how their choice in fish had evolved over time, consistent with greater income and more experience. Yet others would recount some especially memorable fish feast of long ago. One man described how the best fish he ever ate were the fish his own father would catch and fry immediately, when they lived on the island of Cheung Chau. Another (Hakka) informant reminisced about once having eaten

a fish "so delicious that I can't forget it. It was very thick in texture, sweet, fragrant, smooth, fresh, and tasty."

Steamed fish are seen as an essential dish at banquets. One informant says:

However, fish is the normal food with my meals. No matter, I eat with family, with friends at home or eat out in restaurants. I have fish. It is not particularly special for eating with friends. But when I eat with friends, I usually have more expensive fish. This is especially true when the dinner is a business one.

Q. Why do you order more expensive fish when eating with friends or a business meal?

This is because it shows my sincere attitude towards friends. They will think that I am an enthusiastic host. Eating expensive fish shows my respect towards my friends and relatives... Sometimes, eating expensive fish will make you better served in the restaurant, because the waiter will think that you are rich if you can afford to eat a big, expensive fish. I sometimes feel proud of myself.

Informants did not regard the fish served at banquets as having a special function, but several said that a banquet without fish would be "abnormal." Many commented on the now-common preference for garoupa, which apparently became much stronger, once garoupa farming expanded and incomes rose. At the present time, possibly half by value of all fish eaten in Hong Kong are "swimming" (i.e., live), and nearly all of these are farmed fish.

Here, then, are some of the descriptive materials gleaned from the interviews. We want now to correlate the descriptive materials about particular fish, particular dishes, and fish eating with age, place of birth, and indices of class position. Though our sample is much

too small to be of any statistical usefulness, we hope to be able to design a more effective questionnaire on the basis of the responses, that could be used in a larger study.

It may be asked whether this could not have been done without bothering with the fish and shellfish. The answer is, of course, "yes." But what we have been learning suggests that close attention to the specific fish and shellfish prized, purchased and eaten, makes a number of things much clearer. We have learned, for instance, that those prestigious fish which are kept alive in restaurants for discriminating customers are chosen in part because of their ability to stay alive in tanks, as well as for their eating qualities. Only the priciest restaurants have the priciest fish, which die easily in aquaria. We have learned that customers conceptualize fish and shellfish in radically different ways; class, age, and generation all seem to enter into the choices that are made by consumers who are dining out. We have learned that the items eaten and prized now are somewhat different from what they were, twenty or more years ago. Knowing the culturally-conventionalized differences among the specific fish and shellfish now being sold in Hong Kong makes it possible to talk about fish consumption in a different way. The fish choices and manner of preparation employed by a particular individual may prove to serve almost as keys to that person's class position, family and migration history, and much else. Whereas all seafood half a century ago was local, now perhaps one half by bulk (and more than one half by price) is imported. This truly enormous shift is additional evidence of the importance of seafood in local taste.

Could such material be approached from a different standpoint? Of course, there is nothing special or superior about this one. But it does seem worthwhile pointing out in what manner some specific aspect of the material universe can be invoked to make sharper our understanding of how people define

themselves or, to use Bourdieu's language, "distinguish" themselves. Crickets and fish have little (if anything) in common. But that is not what is important here. It is, rather, that analyzing the uses of these living creatures enables us to see how the concrete (and in these cases living) universe is invoked by human beings as they create, modify, and discriminate the details of the particular social framework within which they function.

Social change in Hong Kong over the past half century has paralleled in certain major ways changes in other colonial societies: the erosion of traditional lifestyles, the heightened importation of new materials and objects from abroad, the steadily increasing interdigitation of local life with the world market, and with global styles and standards. Yet the people of Hong Kong who have lived here for the last fifty years or so are living testaments to a past they remember -- and which many of them may miss. As one travels along the roads and railways here, one can still see living fragments of the past, embodied in house styles, gardens and outdoor shrines, both reflected in the faces of the elderly and carried still in their memories. Recapturing the skills, substances and tastes of the past, recording the knowledge of the everyday borne in the minds of the people, is a task worthy of the best of ethnographers. While we pursue the big issues, such as ethnicity, political change, the nature of power, and the future, let us remember to look backward as well and to give witness in our documentation to the knowledge, memories and richness of a past now rapidly receding.

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NOTES

1 The writer wishes to thank Drs. Maria Tam and Jane Margold for their useful critical comments on this paper. Responsibility for errors is solely his own.

2 Dr. Jane Margold has asked me to explain more fully Laufer's thoughts on the Chinese interest in insects. She wonders, for example, whether the Chinese were particularly attracted by the scale of insect life; by the opportunity to experiment with nature on that scale; or perhaps by an interest in the potential edibility of all living things.

In a similar vein, Dr. Liu Tik Sang has asked me whether there may be a relationship between such interests and the ancient history of China as a bounded, walled, and highly controlled society. Could the practice of catching, caring for, and pitting against each

other these tiny creatures reflect in some way other aspects of Chinese society?

I consider these genuinely stimulating suggestions; and though I have no answers, I am quite struck with the ability of Laufer's reflections to excite such commentary. When one adds to these speculations the Chinese history of miniature painting and calligraphy, one may be drawn to yet older ideas in anthropology, such as those of Ruth Benedict, who sought in her work to characterize whole configurations of culture.

3. The questionnaire was designed with the help of Dr. Sidney Cheung of Chinese University, Dr. Liu Tik Sang of the Hong Kong University of Science and Technology, and Mr. Keith Wilson of the Hong Kong Agriculture and Fisheries Department.

4. The student interviewers on this study were: Ms. Wan Man Po, Ms. Leung Sze Long, Ms. Hui Tsz Wan, Ms. Wong Pui Kee, Ms. Tsang Ching Yi, and Ms. Lee Kam Ying. It must be pointed out that this study differs from conventional ethnographic research, based as it is on interview materials.

魚類、飲食習慣與物質文化

文思理

文章摘要

傳統上，人類學家透過研究人類社會的經濟和技術活動，找出物質與特定文化的關係。自不少傳統社會受到西方文化影響，學者對物質文化的研究也相應減少。本文旨在提出物質研究的遺漏會導致研究上的缺失。中國傳統的「鬥蟋蟀」活動，不單反映中國人對昆蟲世界及自然物的熱衷，同時也能顯示中國文化的複雜社會關係，以及中國人的冒險心態和美學感觀。這正顯示了物質研究的重要性。

一個更能顯示物質文化的重要性的實質例子就是海鮮食品在香港人生活中所佔的位置。海鮮餐食和香港人對不同海鮮種類的喜好程度，正能體現物質應用與人類思維的社會交互關係。本研究仍處初步階段，作者及其助手，以及一群資深人士設計了一份問卷，並由中文大學人類學系的一群學生進行了29個詳盡的訪問。訪問的目的，不只為了搜集與是次研究相關的資料，同時也期望可為日後的研究——「香港往昔和現在的海產餐食」作準備。

人類學在中國大陸最近的发展

王建民

最近幾年，大陸人類學有了比較大的變化，已經進入了一個以能量聚合為特徵的新的發展期。香港人類學界同仁也許有興趣了解大陸人類學界的動向，然而，一個地區學術的發展包括學術規範建設、機構發展、理論探索和實際研究等許多方面，從何入手呢？這裏，僅向讀者介紹大陸人類學界在一九九五年談論的兩個熱點話題，冀以小見大，從而了解這些變化和發展的實在情形及其背後的原因。

一、喬健教授講辭的反響

大陸近來的熱點話題是和香港有關的。一九九四年十月二十八日，在香港中文大學任職多年的喬健教授就任該校人類學系講座教授。在就職儀式上，喬博士發表了題為《中國人類學發展的困境與前景》的演講，就中國，特別是中國大陸的人類學發展進行評價。事後，喬博士將講辭分寄給大陸一些著名人類學家徵求意見。一九九五年一月，廈門大學刊印的《中國人類學學會通訊》（內部刊物）第一八五期上，刊發了講辭全文。不久，《廣西民族學院學報》（哲學社會科學版）一九九五年第一期刊登了經過刪節的講辭。講辭發表後，在大陸人類學界引起了強烈反響，分別發表了商榷文章，組織座談討論。近年大陸對一篇文章發表如此之多的回應，恐怕

是絕無僅有的。若要明瞭其中緣由，還需從喬博士講辭談起。

喬博士在講辭中提出，中國人類學的發展面對著四大困境和四大前景同時並存的境地。所謂四大困境，即：由人類學、民族學名稱混亂反映出的共識缺乏和定位困難；意識形態對學術研究過於直接的干預；政府和民間對人類學的功利主義要求壓力；以及實地考察小社區為特徵的人類學方法不足以有效地研究中國大社會。同時，喬博士也指出，中國人類學亦有四大前景：第一，中國社會的改革開放給學科帶來的全方位比較研究機遇；第二，中國學術界悠久而堅實的史學傳統；第三，統一的多民族國家豐厚的多元文化資源以及多元一體格局的成功實踐；第四，中國悠久文化陶冶出的認知方式、世界觀與價值為人類學中國化提供了前提（喬健 1995）。

一九九五年三月，在北京的部份人類學、民族學博士及博士候選人聚會討論人類學學科發展問題。事先許多人已經拜讀了喬博士的講辭，對喬博士所言，特別是所謂困境提出了頗為激烈的批評意見（莊孔韶等 1995）。這次座談的記錄刊登在中央民族大學民族學人類學研究所刊印的《人類學紀事》（內部學術通訊）第一期上。大約在此同時，廣西民族學院民族研究所所長張有雋先

生亦在《廣西民族學院學報》(哲學社會科學版)一九九五年第三期發表〈關於中國民族學、人類學學科地位問題〉一文,在對喬教授部份觀點表示附和的同時,亦就其中若干見解進行商榷(張有雋 1995)。

北京的部份年輕學者指出,喬博士對於大陸人類學歷史與現狀了解不夠,海外和港台學者通過甚麼途徑到大陸,甚麼單位及甚麼人接待等,都有重要意義。喬博士應當在大陸進行廣泛調查和訪談後再做結論。有些學者提出,近年,許多中國人類學家、民族學家實際上並非不清楚人類學與民族學等概念的界定,而是客觀情境令大家在某些場合使用人類學一詞,在另外一些場合使用民族學一詞,是一種多元的用法。所謂人類學與民族學的南北名實之爭,主要與大學及研究系統體制及資源有關。民族學之所以比人類學有更大的影響,與早期人類學、民族學學科的不成熟、不完備、傳入中國的渠道、歐美學術傳統的強勢影響等因素有關。張有雋先生主張馬克思主義不僅不與民族學、人類學存在矛盾和衝突,而且對其發展具有促進作用。北京年輕人類學者認為各學科的方法有局限性,又有獨到之處。希望人類學能夠取代其他學科獨自研究分析中國這樣內涵廣博、歷史悠久而地域差異極大的社會是不現實的。今後人類學應與其他學科合作,取長補短,共同發展。同時,國外人類學理論尚未真正而全面地介紹到大陸上來,而中國人類學界基於本土文化建立的一些應用性理論模式又未能大量介紹到國外,因此,談不上適用與否的問題。在喬博士講辭提出的前景方面,有些學者批評好像是見物不見人,沒有注意到大陸人類學研究陣容的變化(王建民、張海洋 1996;李建東 1995)。

大陸部分學者在對喬博士講辭回應過程中表現出的認識和見解,受到海內外同行的廣泛注意和興趣,對於提升人類學在中國的地位起了推進作用。

二、關於人類學與民族學關係的討論

在討論喬博士講辭時,人們也注意到了人類學和民族學的關係問題。由學科發展歷程來看,人類學和民族學都是本世紀初傳入中國的術語。最初,雖然有部份人已經將人類學理解為研究人類體質與文化的學科,但大部份人主張人類學是研究人類體質的,而民族學是研究人類初民社會文化的。到了抗日戰爭勝利之後,隨著美國人類學影響的擴展,人類學的定義在中國也發生了變化(王建民 1996)。然而,五十年代初期,受到蘇聯模式的影響,人類學被規定為研究人類體質,保留於上海復旦大學等少數院校的生物系及古人類研究機構內;民族學則完全取代了文化(社會)人類學。不久,連民族學這一名稱也受到批評,被添加了其他學科內容的民族研究所取代。改革開放之後,民族學復甦,逐漸被確定為研究人類群體(或族群、民族)及其文化的學科。同時,人類學也重新得到發展;不過,依然側重體質研究,並出版有《人類學學報》雜誌。

一九九五年九月底,由於國務院學位委員會意欲對學科專業目錄作出調整,費孝通教授約見北京部份人類學和民族學機構學者,提出「三科(人類學、民族學、社會學)並列,互相交叉,各得其所,努力發展」的構想。十月,中國民族學學會在大連召開的「中國民族學如何面向二十一世紀」學術討論會就此展開激烈討論。部份與會者表示對費教授意見認同,然而相當多的學者提出,從學理(研究對象、理論及方法)、

中國及世界的學術發展史和中國國情來看,人類學(特指文化人類學)與民族學是一個學科的兩個名稱,或意義大致相同,不必強調劃分。他們認為,在大陸,體質人類學的主要力量集中在中國科學院及大學生物和醫學專業,在國人心目中,自然科學比社會科學或人文學科更重要,擁有的資源當然也更多一些。這些人極不願改變自己的學科的屬性。考古學和語言學在大陸也是十分強大的獨立學科,不可能附屬於一個新設立的學科,這樣,所謂人類學實際是文化(社會)人類學,與民族學是相同或大致相同的,不應當也不可能將民族學與人類學分開。一些學者並就此問題撰寫論文,進行更深入的討論。此次討論會就人類學與民族學關係的討論十分熱烈,為近年中國民族學學會所召開的學術會議中所罕有。

意見傳達給費孝通教授之後,十月三十日在北京大學社會學人類學研究所召開的「慶祝北大社會學人類學研究所成立十週年暨學科建設討論會」上,費孝通教授將原來的主張修改為「多科並存,緊密交叉,互相促進,共同發展」,取得了學術界的更高度的認同。儘管迄今為止人們對此問題的看法並不完全一致,但普遍贊成擱置在名稱上的爭執,依各自的學術興趣,使用人類學或民族學名稱,均無妨礙。最重要的是深入進行田野工作,腳踏實地開展各自的研究。包括費孝通等老一代學者在內的中國人類學家對於學科關係問題的關注,表現了中國大陸人類學自認性和認同感的加強。這正是學科走向成熟的重要標誌。

三、由熱點話題說到大陸人類學的進展

從上述兩個話題的討論,可見大陸人類學界最近變化與發展的一斑。這些

進展是圍繞學科認同和規範建設展開的。

一九九五年六月二十一日至七月十二日,在國內外學術機構贊助下,中國首期「東亞社會文化人類學高級研習班」在北京大學舉辦,有五十多人參加。來自大陸、香港、台灣、日本和韓國等知名教授擔任講員,國內一些中青年人類學家介紹了各自的研究心得。這個研習班採用對話方式,題目涉及學術史、學術理論與實踐、田野工作方法等各方面,有力地提高了人類學界整體素質,加強了田野工作、比較研究、專業理論等學科規範的認同。一九九七年,同一題目的第二期研習班將由北京大學與雲南大學聯合在昆明舉辦。

加強學科認同也表現在機構建設及易名活動方面。九十年代初,北京大學社會學研究所易名為社會學人類學研究所;一九九四年,新疆師範大學建立文化人類學研究所;一九九五年初,中央民族大學成立民族學研究院,原民族研究所易名為民族學人類學研究所,並刊印《人類學紀事》作為內部通訊;雲南大學正在籌辦人類學系;廣西民族學院民族研究所加掛文化人類學研究所名稱,並得廣西壯族自治區重點科學研究經費資助。藉國際影視人類學學術會議一九九五年夏在北京召開之機,中國民族學學會建立了影視人類學分會,雲南省社會科學院建立了影視人類學研究攝製中心。

各大學的人類學有關係科,進行了教學改革、新教材編寫和學科理論研究,以專業規範為基礎,也加強了人們的學科認同。利用專業優勢進行現實社會研究,已經成為人類學家從事研究的共識。一批中青年人類學家在學習各國人類學理論與方法的基礎上,提出在中

國怎樣發展人類學的新思考。中國大陸的人類學正在規範國際化、內容本土化的軌跡上繼續進步，將攜手與香港和台灣的人類學同行們共創中國人類學的未來。

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Recent Developments in Anthropology in Mainland China

Wang Jian-min

Abstract

This essay focuses on two recent issues heatedly debated among anthropologists in mainland China. The first one concerns dilemmas and potentials of anthropological development in China, mainly as a response to Chiao Chien's professorial inaugural lecture. The other is a discussion on the relationship between anthropology and ethnology as academic disciplines, and their different usages in mainland China due to political and resource-related factors. The author goes on to describe activities that contribute to a common identity among anthropologists and the building of a professional discipline.

PAGERS AND CULTURE IN HONG KONG

Joseph Bosco

Walk anywhere in Hong Kong and you will see many people with pagers. Beeps and rings can be heard on trains and buses, any place where it is quiet enough to notice them. The ubiquity of pagers (or beepers) and cellular phones in Hong Kong is one of the characteristics of the city that strikes many visitors from North America and Europe. Visitors who come to Hong Kong universities are especially surprised to find that so many students have pagers, not to mention that the beepers go off during classes. A sign at the entrance of Chinese University's library reminds patrons to turn off their pagers and cellular phones when they enter the library, but no such reminder is posted at Hong Kong University, where pagers can be heard (with a variety of rings, bells and songs) every 10 minutes or so in the reading areas. "Hong Kong's 6 m[illion] people carry more than 1 m[illion] pagers, provided by 37 companies. Anybody who wants a vision of the mobile-telephone market of the future will find it here" (Cairncross 1995). Already, the pager is viewed as a necessity by many in Hong Kong (Lococo 1995).

Part of the appeal of pagers and cellular phones is no doubt prestige. The cellular phone is often held in the hand even when it is slim enough to fit in a purse or pocket, so that it is reminiscent of the *ruyi* or scepter of the Confucian literati class. But while the *ruyi* had no practical use (except, according to the explanation at the National Palace Museum in Taipei, as a back-scratcher),

the cellular phone is considered to be a functional tool. But while the *ruyi* were exclusive to the literati, pagers are commonplace. Though certain models with extra features may--like leather briefcases and Mont Blanc pens--have prestige value when compared to mere numeric pager models, they are so common that they may have lost all status implications.

Roughly half the students at the Chinese University of Hong Kong have a pager. In contrast, pagers are rare in US universities. Dr. Robert Uriu at Columbia University in New York City sums up the situation (personal communication), and the attitude of many Americans, when he writes: "I have yet to see a student with a beeper in my five years at Columbia--make that 15 years, including my time as a student. . . . I can't even imagine why anyone would need one--who would be paging students?" My queries to students and teachers at several other universities resulted in similar responses.

Why do so many Chinese University students have pagers? I decided to ask my students. They were puzzled by my question. Did American students not use pagers? Indeed, for them, the question was the reverse: why would US students not use pagers? My students, in good materialist fashion, suspected that pager services must be much more expensive in the United States. It was very cheap in Hong Kong, they said, so why not use it?

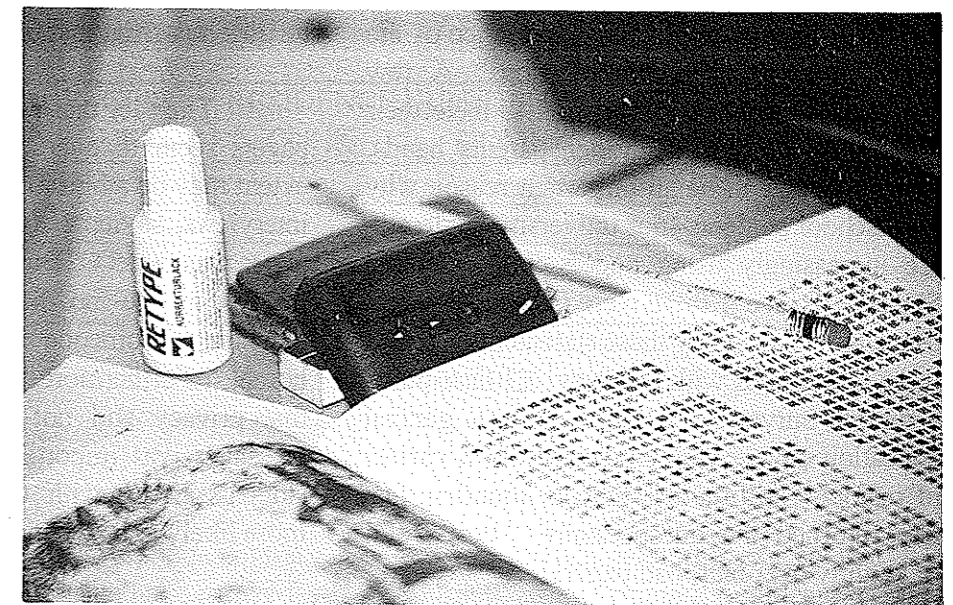
To our surprise, however, we discovered that quite the opposite was the case: pager services, are more expensive in Hong Kong. According to a survey of students I conducted, services cost from HK\$180 to HK\$480 per month, with the average at HK\$270. In the United States, pager services often cost less than US\$10 (HK\$78) per month for numeric services (where only the telephone number of the caller appears on the pager's LCD display). Alphanumeric services cost more, roughly US\$20-25 (HK\$155-190) per month (though one Florida company advertises US\$11.95 [HK\$93] per month for local service) (see Elrich 1995, and current advertisements on the WWW). A residential telephone line is not expensive in Hong Kong either (HK\$62 per month), and calls are free. So the difference in price cannot explain the greater use of the pager among Hong Kong students; indeed, more students use it even though it costs more in Hong Kong.

Some Americans suggest that there is a cultural infatuation with new technology in Asia which leads Japanese and Chinese to buy the latest in photographic, stereophonic, and electronic technology. An article in The Financial Times says: "A characteristic of the region is an enthusiasm for all forms of mobile communication.

Telepoint - a public mobile phone service

where subscribers have to be in close proximity to base stations - failed in the UK and elsewhere but is popular in Hong Kong" (Cane 1995). In the classes in which I raised this "new gadget theory," the students did not seem to agree. Several turned the question around and wondered aloud what it was about Americans that made them reject the pager, given that this new technology was obviously so useful. Perhaps Americans are Luddites, opponents of technology.

There is a piece of evidence that contradicts the "new gadget" hypothesis: very few people use answering machines in Hong Kong. In other words, not every technology is automatically adopted. In trying to convince me of the superiority of the pager over the answering machine, students noted that one must periodically call the machine to check whether there are messages, while with a pager one is spared the worry of wondering whether messages are waiting, and spared the wasted calls to the machine when no messages await. One student had the occasion to give



Pagers have become very common among university students in Hong Kong (Bosco 1996)

me a demonstration; she called a friend's pager service and left messages for him, and called

later to get his response, without ever speaking to him. The exchange of three messages over the course of two hours was only possible, she argued, because he had a pager; exchanging messages via machines 1) would have required that they both have machines, 2) would not have been failsafe (since the friend might not know a message was waiting for him) and 3) would have taken much longer. People who do use answering machines note that many people in Hong Kong are not used to speaking to a machine and refuse to leave messages.

Overall, then, the pager is more immediate, and speeds communication. The only disadvantage is its cost; while pagers and answering machines cost roughly the same amount, pagers require monthly service charges while answering machines do not.

From many conversations, some in small groups, others sparked by the sudden ringing of a beeper in various settings, I developed certain hypotheses about why pagers were so popular among students in Hong Kong as opposed to the US. Students consistently emphasized the importance of the pager in assisting communication. A few suggested that they did not want to have their messages passing through their parents' hands, and this seems to be an important reason why high school students--not university students--are increasingly using pagers in the United States. To see if there were patterns in pager usage as suggested by these statements, I tested these hypotheses with a survey. I distributed a simple survey to a large class, a general education course with students from a variety of majors. All the 84 students attending that day returned the questionnaire. Forty-four, or slightly over half, had pagers.

The questionnaire asked what was the primary reason why they had a pager (as an open-ended question). Three students in their final year of study said it was so potential employers could find them. One said it was used for call screening (perhaps she had a

cellular phone), one because the hostel (dormitory) phones were too busy, one because it was "cheap," and two failed to answer the question. Seven said it was for better communication, and closely related to this was the most common answer, "for convenience," selected by 29 respondents. Some of these "convenience" answers seemed to suggest it was for their own convenience, but most noted it was for the convenience of others. One wrote: "For others' convenience, they can reach me much more easier [*sic*]"; another wrote "for people to find me anytime." Just as Americans often first bought an answering machine because of pressure from friends who complained that they could not reach them, so too do students in Hong Kong buy pagers to be reachable.

These answers in the questionnaire follow closely the open ended discussions with students, but do not get us any closer to an answer to why more students use pagers in Hong Kong than in the US. What the respondents tell us, as important as it is, does not shed light on what causes their behavior to be different from that of American students.

The fact that answering machines and pagers seem to overlap in function to some extent may be a hint to solving this riddle. In interviews, students emphasized only that the pager was faster. But it occurred to me that there may be no need for an answering machine if someone is likely always to be home. Furthermore, students had suggested that privacy and not relying on others for messages was important, so I suspected that students living with their parents might be more likely to have a pager.

To test this hypothesis, my survey asked whether students lived with parents, in hostels on campus, or in their own apartments. Only two students lived in their own apartments, and one student failed to answer the question, leaving 81 students overall. Of the 37 students who live at home, 19 do indeed

have someone who can take a message and do not have a pager. The measure of probability for the association between having someone to take a message and having a pager is 0.143 (Fisher's Exact Test [two-tail]) and thus not statistically significant, but the direction is significant: it goes in the opposite direction of what we would expect if students were seeking independence from their family.

If we look for an association between residence and use of a pager, the 81 students break down into four groups as shown in Table 1.

Twenty-nine students have a pager and live in a CUHK hostel, and the same number (coincidentally) live at home and do not have a pager. These 58 students are 72 percent of the sample. The Chi-Square test tells us that the chance of this distribution being due to a random sorting of the students in the four cells is less than 0.1 percent.

Hostels at Chinese University and at Hong Kong University (and, interestingly, at National Taiwan University) have one telephone per floor. The phone is thus often busy, and students cannot receive messages reliably. Hong Kong students consider this to be normal (we all consider what we are familiar with to be normal); they often explain the US pattern of a phone in each dorm room as a function of greater wealth. But the cost of a phone in each room is not very high, and the service charge for a phone line is under HK\$100 per year, well under the cost of a pager. It seems that university authorities are making a moral statement by limiting the number of phones in hostels. Chatting on the phone is wasteful and not good. A single phone, to make appointments and for emergencies, should be sufficient. This moral stance is similar to the resistance many American parents have to adding a second phone line for the children; though parents will

TABLE 1
Bivariate Table Showing Pager Use by Residence

PAGER FREQUENCY	RESIDENCE CUHK	RESIDENCE HOME	TOTAL
NO PAGER	9	29	38
YES PAGER	28	14	43
TOTAL	38	43	81
%	46.9	53.1	100.00

Chi-Square = 15.509, p < 0.001

The pattern is, however, quite contrary to the hypothesis that students have pagers for privacy. Three quarters of students living in hostels have pagers, but only one third of students living at home do. In other words, students have pagers when they live in hostels, not when they live with their parents. To understand why, we need to know something about hostels.

deny the request with the excuse that it is expensive, they primarily object to their children chatting away for hours on the phone. "Call waiting," the service which interrupts one's conversation with a beep and lets one answer a second call, was developed to serve families who refuse to get a second line.

In making a moral statement against

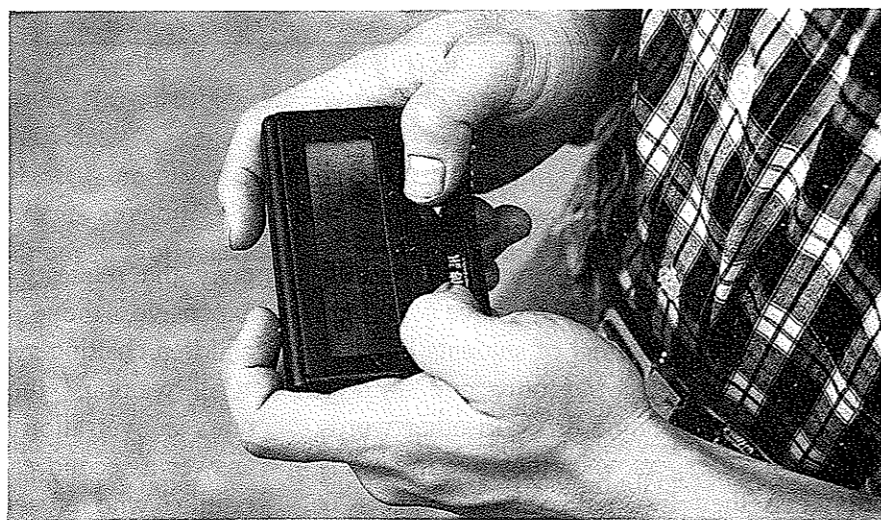
excessive use of the telephone by limiting the number of phones in a hostel, the university's moral guardians have led students to use pagers. This is ironic because pagers have unsavory associations. In the United States, the pager has been associated with drug dealers. At best, it suggests certain occupations that need to be on call; the Asian Wall Street Journal refers to the pager as "that electronic nag that doctors and photocopier repairmen clip to their belts" (in an article about how Motorola is trying to reposition the pager by releasing a line of pagers in cooperation with Benetton!). Even in Hong Kong, however, some feel the pager is associated with organized crime and prostitutes, and is not altogether respectable. One female, a recent graduate, noted that her mother was opposed to her having a pager because "proper girls" did not have pagers. Her mother only relented because the daughter needed it to look for a job.

Americans view the pager as a "nag" but Hong Kong students, in general, are enthusiastic about how it helps them keep in touch with friends. In the few cases where I have been with Americans who were paged, they sheepishly apologized for the interruption. In contrast, in Hong Kong students do not apologize when their pager sounds. There is even a perhaps apocryphal story from the days before the pager that suggests people seek the attention of being paged. It was once common for restaurants to receive calls for patrons and for a waiter to find the patron being called by walking among the tables with a bell and the name of the guest written on a board. It was widely suggested that some

of the calls were staged to attract attention to the person summoned. This pre-pager paging system suggests Hong Kong was pre-adapted for the electronic pager. The suspicion of staged calls suggests that being paged is not looked upon as an affront or a rude interruption, but an honor or a show of importance.

Based on student estimates, the number of messages they received per week averaged about 20, with the range going from 10 to one person who received 60 to 70 (including morning wake-up calls). Students were also asked to rank the callers by frequency of calls. The results are not startling: if we look at what people rank number one, classmates is highest (19), followed by boy/girlfriend (12), non-CUHK friends (6), parents (4), and other (3). If we total the first and second choices, the order changes slightly: classmates (32), non-CUHK friends (18), parents (18), boy/girlfriend (15).

But frequency may not be a good indicator of the real reason why people first get the pager; they may buy the pager first primarily to look for work, yet end up receiving mostly social calls. Ten of the pager users in the survey have someone else pay for their pagers. Nine of these students live in dormitories and list their father as



University students in Hong Kong value keeping in close contact with friends by using pager (Bosco 1996)

paying, but none of these students list parents as the primary source of pages. These students thus have the pager so their parents can reach them, but receive more messages from friends. The tenth student lives at home, and it is her boyfriend who pays for her pager, and who, not surprisingly, is the primary person who pages her.

I suggest, then, that the needs of students who live in dorms has contributed to making the pager more visible and therefore acceptable. There is often resistance to new technology, and in this the pager is no different. By providing a core of students who are ready pager users, pagers may have been popularized among all students and young people more generally, making the use of pagers more common and acceptable.

But this is almost a circular argument: the presence of other pagers makes it easier to decide to get a pager! Though perhaps true, it can hardly explain the difference in attitudes towards pagers between the United States and Hong Kong. What is fascinating about the pager is that though the technology is basically the same, it has not entered every society in the same way.

Some cultural elements in pagers are obvious. For example, many pagers offer additional information on their displays, in an attempt by the pager companies to make them more useful. Americans can choose to have sports scores and weather information (discussing the weather is an American obsession, as shown by the fact that most cable systems have a channel entirely dedicated to the weather, something not seen in Europe or Asia). In Hong Kong, pagers report instead on the lottery numbers, horse racing, and currency exchange rates. But these features are easy to tailor to individual societies, as has been done. There is a cultural attitude towards the pager at a deeper, more fundamental level.

The pager has three points against it,

for Americans. First is the association with drug dealing mentioned above. This association exists in Hong Kong as well, though perhaps it is not as strong. Second, it is viewed as the poor person's substitute for the cellular phone. Some people keep the pager even when they have a cellular phone, but this too is to save money by avoiding taking all the calls on the cellular phone. It thus lacks distinction; it is pedestrian, not because it is common, but because it is a cheap replacement for the cellular phone. Using a pager has thus become associated with being cheap. This is recognized in Hong Kong, and students justify use of the pager instead of the cellular phone by mentioning its low cost. Third, it is viewed as a nag, a ball and chain. Americans I have interviewed about pagers find it hard to understand the urgency that Hong Kong students express in their desire to receive and respond to messages. The idea of suffering the intrusive "beep beep" just so friends can contact each other at any time seems hard to understand. Being beeped does not mean one is important; it means that one is at the beck and call of someone else, most likely an employer. Truly important people are summoned more politely, certainly not beeped. (Indeed, it is my suspicion, though I have no data, that Americans tend to use the pager more often in the silent vibrator mode than in the musical or beep mode, to avoid letting others know they have a pager. This may vary among different types of users, however).

I suspect that there is a difference in the approach towards relationships (and perhaps time?) that is captured by the difference in the adoption of pagers. Although it is stereotypical, Americans seem to be more individualistic, willing to let friends' messages accumulate on the answering machine until evening, when the messages can be returned. Hong Kong Chinese define themselves through their relationships. "The primacy of personal relations has long been regarded as a central feature of Chinese culture" (Yan 1996:25). Thus, students are

more keen on keeping in frequent contact. Rather than viewing the beep as an intrusion on the person, they see it as constituting the person. They seem to be saying, what would I be without my friends? The pager creates links electronically, connecting the individual to his or her community, allowing students to maintain links that would otherwise be attenuated by distance.

Two factors are often cited to explain the growing popularity of pagers. First, it is faster to reach someone by pager than by phone; second, they are getting cheaper, both for the pager itself and for the monthly service (see e.g. Koprowski 1995). But the first reason implies that the person wants to be reached; the user must pay so that others can reach him or her more rapidly and conveniently. And though the service is getting cheaper, it is still often more than the cost of a basic telephone line. There can be no question that in markets with greater competition, the prices have declined and services improved, and that because it is more affordable, more customers are using pagers. But this does not address the question of why some people feel the need to reach out and beep--and be beeped. Pager use is growing in popularity in the US by 20 percent per year, and it bears watching whether in the long run, the logic of the technology overwhelms the cultural differences and imposes a common culture, with common rates of pager use across countries. So far, however, the differences have been illuminating.

NOTE

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傳呼機與香港文化

林舟

文章摘要

傳呼機打進香港市場遠較美國為甚。這情況尤其見於大學生當中。近一半的香港中文大學學生擁有傳呼機，但在美國大學則屬罕見。本文從相對成本及亞洲人容易受新科技吸引的論點，探討為甚麼香港的大學生選擇使用傳呼機。美國高中生視擁有傳呼機為得到獨立，但這點對香港學生並不重要。而當美國人視傳呼機為嘮叨時，香港學生卻利用它和朋友、家人和僱主保持聯繫。

從問卷調查及學生提供的資料，綜合所得，令傳呼機普及的主要原因如下：大學宿舍提供的電話設施不足，中國文化對人際關係的重視，以及傳呼機比其他保持關係的方法更快捷和方便。

廟街的唱戲活動

蔡鳳詩 盧錦茵
金佩詩 吳廣毅

香港人的文化行爲，往往被認為是受著「中國傳統文化」的影響，即擁有着「中國化」、「源遠流長」或「舊」等特點。這種說法是否恰當？本文嘗試透過廟街的唱戲活動，探討香港人的文化行爲是否就是「中國傳統文化」的表現。

很多人都認為廟街唱戲活動是一種「很傳統」的活動。究竟這種文化行爲是否可用如此簡單的角度去詮釋？我們認為廟街的唱戲活動具有其獨特的元素，乃是不斷與香港社會中的不同體系，如管轄體系、經濟體系等互動，而重新建構出來的一種表現。這種文化行爲亦隨著社會中各種體系的變化而重組其元素，以適應著香港社會不同時間的不同情況。本文借用 Eric Hobsbawm 在 *Inventing Traditions* 一文中提出「傳統」的概念，認為傳統是很近期且是不斷被創造的。廟街的唱戲活動亦恰好反映出這種情況。

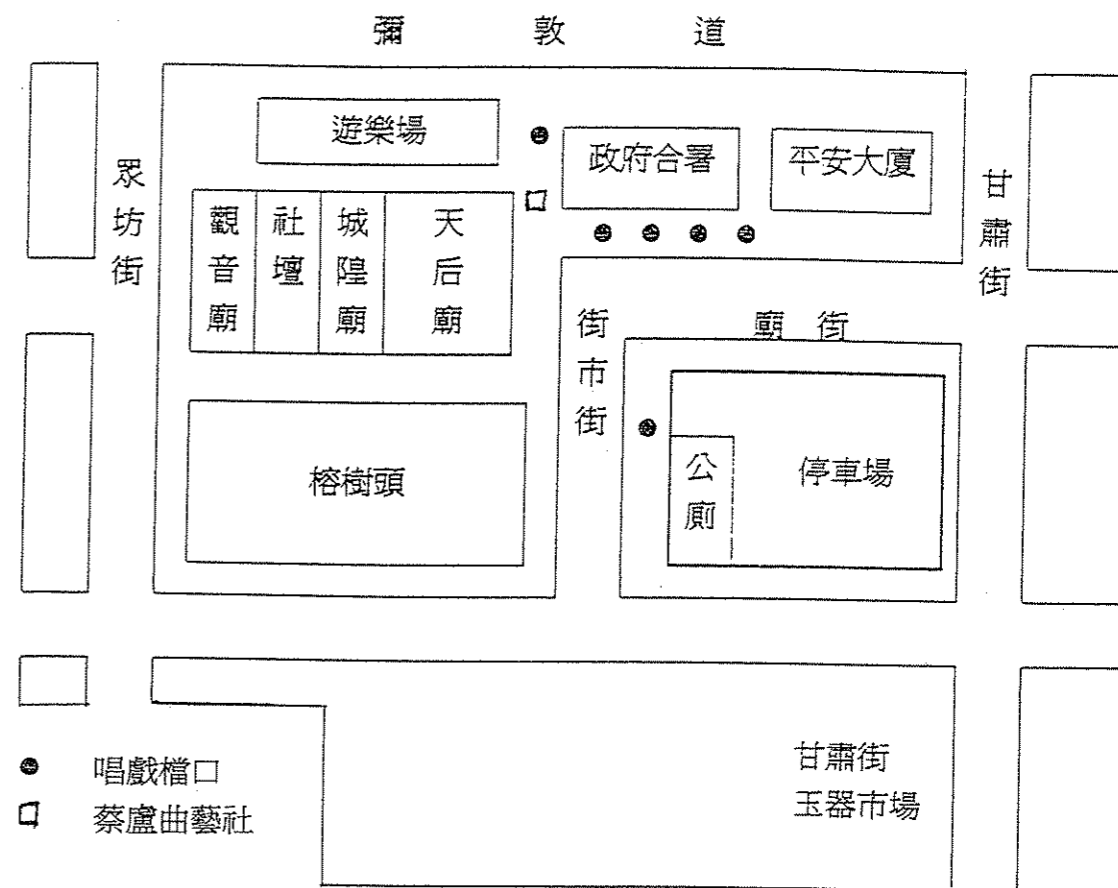
廟街唱戲活動簡介

廟街的經濟活動，主要有四項，分別是：(1)唱戲，(2)睇相，(3)街邊食肆及(4)售賣日常用品、衣物甚至色情影帶的攤檔。在這四項活動中，我們選擇了唱戲為研究範圍，因為街頭唱戲只能在廟街找到，而別的則否。廟街唱戲現存有七

檔，其中四檔位於廟街，兩檔則位於街市街與彌敦道交界，而另一檔則位於街市旁，面對公園。（見圖一）

廟街唱戲的內容大致可分為兩類，一是比較正統的，有劇本依據的，表演者主要是演繹故事，當中包括有提倡忠君愛國的如「花木蘭」；有愛情故事的「紅樓夢」、「白蛇傳」等；有說教的「沙三少林營」，也有以家庭倫理為中心，教導子女要孝順父母及不可有歪倫常的劇目。這些內容對年輕一輩來說，可能是不合時宜，但其所宣揚的始終是社會接受的價值觀念。另一類是非正統的內容，最典型就是「爆肚」。「爆肚」並非表演者忘記歌詞，而是刻意用幽默言語打圓場或針貶時弊，也是與觀眾直接溝通的途徑之一。由於廟街唱戲沒有表演舞台，意味著沒有高低地位之分，觀眾與表演者地位平等，也增加了溝通的可能。

每晚六時許（星期三因有賽馬例外），劇團的一位成員便會到達表演場地進行佈置。他的工作主要是搭帳篷、安裝燈炮以及擺放需要的用具如摺椅和譜架等。與此同時，樂師（樂器演奏者）也會帶同樂器陸續到場。他們除了調校樂器外，也會與早到場的觀眾攀談。大約七時四十五分，「唱口」（演唱者）一般已經到達表演場地。由於表演尚未



圖一：廟街的地理位置

開始，他們會招呼客人，與觀眾談天說地。八時正，隨著開場曲的演奏，表演正式開始。

表演程序先有合唱，再獨唱，最後由客人客串演唱。客串方式通常有三種：一種是觀眾自己付款（約一百元）要求與唱口合唱，另一種是觀眾付款請另一名觀眾唱。此外，客人亦可付款獨唱。一首粵曲大約需時十五分鐘，在歌與歌之間的空隙，一般都由一位劇團成員向觀眾道謝及介紹下一首歌曲。整個表演時段內，大約每十五分鐘便會收錢一次，負責收錢的都是劇團的女成員。他們除了收錢外，也會與觀眾聊天，有時會用茶、扇等招待觀眾，營造親切的氣氛。看到表演者演出精采，觀眾亦會隨意打賞。到唱過八至十首歌後，整個演出於晚上十一時正式結束。

廟街的唱戲是一種介乎粵劇和粵曲

的表演形式，表演者不穿戲服，但有做手和走位，有時也會利用小道具如扇、絲巾等。表面上，「大堂」（表演範圍前正中）是觀眾的座位，但實際上只有出手闊綽的「熟客」才會坐在這裏。

劇團使用的樂器包括鼓、木魚、色士風、二胡、三弦及揚琴。表演歌曲有粵曲和懷舊的流行曲，而以前者為主。唱口在表演時，間中會「爆肚」，而「爆肚」的內容以時事或表演者的個人事情為主。當獨唱時，另一位女劇團成員便會一面收錢，一面將盛錢的器皿拋在地上。由一位男團員會將器皿拾起，稱為「打氣」。「打氣」有二個意思，一方面表示為演唱者打氣，另一方面表示唱粵曲需要「氣」。「打氣」的行爲，是廟街賣唱活動獨有的特色。

根據對「蔡盧曲藝社」（註一）的訪問，筆者得知劇團組織非常簡單。蔡

盧曲藝社有全職唱口一人，兼職唱口二人，樂師五人以及班主卜師傅。卜師傅是蔡盧曲藝社的支柱，負責行政、財政及人事各方面事宜。收入方面，客人的打賞、客串和點唱費是收入的主要來源。受聘的樂師和唱口，每晚都可以得到預先商定的報酬。但主要唱口和卜師傅等劇團核心成員則沒有固定收入。每晚的總收入除去成本和員工薪金後，剩餘的錢便由劇團的核心成員平均分配。如果遇著當晚收入不佳，劇團的三個核心成員要負擔虧蝕的金額。

筆者在一九九六年三月中，到廟街訪問了四十五位觀眾。性別方面，有三十四名男性，佔總人數的 75.6%，11 名女性，佔 24.4%。年齡方面，接近一半為 60 歲以上。他們居住的地區，大約佔六成住在油麻地區，鄰近廟街；其餘四成人則來自港九新界各區，少數來自筲箕灣、荃灣和大埔等。至於家庭狀況，超過七成是獨居人士，其餘則與家人居住。受訪者大多沒有正職，而以散工為主。當被問及來廟街聽唱戲的原因時，大多答是「希望藉此打發時間」；想「聽粵曲」則有 15 人。七成在廟街聽唱戲已有三年或以上，而聽眾逗留在廟街聽唱戲時間長短是因人而異，由十數分鐘到二、三小時不等。

我們發現一個有趣的現象，就是所謂「來聽歌」的觀眾，他們都並非專心地聽，反而經常與身旁的友人談天說地，討論球賽、馬經等。有些更在聽收音機。只有少部份的聽眾專心地聽歌。而他們每晚坐或站立的位置都是圍繞他們相熟的朋友，甚少走到別處，我們推想大概是方便他們聊天。我們也問了這些觀眾對廟街唱戲的感覺。他們的答案大都不謀而合，計有「方便」、「自由」、「價錢廉宜」、「氣氛熱鬧」、「有廣東的粵劇風味」和「是民間藝術，值得

保留」。有人更覺得在這裏除了可聽歌外，更可以與朋友聊天，一舉兩得。

廟街唱戲活動與香港各體系所產生之關係

(一) 表演者與觀眾

要探討廟街的唱戲活動，表演者與觀眾的關係是不容忽視的。廟街的唱戲活動得以保存至今，是因為它對表演者與觀眾都分別具有獨特的意義。

首先就觀眾而言，到廟街欣賞唱戲活動的觀眾大致可分為兩類。第一類是經常到來的熟客；另一類則是偶然路過的本地人或外國遊客。對固定的熟客而言，廟街的唱戲活動提供了一個社交場所。可能因著大家都有共同的嗜好——聽粵曲，且隨著到來欣賞的時間增加，背景相似，見面多了，以致建立了深厚的友情。我們發現熟客在欣賞粵曲之餘，會談天說地、談談近況或評論表演者等。他們都各自擁有特定的位置。十幾年來，他們每晚到來，便會在自己的位置或站或坐，漸漸形成一個個小群體。此外，從訪問中，部份熟客指出到此欣賞粵曲只是老人家的興趣，年輕一輩並不喜歡的。可見長者獨自到來廟街看戲，可能是與家中年輕一輩興趣不合或出現代溝，以致找不到共同的話題，便到此尋找志同道合的朋友。在廟街欣賞唱戲的最大特色，便是可享有極高的自由度；只要在不妨礙劇團演出的情況下，觀眾可隨意閒談，隨時到達或離開，隨意打賞……比起其他諸多限制的社區活動，到此欣賞唱戲便成為這班中、老年人的首選。

熟客與表演者之間亦有固定的關係。從問卷調查結果及實地觀察，可見熟客多與表演者相熟。除了原本是表演者與觀眾的關係，漸漸成為朋友。其中

一位訪問對象求叔透露，部份熟客間或會購買食物或飲品贈予表演者，表示一種支持。另外，我們所訪問的蔡盧曲藝社，亦曾舉辦過一些聯誼活動如春茗，以答謝熟客的支持。若劇團或唱口在外有表演時(如應市政局的邀請)，部份熟客更會親自去捧場。由此可見，表演者與觀眾之間亦漸形成一種社會網絡。

廟街的唱戲活動，對觀眾的另一意義，便是大部份的熟客平日亦愛聽粵曲，故此唱戲活動正好切合他們的興趣。至於他們選擇到那一攤檔欣賞，則視乎每個劇團的特點與他們各自的喜好配合而定。如其中一位蔡盧曲藝社的熟客求叔，便特別欣賞表演者的做手和功架，他認為來聽戲除了有聽覺享受外，亦有視覺的享受。

另一方面，唱戲活動對熟客而言，亦是一處獲得社會地位的場合。觀眾只要付出少少的打賞，便可得到表演者的尊重和熱情招待。這種社會地位及滿足感，可能是這群觀眾在平日或其他地方所未能獲得的。就如一位被訪者麥姑娘，她間中會自己出錢客串演唱。當問及她對廟街唱戲活動的表演者的看法時，她認為在這裏演唱的畢竟並非高檔的活動，甚至有如「乞食」，但她自己的客串則純粹是「出錢玩」，一過表演癮。

總而言之，透過參與廟街的唱戲活動，熟客之間，或觀眾與表演者之間，都會形成社會網絡聯繫著各人，致使這種活動得以維持。此外，對一群熟客而言，廟街的唱戲活動是具有多重的意義的。一位較年輕的熟客所引用的比喻可以作為註腳。他認為來廟街欣賞唱戲就如年輕人往滾軸溜冰場，溜冰往往未必是主要目的，他們可能是為了聽音樂，可能是為了結交朋友等等。這些原因相

輔相承，彼此夾雜，缺一不可。

對外國遊客而言，廟街是香港著名的旅遊點，到此乃想增進對香港的認識。對於偶然行經或較年青的觀眾而言，駐足欣賞粵曲表演可能只為求一開眼界。此類觀眾的數量有限，故本文並不打算詳細探討。

從表演者的立場來看，到廟街表演當然少不了經濟的考慮。雖然我們未有直接問及表演者的實際收入，但從觀察所得，觀眾的打賞由一元以至數百元不等，且一晚可收十次或以上，故相信唱戲的收入每晚約有數千元。

到廟街演唱的另一重要因素乃是興趣。無論是唱粵曲的，或演奏樂器的，在廟街表演可提供一個讓他們發揮潛質的機會。如其中一位被訪者劉師傅在這裏演奏的主要原因便是興趣；由於每晚均可演奏多首樂曲，故大有機會讓他發展興趣及改善技術。

現場氣氛亦是驅使演唱者到廟街表演的一個因素。蔡盧曲藝社的唱口陳女士表示，這裏的氣氛非常溫馨親切。廟街並無舞台，故表演者與觀眾的距離非常近，有利直接的溝通。如表演得好，觀眾便即時拍掌或給予打賞。在每首歌之前，表演者可向觀眾作介紹或致謝。無論是玩樂器的，抑或唱粵曲的，他們總希望能有觀眾欣賞自己的造詣，相信這是演員所渴望的，故接受掌聲時，滿足感是很大的。此外，在廟街唱戲，表演者除了可找到一些知音者，以肯定自己的價值外，他們在此結識了不少志同道合的朋友。這種熱鬧的現場感覺和與觀眾間的友情，足以吸引表演者繼續在廟街演唱。

總之，在廟街唱戲，不單令表演者

在物質上有所收穫，得到一定的收入，亦令他們心靈上獲得滿足。這些不同的因素又相輔相承，驅使演唱者繼續表演。

(二) 唱戲與香港經濟

眾所週知，旅遊業是香港的經濟收益的重要來源，廟街街頭唱戲生存至今，香港旅遊協會的推動功不可沒。八十年代，唱戲活動曾遭政府數次大規模干預，但現在政府卻沒有甚麼掃蕩行動，其中很重要的原因是香港旅遊協會經常把廟街標榜為「平民夜總會」，並將廟街唱戲活動大力向遊客推薦。在我們參與觀察的過程中，外國遊客絡繹不絕。我們訪問過他們來廟街或看唱戲的原因，他們大多說是從旅遊指南得知故慕名而來的。

在廟街經營數十年的劇團，對於香港旅遊協會的大力宣傳，亦欣然接受，並且自創新穎的經營手法。由於他們相當重視表演本身，故不希望遊客在他們表演時拍照，妨礙他們演出。但他們不會拒絕遊客拍攝；只要遊客願意付出港幣十元，便可拍攝相片一張。由此可見，一方面旅遊業推動經濟發展，繼續利用廟街為旅遊點；另一方面，由於來廟街參觀的遊客眾多，劇團也藉此賺錢。這樣，二者就不斷互相促進彼此的經濟利益。

廟街的唱戲亦和其他粵曲表演團體產生了互相補足的關係。近者如油麻地一帶便有多個茶座，例如「大城」、「富苑」等歌壇。只需付出四十多元，便可享有坐席和一盅茶。在歌壇，表演者可用擴音器增加音量，歌聲較街頭演唱清晰悅耳，設備也更舒適。遠者如北角的新光戲院，經常有粵劇紅伶在此表演，雖然收費貴一點，但仍深受香港人歡迎。另一種是市政局及區域市政局轄下

的文娛康樂中心，亦不時有粵劇上演。面對四方八面的衝激，廟街唱戲的劇團怎樣裝備自己？

根據我們的訪問資料，聽眾們一致認為廟街唱戲與上述的表演形式不可同日而語。一來廟街唱戲勝在收費廉宜，打賞「多少不拘」、「隨緣樂助」。大部份觀眾都樂於打賞，打賞次數亦由個人決定。更有趣就是客人打賞時可要求「找錢」，表演者絕不介意，自由度極高。其次，部份聽眾之所以來到廟街聽唱戲，是因為覺得這裏自由，無拘無束，只要興之所至，隨時都可以前來欣賞。聽眾認為廟街除了星期三外每天營業，加上廟街的特殊地理環境，觀眾基本上不受其他表演場地如戲院的限制。故此，後者可能會吸引一班中上階層人士觀賞；而廟街的唱戲活動則吸引一群低下階層人士。這裏環境雖不及前者舒適，但勝在熱鬧、融洽、親切，此乃別處不能提供的。這樣，二者滿足不同類型顧客的要求，共同推動香港粵劇、粵曲事業的發展。

傳媒對廟街唱戲也造成了強化作用。接觸觀眾層面較廣的傳媒如電視，尤其是大型綜合表演或籌款節目上，經常刻意將粵劇（尤其是折子戲）作壓軸表演，由此看出大眾傳媒對其重視。電影方面，以廟街為題材的電影也不少，如「新不了情」，均營造廟街唱戲之特色，深入人心；更可能會吸引一些過去少聽粵曲的觀眾去廟街看個究竟，這無疑強化了廟街唱戲的存在價值。一些消費活動，如影碟、錄影帶和卡式錄音帶都將粵曲帶入家庭，既方便又廉宜，音色與在廟街現場觀賞有過之而無不及。但是，被訪者均認為在家聽歌不及廟街看唱戲熱鬧和氣氛融洽。所以，雖然形式式的影帶在市面大行其道，並沒有因而減少觀眾去廟街的習慣。不過，這只

是指熟客而言，對於一些非熟客來說，情況就不同了。

對非熟客來說，既不會享受熟客在廟街的社會網絡，又不肯花錢到其他地方欣賞粵曲和粵劇表演，因為價錢昂貴，故粵劇和粵曲、影碟、錄音帶等消閒產物的普及化，正符合他們的需求。他們既可舒舒服服在家中欣賞粵劇和粵曲，價錢也便宜；所以，大眾傳媒對廟街唱戲也有負面的影響。

現在廟街共有七檔的唱戲劇團，較全盛時期的八檔遜色了一點。每檔會各出奇謀，用不同手法去招攬人客。最普遍就是表演者會在場邊（稱為大堂），備有數張圓形摺凳，專為「貴賓」或「擁躉」而設，還有茶水、糖果和扇子招待熟客。有些資深的聽眾更透露，有些檔口為了吸引聽眾，不惜以女團員向男性觀眾撒嬌。但在我們集中研究的蔡盧曲藝社，沒有以上所述的招徠方式。他們主要以做手、走位，或小道具如絲巾、羽扇等表演形式作賣點，吸引顧客。由於他們表演認真，蔡盧曲藝社亦是七檔中最受歡迎的一檔。由此而知在廟街內，各劇團需要回應其他劇團的謀生方式，重組現有的或加插新的元素，以求突出自己。

(三) 唱戲活動與管轄機制

廟街的唱戲活動與政府的監管制度存在著一個互動關係。今天的廟街唱戲活動的面貌，或多或少都是這種互動關係的結果。

七十年代中期，廟街的唱戲檔漸漸增多，一些攤檔開始利用擴音器吸引聽眾。由於聲浪太大，附近的居民投訴亦相應增加。蔡盧曲藝社的表演者告訴我們，他們曾經多次被捕和被罰款，但為了吸引觀眾，不得不繼續使用擴音器。

面對政府的壓力，表演者終於作出回應，八檔的賣唱者達成共識，協議不再使用擴音器。為了吸引聽眾，他們唯有改用其他方法，如增加做手走位，利用小道具以及與聽眾保持良好的關係等。由於香港旅遊協會確定廟街為旅遊點，加上各檔口自律，政府容許劇團繼續在廟街謀生。

當我們觀察廟街的唱戲活動時，發現政府對他們的管轄非常寬鬆。例如，唱戲檔附近的熟食小販經常受掃蕩，但唱戲活動則不受干擾。由此可見唱戲活動的發展和面貌，一直受到政府政策的影響。現在唱戲的形式，部份是表演者回應政府要求的結果，政府也會因應社會需要的改變而修訂政策。將來，唱戲活動也會繼續與管轄機制互相影響，從而形成更加適合香港社會的街頭唱戲活動。

唱戲檔口之間，亦形成一個互相牽引的機制，包括一套獨特的規條。雖然這些規條沒有明文寫下，但各檔口都會自律地等遵守，最明顯莫如每一個劇團都有一個特定的位置，不可隨便霸佔別個戲團的表演範圍。這些檔口之間隱藏著的管轄機制，是廟街唱戲活動的一大特色，亦是令各檔口可以和平共處，順利演出的重要原因。在往後的日子，舊的規條可能會被淘汰，新的規條可能會出現，從而建構出廟街唱戲活動的一套獨特文化。

總結

根據以上的討論，可知廟街的唱戲活動並不單純是一種所謂「傳統」的活動。從微觀層面看，廟街的唱戲檔口各有特色，反映出他們如何對自己所處的環境作出回應。從宏觀層面看，今天我們看到廟街唱戲活動的面貌，是與香港

不同的體系互動的結果。日後，廟街的唱戲活動會繼續與各個體系互相影響，從而建構出更適合香港的街頭表演形式。最後我們想強調一點，當我們探討香港文化時，我們應避免只用「傳統」去界定，因為香港文化並不同中國傳統文化，而是在香港各社會體系互動的情況下，重新建構出來的、和適合香港社會環境的行為模式。

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註

(一)文中的團體及個人名字均為假名

Cantonese Opera Singing in Temple Street

Choi Fung Sze Lo Kam Yan
Kam Pui Sze Ng Kwong Ngai

Abstract

In the eyes of many people, the behavior and the culture of Hong Kong people are largely based on "Chinese traditions". This paper discusses this issue by citing Cantonese opera singing in Temple Street as an example. Cantonese opera singing in Temple Street is not as traditional as people believe. As a matter of fact, it interacts with different social systems, then modifies and reconstructs itself so as to adapt to the everchanging Hong Kong society. The paper concludes that Cantonese opera singing in Temple Street is an invented tradition rather than a "Chinese tradition".

SOCIAL HISTORY AND ETHNOGRAPHY IN HONG KONG

James Hayes

In a review of my book, "The Rural Communities of Hong Kong, Studies and Themes" (Oxford University Press (HK), 1983) the late K.M.A. Barnett, then in his mid 70s and ever a keen scrutinizer of Hong Kong's past, suggested that geographical areas outside those covered in Rural Communities should speedily be addressed before the old village life became eroded by development, and mentioned some topics that he thought deserved scholarly attention before it was too late.¹ Among these were mnemonic jingles of the kind he quoted at the head of the review, Hakka *shan-ko*, and itinerant story-tellers. In his humorous way, he concluded, "All right, all right, I was only asking. There is so much to be done" (he could, of course, have added many more to his list). On another, earlier occasion, deploring the then general lack of interest in Hong Kong's past, he had likened his own situation to that of 'a blind man shouting in a cave'. Happily for us all, this is no longer the case, as there are many more researchers active in the field today. Indeed, this Note is in response to the suggestion that more ideas about what to take up would be welcomed by younger scholars.

Thirteen years after Mr. Barnett's review, stemming from my own research, I can think of other topics that need to be taken up before it is altogether too late, utilizing what can still be seen in the field or (just as revealing) garnered from old persons and their often old-

fashioned ways of looking at things, in which so much of past thinking and ancient mores is unconsciously embedded. Among those subjects that could usefully be examined (or reinvestigated and evaluated) by anthropologists, social historians, and others interested in delving further into the workings of traditional society in transition, are the following:

(a) more work on the *san po tsai* ("little daughters in law") to follow up my preliminary essay in the recent volume edited by Maria Jaschok and Suzanne Miers, (Women and Chinese Patriarchy (Zed Books with HKUP, 1994). It is essential to track down and interview the survivors of this erstwhile common social practice among rural families - like the lady who was the subject of Vivian Chu's article in SCMP, Tuesday, 7 June 1992), as well as persons, male and female, who lived alongside *san po tsai* in the same household.

And what about "urban *san po tsai*"? Did they exist? (as noted in my article, the evidence is even more scanty than for the rural ones);

(b) if it's not too late, to go into the differences between local Hakka and Punti in regard to dress, customs,

etc. - which I have always found to be so tantalizingly elusive;

(c) Hakka "hill-songs", their text, purpose and practise. Were there Punti ones within the territory? How do they compare with those of other language/dialect groups elsewhere in China?²;

(d) more work is needed on material culture; especially in regard to locally-grown and used fibres, spinning and weaving, dyeing, etc. This is still a largely neglected subject and we are far behind where we should be, including the museums in Hong Kong and Shenzhen.

There are, of course, many other areas of investigation to be covered under this general head, and some others are mentioned below;

(e) old-established but now largely defunct urban and rural trades need to be researched among the oldest living persons hitherto engaged in them, on their children. A fine start has recently been made by the Museum of History, with its exhibition last year, followed by Naomi Szeto's related Urban Council publication, Of Hearts and Hands: Hong Kong's Traditional Trades and Crafts (1996);

(f) little work has been done on shopkeepers and traditional shopkeeping, in the urban area and in the former market towns, including ways of doing business with customers and the special "codes" in use for detailing transactions and prices;

(g) itinerant rural hawkers have not been investigated either: their places of origin, usual geographical sales areas ("beats"), type of goods

sold, cash on credit arrangements with their suppliers and customers, and the like;

(h) itinerant geomancers and other specialists travelling long distances from their homes, sometimes even in another province - I have heard of a number of such itinerant occupations during my conversations with old persons³;

(i) more work is needed on local mythology and folk tales among the long settled communities of the New Territories, especially in regard to the legends attaching to local mountains like Tai Mo Shan⁴;

(j) more work could be done on the lion and unicorn dance teams, and their place in traditional and present day society, in both the social and ritual context, together with an examination of the lion and unicorn masks. Their masters (*shih-fu*) also deserve further study⁵;

(k) more work could be done on the traditional teahouse, its management and operation, and its political and social culture (including the traditional forms of entertainment, bird-fancying, their clientele (audiences), etc.);

(l) also cricket and cockroach fighting, and the artifacts, ideas and traditions surrounding this traditional recreational activity, could be examined in depth;

(m) the *sam hong* (three trades) connected with traditional house construction, their special skills, work practices, tools, materials, traditions and social context;

(n) other trades connected with the vernacular architecture, like stone-cutters and scaffolders, woodcarvers, artists in stucco and paint, blacksmiths, etc;

(o) tools and tool making. Take, for example, the stone-cutters' and polishers' tools, perhaps still to be seen, or certainly remembered, among the artisans who cut and engrave headstones outside cemeteries;

(p) the makers of the traditional vernacular furniture of the Hong Kong Region. I am not here referring to blackwood and similar furniture, but the simpler types made of pine and dyed an orange-brown colour with some kind of dyestuff: usually chests, boxes, cupboards, tables, trestles, stools, etc.

(q) indigenous boat people in transition over fifty and more years. There is still room for more studies of the kind done by Barbara Ward's students at Ko Lo Wan, going into the details of this gradual but total change in their traditional lifestyle and experiences, and landmen's perceptions and treatment of them through their period⁶. This should also take in boat people's initial experiences on land, following their resettlement into the large, multi-storey housing estates on other public accommodation in the 1950s and 60s; and time spent in rotting boats on the mud-flats of local anchorages like Aberdeen or in huts in the government's temporary housing areas;

(r) indigenous boat people's relationship with land persons in the major local anchorages like Tai O and Cheung Chau; in particular, how were they represented (or not represented) in

and on the local *Kaifong*; what role (if any) did they play in regard to temple management and repairs, and in the organization of local festivals, etc.: past, in transition and at present;

(s) local village fishing and cargo craft. There were many of these a century ago, with different (often quaint) names, as revealed by my conversations long ago with old men in the coastal villages. Some may have survived up to fifty years ago. If it is not too late to conduct interviews with their former users, even as children, we can yet learn something of their design and functions where built and by whom, etc;

(t) temple keepers; their appointment, duties, place in local society, and their background, in town and country, past and present;

(u) the shops making and selling the banners, large and small, long presented to persons or institutions to recognize their contributions to the organization of functions, and still much in use by groups and associations at festival times; for how long established, and with what traditions?

Besides further investigation into these and other aspects of traditional rural life, we need similar studies of city life and old practices. I got a glimpse of the rich social content of the older urban life myself whilst it was still extant - though even then in the process of reduction and erosion as residents were obliged to leave their old homes for one reason or another - through participation in a government working party on the urban redevelopment "pilot area" in the Western District of Hong Kong Island, in the late 1960s⁷. However, such investigations cannot be

carried out today, when practically all buildings and indeed whole neighbourhoods have been transformed by development several times over in the past two generations; making published accounts like Greg Guldin's study of "Little Shanghai" in North Point, Hong Kong - it turned out to be "Little Fujian" too - the more valuable.⁸ In this connection, moving the scene further back in time, we also have Carl Smith's historical reconstructions of Hung Hom and Wanchai.⁹ Such studies are now mostly tasks for the historian; but where corners of the City (or even single buildings), have been bypassed by redevelopment and are in a kind of "time warp", scholars should be quick to seize upon them for social and ethnographic enquiry.

It is not intended in this Note to imply that no work has been done on the subjects listed above or on others that are not included here. My knowledge of the field is insufficient, and renders this disclaimer necessary.¹⁰ Were a bibliography to be compiled - another urgent task if I am not mistaken, I suspect it would in fact show that more work has been done and written-up, both in English and Chinese, than is generally realized. But no one could say that this, whatever its bulk, is sufficient; and where opportunities still exist for interviews and, perhaps too, for finding artifacts kept unneeded and unused for many years, they would be pounced upon.

For a last thought, let me return to Barnett, who in the review mentioned above, touched on another aspect of local society that all researchers should bear in mind, one that both sharpens and enriches their enquiries:

Even within Hong Kong's 400 square miles can be seen the kind of variations which Ouyang Hsiu (1007-1072 歐陽修) described (in his preface to the *Hsin Wu-tai Shih*) as 申土集居: it is a strength of Chinese society that such healthy variability can exist.

And exist it does! It is one of the features of traditional rural society in this area that has constantly impressed itself upon me in my thirty two years of government service, and in my own ongoing research over a longer period.

NOTES

1 The review was published in Journal of the Hong Kong Branch Royal Asiatic Society (JHKBRAS) 24(1984), pp.320-330. Fortunately, Dr. Patrick Hase is now providing us with detailed historical, econ-structions of areas in the Northeastern New Territories, including Sha Tau Kok; and overseas scholars and old friends of Hong Kong Anthropological Society like the Johnsons and the Wastons continue to update their earlier local studies.

2 Including non-Chinese minorities like the Lisu of S.W. China, with which there is an apparent close affinity (see Isabel Kuhn's *Nests Above the Abyss, China Inland Mission, 1947*, pp.14-16)

3 Like the herb-sellers from Kwangsi mentioned to me on Lantau Island. This, like (g) and some other suggestions, is more for historians than anthropologists, being further back in time.

4 See e.g. my Note in JHKBRAS 17 (1977), pp.168-9.

5 See my article in Journal of the Asian Arts Society of Australia, Vol.5, No.2 (June 1996). Investigation into dragon boats, and especially their carved and painted heads, could be fruitful, listing and examining old examples of the latter yet extant in the territory, noting their age, place of origin, makers, etc. Their *shih-fu*, too, deserve attention.

6 During Barbara Ward's few years at the Chinese University of Hong Kong, some of her students at New Asia College studied the Tanka boat people of Ko Lau Wan. In Tolo Channel, Tai Po. Among five unpublished papers presented at that time, the "Case Study of Ko Lau Wan" by Andy Lau, Leung Chor-on and Wong Hong Kit (December 1981) describes a Tanka community in transition over eighty years.

7 See RAS (HK Branch) Symposium. Some Traditional Chinese Ideas and Conceptions in Hong Kong Social Life Today (1966), pp.136-9.

8 See JHKBRAS 17 (1977), pp.112-29. In this connection, Frank Leeming's Street Studies in Hong Kong: Localities in a Chinese City (Hong Kong, OUP, HK, 1977) is another contemporary study with historical background that makes interesting reading today.

9 See his A Sense of History, Studies in the Social and Urban History of Hong Kong (Hong Kong Educational Co., 1995).

10 Frequent visits notwithstanding, I have been away from Hong Kong for the last six years and am very conscious that my knowledge of what work has been, and is being done recently is sure to be lacking. Rather than a contemporary survey, I have looked back over forty years of personal observation and enquiry to see what in my opinion was, and still is, worth investigating further, if time and opportunity permit.

Research Section

EATING SEAFOOD: A TRIAL SURVEY OF HONG KONG PREFERENCES

Sidney W. Mintz and Jocasta Wai Yee Lee

Hong Kong, like all of coastal South China, is famous for its seafood, and for the devotion of people there to the eating and cooking of various forms of marine life. Eugene Anderson refers to seafood as the principal protein source of South China (1967: 9); and Frederick Simoons, who characterizes Cantonese cuisine by its enormous variety, adds next "the importance of fish, both fresh and salt water forms, as well as other seafoods" (Simoons 1991: 56). Simoons also notes the importance of "oyster sauce, shrimp paste, and other seafood sauces or pastes" in Cantonese cooking (*ibidem*).

Though it once must have been truer for the coast than for the interior, fish appears always to have counted heavily in local diet. In addition, preserved fish and shellfish -- dried, salted, oilsoaked, etc. -- were important for inland people as well as those of the coast, long before modern means of transport existed. Such substances as oyster sauce, shrimp paste, and essences resembling Vietnamese *nuoc mam* figure importantly in South Chinese cuisines, and may be related to widespread and ancient culinary practices, extending over even larger geographical areas (Simoons 1991: 348-9). In all of these ways, the cuisine of South China is suffused by a marine emphasis.

However, in the last fifty years or so, the food supply situation in Hong Kong, including the supply of marine foods, has been entirely transformed. This has happened largely because of the wider demographic and

economic forces to which Hong Kong has been subject. There have been rapid increases in the Territory's population and, with them, a steady net increase in population density. Similarly rapid and significant increases in the efficiency of transportation have come about, such that the mobility both of population, and of foods to sustain it, has been greatly augmented. At the same time, there has been a steady decline in the number of Hong Kong-based fishermen -- that is, of Hong Kong persons engaged in fishing -- which has been partly compensated for by improvements in the technology of fish capture. An even greater decline in the percentage of the self-employed population engaged in the fishing industry has marked the shift to larger, more efficient vessels and methods. Large numbers of former fishermen have gone into fish and shellfish farming, for very long mainstays of the local rural economy, and now more important than ever. At present perhaps half of locally-consumed fish and shellfish may come from fish farms, not from sea fishing. There has also been an increase in fish importation, of mature fish for immediate consumption, and of fingerlings or fry for farming, over the course of the last two decades.

These large-scale changes have brought in their wake changes as well in the relative importance of particular fish and shellfish in local taste and, accordingly, in their prices; sharp decreases in the consumption of some fish because overfishing and pollution has destroyed some stocks; and increases in the

consumption of other foods by way of compensation. Hence the picture of seafood use in Hong Kong diet is one of continuing flux. It continues against a background of world change in the use of the sea, and of attitudes about seafood. 1

World figures show pandemic overfishing and increasing appreciation of seafood by meat eaters, occurring simultaneously. In the context of world change, Hong Kong is too small to figure importantly. But its outlook may provide extremely important clues to the future of sea resources elsewhere. For example, the use of fish farming has been carried to almost unmatched levels in Hong Kong, and the success of these farms deserves more study. There are good grounds for supposing that the world's fish supply can only become more and more domesticated over time.

A largely overlooked aspect of the use of seafood in Hong Kong is that of canons of taste. Hong Kong's people eat fish, and care about fish, probably as much as any other people in the world. But how are we to determine the standards by which the desirability of particular seafoods is judged? Is this primarily a matter of the cooked dishes within which seafoods are employed; or of the particular fish and shellfish used in preparing those dishes? To what extent do consumers articulate their preferences, using a vocabulary that discriminates among particular items, and that employs -- or gives evidence for -- a conventional (that is, shared) scale of preference? Can such a scale be identified by questioning? 2 The first objective measure of variation in preference is price, in relation to supply. Though fish and shellfish, like other foods, are difficult to measure against each other because of different proportions of waste, it should be possible to establish a rough scale of value and, to some extent, to divide up that vertical scale into a series corresponding to consumer groups arranged by buying power. Excepting always gala occasions, special

banquets and holidays, some seafoods are probably only rarely eaten by the poor. Yet others are probably never eaten by the wealthy; and still others may be eaten (perhaps in different form or only ritually) by people at all levels. But the prices of some items never decline enough to be within the normal reach of the poorest people, while the esteem for yet others shown by those at modest economic levels probably never brings them to the attention of the wealthiest buyers. Accordingly, it should be possible to calibrate a scale of fish (and, though less likely, shellfish) as a hierarchy of preference, with a corresponding scale of class position, for the people of Hong Kong. Though there is no doubt that such a seafood scale is open to change -- and, indeed, has changed in specific ways in the last half century or so, 3 -- probably enough items do remain stable for periods long enough to make it possible to construct a scale.

The research we have undertaken represents a first effort on our part to survey variation in seafood use by Hong Kong people. We stress that this research is a substitute for ethnographic fieldwork, and cannot replace it. Ethnographic fieldwork would require interviewing of fish sellers and buyers, careful recipe collecting, visits to markets servicing different parts of the consumer public, and the gathering of information on year-round variation in the supply and consumption of fish and shellfish. Most of all, it would require lengthy face-to-face contact with informants over substantial time, in order to collect much more detailed information than we have been able to gather by interview. It is in the absence of the opportunity to do that kind of fieldwork that the survey described here has been formulated.

We are beginning to process the data collected by the interviewers, 4 and to look for certain correlations: between social class position and preferred fish and shellfish; and between age and preferred fish and shellfish. We hope that we will find such correlates, to

help us in assessing seafood diet as an index of social position. At least we expect to be able to describe in much more detail the seafood eating habits of Hong Kong people, which remains known only in a very general fashion.

Readers who are interested in the questionnaire 5 may contact Jocasta Lee, c/o the Editor, at the Department of Anthropology, the Chinese University of Hong Kong.

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NOTES

1 Omitted from consideration here is the rapid and persisting expansion of new cuisines in Hong Kong, such as Malaysian, Japanese, Vietnamese, Korean and Thai, all of which make use of fish and shellfish, and all of which are increasingly patronized by the people of Hong Kong.

2 These are research questions; the answers are not yet known. It is reasonable to ask to what extent people actually do articulate verbally the qualities of the foods they eat, exactly enough to allow us to substantiate the differences. For example, asking someone to explain why she prefers filet mignon to porterhouse (or the opposite) rarely reveals any more telling distinctions than "tough" versus "tender," "soft" versus "chewy," or "juicy" versus "dry." Words such as "stringy" and "fatty" may be used; but the range of

description is rarely elaborated. The possible lack of a more precise lexicon of description raises a question about the efficacy of ethnographic fieldwork for all taxonomies. Numerous distinctions may be recognized without being marked linguistically, we think.

3 Thus, for example, the place of that group of fish called *garoupa* (C: *sek paan*) appears somewhat changed. The yellow croaker (*Pseudosciaenia crocca*), once plentiful and popular, has been nearly wiped out (largely by dynamiting the spawning beds and by pollution. Lobsters, once thought too rubbery for Hong Kong tastes, are now widely eaten. At least one shellfish once ignored because it was difficult to open, has now become very popular.

4 The student interviewers on this study were: Ms. Wan Man Po, Ms. Leung Sze Long, Ms. Hui Tsz Wan, Ms. Wong Pui Kee, Ms. Tsang Ching Yi, and Ms. Lee Kam Ying.

5 The questionnaire was designed with the help of Dr. Sidney Cheung of the Chinese University of Hong Kong, Dr. Liu Tik Sang of the Hong Kong University of Science and Technology, and Mr. Keith Wilson of the Hong Kong Agriculture and Fisheries Department. It was translated into Chinese by Ms. Jocasta Wai Yee Lee.

《性別與文化：客家婦女研究的新視野》

作者：李泳集

出版：廣東人民出版社（一九九六年六月）

該書以人類學田野調查資料為基礎，結合歷史文獻，借助交換過程理論，探討客家文化對婦女行為的影響以及透視客家女性如何作出自己的選擇。作者還通過華南地區不同族群婦女之間的比較，挑戰從傳統「男主外，女主內」的角度來討論中國婦女問題的方法論。

Gender and Culture: the Study of Hakka Women (in Chinese) by Li Yong-ji. Guangdong People's Press (June 1996).

The book, based on ethnographic data and historical documents, explores the issue of how Hakka culture formulates the behaviour of Hakka woman and how they make their own choices. The author also compares the status of women of different ethnic groups in South China, and questions the traditional analysis of Chinese women issues with a "public-male, private-female" dichotomy.

Summary of events in 1995-96

In 1995-96, the Hong Kong Anthropological Society enjoyed another year of activities that combined fun and learning. The high point of the year was the fieldtrip to Ruyuan, Northern Guangdong. Aside from the very reasonable price, organizers and participants alike were most impressed by the hospitality they received from various *danweis* for the five-day visit in the Yao minority area, for which we were very grateful. We renewed some old friendships and made some new ones over the trip, and managed to recruit some new members.

There were a total of twelve lectures/presentations, covering such diverse topics as the East River guerrillas, ethnomusic and gender in the Philippines, food culture in Hong Kong, and Chinese commercial elites and charitable organizations. The 9th Barbara Ward Memorial Lecture was delivered by Dr. Patrick Hase, on Traditional Village Life in Hong Kong. Prof. David Lung spoke on rescuing Hong Kong's cultural heritage, after the AGM in April 1996. Both talks were very well attended. Members also enjoyed the Film Festival in March, a visit to the Ping Shan Cultural Trail led by Dr. Sidney Cheung, and a Miao minority costumes appreciation and slide presentation (beautiful slides, thousands of them!) by Mr. Loeiz Pabiot.

For the coming year, the Executive Committee has planned a series of lectures, both in English and Cantonese, local fieldtrips and a possible trip to see a minority religious ceremony in Liannan, Guangdong. The 10th Barbara Ward Memorial Lecture will be held in October this year. Mark your calendars for these upcoming events!

We are especially grateful that Mr. Roger Harris has volunteered to help design a homepage and put the Society on the Internet. Members wishing to correspond with the Society via email are encouraged to provide the Hon. Sec. with your information. As always, the Exco needs your contribution. Come to our monthly executive committee meetings or simply call any of the members to talk about your ideas.

Siumi Maria Tam
Chairperson 1995-96

香港人類學會獎學金

為鼓勵人類學的香港研究，本會於一九九五年設置了「香港人類學會獎學金」，頒予就讀本地大學的全日制學生，並於一九九六年四月三十日的會員大會上舉行了頒獎儀式。第一屆獎學金的得獎人是香港中文大學人類學系三年級的陳嘉雯小姐，她獲得獎狀及港幣一千元獎學金。以下登錄了陳小姐獲獎文章「粗言穢語及其文化意義」的摘要。

粗言穢語及其文化意義

陳嘉雯

文章摘要

如果你有機會細聽某些大學生交談，可能你會感到莫名其妙。他們談的可能是國家大事、學術問題，但所用的語言卻跟這些嚴肅的題材極不相配。本文的重點便是探討存在於香港社會這一有趣的語言學問題。粗言穢語一般是指低下階層人士、黑社會份子及賭徒所用的語言。香港本地製作的電影在模塑和普及化此等語言之影響力，實在不容忽視。

在文中，本人嘗試用不同角度分析大學生採用這套說話方式之現象及原因。其中明顯地男性比女生更多用粗言穢語，這反映出性別差異及社會對性別角色的不同要求。此外，社會地位亦可解釋大學生較一般低下階層人士喜歡說粗言穢語之現象。前者視粗言穢語為社會資源的一種，而後者說這類語言的，則往往被視為「粗魯」和「知識水平低」。

The Hong Kong Anthropological Society Scholarship

To encourage anthropological studies of Hong Kong, the Hong Kong Anthropological Society Scholarship was established in 1995 for full time students in local higher education institutions. The prize-giving ceremony was held at the Annual General Meeting on 30th April, 1996. The recipient was Ms Carmen Chan, a 3rd year Anthropology major at the Chinese University of Hong Kong. An abstract of her award-winning essay "Rough Speech and its Cultural Meanings" follows.

Rough Speech and its Cultural Meanings

Carmen Chan

Abstract

It is fascinating if you listen to some college students talking. They may talk about extremely solemn political or academic issues, but in a kind of language which does not befit the seriousness of the topics. This paper sheds light on this interesting linguistic aspect of Hong Kong society. By rough speech, I refer to a particular type of language used mainly by the lower class, gangsters or gamblers. This language use, however, has become widespread thanks largely to local movies.

Among college students eliciting the language, male students do it much more frequently than female students. Such gender difference suggests an underlying differentiation between the social roles and expectations of men and women. The social status of the elicitor of the language is also an important factor for analysis. College students, with substantial education, and representing the upper-middle class, are more inclined to talk in a rough style compared to the lower class from whom the language might have originated. This may be due to the former's tangibility between both polite and rough language, such that they see rough speech as one of their social resources. The lower class, on the other hand, is more likely to be stigmatized if they use rough speech.

About the contributors 作者簡介

Joseph Bosco is Associate Professor, Department of Anthropology, the Chinese University of Hong Kong.

Choi Fung Sze and Lo Kam Yan are third year Chinese Language and Literature majors at the Chinese University of Hong Kong.

James Hayes is a historian with a Ph.D from London University who lived in Hong Kong between 1956 and 1990, and was a member of the Hong Kong Civil Service until his retirement.

Kam Pui Sze and Ng Kwong Ngai are second year Geography majors at the Chinese University of Hong Kong.

Jocasta Wai Yee Lee is a M.Phil. student at the Department of Anthropology, the Chinese University of Hong Kong.

Sidney W. Mintz is Wm. L. Straus Jr. Chair of Anthropology at Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Maryland, USA. He is also Visiting Professor at the Department of Anthropology, the Chinese University of Hong Kong in 1995-1996.

Wang Jian-min is Vice-Chairperson of Department of Ethnology, the Central University of Nationalities, Beijing. He is also council member and secretary-general of the Chinese Ethnological Society.

Subscription and Membership Information 訂閱及入會資料

The Hong Kong Anthropologist is the annual journal of the Hong Kong Anthropological Society. It aims to provide synopses of current and past ethnographic research, of articles dealing with issues arising from such research, in Hong Kong and related areas, for a general readership. Contributions in Chinese or English to a maximum of 3,000 words are invited, and should be typed double-space on A4 paper. Signed articles represent the views of their authors only, and do not necessarily reflect the views of the editors.

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