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華人社會之性別研究研討會文選
SELECTED PAPERS OF CONFERENCE ON
GENDER STUDIES IN CHINESE SOCIETIES

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Preface

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IN 1985, the last year of the Decade of Women, the first women's studies or gender studies programmes were set up independently in the People's Republic of China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan. The three programmes have since remained active in promoting research, publication, and local academic exchange. The number of scholars in women's studies has been on the rise since then.

Women in the PRC, Hong Kong and Taiwan share the same historical and cultural heritage. At the same time, they went through convergent as well as divergent development in terms of their social status and gender roles under different political, economic and social systems. These similarities and differences provide an important perspective to the study of Chinese women. Hong Kong serves as an entrepot for academic exchange among Chinese scholars. In 1988, Prof. Nora Chiang of the National Taiwan University and Prof. Esther Chow of the American University visited Hong Kong and discussed the development of women's studies in Chinese societies. Independently, they both suggested the idea of holding a conference in Hong Kong to facilitate an interchange of research experiences and directions for women's studies scholars from China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan.

The Gender Role Research Programme of the Centre for Hong Kong Studies at The Chinese University of Hong Kong took the initiative to host the first conference on gender studies in Chinese societies. The objectives are to provide an opportunity for scholars from China, Hong Kong, Taiwan, and other overseas Chinese societies to exchange their respective research experiences and insights, as well as to strengthen their networks.

The conference was held in Cho Yin Hall at The Chinese University of Hong Kong from November 9-10, 1989. The conference was divided into six sessions, including 'Historical Perspective of Gender Studies', 'Gender and Health', 'Career and Work', 'Education', 'Gender

Stereotype', and 'Gender Studies: Issues and Directions'. A total of 30 papers were presented, including eight from China, seven from Taiwan, two from U.S., and the other 13 from Hong Kong. The speakers came from a variety of academic disciplines, including History, Medicine, Public Health, Psychology, Sociology, Anthropology, Geography, Philosophy, Religion, Education, Literature, Management, and Marketing. The number of participants including the speakers were about 150. The conference programme for the two days was tightly scheduled. The discussions on the papers were vigorous. Plans were also made for future links and cooperation within and between regions.

The conference papers will be published in two separate volumes. This conference proceeding will include the Chinese and English papers dealing with specific and empirical research topics. The theoretical papers will be published as a Chinese book with additional chapters from other contributors. We hope that these preliminary efforts will stimulate further developments in gender studies in Chinese societies.

The funding of the Conference on Gender Studies in Chinese Societies as well as the publication of this conference proceeding was supported by a grant from the Madam Tam Jen-chiu Research Fund. I would also like to acknowledge the dedicated efforts of the Organizing Committee and the colleagues of the Centre for Hong Kong Studies. Gratitude is due to all of them for their support.

Finally, a note on the organizational changes of the Centre for Hong Kong Studies. Since September, 1990, the CHKS has been reorganized and merged with the new Hong Kong Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies at The Chinese University of Hong Kong. The new Gender Research Programme is targeted as one of the strategic research programmes of the Institute. Its scope is extended to include the Asia-Pacific region. The publication of this Conference Proceeding is also taken over by the Hong Kong Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies for whose support we would also like to express our gratitude.

Fanny M. Cheung
January 1991

華人社會之性別研究研討會 序

張妙清

一九八五年是聯合國訂立國際婦女十年的最後一年，而於當年在中國、香港、台灣不約地成立了第一所婦女或性別研究中心，分別推動研究、出版、及本地學術交流。從事婦女研究的學者，亦日漸增加。

中國、台灣和香港都承接着相同的歷史和文化背景，但在不同的政治、經濟和社會體制下，三地婦女的地位和性別角色，都有異同的發展。香港是海峽兩岸學術交流的滙集處。八八年間，國立台灣大學姜蘭虹教授及美國大學周顏玲教授先後訪港，討論華人社會的婦女學發展，並提議在香港舉行會議，讓中港台三地的婦女研究學者交流磋商研究經驗和方向。

香港中文大學香港研究中心屬下的性別角色研究計劃遂發起這首次「華人社會之性別研究研討會」，目的是讓中、港、台及海外華人社會的學者聚首一堂，交換各地性別研究的經驗、心得與見解，互相切磋，並加強彼此的聯繫。

這次會議於一九八九年十一月九日至十日在香港中文大學祖堯堂舉行。會議分為六節，包括「從歷史觀點看性別研究」、「性別與健康」、「事業與工作」、「教育」、「性別塑型」、及「性別研究：問題與方向」。報告的論文共三十篇，其中八篇來自中國、七篇來自台灣、兩篇來自美國，其他十三篇是香港的論文報告。講者的學術背景跨越多項學術，包括歷史、醫學、公共衛生、心理學、社會學、人類學、地理、哲學、宗教、管理及市場學等。連同講者在內，參加會議人數共約一百五十人。兩日來的會議程序緊湊，除就論文的內容作出熱烈的討論外，更商討日後個別及地區性的聯繫和合作。

會議的論文將分兩種形式出版，以專題作研究的中、英文論文，現輯成此論文集。而理論性的論文，則準備加添幾篇文章再以中文專書出版。我們期望這些初步的工作能刺激起華人社會性別研究的發展。

「華人社會之性別研究」研討會的召開及這冊論文集的印製，承譚紉就女士研究基金資助，並得籌備委員會及香港研究中心各位同寅鼎力支持，謹此致謝。

最後亦須交待研究中心的改組。一九九〇年九月起，香港研究中心歸入新成立之香港亞太研究所，而性別研究計劃編為研究所之重點研究，範圍擴展至亞太區域。此論文集亦相應交由香港亞太研究所出版。

Opening Remarks

Lady Akers-Jones, MBE, JP

I WAS delighted to be invited by Dr. Lau Siu-kai to officiate at the opening ceremony of this Conference on 'Gender Studies in Chinese Societies' and I congratulate the Organizing Committee and its convener, Dr. Fanny Cheung, on attracting such an erudite assembly of speakers for the two days of the Conference.

I have read the programme of subjects on which papers will be given by academics from the People's Republic of China, the USA, from Taiwan and of course from Hong Kong. It is most encouraging that academia is researching the role of women in the present day and the effect it has upon her mental and physical health, and upon the family, all the way from childhood to old age, the necessity of wider education and its relevance to a future in the professional, business and industrial worlds, and the difficulties and stresses faced in balancing the natural female and inescapable responsibility of bearing the future generation with economic necessity and fulfilment of personal aspiration. But I would emphasize it is not just an academic problem but is of vital importance to the social and political development of nations and to the prosperity and well-being of their peoples.

In Hong Kong there is no doubt that the role of women has gone through a revolution in a very few years. Our industry depends upon women workers, our office workers are now largely women and there are many women among our legislators. With this change has come a steady decline in the size of the family. Women have fewer children, they

work more, they participate more in community life.

It seems, too, that these changes which we observe here are a reflection of a situation which is not confined to Hong Kong. To take one example, there is a shortage in many countries of nursing staff in hospitals, work traditionally performed by women. It is not uncommon to discover that the nursing staff in the hospitals in many countries now come from other countries around the world. In other words the changing role of women in society is giving rise to problems and adjustments in national communities which go beyond national boundaries.

At the end of the eighties, therefore, it is most timely to take stock of just what has been happening and what is likely to happen in the years ahead and hopefully to give some indication to Government leaders of the lines on which they should be thinking.

In Hong Kong the better-off woman is fortunate to be able to free herself from many domestic and child-minding chores by the availability of help from the Philippines and surrounding countries. Here again this has given rise to adjustments in society both here and in the Philippines and is making a substantial contribution to the economy of these places.

I work for the Hong Kong Girl Guides Association which is part of a world organisation for girls and young women. I am also interested in the problems which women face in their daily lives from having been uprooted from familiar surroundings and neighbours to a different life-style. I helped to form the Yin Ngai Societies in our multi-storey housing estates to help women in these estates to provide support and a social group in which to make friends. I imagine that it is these activities which explain why I was invited to officiate at the opening ceremony this morning! I will be very interested to read the results of your conference and the various contributions you have to make.

May I wish you an interesting and fruitful exchange of views and ideas during the Conference and thank you all for coming to take part.

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I Career and Work 事業與工作

Waged Work at Home: Married Women's Participation in Industrial Outwork in Hong Kong

Lui Tai-lok

INDUSTRIAL outwork was for long portrayed as an anachronism. It is generally assumed that outwork is transitory in nature; as industrialization gets under way, it would be replaced by the factory system gradually (Braverman, 1974; Marglin, 1974; Smelser, 1959). In case outwork is used for production in contemporary industrial societies, it would be largely confined to the 'traditional' sector, and diminishing in use. However, recent studies of labour market segmentation have provided evidences of the persistent use of casualized labour and have put forward the argument that various non-standard job-forms are useful for helping management adjust to flux and uncertainty in the business environment (Berger & Piore, 1980; Tarling, 1987; Wilkinson, 1981). More importantly, starting from the mid-1970s there have been a number of studies which brought the conditions of women outworkers back into the agenda of research on women and work (for example, Allen, 1983; Allen & Wolkowitz, 1987; Brown, 1974; Cragg & Dawson, 1981; Crine, 1979; Hakim, 1987; Hope, et al., 1976; Hoy & Kennedy, 1983; Mitter, 1986; Singh & Kelles-Viitanen, 1987). In the context of mass unemployment and the emergence of the feminist research on women's domestic labour, the 'rediscovery' of outwork has added a new dimension to the study of work and employment. As succinctly summed up by Allen and Wolkowitz (1987:2), '[b]y demonstrating the gap between dominant con-

ceptions of women primarily as housewives and the reality of women as waged workers, they have shown the inadequacy of models of work based only on men's employment patterns. Feminist researches have asked new questions about waged and unwaged work, the social relations through which these are controlled and the ways in which they are rewarded and measured.'

This paper is an attempt to look into the social processes which structure the supply of married women's labour to industrial outworking in Hong Kong. Of course, this is not to suggest that the persistence of industrial outwork in contemporary Hong Kong can be explained merely in terms of the supply side of the question. Elsewhere I have put forward the argument that industrial outwork is an integral part of production in contemporary industrial societies and its existence is to be explained by the interactions between factors on the demand and the supply side (Lui, 1985 & forthcoming). Nevertheless, it is equally important to note that the question concerning the supply of women's labour to outworking remains under-theorized (cf. Humphries & Rubery, 1984). It has to be emphasized that the advantages of industrial outwork as a form of flexible labour organization to employers do not explain why people (mainly married women) take up this form of paid work. And, turning to current researches on industrial outworking, the most frequently cited explanation of why mainly women doing outwork is that married women are greatly restricted by their family responsibilities in their participation in economic activity. When they need to finance the household economy, they have to find a form of paid work which can fit in with their role of housewife (see, for example, Allen & Wolkowitz, 1987; Cragg & Dawson, 1981). Such an explanation requires further elaboration and exploration. In particular, it needs to grasp the dynamics of the structuring of ideological and economic constraints, which condition the lives of women outworkers (cf. Yeandle, 1984).

Industrial Outworking as a Family Work Strategy

This paper attempts to probe into the reasons why some married women

are engaged in industrial outwork. The theoretical background of our discussion in the following sections involves a sociological analysis of the supply of women's labour. Given the limited scope of this paper, this is not the place to go into a detailed review of current studies of the issue. It is, however, essential to highlight some of the major issues in the sociological analysis of women's supply of labour here for the purpose of outlining the conceptual elements for our analysis of the informants' participation in industrial outwork.

Reviewing the existing literature on labour market studies, it can be suggested that most theoretical analyses of the question of labour supply come from two contrasting perspectives, namely the Marxist thesis of the industrial reserve army and the 'new home economics'. As regards the Marxist concept of the industrial reserve army, i.e., the floating, the latent, and the stagnant labourers, it is defined in terms of the functions for capital. That is, its explanation is functionalist and tends to assume that the conditions of the industrial reserve army are conditioned by the requirements of capital.

Contrary to the Marxist thesis of the industrial reserve army, Becker (1981) attempts to provide a micro-analysis of human behaviour which can analyze women's participation in labour and the division of labour in households. Though neo-classical economics has frequently been criticized for its conservative orientation, in the case of the 'new home economics', one has to admit that its analysis does cast new lights on our understanding of families. In their review of the 'new home economics', Berk & Berk (1983:381) point out the major conceptual challenge to family studies put forward by Becker:

In effect, the New Home Economics asserts that family sociology has too often looked for the wrong thing in the wrong place. Families are really 'about' the production of household commodities; instrumental activities are alive and well in the household; and *all* family members are implicated.

The important issues which have been brought up by the 'new home economics' include, first, the observation that household work occupies

an important place in family activities. Second, families have to decide the allocation of time between the market and household sectors, and this carries the implication that household and market activities cannot be studied in isolation. Essentially, Becker's analysis focuses on the household production function and the household is taken as a unit of production. Given the assumption that families, subjected to the constraints of their financial resources and the amount of time available, seek to maximize utility, the explanation of the allocation problem can follow the deductive logic of the standard micro-economic relationships for optimality. The interesting issues are: 'how much time will be allocated to which activities, and whose time that will be' (Berk & Berk, 1983: 378). It is expected that '[s]pecialized investments and time allocation together with biological differences in comparative advantage imply that married men specialize in the market sector and married women in the household sector' (Becker, 1981: 25).

No doubt the 'new home economics' has provided us with some insightful ideas concerning our understanding of the family and the supply of women's labour. In particular, it has pointed out that the family should be conceived as a production and consumption unit and that the supply of women's labour should be analyzed in the context of the organization of their family lives. Nevertheless, the 'new home economics' is far from adequate to provide a useful framework for the analysis of women's participation in labour (Ben-Porath, 1982; Berk & Berk, 1983: 383-91; Dex, 1985: 75-6; England & McCreary, 1987; Hannan, 1982; Joseph, 1983: 31-4; Walby, 1986: 71-4). In the first place, the assumption that there is a single utility function simply ignores the issues concerning how household decisions are arrived at and how the dynamics (i.e., power relations) among members of household affect these decisions, which by themselves, are problems requiring investigation. Second, '[t]here is a recognition that the necessary time spent on housework done by one partner involves an equivalent reduction in time available for work, or vice versa, but the causal mechanism is assumed and one could argue another case' (Dex, 1985:75-6). That is, the 'new home economics' has paid insufficient attention to the socio-economic

context in which women participate in economic activities. The problem is not only that our understanding of women's position requires an investigation into the opportunity structure of the labour market, but also that the inter-relationship between work and home and the repercussions of one upon another complicate the processes through which decisions concerning women's labour participation are arrived at. Third, it is problematic to assume tastes and values as given, as found in Becker's analysis. This is not to say that one therefore turns to another direction and assumes socialization explains all human behaviour and denies the value of rational choice analysis (cf. Wrong, 1961; Granovetter, 1985). The crux of the problem lies in the black-box approach of the 'new home economics', which fails to see how economic behaviour is actually embedded in social relations. In other words, if families seek to maximize utility, they do not do it in a vacuum. Not only the environment is not static, but that social relations also structure how families optimize their resources in a given context. Our contention is that the black-box itself requires investigation and one has to take those questions concerning why and how women decide to participate in economic activity seriously.

To sum up, it is contended that our analysis of the supply of women's labour must start with the recognition that women have an active role to play in deciding their labour participation. Moreover, women should not be simplistically conceived as a homogeneous entity. Any investigation of women's supply of labour must recognize the effects of social background on their work behaviour. Last but not least, the family context has a significant effect on women's labour participation. The assumption of a single household utility function is problematic because it fails to take into account the element of power in family life.

Recent researches on family and family history have put forward the idea of family work strategy (Anderson, 1971; Hareven, 1982; Pahl, 1980 & 1984; Pahl & Wallace, 1985; Scott & Tilly, 1980; Tilly, 1979 & 1985; Tilly & Scott, 1987). At present, the concept of family work strategy is still in the state of early formulation and much is required for further clarification (Crow, 1989; Morgan, 1989). But it should be recognized

that the concept does help to identify certain elements which can further contribute to a sociological understanding of women's supply of labour. Generally speaking, the concept of family work strategy is concerned with the way a family allocates its time and resources to get work done. The important point is that how work is done is not an individual decision as the allocation of time and resources relates to the organization of family life as a whole. Therefore, the formulation of the family work strategy can be seen as a social process of conflict, negotiation and compromise among family members in deciding the arrangement of individual members' roles in the family and how domestic and market activities are to be carried out. In brief, by family work strategy, we mean the strategy adopted by a family to maintain a certain standard of living and household care, to manage family responsibilities with a certain form of division of labour, and to finance the family budget.

The major contribution of the concept of family work strategy to our analysis of women labour lies in its emphasis on a non-atomized approach to the understanding of women's labour supply. Also it has highlighted the processes of the organization of family life in the allocation of time and resources to household and market activities. Indeed, an investigation of these processes will show how economic and ideological constraints interact to influence the adoption of a particular family strategy for work and family responsibilities. Put it another way, in the processes of allocating resources to meet different needs, the family has to develop its expectations of how family responsibilities are managed and how different members fulfill the expectations of their roles. Yet this does not suggest that women are, therefore, passive supports of the social structure, and that their actions can be read out from their structurally determined positions. Rather, the emphasis on the notion of strategy suggests that while the economic and ideological constraints mediating through the family impose certain limitations on women's actions, it is of importance to recognize the active role played by women themselves in negotiating the ways of performing their roles in relation to their engagement in household and market activities. That is also to say that the concept of family work strategy highlights not only

the mode of organizing family life but also how that particular mode of arrangement is used to cope with various needs and to meet role expectations imposed by the existing sexual division of labour (Evetts, 1988).

To sum up, this paper cuts into the sociological study of industrial outwork on two counts. First, it looks into the supply of women's labour to industrial outworking in the light of the concept of family work strategy. Second, by probing into the social processes structuring women's participation in outwork, we intend to show the complexity of the concept of family work strategy. The following section will be a discussion of women outworkers' participation in the outworking market. It is based on ethnographic materials collected by intensive interviews with 50 women outworkers.¹

Female Labour Force Participation

Table 1 shows the overall labour force participation of women and the percentages of women participating in inwork and outwork in the period 1976-86. There are several interesting observations we can make from these data. First, the proportion of women engaging in outwork is quite significant. This is especially so for women of the age-group 35-39. Previous researches, which failed to recognize the importance of outwork as a form of paid work for women, are likely to have over-estimated the integration of women into the formal economy.² Second, the participation rates for outwork are highest in the following age-groups: 30-34, 35-39, and 40-44. Meanwhile, the overall female labour participation rate in 1986 was 70.8 for the age-group 25-29, and 57.4 for 30-34. It is reasonable to assume that when women in their early thirties have to leave their jobs in order to take care of their families, outwork is a form of paid work whereby they can earn a supplementary income and manage housework at the same time. Third, while some women become outworkers after they have left their former in-plant employment, others take up outwork as the burden of family responsibilities has been relieved by the fact that their children have started school. The decline of the rates of participation in homemaking for the age-groups 35-39

Table 1 Participation of Female Population in Various Forms of Economic Activity, 1976 and 1986 (in %)

Age-Group	1976				1986			
	FLPR	Except Out-work	Out-work	Home-making	FLPR	Except Out-work	Out-work	Home-making
15 - 19	59.3	58.7	0.6	6.3	33.6	33.5	0.1	1.2
20 - 24	72.9	71.6	1.3	20.3	83.7	83.3	0.4	8.2
25 - 29	49.6	45.6	4.0	46.4	70.8	68.5	2.3	26.8
30 - 34	41.2	33.4	7.8	56.1	57.4	52.2	5.2	40.8
35 - 39	41.0	32.8	8.2	56.6	57.0	51.7	5.3	41.3
40 - 44	43.3	35.7	7.6	54.5	59.5	55.4	4.1	38.3
45 - 49	40.3	35.1	5.2	56.8	54.8	52.5	2.3	41.2
50 - 54	37.3	34.1	3.2	59.0	43.7	42.3	1.4	49.0
> 55	22.0	20.2	1.8	62.9	21.0	20.3	0.7	40.6

N.B.: FLPR = Overall Female Labour Force Participation Rate; Except Outwork = Percentage of economically active female in all forms of economic activity except outwork

Sources: Census & Statistics Department, *Hong Kong By-Census 1976, Main Report: Vol. II*, pp. 62-65; *Hong Kong 1986 By-Census, Main Report: Vol. 2*, pp. 50-51.

and 40-44 and a relatively high rate of participation in outwork for these age-groups show that some outworkers are likely to be former full-time housewives.

According to a research based upon a reanalysis of a one-percent sample of the Hong Kong land population from the 1976 By-census and the 1981 Census, it is suggested that women outworkers are found mainly among the married (Wong, 1983).³ More precisely put, women outworkers are likely to be found among married women at a stage of the family cycle when children are at their preschool and/or primary school ages (Wong, 1983:11) (also see Table 2). When children are in their infancy, they require intensive care and many mothers find it necessary to pay full attention to their babies. When they reach secondary school age, they spend more time in school and their mothers can resume full-time inwork. With children between four and twelve, mar-

Table 2 Distribution of Women Outworkers in Age Groups, 1981 and 1986 (in %)

Age Group	1981		1986	
	Female Popt.	Women Outworkers	Female Popt.	Women Outworkers
15 - 19	15.2	1.2	10.7	0.4
20 - 24	15.5	4.9	13.6	2.6
25 - 29	12.6	14.0	14.4	16.0
30 - 34	10.1	22.7	11.8	28.8
35 - 39	5.6	15.8	9.4	23.7
40 - 44	6.1	13.3	5.4	10.4
45 - 49	6.7	9.9	5.8	6.3
50 - 54	6.7	6.3	6.2	4.1
55 - 59	5.7	3.8	5.9	2.4
60 - 64	5.0	2.9	5.2	2.0
> 65	10.8	5.1	11.6	3.3
Total	100.0	99.9	100.0	100.0

Sources: Census and Statistics Dept., *Hong Kong 1981 Census, Main Report: Vol. 2, Tables*, p.58; *Hong Kong 1986 By-Census, Main Report: Vol. 2*, pp.50-51.

ried women understand that their children are still young and need much attention. Nevertheless, they also find that they may have time to do a certain amount of work when their children are at school. Outwork offers the flexibility these women desire and suits their schedule.

So far we have reviewed some general statistics on female labour force participation. It is suggested that married women in their thirties and the early forties constitute a significant source of labour supply for industrial outwork. Also the fact that industrial outwork is a kind of home-based production makes it possible for these married women to combine outwork and family responsibilities. Nevertheless, there still remain many unanswered questions concerning married women's participation in outwork. First, it is important to look into the reasons for married women to take up outwork. Second, it is far from adequate to assume that the need to earn a supplementary income and childcaring

are sufficient explanations of married women's participation in industrial outwork. Outworking is only *one* among other possible strategies (for example, part-time work, childminding) whereby housewives can earn supplementary income. In order to understand *how* married women come to take up outwork as a form of paid work, it is necessary for us to analyze the social processes which structure their participation in labour. Third, women's participation in labour is not just an outcome of individual decisions (Beneria & Roldan, 1987:110). Their participation in outwork should best be seen as the outcome of negotiations among family members within existing ideological, social and economic constraints.

Circumstances Behind Working at Home

Our discussion of married women's participation in industrial outwork is divided into two parts. Here in this section, we shall concentrate on bringing out various concerns which are relevant to our informants' decisions of becoming outworkers. In particular, we shall discuss how they evaluate the adoption of outworking as a family work strategy. Current reviews of the concept of family work strategy have raised the issue concerning the tendency of overstating the rational choice element in the process of decision-making (cf. Crow, 1989; Morgan, 1989). While it is quite right to argue that family work strategy is by no means simply an outcome of utility maximization, it would also be problematic to assume that individuals' behaviours are structured by social constraints and therefore do not involve any sense of strategic consideration. The following discussion is an attempt to look into the processes through which our informants work out their decisions and develop their family work strategies in the context of various constraining factors. What follows in the next section is a further probe into the rationale for taking up outwork. There we shall look into how women outworkers of different social and family backgrounds take up their jobs. By highlighting the heterogeneity of women outworkers, we shall see how outworking can be used as a strategy to meet different needs. It is only when we

recognize different concerns and different circumstances behind working at home can we know the social processes through which outworking as a family work strategy is developed.

The most frequently cited reason by our informants for doing outwork is childcare responsibility. But it is interesting to note that many married women outworkers become outworkers only after the birth of the second or the third child. The reason is that the increase in the number of children upsets the existing arrangement of childcare. For instance, Mrs. Yang, an outworker fabricating key rings, formerly had a job which allowed her to bring her children to the workshop. But after the birth of her third child, she dropped this idea of looking after her children at the workplace.

It was a small factory operating in a domestic premises. The boss allowed me to bring my son and daughter to the factory. So I could do my work and take care of the kids at the same time. I must say that it was very tough work. I had to shout a lot so that they would not affect my work. After the birth of my third child, I could not manage to bring them all along to work, nor would the boss accept the presence of so many children in his factory. (*Mrs. Yang: 4 children*)

For others, the birth of the second or the third child makes it difficult to continue to rely on the help of relatives or friends for childcare.

I asked a relative to take care of my son so that I could continue to work. But after the birth of my second son, it was embarrassing to ask for help again. Moreover, I don't think my relative would like to look after two children at the same time. It would be a very demanding task. (*Mrs. Chang: 2 children*)

My mother looked after my eldest son and I continued to work after childbirth. Later I had my second child and then I thought this time I should take up the responsibility of looking after my kids. So I stopped working after my second childbirth ... Also,

my mother told me that she's too old to take care of two kids.
And I thought I should not push my mother to work too hard.
(Mrs. Kiang: 3 children)

The increase in the number of children not only means that the mother has to spend more time on taking care of her children, it also exerts pressure on the family's existing arrangements of childcare. Informal arrangements — help from relatives or friends — become less viable than before. Indeed, this is a critical moment for the family concerned as it has to adopt a new strategy to cope with the problem of childcare. This is, perhaps, also the moment when the effects of the existing sexual division of labour is most apparent. The present form of sexual division of labour is essentially 'between women as unpaid workers within the household and the relative freedom of men in this respect and the differential bases on which women and men are integrated as paid workers into the system of production' (Allen, 1983:659). When one of the marriage partners has to withdraw from work and assume certain family responsibilities, under the existing sexual division of labour, women are always the ones to shoulder the caring work and men the primary financial responsibilities.

Childcare responsibility *per se* does not determine married women's decision to take up outwork. Rather, it is the definition of childcare responsibility as part of the role of a housewife that is really crucial here. On the one hand, most of our informants (39 out of 50) suggest that their husbands like to see them staying at home to look after their children. There are only 11 (out of the total of 50) informants who describe their husbands' attitude toward their engagement in work outside home as 'open' (i.e., 'he doesn't care', 'he doesn't mind if I send our kids to the childcare centre and go back to work in a factory', etc.). We shall come back to this point concerning husbands' attitude toward our informants' participation in work outside home in the next section. Here it is sufficient to point out that husbands' response toward their wives' engagement in inwork and outwork is certainly an important factor influencing married women's decision of taking up outwork. It is even more impor-

tant to note that the informants are also well aware of the need for fulfilling the expectations of their roles as mother and housewife.

My husband has made it quite clear that he wants me to concentrate on taking care of our children. He doesn't mind if I stop doing outwork. I have to look after our children and my family. Doing outwork is secondary. (Mrs. Chan: 2 children, outwork wages about HK\$1,000 a month)

We need to make more money ... Generally speaking, my husband is kind of open. He once said that it's alright for him if I really wanted to work outside home. But I can't find any person to help looking after my kids. Both my mother and mother-in-law are in China ... No, I don't want to see my kids raised in China. I think it's my responsibility to take care of them. Doing outwork is a way to meet the needs (i.e., earning money and taking care of the family). (Mrs. Hui: 3 children, outwork wages about HK\$1,500 a month)

I do feel that I have the responsibility of looking after our children. To earn extra income at the expense of spending more time on taking care of the children is simply pointless. (Mrs. Cheung: 3 children, outwork wages about HK\$1,000 a month)

A detailed discussion of the effect of the ideology of housewife and motherhood on married women is beyond the scope of this paper (but see, for example, Oakley, 1974). Suffice here to say that our informants' own definitions of their roles of mother and housewife affect how they manage the problem of childcare. Differently put, the ideology of motherhood and housewife determines the way the informants perceive the caring of their children at home as an appropriate arrangement for childcare.

If ideology acts as a constraint on women's participation in full-time paid work, economic concerns are also pertinent to their decision of

taking up outwork. Indeed, the decision to participate in outwork is both ideologically and economically determined. It involves a conscious cost-benefit calculation.

It won't be worth my while to work outside. If I go to work in a factory, I would have to pay somebody else to look after my children. I am just a manual worker and my pay will be more or less equal to the amount needed for the nursery. In the end I will find myself working to pay somebody else to take care of my kids. This is silly. And if I really go to work in a factory, I will have to eat away from home and pay bus fares. It's not worth it. (*Mrs. Chang: 2 children, formerly a machinist, outwork income about HK\$1,500 a month*)

It is not economical. Even if I go out to work again, I still need to take care of my housework. So it's very unlikely that I can work overtime ... I won't earn much. So I work to pay the nursery fee. And then I have to worry for the quality of nursery ... Why not I stay at home to look after my kids and earn some extra money by doing outwork. (*Mrs. Chen: 1 child, outwork income about HK\$1,800 a month*)

Most of the informants who have mentioned childcare responsibility as their reason for doing outwork give the same kind of cost-benefit calculation in their answers. They show an interest in work outside the home. Moreover, they believe that they can earn more than their present outwork wages if they have the opportunity to work as inworkers. It is quite clear that most of them would prefer, in the absence of children, to work outside the home. Furthermore, they also know that given their positions in the labour market, they cannot afford to pay for formal childcare service.⁴ The decision to take up outwork is essentially a pragmatic solution to the question of rearing dependent children. This strategy enables married women to take care of their children and to supplement the household income by doing home-based work. The interesting point is that financial calculations constitute an important

element in the informants' strategy of managing childcare. Given their limited economic resources, it is necessary for these families to be conscious of the financial aspects of the strategies used to cope with various problems they encounter in taking care of their family responsibilities.

This brings us to the issue concerning the notion of strategy in our analysis of married women's participation in industrial outwork. Our discussion above shows that our informants have tried to think out a way to cope with the question of managing childcare. Indeed, they make their choices of doing outwork in the context of existing constraints – on the one hand, there are limited means of handling childcare, and on the other, their participation in inwork is greatly restricted by their labour market capacities. Their cost-benefit calculations are done within the constraints of availability of childcare service, alternative arrangements for handling domestic chores, and employment opportunities in the labour market. And, of course, their spouses' attitude toward their participation inwork outside home is also a factor relevant to our informants' consideration. In a way, we can also see the process of the decision-making as a process of negotiation.

The aforementioned cost-benefit calculations only constitute one of many questions our informants have thought of in making their decisions of participating in outwork. Indeed, the decision to take up outwork is often more than merely an act of getting jobs from the employers or middlemen. Many informants, especially those who are garment machinists, have to buy their own machines in order to get into the trade. And to buy the machine is an investment decision – it costs some money and occupies space in the informants' small flats. Of course, as we shall see in one of the following quotations, some women outworkers do not conceive their investments in buying sewing machines simply for the single purpose of doing outwork. Some also use the machines for making clothes for their babies. Nevertheless, there is still the decision to make – to install the machine or not.

I decided to buy my own sewing machine only when I began to

have the idea of doing outwork ... It's an electrical sewing machine, like those you would find in garment-making factories ... If it's just for sewing clothes for my babies, a Singer machine will do. I bought it mainly for doing outwork. It's a second-hand machine. I bought it from a former workmate. (*Mrs. Chan: her husband is a construction worker*)

I have been doing wool knitting for a long time. The decision to buy the knitting machine is not an easy one. It was a second-hand machine and costed about HK\$950. I thought that having my own machine would help to secure jobs farming out from factories. But then, I thought, once I bought the machine, I must stay in the trade. If not, the money for the machine would be wasted. (*Mrs. Wang: her husband is a restaurant waiter*)

I started to look for outwork only after I had bought my sewing machine ... It just came to my mind that perhaps it's a good idea to have a sewing machine. It could be used for making clothes for my kids. You know, it isn't really that difficult to make clothes for the babies. So I bought the machine. No harm done, right? ... Then I saw some neighbours getting outworking jobs and so I also started to look for outwork. Afterall, I had already bought the machine. (*Mrs. Yip: her husband is a clerical worker*)

Most informants suggest that buying equipment for doing outwork is not an individual decision. They mention that they have consulted their husbands because this involves using their savings and the implication that they may take up outwork.

The major points of the above discussion concern the strategic implication of outworking. Indeed, the decision to take up outwork is complicated. It involves the kind of cost-benefit calculation of whether to go out to work in factories or to take up home based work, and the decision to buy the necessary equipment which may facilitate job searching in the outworking labour market. However, the notion of strategy in

the process of decision-making should not be overly stretched. An important question here concerns our informants' view of their lives as working wives and mothers. When they are asked about family planning and considerations of the effects of children on their jobs, their responses do not suggest deliberate efforts of planning. This is not to say that our informants fail to anticipate that childbirth would create interruptions in their working lives. Rather, their perception of childbirth and the need of leaving the labour market to raise children is conditioned by the culture they are embedded in.

Yes, I have thought of the issue that once we have kids, it would become difficult for me to continue to work outside home. In fact, I have thought of this when we got married. But then this is not really a very important issue. Leaving the labour market is, well you may say, not unexpected ... And it doesn't really matter so much. I do like to work outside the home. But I also have a family to look after. I am not the breadwinner and I don't really mind quitting my job ... I haven't thought of doing outwork then. I saw relatives and neighbours doing outwork and making some money ... Yes, you may say that I always know that outworking is a way to earn some money while looking after the kids at home. I helped my mother doing outwork when I was young. (*Mrs. Lau: 2 children*)

I know very well that I have to quit my job after childbirth. And I also know that I need to earn some money and, therefore, to work after our baby is born. So I do know that it's very likely that I will be an outworker ... I bought the sewing machine soon after we were married. I didn't plan to become an outworker. It's just that I have seen many people doing outwork and so there is the idea in my mind that perhaps some day I can do outwork and make some money. (*Mrs. Chen: 2 children*)

I heard of outwork when I was working in a garment-making factory ... I stopped working when I was first pregnant. Leav-

ing the labour market is expected. My husband likes me to look after family responsibilities ... I like working outside home but I won't insist. Family responsibilities are more important than my job ... Anyway, (the job) is not particularly attractive ... It was only when my elder son grew older that I began to think of outworking. I felt a bit bored then and I thought that given my working experience I should have no problem of handling outwork ... The idea of doing outwork came up rather naturally. (Mrs. Lui: 2 children)

There are three interesting observations we can make from the above quotations. First, outworking as a family work strategy for meeting the needs of managing family responsibilities and earning supplementary income can be seen as a part of the repertoire of their coping strategies. Many informants come to know outworking in the course of their career in in-plant employment. Others have seen their mothers and relatives doing outwork when they were young. In short, outworking is an element of their 'folk wisdom', a kind of cultural as well as practical resource (Swidler, 1986) which they can draw on to cope with their problems. So when our informants look for a means of earning supplementary income while taking care of their children at home they find it rather 'natural' to think of industrial outworking. Of course, whether they can take up outwork depends on the availability of outworking jobs and their access to the outworking network (Lui, 1985 & forthcoming). What interests us here is the point that our informants' background of growing up in working class families and having working experience in the manufacturing sector provides them with the cultural resources of adopting outworking as a work strategy.

Second, the informants are well aware of the need to withdraw from the labour market when they have children. Yet few informants have long-term plans for the arrangement of domestic responsibilities and earning supplementary income. This is to say that outworking is not as strategic as the term family work strategy may suggest in the sense that deliberate planning input is required for taking up such a form of paid

work. Nevertheless, it is important to note that this does not imply the rejection of the concept of family work strategy. Rather, the above discussion shows that our understanding of family work strategy is inseparable from the background of the individuals involved and the context in which the strategy is carried out. In the case of our informants, the adoption of the outworking strategy evolves in the life course of the transition from working wife to motherhood and full-time homemaking. They do not plan ahead to cope with the needs of raising children and earning supplementary income. Instead, they take up outwork when it is found that they have to stay at home to look after their children and, at the same time, find it necessary to earn supplementary income. It is exactly in this situational context that we find the informants drawing on the cultural resources and developing the idea of outworking as a way to cope with their problems.

This relates to the third observation which is concerned with the informants' perception of their work. Very few informants express opinion on the interruptions of their careers because of childbirth. Here, again, the ideological factors are pertinent. Most of our informants suggest that they are interested in in-plant employment. And yet, when they are asked about withdrawing from the labour market after childbirth, there is a tendency for them to perceive such withdrawal as taken for granted. This echoes our above discussion concerning the informants' perception of their roles of mother and housewife and their cost-benefit calculation for outworking. But what is also worth noting is that given their positions in the labour market, they tend to evaluate their work in highly instrumental and calculative terms. To put it another way, their jobs in the manufacturing sector are basically semi-skilled labour and there is little prospect for career development (as one would find in middle-class job markets). Such job characteristics facilitate the adoption of an instrumental approach to the evaluation of their work. Despite their interests in work outside the home, they evaluate their jobs in terms of the net gain (or loss) of assuming the roles of mother and housewife instead of staying in their jobs. They assume that withdrawing from the labour market is a sensible way of handling their problems both

in terms of economic consideration and the fulfillment of their expected roles of mother and housewife. In short, the question of interruption in career development does not enter into the informants' plan for having children and arrangement for childcare. And such an orientation to their work can be understood in the light of the characteristics of variation and flexibility found among women workers (Yeandle, 1982 & 1984).

To recapitulate, the main point is to qualify the meaning of family work strategy: it does not carry the implications of voluntarism and long-term deliberate planning input as one would find in career development strategy adopted by professional and administrative employees. Our intention is to highlight how the informants choose among viable options of action in order to meet the needs of taking care of family responsibilities and earning supplementary income in the context of given ideological and economic constraints. So far we have discussed the effects of the domestic conditions on the informants' consideration of taking up outwork. Apparently, the need to manage family responsibilities (childcare in particular) is not sufficient to explain their participation in outwork. There are three issues which are relevant to the explanation of the participation in outwork. First, other than staying at home to look after the children, there is the possible arrangement of rallying support from family members or relatives. Second, the need to manage family responsibilities at home does not automatically bring the informants to the outworking labour market. The question is that our informants may as well be full-time housewives. Indeed, in order to know why they decide to take up outwork, we must look into how varying degrees of financial need are affecting their participation in outwork. Third, the fact that one must stay at home to look after the children and there is the need to earn supplementary incomes still does not explain the choice of taking up outwork. Other forms of paid work are also possible options. In other words, an adequate explanation of their participation in industrial outwork calls for an investigation of the informants' strategy for choosing outwork as a means to cope with both family responsibilities and financial needs. For the first

two questions, we shall discuss them in detail in the next section. Suffice here to say that, generally speaking, our informants find that they have to look after their children by themselves and they also feel the need (though in varying degrees) to earn supplementary incomes. What we shall do in the following pages is to focus mainly on the choice of home-based work as a means of making some money while taking care of family responsibilities at home.

No doubt, outwork is flexible — though there is the deadline for finishing the work, women outworkers are relatively flexible in organizing the schedule for production in their own homes. But, one may say, so are part-time work and childminding. For the former, the requirement is in-plant work for a specified session and then part-timers are free for the rest of the day. As for childminding, the common practice is that the childminder looks after the baby for specified hours (full-day or, say, from 8:00 am to 8:00 pm) and at the same time manage her own family responsibilities. So the fact that industrial outwork offers a flexible schedule is not enough to make it the necessary choice for our informants. Indeed, its characteristic of flexibility only makes outwork a viable strategy for meeting the needs for money and childcare. What is more important is the informants' perception of industrial outwork as a form of paid work for meeting their financial needs.

Only eight out of the 50 informants do not have prior in-plant working experience in those trades of their present outworking jobs. Bearing in mind that four of these eight outworkers are recent migrants and do not have any local employment experience, it can be said that most of our informants take up the outworking jobs with which they are familiar. Such working experience is important not only because it helps the informants to get into the outworking network and to secure their employment in the outworking labour market. More importantly, it shows that their decision to take up outwork is a conscious attempt to make the best use of their acquired skills and to ensure that they can make a reasonable return by doing some paid work while looking after their kids. Their participation in industrial outwork is a continuation of their work in the manufacturing sector as well as a strategy to maximize

return given their positions in the labour market with their rather restricted working experiences.

I know the trade. And I know that my experience will help me work fast. That means I can earn a reasonable sum by sewing garments. (*Mrs. Chan: 4-year outworking experience as garment machinist*)

I've worked as a ski-jacket machinist for ten years. Well, you know, I'm 'old hands' ... I know how to sew various parts. I've clear ideas about the pace of work and the entire process of production ... You may say that I'm interested in this trade. I know I'm competent. Also I don't think I can earn the same amount if I do those outwork I am not familiar with ... In fact, I haven't thought of changing jobs. (*Mrs. Cheung: 3-year outworking experience as garment machinist*)

If you are not familiar with the work, you can't earn much. It's because you can't really settle in your work ... I've been doing electrical products soldering for a long time. I do deliberately choose outwork of electrical or electronic products soldering or assembly. You don't have any sense of security if you force yourself to do something you hardly know of. (*Mrs. Lee: 1-year outworking experience in electrical products soldering*)

The association between prior working experience in the manufacturing sector and the participation in industrial outwork is not difficult to explain. Interviews with the informants show that prior in-plant working experience influences their choice of work.

(Question: Have you ever thought of doing, say, part-time job in MacDonald's or other jobs in trades other than manufacturing?) No, I haven't thought of this. It's interesting that this is the first time I think of jobs outside manufacturing ... You know, I know nothing of jobs in services. And the idea of doing outwork, I mean those outworking jobs I know, comes to me as a

natural choice. (*Mrs. Cheung: formerly a garment machinist*)

I became a garment machinist apprentice after finishing my primary school education. Ever since then I've been sewing garments ... Perhaps when I can't find jobs in garment-making, I would think of doing something else. Maybe, a cleaner. But not now. In fact, I have never tried to look for outworking jobs outside garment-making, not to say outside manufacturing industries. (*Mrs. Lau: formerly a garment machinist*)

There are also some informants saying that doing industrial outwork would help them secure semi-skilled jobs in the manufacturing sector when they return to the labour market in later years.

Once I thought that it's really no good to do unskilled work, like packing, when I go back to work in factories in my forties. Sewing garments is not something that is hard to learn. But I don't want to waste what I've acquired. Keeping my hands fast would help me get machinist jobs when I go back to work again. (*Mrs. Cham: previous working experiences including operating garment machine and processing wig*)

In a way, it can be said that the informants are strongly tied to manufacturing work. However, many of them do not consider part-time jobs in the manufacturing sector a practical option to replace industrial outwork. Compared with industrial outwork, part-time work is relatively inflexible in many ways.

It's rather difficult to earn a reasonable income by doing three to four hours' work a day. Just when you pick up the pace of work, it would be time to leave ... Mind you, our work is counted on piece-rate. (*Mrs. Kwok: 3 children*)

If I change to part-time work, the factory has to be close to my home. It doesn't make sense to spend more than an hour's time on commuting for a part-time job. I can anticipate that I need

to rush back and forth for such a job. (*Mrs. Ip: 2 children*)

Part-time job can hardly fit my schedule. I need to take my younger son to school and prepare lunch for the two children ... I've heard of part-time job for the session from 8:30 am to 12:30 pm. But I can't make it. It's just too rushy. (*Mrs. Sinn: 2 children*)

Apparently, the informants are well aware of the problem of commuting and the difficulties in fitting with their schedule for family responsibilities. Also considering the expenses of commuting and other related items, in-plant part-time jobs for three to four hours' work a day would not give a reasonable return for their labour. So whether part-time jobs can be presented as a practical option to replace outwork depends on the availability of such jobs which are favourably located and flexibly organized to match schedules for various household tasks (such as cooking, taking children to and back from school, and shopping).

As regards the choice between childminding and industrial outwork, many informants express that they have not thought of the former option. Moreover, many suggest that childminding carries more pressure and can be more disturbing to their family life than industrial outwork.

I think I won't take up childminding. It's the question of responsibility. Looking after other persons' babies is a tough job — what if the baby got sick? ... For doing outwork, my responsibility is to complete my job on time and to meet the specified requirements. Looking after a baby is to take care of a person's life. (*Mrs. Lo*)

He (the husband) has already complained a lot about outworking. But I can manage. I can try to do something else instead of outwork when he's around. But baby-sitting is different. The presence of the baby is almost 24 hours a day ... I bet my husband would say, 'why don't you spend more time on *our* own children?' (*Mrs. Wong*)

There is also the suggestion that childminding is more demanding than outwork because one has to spend much time at home to look after the baby intensively. While outworking allows our informants to take a break occasionally and to get away from household chores for a while, childminding confines them to the domestic environment.

It would be like going back to the days of raising babies. You have to feed the baby every two to three hours. And the attention is very intensive. Of course, you can look after the children and do childminding at the same time. But then you have to stay at home all day ... At least outworking can give you a few days off in the slack season. (*Mrs. Wong*)

Here we shall not go into details of every possible option for replacing industrial outwork as a family work strategy. First, part-time work and childminding are the most frequently quoted options which the informants have seriously thought of and it has already been shown that they do not constitute practical alternatives to industrial outwork for most of the informants. Second, the informants' decisions are bound by their perceptions of opportunities and viable options in the labour market. So far our discussion above should have made it quite clear that the informants' previous employment experiences in the manufacturing sector tend to reinforce their ties to the industrial outworking labour market. The main argument of our discussion is to point out why industrial outwork constitutes a practical strategy for meeting the needs of managing family responsibilities and earning supplementary income. Very briefly, for those married women who have working experiences in the manufacturing sector, industrial outwork offers jobs with which they are familiar and have the characteristic of flexibility that fits in with the schedule of domestic chores. Of course, such flexibility of industrial outwork should not be overstated. Most of our informants have to make a lot of efforts to cope with the demand of outwork and domestic responsibilities (Lui, 1985 & forthcoming). Yet, having said that, it remains true to say that our informants find industrial outwork a form of flexible home-based work for managing family responsibilities and earn-

ing supplementary income simultaneously.

Outworking for Different Domestic Circumstances

So far we have reviewed the general conditions affecting our informants' participation in industrial outwork. But a closer look at the processes through which the informants come to the decision to take up outwork shows that outworking as a family work strategy can serve different purposes. This has important implications for our understanding of the supply of women labour to the industrial outworking labour market in both empirical and theoretical senses. Empirically, this relates to the issue concerning how different domestic circumstances structure the participation in outwork. More importantly, this throws light on the theoretical discussion of the inadequacy of the assumption of homogeneity implied in various analyses of the supply of women labour (Redcliff, 1985). What follows is an attempt to analyze the use of the outworking strategy by the informants for a variety of purposes. The classification of different types of women outworkers below is not intended to be exhaustive. Its main purpose is to highlight the heterogeneity of women outworkers.

Outworking as a Form of Survival Strategy

The literature on urban informal economy is concerned with various forms of informal economic activity (see, for example, Bromley, 1979; Bromley & Gerry, 1979; Hart, 1973) and, therefore, in one way or another, has also included industrial outwork in the discussion (for example, Roldan, 1985; Goddard, 1981). This is not the place to evaluate the debate of the concept of urban informal economy (but see Breman, 1985). What is relevant to our present discussion is the use of the concept of survival strategy in the analysis of the supply of women outworkers (cf. Mingione, 1983). Of course, the extent to which industrial outworkers are in dire financial situation and need to make the maximum use of labour power for earning a living is an empirical ques-

tion. In the case of our interviews with the informants, there are five women outworkers who suggest that their incomes from outworking are used for covering basic family expenditure.

These five cases present a picture of polling labour resources within the household to cope with the problem of financing the family economy. Compared with those informants who do not need to use outwork incomes to finance basic family expenditure, the spouses of these 5 informants are more likely to get second jobs and lend helping hands on domestic chores. For example, Mr. Chow takes up a part-time job as a plastic products machinery worker and earns an extra of about HK\$1,000 per month. He also helps to take care of some housework (like cooking, shopping and washing) and to do some outwork of assembling metal products when he comes home early. In the case of Mr. Lip, he continues to work after retirement. Formerly he was a night-shift labourer. Now he is a plastic products machinery worker earning a wage of about HK\$2,500 a month on piece-rate. There are seven children in the Lip family. Four of them have already left school and assumed full-time employment. All of them started to work after finishing the School Certificate Examination. Their economic independence, no doubt, helps to lessen the burden of family expenditure and improve the financial condition of the Lip family. But, in the words of Mrs. Lip, 'their contributions to family finance are negligible' and she, therefore, has to combine childminding with industrial outwork to earn an income for meeting family expenditure.

In the cases of the Kong family and the Hui family, their coping strategy includes a conscious attempt to tighten their family budgets. Mrs. Kong points out that since at the moment they live in a squatter hut, they do not need to spend much on accommodation. This makes it possible with their limited income to raise two children. But she anticipates that:

When we have to be resettled to the public housing estate, I may need to go out to work. We'll need to raise more money to pay the rent. You know, there are news suggesting that the

government will soon resettle the squatters in this area.

The case of the Hui family is different. Mrs. Hui mentions that they have already turned down an offer of resettling to a public housing estate.

We can't afford the rent. So we refused to move ... We've three kids, the youngest is currently reared by my family in Mainland China. The financial burden is heavy. We need money to visit our baby in Mainland China. Frankly speaking, we barely manage to make ends meet.

An intriguing issue emerges in the review of these cases of low income families. This concerns the availability of assistance from family members in looking after domestic chores and in particular children. Of course, this issue is also relevant to those informants who take up outwork for different purposes. Our intention to discuss this issue here is related to the fact that given the financial difficulties of the above cases, they have greater urge to rally support from their family members in looking after their children. The availability of such arrangement would help to free them from family responsibilities and, therefore, make themselves available for employment. So, our discussion here is pertinent to both these cases of using outworking as a survival strategy and women outworkers in general.

The availability of assistance from family members in managing childcare cannot simply be read off from the form of family (like extended family) or family ties maintained by the informants. In fact, it is a far more complicated issue. And very often, it involves 'family politics'. In the case of the Kong family, our informant suggests that her mother-in-law simply refuses to look after the children for her.

We'd asked but she (the mother-in-law) refused. She said, 'you give birth to your children and it's your own responsibility to look after them.' In a way I can understand her. To ask her to rear the grandchildren is like asking her to do childcaring for her whole life. I believe she thinks she has already spent too

much time on raising kids.

For other families (like the Chow family), it is a question of priority and choice. Mrs. Chow suggests that her mother has already taken up the responsibility of taking care of her son's children, and therefore cannot help her looking after her children.

My mother has to look after my brother's kids. I did ask once and my mother's answer was expected. It's rather difficult to ask her not to look after my brother's kids and do so for mine. Also, you know, my brother's children should be given the first priority for they are the grandchildren of my original family. A married daughter belongs to her husband's family ... Furthermore, I don't want to discuss it (the issue of childcare) with my brother. I don't want to create any bad feeling between us because of such a problem.

In fact, Mrs. Chow's problem is by no means uncommon. Other informants who take up outwork for different reasons also encounter similar situation — their family members have other engagements and so cannot help in childcare. In other words, the viability of using alternative means of childcare depends not just on the presence of family members but also the allocation of resources in the wider family context. The above case has clearly shown that whether the informants can rally assistance from their family members in managing children is related to their other family members' (especially the siblings) arrangement of childcare. In brief, the availability of assistance and the viability of alternative childcare arrangement are conditioned by the social processes relevant to the organization of family lives and the allocation of family resources.

In sum, the above cases show that for those who are in difficult economic conditions, outworking is a strategy for meeting economic needs in situations when the informants have to look after the children by themselves. Outworking can be described as a survival strategy in the sense that it is combined with other members' extra efforts (like taking

up second job) to make ends meet and deliberate efforts to tighten the family budget. In these cases economic concerns are of primary importance. The major motivation for outworking is the need to finance basic family expenditure. And these cases can be categorized as relatively low-income families (main wage earner's income ranges from HK\$2,400 to 3,500 per month).

Outworking for Accommodating Special Domestic Needs

Our discussion in the previous section has already shown that both ideological and economic constraints are important factors structuring our informants' participation in outwork. To follow this line of argument, we shall look into the interaction of ideological influences and contextual factors and the subsequent effects on the informants' decisions to take up industrial outwork. It is our contention that outworking can be seen as a strategy for accommodating special domestic needs. In other words, the focus of the following discussion is placed on the effects of contextual factors on reinforcing the ideological structuring of women's participation in industrial outwork.

Our interviews with the informants reveal that there are at least three types of domestic conditions which affect married women's labour participation. First, the informants' own health condition directly determines the viability of working outside home. Second, there are cases that some family members require special care. Mrs. Uip's second son is mentally retarded and attends a school for special education. In Mrs. Uip's own words,

My husband doesn't mind if I go out to work. But I feel I should give him (the second son) more attention. My mother-in-law helps take him to and back from school. So, strictly speaking, I can find time for a part-time job. But I have very strong feeling for looking after my son. I want to be with him when he comes back from school around 3:30 pm.

Another case is Mrs. Leung whose son is physically weak in his

infancy period.

The baby is born prematurely. And since birth my son has been in poor health condition. I can remember those days when I had to take him to see the doctor three to four times a week. So I couldn't return to my previous job. In fact, I really thought I should stay with my baby and look after him. I've the feeling that somehow I'm responsible for this ... Even now I think that I should look after the kids and make sure that they are in good condition.

It is interesting to note that in these two cases their husbands' attitude toward the informants' participation in labour can be described as rather open. However, the fact that their children call for special attention almost automatically closes the discussion of returning to former jobs. Our informants' responses reveal that their definitions of motherhood are relevant to their consideration of returning to the labour market. Given their children's need for special attention, their preference for work outside home becomes secondary. What is pertinent here is that when such domestic needs emerge, it is the mother who assumes the main responsibility for coping with the problem. In other words, the impact of special domestic need (like caring of old people or handicapped children) on the family will be unevenly felt by the husband and wife. Under the existing sexual division of labour, this is included into the roles of mother and housewife and hence further restricts married women's participation in labour.

Third, it is the incorporation of wives' lives into the husbands' work (cf. Finch, 1983). Indeed, women's participation in work is conditioned by the nature of their spouses' jobs. For Mrs. Wong, Mrs. Hung, and Mrs. Sinn, their husbands are private club's restaurant waiter, businessman and coach driver respectively. The common characteristic of their work is that they are often away from home. While Mr. Wong's job requires him to stay in the club's hostel, Mr. Hung's and Mr. Sinn's regularly require them to go on trips. Since they cannot be around for most of the time, they insist on having their wives staying at home to

manage family responsibilities.

He's on business trip regularly. He insists on having someone to stay at home to look after the children. Of course, that means I have to be at home ... Well, I think I should do so because it's just impossible to have both of us away from home. I've to assume the sole responsibility of taking care of domestic duties. (Mrs. Hung)

His job is to forward cargoes to Shenzhen by truck. So he crosses the border about four times every week ... I've to stay at home to take care of everything. Unless he changes his job, or else I can't see how things can be different ... Anyway, it's man who works outside home and woman who looks after domestic affairs. (Mrs. Sinn)

Another way in which the husband's job affects his spouse's life is the pattern of his working hours. Some of the informants' husbands have to work irregular hours or on shift. And it is apparent that their working hours impose certain pattern on the arrangement of family life. For Mrs. Ip, it means that her husband expects her to be home around 4:00 pm.

He expects me to be around when he finishes his work (taxi-driving) at four in the afternoon. He thinks that he has done his part with a hard day's work. When he returns home he expects me to do the part of the caring of domestic responsibilities ... I've to finish doing outwork by then. Part-time job is just impossible — can't fit in with our schedule.

For those husbands who work on shift or irregular hours, they make similar demands. The assumption is that the husbands should be the breadwinners, and the wives are to adjust to the schedules of the husbands' work.

He works (bus-driving) on shift ... I've to take care of his lunch. Also I can't leave him with the kids ... In fact, his working hours

also affect my engagement in outwork. I've to keep the noise down when he's sleeping in day time ... His presence means that I have an additional person to look after. (Mrs. Cheung)

His hours are irregular. As a private company's driver, he needs to be on call whenever the company car is required ... He is not at home for most of the time and, therefore, expects me to stay with the kids ... For him, his role is to make a living and mine to take care of everything concerning our family ... One of us must stay at home. He won't mind doing some housework. But it's me who have to shoulder the major responsibilities for looking after the children and other domestic chores. (Mrs. Lee)

Apparently, our interviews have shown that, at least for our informants, the role of housewife can be broadly defined to cover a wide range of activities, including giving special attention to needy family members and making adjustments to the husband's work arrangement. More importantly, whenever such special domestic needs arise, the burden falls unevenly on the shoulder of the housewife. It is clear that contextual factors such as the aforementioned special domestic needs reinforce the subordination of the housewife to the patriarchal order. It is also important to recognize that the inclusion of such special domestic needs as part of the role of the housewife is ideological. Here the ideology of the separation of home and work, and the effects of the sexual division of labour on the domestication of women are most evident. Again, the consequence is that our informants have to adjust to the needs of their family members and the constraints imposed by their husbands' work patterns.

Outworking for Earning a Supplementary Income

It is not difficult to imagine that many married women who have to withdraw from the labour market to look after their children do not take up industrial outwork at all. In order to understand why some married

women work as outworkers, we need to explore further and look into other important factors which affect their participation in the outworking labour market. These factors include their attitudes towards housework and their need to supplement family income.

Unlike those who have claimed to use their incomes from outworking to cover basic family expenditure (see the above discussion), here we have cases that the informants' outwork earnings serve a variety of financial purposes. Essentially, their contributions are not as crucial as we would find among those using outwork as a survival strategy. Yet, their outwork earnings help to supplement the family income. First, some use their income from outworking as a means of obtaining something extra.

I spend most of my income on my children. Without the money, I can't afford to take them to restaurant or cinema. I feel sad to ask the children to stay at home when they are on holiday. (*Mrs. Chou: her husband is a housing estate caretaker*)

I work for the MacDonald's. My kids like to go there and have hamburgers. My outwork earnings are spent mainly on my children's consumption. Such earnings help to finance the expenditure on items like hamburgers and *dim-sum*. (*Mrs. Kwok: her husband is a bank clerk*)

Second, some use their earnings for longer-term projects, like their children's education.

My kids are getting older now. Their books are expensive. I have to earn some money to finance their education. My elder son is now studying in Form III in a secondary school. Soon he will sit for the School Certificate Examination. If his results are not good enough to continue to study in a subsidized school, we will need to pay for his education in a private school. (*Mrs. Chang: her husband is a technician*)

Third, some use their outwork earnings to cope with emergencies.

It was during my first pregnancy that my husband went into trouble. He was then a contractor. The company went bankrupt and he had to pay the salaries of his workers by himself. We were then in deep trouble. We were penniless and I was about to give birth to my son. I never forget that incident. That's why I think savings are important. I firmly believe that we always need to have some savings to cope with emergencies. (*Mrs. Chan: her husband is a construction worker*)

We can manage even without my contribution. But you need to keep some savings. Indeed, you never know. What if someone has to go to hospital? What if my husband gets unemployed? You need the savings to cover these ups and downs. (*Mrs. Hou: her husband is a textile worker*)

Our informants are conscious of the need to save. This is partly because saving is a strongly approved activity in the Chinese culture (Topley, 1969). But more importantly, saving is a necessary part of their family budgets. Some informants' husbands receive their wages on a daily basis. Their incomes are unsteady and may vary greatly. For the informants themselves, their earnings depend on the availability of outworking jobs. Given that their relationship with their employers is necessarily non-contractual, their incomes are subjected to fluctuations. Therefore, there is always a need to save money to cope with fluctuations in the household income.

My husband's income fluctuates. He's a cargo handling labourer. It's kind of casual labour, paid on daily rate. Last year he had his job almost every day. But it all depends on the availability of job. No work, no pay, you know ... I save up my outwork earnings. It's for coping with hard times. Just in case, you know. (*Mrs. Chiang: her husband is an unskilled labourer*)

There are, of course, other uses of outwork earnings. The point is that there are informants doing industrial outwork simply for supplementing their household incomes. As it has been shown in the above

discussion, the nature and the degree of such a need to earn a supplementary income vary. And it is difficult to assess the urgency of such economic need. Yet it is reasonable to state that economic concern is pertinent to the informants' decisions to take up industrial outwork.

Of course, theoretically speaking, outworking is not the only means whereby informants can earn supplementary income and look after their dependent children. One possible arrangement is that instead of the wife engaging in outwork, the husband gets a second job. We asked our informants if they consider this a better strategy than outworking. Most of them suggest that there are difficulties in finding second jobs which can fit in with the schedule of their husbands' current jobs. For those husbands working in the manufacturing sector, their sporadic schedules and the need to meet the request of doing overtime work restrict their participation in second jobs. Generally speaking, they prefer overtime work to second jobs as a means to improve their incomes.

My husband would take up more overtime work when it is understood that our budget is tight. But this is not the only reason for doing overtime. More often, it is due to the need to meet the deadline and the whole work-team has to rush ... I tend to see his overtime work as an extension of his present job. Part of his job requirement. Also a way of earning a bit more.
(Mrs. Tong: her husband is a machine operator)

It is more important to note that many informants do not consider taking up second jobs a desirable strategy for managing their family economy. Most of them feel uneasy about the idea of asking their husbands to do so. They worry that working on two jobs will put too much pressure on their husbands.

I don't like the idea of asking my husband to take up a second job. It isn't fair to ask him to shoulder the financial burden all by himself alone. I believe that there will be more problems if he has to work on two jobs. At least it would be bad to his health. Since I can work, there is no point for me to sit down

and see him labouring. (Mrs. Young: her husband is a goods porter)

If our financial situation is really so bad, maybe I would ask him to do so (taking up a second job) while doing some outwork myself. At present, we can make our ends meet. Also the idea of taking up a second job sounds to me a rather unreasonable request. To ask him to work on a second job after a day's hard work is really too much. If we were in economic hardship, we would try to share the burden between ourselves. To put all the pressure on him will make him overworked. (Mrs. Wong: her husband is a construction worker)

I feel bad to see my husband doing overtime work consecutively for a week or so. Seeing him returning from work tired and exhausted sometimes gives me a sense of guilt. I would tell him not to work too hard. I don't want to see him squeezing himself ... I have never thought of the idea of asking him to take up a second job. I can cope with my outwork. Why should I ask him to overwork while I lay idle at home? (Mrs. Kung: her husband is a printing machine operator)

Some are particularly firm in rejecting the idea of taking up second job. The main reason is that they consider their husbands unsuitable for second jobs:

Lorry-driving requires concentration. And an additional driving session can be dangerous. (Mrs. Lo)

His work in the construction site is very exhausting. And it has a long working hour ... It would do him harm if he has to take up more work. (Mrs. Chung)

He's the kind of nervous person. And he returns home from work around nine in the evening. So the idea of asking him taking up second job has never occurred to me. It's impossible.

(Mrs. Cham)

The fact that these informants have not seriously thought of asking their husbands taking up second jobs is somehow related to their own evaluation of housework and outwork. The most common and immediate response to the question concerning the possible strategy of second job is that the economic burden should be shared out by the couple. Also it is interesting to note that many informants suggest that it is boring to do household chores the whole day. So, doing outwork after handling their daily housework is not only a sensible way of financing the family economy, but also a means to introduce variety to the lives of full-time housewives.

Housework is rather boring. Yes, when rushing to meet deadline I would dream of leaving my work and just doing housework. But spending all your time on household chores is very boring indeed. Housework is repetitive. So I think why not do some outwork. Outworking seems to be a more useful way of spending my time at home. Also I can make some contribution to the family economy. (Mrs. Cham: 36 yrs old)

Housework is never done. Perhaps it is because of my previous working experience, I like to work. Just doing housework and nothing else, to me, is like laying idle. Even if I've time, I won't spend all my time on housework. I've the skill and I can manage to handle both family responsibilities and outwork. Can't really think of any reason why I should just concentrate on household chores alone. (Mrs. Law: 30 yrs old)

In short, for the informants who take up industrial outwork for the purpose of earning supplementary incomes, outworking is a strategy for making some contribution to their family finance for various purposes (ranging from personal consumption to long-term plan like children's education). They participate in the outworking labour market instead of assuming the role of full-time housewife because this is a way to share the economic burden with their husbands and, at the same time, an

arrangement for a fruitful way of using their time at home.

Discussion

As it has been pointed out at the very beginning of this paper, outworking is a family work strategy for managing family responsibilities and meeting economic needs by married women. On the one hand, the use of this strategy is conditioned by the constraints imposed by the existing sexual division of labour, the conditions of social reproduction (e.g., the provision of childcare services) and the interaction between husband and wife in deciding their shares of responsibilities in managing their family. To a large extent, it can be argued that, given married women's position in the existing family order, they are greatly restricted in the participation in economic activity. The burden of family responsibilities falls mainly on the shoulders of married women and they have to adjust their own lives to the need of taking care of their families. On the other hand, outworking is a strategy in the sense that it is worked out by married women with their family members to meet various needs. Without overstating the implications of the notion of strategy as long-term rational planning, outworking as a family work strategy implies the assumption that married women are active agents. It is a strategy taken up out of other possible options. For our informants, more importantly, it involves cost-benefit calculation and decision concerning investment in outworking equipment. Nevertheless, it is also crucial to underline that outworking as a family work strategy is not simply a voluntaristic action. The decision to take up industrial outwork is conditioned by the prevailing ideology of sexual division of labour, the power dynamics among family members, and the processes of negotiation concerning their roles of housewife and mother by the informants. In short, conceiving outworking as a family work strategy, we can understand how married women actively work out an arrangement to cope with the problems of managing family responsibilities and financing the family economy in existing restrictions imposed on them.

Notes

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1. Information on women outworkers used in the following discussion is drawn from my fieldwork carried out in August 1984 and November 1985 – May 1986. Altogether 50 women outworkers were interviewed. Each interview lasted from one and a half to three and a half hours. Most cases included more than one interview. Also most of the interviews were conducted in the informants' homes.
 2. See, for example, Ho (1984). Outwork as an ambiguous category of work is best shown in two researches done by the YWCA. Women outworkers were considered full-time housewives in one research report and working mothers in another. See YWCA with Shue Yan College (1982) and YWCA (1984).
 3. According to my own re-analysis of a one-percent sample of the 1981 Hong Kong Census, 89.0% of all women outworkers were 'married', and 7.5% were either 'widowed' or 'divorced/separated'.
 4. Inadequacy in provision of childcare services has long been identified as a problem (see, for example, Chow, 1980:103-4). Concerning regulations governing the application for subsidy for children attending day nurseries, see The Association for the Advancement of Feminism (1986).

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Familial Change and Women's Employment in Hong Kong

Ng Chun-hung

IN recent years, the increasing rate of female participation in paid employment in Hong Kong has attracted a lot of attention. In this paper, I shall argue that the currently popular approaches to the issue are deficient in a number of important respects. I then outline a framework that focuses on the complex relations between familial change and women's employment, and especially on the concept of 'household strategy' as the key to understanding those relations. The paper will then report some observations concerning the postwar history of women's employment in Hong Kong, based on preliminary data from an on-going research.*

Industrialization, Family Change and Women's Employment

Current studies on women and employment in Hong Kong often take the following two forms. First, much attention is paid to the changing rates of female participation in employment, and the possible factors that might influence that pattern, e.g., general level of educational attainment, decline in fertility, economic growth, changing labour legislation and so on. The typical research strategy is to correlate aggregate survey data, and then explain the observed correlations (Ho, 1984; Ng, 1983). This strategy does not give an adequate picture of women's

employment because it leaves out the important variable of the family situation of the women concerned. In fact, women's work role is intimately related to their family role.

Therefore another focus of current studies is to show how social changes in the past few decades have affected the Chinese family in Hong Kong, and how this in turn leads to changes in the pattern of female employment (Wong, 1975; Yeung, 1986).

While these studies provide invaluable insights on many issues, there are still gaps in the literature. In particular, these studies posit a rather static and mechanical picture concerning the relation between Hong Kong's industrialization experience and female participation in paid employment, and also between women's employment and their roles and activities in the family. In fact, the theoretical starting point of these studies is a simple one. It goes something like this. Hong Kong experienced rapid industrialization in the postwar period. Economic growth brings an expansion of job opportunity. That demands an increasing supply of labour, irrespective of their sex. The impact of industrialization is seen to be mediated by certain changes in the family. In particular, industrialization is said to have impinged on the Chinese family in Hong Kong, changing its form, functions and internal relationships. It results in the predominance of the modern nuclear family and a more symmetrical type of husband-wife relations. These, together with improvement in education and a liberal social outlook, are the important factors facilitating female participation in paid employment.

I intend to show that this explanation is misleading in important respects. It leads us to a deterministic view concerning industrialization, family change and female employment. As a consequence, the specific nature of women's employment, and how that is linked to women's complex and contradictory situations in their families are inadequately tackled.

Objections to the Popular View

The objections to this prevalent view come from two sources:

1. *The objection to a deterministic mode of thinking.* In the popular view, the families and individuals in them are seen to be moved along by forces out of their control. Industrialization *impinges* on the family, and the subsequent changes in forms, functions and intra-familial relations are the *necessary* consequences of a society committed to industrialization. There seems to be only one predetermined course of social change. However, there is ample evidence showing that the prevalence of the ideal-typical isolated nuclear family is much exaggerated. Different forms of families coexist prior to, during, and after the process of industrialization (Ng, 1989). Seemingly traditional elements persist in every so-called 'modern' societies. Instead of seeing the process of industrialization as a unilinear one, we must attend to the varying paths of industrialization and the active responses of agents and organizations, which may bring variable outcomes in terms of social forms and quality of life (See Sabel, 1982: Ch. 1; Kumar, 1978). For our purpose, there clearly is a need to reverse the prevailing emphasis, and see how families act and react in the face of opportunities and constraints emitted by definite contexts of industrialization.

2. *The contribution of women's studies.* 'The family' should be but a shorthand in sociological discussion. The concept is often reified to become a living unit in its own right. The family is seen to have its 'needs'; industrialization is said to impinge on 'the family', and 'the family' changes from extended to nuclear, shed 'its' functions, and change 'its' internal modes of conduct, etc. When women are considered, they are often seen as but one part of this coherent functioning system (Ng, 1987). It is often forgotten that families are composed of living individuals structured by particular interests. Members of a family unit may have common as well as divergent interests, and the impact of social change on the unit is never uniform for all members concerned. The members also react not in terms of a mythical unity. Some may take the overall interests of the unit as a priority. Some may not, or not unreservedly. In the latter case, conflict and compromise are necessarily involved. The contributions of women's studies have been to reveal the mechanisms bringing about certain negotiated and unequal outcomes in

sexual division of labour in all aspects of social life. For our purpose, women's decision on whether to participate in paid employment, in what form and with what duration is intimately tied to their perception and resolution of these conflicting interests. Very often this process of interest accommodation and conflict resolution is a black box in the prevalent notion of family change. However, there are grounds to say that the content of this black box reveals much about the reality of women and employment.

A New Agenda

Our research hence starts by questioning the prevailing theoretical assumption concerning industrialization, family change and women's employment. Our position can be summarized into the following:

1. Industrialization is not an unvarying experience across cultures. It has a technological component, but technical and economic change is promoted within definite economic framework, political culture, state policies, and pre-existing patterns of social outlook and organizations. The courses and consequences of all the latter are variable and require specific investigation. Industrialization is better seen as a set of variable opportunities and constraints.
2. These are perceived, evaluated and acted upon by individuals and organizations with variable outcomes. Families are one of the active agents in the process.
3. Families are themselves structured by different interests. Class, gender and generation are three of the most important dimensions around which interests are structured. Husbands and wives, parents and children have common and divergent interests. A state of division of labour and responsibility in a family, and its female members' participation in employment, are the outcome of a process of more or less explicit negotiation and compromise of perceived interests.

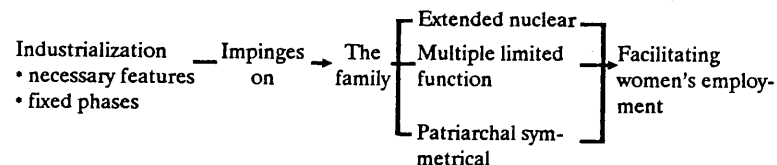
For this new direction in research on women's employment, we may do worse than to borrow the concept of 'household strategy' utilized in some of the recent studies of families. The concept points to the importance of analyzing how different families in definite process of industrialization deploy different sets of familial and extra-familial resources to make decisions concerning the economic and social placement of their members. The interesting question is: are members of different sex and generation treated in a similar way? If not, how are those decisions made? Do they follow certain definite patterns? Seen in this light, each individual woman's decision to participate in employment, and to continue in it in some form, is often part of a package of familial decision-making. Studying the dynamics and considerations involved in the process over time and in deferent contexts of industrialization will shed much light on many interesting issues of our concern.

The logic of our research, using the concept of 'household strategy', can be represented schematically in Table 1. A picture is conjured up in which different families combine different inputs, work through different patterns and processes of decision-making, act on those decisions and arrive at certain outcomes with respect to their socio-economic situation. The latter also have implications for the allocation of roles according to gender and generation lines. Our study hence aims to unravel how employment and familial considerations intertwine in the Chinese families of Hong Kong, how these considerations change through different stages of the family life cycle, often also in reaction to the changing opportunities and constraints for familial and individual advance posed by the socio-economic environment.

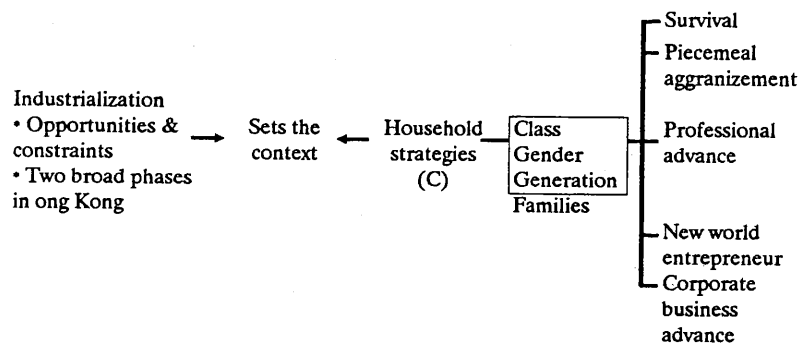
This new theoretical thinking also demands certain methodological reorientation. Instead of relying exclusively on the survey instrument and on explaining correlated patterns of aggregate data, we should devote more attention to the analysis of action, strategies and meanings. We argue above that the experience of social change is complex, involving variable strategies and outcomes for families and their members. To capture such complexity, we need to look in-depth into the interaction dynamics, subjective considerations and courses of action in certain

Table 1 The Concept of 'Household Strategy'

A. The Prevailing View on Family Change and Women's Employment



B. 'Household Strategy', Familial Change and Gender Relations



C. Household Strategy

INPUT

INFORMAL NETWORK

- Intra-familial
 - Allocation of roles
 - Allocation of resources
- Extra-familial
 - Kin groups
 - Friends, neighbours & other non-relatives

FORMAL INSTITUTIONS

- Education
- Welfare
- Related legislation

DECISION PATTERNS AND PROCESS

PLANNING

- Strict/loose/nil
- Innovative/conservative
- For tangible/intangible benefits
- Time dimension

MODE OF INTEREST ACCOMMODATION

- Individualistic/familistic
- Gender
- Generation
- Consensual/conflictual

families over time. The last point means that the research needs to gather longitudinal data on the issues involved. Our research is conducted in the light of these theoretical and methodological positions. Oral history is the main research instrument that we adopt. As of now, we have interviewed 22 families which have gone through the postwar industrialization experience in Hong Kong. Respondents of either sex, over the age of 50, were sought for interview in-depth. Their recollection of and reflection on their experience in the family and in the 'public' world of work and social participation form the basis of the observations on the history of women's employment that I shall make below.

Preliminary Observations on Women's Employment in Hong Kong

The intention of our research is to first identify a number of 'outcomes' of family advance in the 1980s; Second to trace the sources of these 'outcomes' to the household strategies that the different groups of families adopt; and third see how those strategies change over time in reaction to 'external' changes in the socio-economic opportunity structure and to 'internal' changes in family composition and relationships. Our data at present do not allow us to even draw up certain firm hypotheses along these lines. Nevertheless there are certain observations that might be interesting for our purpose.

The Rate of Employment

Our data cannot pretend to offer an accurate measure of the general situation. However it is remarkable that among the 22 families that we talked to, every one of the grown-up female member has some sort of employment experience. None of them were the ideal-typical full-time housewife who never had to lay a finger on the 'dirty', 'aggressive' world of paid employment. Only two quitted their job permanently on marriage or giving birth to a child. Fourteen out of 22 of them have never interrupted their employment throughout the postwar years, even after

marriage or childbirth. (Only one of them had less than two children.) This relatively high rate of employment participation compared with the situation today could be a result of two processes.

First, the rate of formal economic participation today may not accurately reflect the *productive activities* that some women have always engaged in. Our data come from oral history sources, and we can better gauge the exact economic contribution that female made to the families. So a look at the type of occupation that our female respondents fall into shows that some of their jobs would tend to go unrecorded in official statistics: domestic servant, shop assistant, manager of own shop, street vendor, construction site labourer and factory outwork. These jobs, when taken intermittently, in self-owned shop, or in relatives' home, step inside the 'informal' sector of work. The official rate of employment, depending on the effort that government put into its compilation, may not reflect activities in this grey area. The upshot of this observation is that to talk of a rising rate of female employment in Hong Kong and attribute that unproblematically to the beneficial consequence of the march-of-progress is to miss the continued productive contributions of women in families.

Second, all of our 22 families belonged, for the best part of their family history, to the working class. Economic hardships were spontaneously referred to in most of the cases, especially in the period from the 50s to the mid-60s. Survival was the utmost priority for most families. Under this circumstance, every conceivable kind of resources were utilized to pull the unit out of trouble. Female employment was indispensable as part of this household strategy for survival. This observation is consistent with studies on preindustrial European families and peasant China (Scott & Tilly, 1982; Hall, 1982; Laslett & Brenner, 1989; Johnson, 1983: Ch.1). The full-time housewife may or may not be an ideal among traditional Chinese families, but that ideal was never seriously entertained by our respondents. Female participation in paid work was not an exceptional act. Neither was it considered a necessary evil. In the first phase of industrialization in Hong Kong, I venture that the act may be a more or less taken-for-granted thing among the lower

class. This hypothesis on class differences and the compulsion of economic hardship is further elaborated by one of our cases where the wife quitted employment after giving birth to the first child. She was situated in a relatively well-off family. Both husband and wife had good secondary education. He was in an administrative post in a government department. His income, plus savings from the family, was able to support a more than modest level of living. She was not that keen in quitting the job but succumbed, after a series of conflict, to the wishes of the parents-in-laws to stay at home to care for the baby. Two opposite cases were when one husband was deceased and the other paralyzed, the wives shouldered the whole economic burden of the families. The transition to that 'breadwinner' role was taken up almost without grudge, even though the hardship was conceivably tremendous. Female employment may not be visible all the time, but it was certainly essential as part of a survival strategy.

The Pattern of Employment

The occupations that women and men found themselves in were a bit different in our families. The 'informal' jobs of some women have been alluded to. The remaining female jobs were: factory worker, cleaner, road sweeper, dockyard worker, nurse and primary school teacher. The male were generally in more formal type of employment; apprentice was found in four cases, driver was a popular category, so were clerk, self-employed shoemaker, restaurant workers. It can be said that women found themselves more at the lower end of working class, while some men at least were skilled workers and lower-rank white-collar workers. This could partly be a result of the initial differential resources in education and occupational history that husbands and wives had prior to their marriage or prior to their coming to Hong Kong. Industrialization did not work on 'the' family. Instead, families were always structured by certain distribution of resources and interests prior to their engagement in the process of industrialization. That starting point influenced the subsequent course of industrial development in Hong Kong.

Female employment also exhibited an often-observed interrupted history. So seven out of the 22 wives had interrupted their full-time employment in some period. They continued to engage in temporary, part-time work and outwork. In the second stage of their family life cycle, which overlapped with the second phase of industrialization in Hong Kong, the economic position of the family improved, and they returned to full-time job until retirement. Detailed considerations and certain degree of planning were taken by the families (husbands and wives, together with their offsprings) concerned. These will not be dealt with here.

The Utilization of Resources In and Outside the Family

One of our hypotheses is that the families which can make use of their resources successfully will tend to have a generally 'prosperous' outcome for the family unit as a whole. That depends on the availability of resources, their extent, quality, and the skills in combining these. Moreover, this process of resource mobilization is not an impersonal, technical matter. It involves the compromise of interests and in some cases, the sacrifice of some. Unfortunately our cases fall mainly in the 'survival' and 'piecemeal aggrandizement' types. If they provide any support to the thesis, they do so only negatively: these 'failed' cases demonstrate the *lack* of resources in the above sense. The lack mainly lies in the 'external' sense; e.g., the lack of wealthy and resourceful kinspeople to help in certain critical situations, the negligible help from formal institutions (only in three cases were the church mentioned as a major help in moments of crisis; the government was conspicuous by its absence). Internal resources were used: offsprings were drafted in early to engage in paid work, contributing to the household budget. This was done often irrespective of the sex of the offsprings. So the eldest sons and daughters were the ones most crucial to the overcoming of early phases of economic hardship. They interrupted their education, worked in factories or offices, (which were expanding fast in the period of their growing up). Only later did they catch up by re-entering night schools or

technical institutes. They were the ones who sacrificed most in these respects, but whether they gained something in return, as Salaff (1982) showed in her cases, was not clear from our current data. In one place, our observation differ somewhat from Salaff's. Among the 22 families, no explicit differential treatment of sons against daughters can be detected. The parents denied any such calculation. The pattern of work and education also did not show a consistent pattern favouring the male. Perhaps the household's interest in survival overwhelmed other considerations so that sons and daughters were treated as but part of a common resource pool aiding the well-being of the whole household. Again we await further evidence on this.

Summary

A number of loose threads still need to be tied up. For example, how did the various members feel about those experiences? How do the new generation of family members come to view their interests and devise their own household strategies in the face of a drastically changed socio-economic environment? Was the rather 'blurred' sexual division of labour and responsibility of our families a general thing in the early stage of industrialization in Hong Kong? Was there a substantial difference in this aspect among families of the more prosperous class? What is the effect of a raised standard of living and expanded formal economic opportunities for sexual division of labour in and outside of the families? These and other questions will form the guiding thread for our next round of data collection and interpretation.

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An Investigation into the Employment of Women in Hong Kong

Edward Y.T. Wong

ACCORDING to statistics (see Table 1), the existing labour force in Hong Kong is around 2,800,000, of which the labour force participation rate for male is about 80%, while the female participation rate is only 48%. As a whole, the labour force participation rate is maintained between 64% and 65%. It shows that the labour force participation rate for female is much lower than the male, but the women employment still plays a crucial role in the contribution of GDP in our society. As now Hong Kong is facing a serious problem of labour shortage, it has been suggested by government official to attract more married women to re-join the labour force in order to relieve the situation. It is significant and meaningful to study the women employment in Hong Kong, with the emphasis on the following aspects:

1. Why is the female participation rate so low as compared with the male workers?
2. What are the realistic situation of women employment in Hong Kong?
3. What are the significance and implications of low participation rate of working women in Hong Kong?
4. What kinds of suggestion can be made to encourage more female labour to participate in the labour market of our society?

Table 1 Labour Force and Labour Force Participation Rate

Period	Labour force ('000)			Labour force participation rate (%)		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
1983	1,623.6	916.9	2,540.5	80.9	47.4	64.5
1984	1,646.5	959.7	2,606.2	81.3	49.1	65.5
1985	1,671.5	955.4	2,626.9	80.4	48.5	64.8
1986	1,714.9	986.6	2,701.5	80.5	48.9	65.1
1987	1,732.4	1,003.6	2,736.0	80.2	48.6	64.8
1988	1,764.2	1,014.5	2,778.6	80.0	48.2	64.5
Dec. 1988 – Feb. 1989	1,764.8	1,020.3	2,785.1	79.9	47.7	64.1

N.B. Figures from 1985 onwards are based on the new *General Household Survey* definitions.

Source: *Hong Kong Monthly Digest of Statistics, April 1989*.

Current Situation of Women employment in Hong Kong

Table 2 shows the age and sex distribution of the existing labour force in Hong Kong. Basing on the statistics of first quarter of 1989, we can see that the participation rates for male workers of age between 20 and 59 are somewhere between 87.7% to 98.8%, which is close to fully utilized. On the contrary, the participation rates for female workers are rather low in different categories of ages. For instance, 78.6% for age group of 20-29, 53.7% for age group of 30-39, and 36.6% for age group of 50-59. It means that the participation rate for young female workers is not low, but it declines gradually in the age groups above 30. It also implies that there is a tremendous workforce of female labour, with the age between 20 to 60, have not yet been successfully incorporated into our labour market. Since the participation rate of female labour varies greatly according to their age and marital status, it is needed to study the relevant statistical data in order to obtain a realistic picture of women employment in Hong Kong.

Table 2 Labour Force and Employed Persons by Age by Sex, Jan.–Mar. 1989

Age Group	Labour force		Employed persons	
	No. ('000)	Rate (%)	No. ('000)	Rate (%)
<i>Total</i>				
15 – 19	122.2	27.9	117.0	4.2
20 – 29	919.5	85.8	906.3	32.7
30 – 39	795.4	77.0	792.0	28.6
40 – 49	456.4	78.7	454.3	16.4
50 – 59	336.2	63.8	333.3	12.1
60 and over	166.4	23.1	165.8	6.0
Total	2,796.0	64.0	2,768.7	100.0
<i>Male</i>				
15 – 19	68.5	30.7	65.1	3.7
20 – 29	495.3	93.1	487.6	27.8
30 – 39	527.2	98.8	525.1	29.9
40 – 49	319.7	98.3	318.1	18.1
50 – 59	245.9	87.7	243.2	13.9
60 and over	116.5	35.6	115.9	6.6
Total	1,773.3	79.8	1,755.1	100.0
<i>Female</i>				
15 – 19	53.6	25.1	51.9	5.1
20 – 29	424.1	78.6	418.7	41.3
30 – 39	268.2	53.7	266.9	26.3
40 – 49	136.6	53.6	136.2	13.5
50 – 59	90.3	36.6	90.1	8.9
60 and over	49.9	12.7	49.9	4.9
Total	1,022.8	47.6	1,013.6	100.0

Source: *General Household Survey Labour Force Characteristics, Quarterly Report, Jan. to Mar. 1989*.

Employed Persons by Age by Sex

Table 2 shows the distribution of sex and age of employed persons during the first quarter of 1989. From the statistics, we can see that the major labour force is mainly coming from the category of young workers

in the age group of 20-29 and 30-39. In these two age groups, the participation rates for male workers and female workers are 57.7% and 67.6% respectively. The participation rates for male and female labour both decline gradually as they are getting older. But the situation for the female labour is more serious as compared with male labour.

Unemployed Persons by Age by Sex

From the statistics of unemployed persons, we can find that there is a highest rate in the age group of 20-29. As for comparison, the unemployment rate for female is more serious than male in the same category. It implies that the young female workers with the age between 20-29 are facing more problems of unemployment, and their turnover are also higher. But it is needed to study further the underlying reasons for such a phenomenon.

Female Labour Force by Age by Marital Status

By looking at the marital status of female labour force, we can better understand the situation of women employment in Hong Kong. Table 3 shows that the participation rates of never married women are relatively higher than those of ever married women in different age groups. For instance, the participation rates for never married women in the age groups of 20-39 are above 90%. On the contrary, the participation rates for ever married women in the same age groups are about 50%. It is also interesting to note that for the ever married women, the participation rate in the age group of 20-29 is 54.8% during the first quarter of 1989, it then declines to 47.3% for the age group of 30-39, but it rises up to 52.5% for the age group of 40-49. So it can be deduced that one of the major reasons for low participation rate of female labour is due to getting marriage and having children. A great number of the married women may be forced to give up their original job after having baby. But some of the married women can re-join the labour market as the children are getting older.

Table 3 Female Labour force by Age by Marital Status, Jan. – Mar. 1989

Marital Status	Age group	No. ('000)	Rate (%)
Never married	15 – 19	53.3	25.1
	20 – 29	319.4	91.6
	30 – 39	63.5	95.5
	40 and over	15.7	52.8
	Total	451.8	68.8
Ever married	15 – 19	0.3	18.0
	20 – 29	104.7	54.8
	30 – 39	204.7	47.3
	40 – 49	128.7	52.5
	50 – 59	87.0	35.9
	40 and over	45.5	12.0
	Total	570.9	38.3

Source: *General Household Survey Labour Force Characteristics, Quarterly Report, Jan. to Mar. 1989*

Establishments and Persons Engaged by Industry Group by Sex

Table 4 shows the statistics of persons employed by sex in different industries. By looking at such a comparison, we can see the general distribution of female labour in various industries. During the fourth quarter of 1988, there are approximately equal number of male and female labour employed in the industries of manufacturing (427,228 persons for male, 409,844 persons for female), community, social and personal services (111,813 persons for male, 113,015 persons for female). There are also a great number of female labour working in the industries of wholesale, retail and import/export trades, restaurants and hotels (270,974 persons), financing, insurance, real estate and business services (94,021 persons) and government service (55,337 persons). But for industries requiring high energetic force, such as construction, electricity and gas, only a small number of female workers are employed.

Table 4 Establishments and Persons Engaged by Industry Group

Industry Group	Establishments	Persons engaged [†]		
		Male	Female	Total
Mining and quarrying	7	487	27	514
Manufacturing	49,843	427,228	409,844	837,072
Electricity and gas	3	9,871	1,013	10,884
Construction	1,249	73,829	2,511	76,340
Wholesale, retail and import/export trades, restaurants and hotels	118,278	440,353	270,974	711,327
Transport, storage and communication	4,828	83,837	31,712	115,549
Financing, insurance, real estate and business services	22,584	141,431	94,021	235,452
Community, social and personal services	20,600	111,813	113,015	224,828
Government service*	1	129,540	55,337	184,877

† 4th Quarter 1988

* The figures for Government service is basing on the statistics in October 1988.

Source: *Hong Kong Monthly Digest of Statistics, April 1989.*

Comparison of Wage Indexes between Male and Female Labour

There is no statutory minimum wage rate in Hong Kong. The wage level prevailing is essentially the result of the operation of the economic forces of supply and demand. Wage rates are usually calculated on a time basis such as hourly, daily or monthly, or on an incentive basis depending on the volume of work performed. Most semi-skilled and unskilled workers in the manufacturing industries are piece-rated or paid in daily rates. Monthly-rated industrial workers are usually employed in the skilled trades or in technical, supervisory, clerical and secretarial capacities. Besides, monthly rates of pay are quite common for employees in the non-manufacturing industries. Generally speaking, men and women receive more or less the same rate for piece-work, but women on the whole are paid less when working on a time-basis as there is no strict job comparability.

Table 5 Wage Indexes (Craftsmen and other operatives) (Mar. 1982 = 100)

Wage Index	1986	1987	1988	Daily wages (\$)†		
	Dec.	Dec.	Dec.	Male	Female	Total
<i>Nominal wage index</i>						
Overall	135.9	148.1	159.5	174	130	146
Manufacturing	133.9	146.1	157.1	173	130	143
Wholesale/retail trades, restaurants and hotels	-	-	-	-	-	-
Transport services	*	*	*	*	*	*
Business services	-	-	-	-	-	-
Personal services	136.1	157.1	184.4	212	-	212
<i>Real wage index</i>						
Overall	103.2	104.6	104.7	114	85	96

† Dec. 1988

* Data suppressed for confidentiality reasons.

Source: *Hong Kong Monthly Digest of Statistics, April 1989.*

By looking at the wage indexes in Table 5 and Table 6, we can note that the wages for women are generally lower than those for men in various industries, no matter it is in terms of nominal wage or real wage. For instance, for the craftsmen and other operations (See Table 5), the overall nominal daily wage in December 1988 are HK\$174 for male and HK\$130 for female, and the overall real daily wage at the same time are HK\$114 for male and HK\$85 for female.

But these statistics should be used with caution. Because these data collected are only for overall comparison in different industries. It does not imply that there are concrete examples of unfair treatment and pay for men and women due to lack of evidences. In addition, the job nature, duties and positions for men and women in the same industry can be quite different, hence leading to the difference in pay. But overall speaking, the pay for female labour in most industries are relative]y lower than those for male labour, even for the supervisory, technical, clerical and miscellaneous non-production workers (See Table 6).

Table 6 Wage Indexes (Supervisory, technical, clerical and miscellaneous non-production workers) (Mar. 1982 = 100)

Wage Index	1986	1987	1988	Monthly Salaries (\$)†		
	Dec.	Dec.	Dec.	Male	Female	Total
<i>Nominal wage index</i>						
Overall	139.5	154.5	174.6	5,053	3,879	4,538
Manufacturing	146.0	160.4	177.4	4,827	3,865	4,377
Wholesale/retail trades, restaurants and hotels	130.1	146.5	164.4	5,190	3,822	4,631
Transport services	148.5	162.7	186.5	5,251	4,353	5,035
Business services	143.6	155.8	185.4	6,223	5,420	5,785
Personal services	132.6	145.1	177.8	2,918	2,078	2,482
<i>Real wage index</i>						
Overall	105.8	109.1	114.6	3,316	2,545	2,978

† Dec. 1988

Source: Hong Kong Monthly Digest of Statistics, April 1989.

Change of Women Employment in Hong Kong

Table 7 shows the change of trend for labour force participation in Hong Kong during the past 12 years. There was an obvious increase in labour force participation for female in 1986 as compared with 1976, but it is still less than the participation rate in 1981. It can be better understood by looking at the participation rate for male and female comparatively. For instance, the highest rate of 82.5% for male in 1981 is due to the influx of young man from Mainland China during 1978-1980. Most of these young man were eager to seek for jobs. But for the female workers, there was a gradual increase of participation rate during the past decade. For instance, the participation rate had been increased from 43.6% in 1976 to 49.5% in 1981, and 51.2% in 1986. And now it is still maintained at the rate of 48%. The increase in participation rate for female shows that it is more common for female to work in our society. But it does not imply that women are not common involving at work in the past. Since there was a great number of female labour participating

Table 7 Labour Force and Labour Force Participation Rates

	1976	1981	1986*	1988
Population aged 15 and above	3,077,700	3,749,100	4,149,100	-
Economically active persons	1,922,500	2,503,800	2,753,800	-
<i>Labour force participation rates</i>				
Total	62.5%	66.8%	66.4%	64.5%
Male	80.4%	82.5%	80.9%	80.2%
Female	43.6%	49.5%	51.2%	48.2%

* The standard for measuring labour force participation rates in the 1986 By-Census is mainly basing on the definition defined in Thirteenth International Conference of Labour Statisticians in Oct. 1982, which is slightly different from the definitions used in 1976 and 1981.

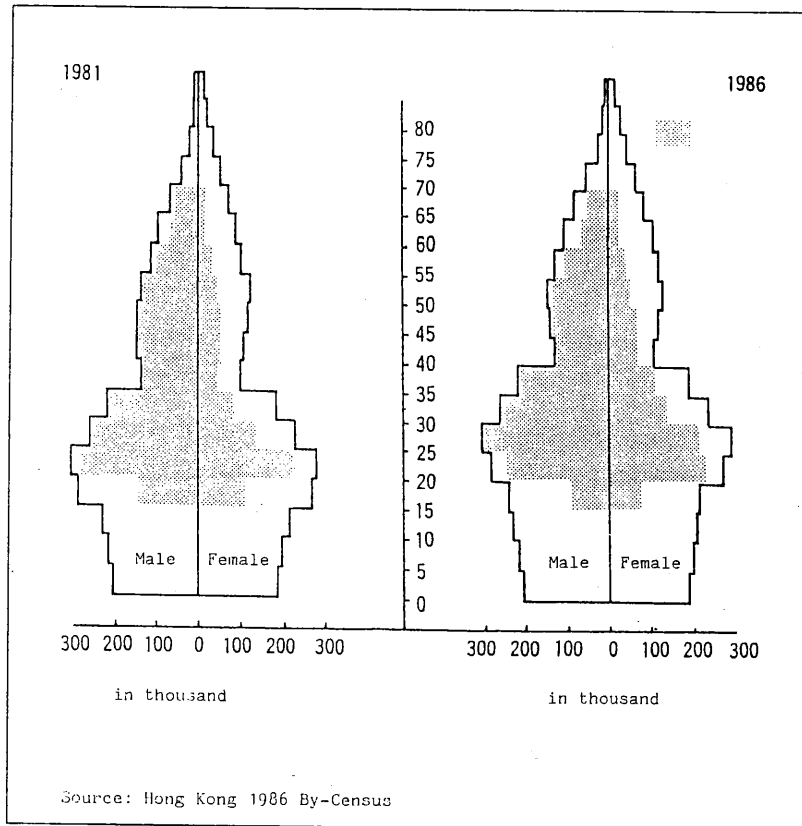
Source: Hong Kong 1986 By-Census and Hong Kong Monthly Digest of Statistics.

work in some small factories or working as outworkers for these factories during 1960s and 1970s. However, basing on the increase in participation rate for female, we can see that there are more women becoming 'formal workers' instead of 'informal workers', and more women participating in our labour market.

Figure 1 shows the comparison of economically active persons by sex in 1981 and 1986. From the statistics, it can be seen that most of the male in the age group of 20-54 had already participated in the labour market actively both in 1981 and 1986. But the participation rate for female is relatively low, as compared with male, especially in the age group of 25-39. Besides, the participation rate for both male and female in the age group of 15-19 is relatively less in 1986 as compared with those in 1981. The decrease in participation of young people is mainly due to the free education system implemented in Hong Kong.

Basing on the above-mentioned analysis, we find that women employment is increasing continuously and becoming more prevailing. By looking at the statistics of the first quarter of 1989, it is found that female labour had been accounting for 36.6% of total labour force in Hong Kong. Among the total female labour, there are 570,900 ever married female labour (55.8%) and 451,800 never married female

Figure 1 Comparison of Economically Active Persons by Sex in 1981 and 1986



labour (44.2%). But it is expected that more young women will get marriage in the coming 10 years. Since the labour force participation rate for ever married female labour is 38.3%, which is very low as compared with the participation rate of 68.8% for never married female labour. So, there may be a trend of decrease in participation rate of female labour, if the married women cannot be encouraged to re-join the labour market in our society successfully.

Factors conducive to Women Employment

The increase of women employment in Hong Kong seems to develop as a social trend in our society. In fact, there are many factors or changes which are conducive to the employment of women, have been formed during the past two decades, including,

1. *Industrial development and technological change:* Due to the technological change and utilization of machines in industry, factory work has become more suitable for women. Besides, the shift system and part-time work are more convenient to married women for both working and taking care of the family at the same time.
2. *The change in occupational structure:* Some of the industries in the tertiary sectors, such as retailing industry, service industry and social service, etc., have expanded and employed a large number of female workers. The job nature of work in these industries are much more suitable for both married and unmarried women to work, hence increasing the participation of female labour.
3. *The change in social and traditional values:* Due to the increase in educational level of the Hong Kong population, the traditional value of predominance of man over woman is becoming vanished. The status and occupational opportunity for women is also recognized, wife is no more just the affiliate of husband. It is quite common for women to participate in the labour market. Besides, women have more opportunity for working and development than the past.
4. *Electrification of household appliances:* Modernization and electrification of household appliances have saved the time of housewife, hence allow them to do more fulltime or parttime jobs.

How to Encourage the Participation of Female Labour?

According to statistics in 1989, the participation rate of unmarried women in Hong Kong is about 68.8%, which is relatively high, as compared with the participation rate of 80% for male. But it is also noticed

that the participation rate for married women is only 38.3%. Therefore, women employment can be increased by encouraging and attracting their participation, especially in the portion of married women. The major reasons for low participation rate of female labour have been discussed above. It is needed to establish some policies in order to encourage and increase the participation of married women in our labour market, including,

1. Equal employment opportunity and equal pay for equal job for male and female

As now there are no statutory requirements of equal pay for equal job for male and female in Hong Kong, or the employers must provide equal employment opportunity to both male and female. It is also difficult to discern the realistic situation in practice. Firstly, it is needed to distinguish the practices in private sector from the public sector. For instance, the employers or management are more willing to provide equal employment opportunity in civil service, public utility and some British firm, and there are also more clear-cut pay scales in these 'sheltered sector'. But on the other hand, the wage level prevailing in most of the industries in private sector is essentially the result of an interplay of the economic forces of supply and demand.

Since there is a lack of systematic pay scales in most of the small businesses, and the performance appraisal and wage adjustment are mainly determined by the employers or superiors, it is rather difficult to judge whether there is unequal pay for equal job for male and female. Besides, employers can make the decisions to recruit or select the male or female labour in advertisement or selection process, so it is more difficult to say either the male or female are suffering from sexual discrimination in employment opportunity due to lack of evidences. According to the results of a study, it is found that there are lack of evidences to support the views that female workers in industrial production generally perceive themselves are discriminated in wages, fringe benefits, and opportunity for promotion as compared with male workers

(Ng & Levin, 1981). The reasons for such a phenomenon seems to be complicated, and the possible reasons are also explained in the same survey as follows:

- a. These female workers are ignorant or having no interest in the problems of fairness or discrimination between male and female.
- b. These female workers may believe that male workers enjoy a better treatment is reasonable and acceptable.
- c. These female workers have already received equal pay and equal opportunity for promotion as compared with male workers.

By comparing the wages indexes between male and female labour, we have already found that the wages for women are generally lower than those of men in various industries. So, it is reasonable to cast doubt to the view that there is equal pay and equal opportunity for promotion between male and female. In the same study, most of the respondents had supported the view that government should impose the statutory requirements of equal pay for equal jobs and equal employment opportunity to both male and female. But considering the resistance of traditional and social values and the difficulties in implementation, it is more appropriate and effective to impose the ordinances step by step instead of making dramatic changes.

2. Amendment of Women and Youth (Industry) Ordinance

It has been announced that the Women and Youth (Industry) Ordinance will be amended to allow the flexibility of working time for female worker, in order to moderate the labour shortage in Hong Kong. According to the existing ordinance, the overtime working hour for female workers in each factory should not exceed 200 hours. Suppose a factory has applied for overtime of 2 hours in a particular day, 2 hours will be deducted from the overtime limits of 200 hours per year for this factory, despite the actual number of female workers worked for overtime. But after the amendment of ordinance, the employers have higher flexibility of using the overtime limit of 200 hours, since the calculation

of overtime is on individual basis instead of factory basis. The new ordinance has the aim to allow the factories to utilize the female manpower in a more flexible way in order to increase the productivity during peak season. But it should be pointed out that the amendment and flexibility of the ordinance is more appropriate as compared with abolishing the restriction of ordinance. But the Labour Department should also note its effects on the female workers, including the health and family problems, as the new ordinance is implemented. And the amendment of new ordinance should not violate the original objective of protecting the working women.

3. Nursery services should be improved and increased

It has been suggested that a great number of married women are forced to give up their original job after having children. For instance, a married women who can earn HK\$3,000-4,000 monthly, may prefer to stay at home to take care of her child instead of taking a fulltime job and having the child in nursery. The main reason is that the public nursery service is not enough while the private nursery service is quite expensive. Due to the shortage of nursery service in Hong Kong, some employers have suggested to provide such service within factory. But it should be noted that the hygiene factors and safety of the factory environment should be carefully examined, and the quality of nursery services must be strictly controlled. Since their aim of providing nursery services is to attract married women to work. But such services may be terminated if the labour shortage problem is solved. Besides, if the charges of nursery services in factory is cheap, the quality of service is rather difficult to maintain. So, it is more appropriate to provide the nursery services by the Social Welfare Department together with some social organizations. The Government has to provide some subsidies to these social organizations and control their operations. The existing nursery service should be improved and increased, not just for solving the labour shortage problem, but to develop as a general social service, in order to attract more married women to re-join the labour market in different in-

dustries.

4. Separate taxation for married couples

In the past, a married couple jointly assessed with the husband's tax return had to pay more tax than when they filed their own tax returns as two single taxpayers; the difference thus became a covert 'marriage tax'. The public has been resentful not only because this policy goes against the principle of 'equality between the sexes', but because it adds to a married couple's financial burden gratuitously when they start their family. As the family starts to have a child, the married women is forced to give up her job after calculating the cost and benefit of keeping to work under the existing tax policy. It is especially true for the 'sandwiched class'. It is suggested that separate taxation for married couples and increasing the amount of personal and additional allowance are effective methods to increase the participation rate of working women in our society. But the government is unwilling to change the original tax policy in the past, with the fear of losing revenue and making great trouble with the task of changing the existing administrative procedures of tax assessment and collection. Until recently, the Legislative Council adopted a bill to provide for separate taxation for married couples in July 1989.

Conclusions

As a conclusion, we can say that the participation rate of working women is relatively lower as compared with men. The female participation rate is around 48%. Besides, the total number of 1,200,000 of working women has been accounting for 36.95% of the total working population in Hong Kong. So, women employment still plays a crucial role in the contribution of GDP in our society. By looking at the age and marital status of female labour force, it is found that the participation rates of ever married women are relatively lower than those of never married women in different age groups. It is mainly due to the heavy

family responsibilities in taking care of children after getting marriage. In addition to this, the existing tax policy of joint assessment of married couple has discouraged married women to work.

As compared with male worker, the wages for women are generally lower than those for men in various industries. But most of the female workers do not perceive themselves as being discriminated in wages, fringe benefits and opportunity for promotion as compared with male workers. By looking at the persons engaged in different industry group, it is found that working women are more active in the manufacturing industry, social service, finance, business service, wholesale and retail industry, imports and exports, hotel and restaurants, and civil service. In addition, there are a great number of married women participated in some small factory to take some parttime job and temporary job, or to engaged as outworkers for these factories. This is also a portion of women employment in our society. In fact, from the viewpoint of whole society, the number of working women as well as its ratio to the whole population has been constantly increasing. Women now are not only housewives, but play diversified roles in our society increasingly.

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Gender Differences in Career Preference and Achievement, Aspiration: A Case Study of Chinese University and Shenzhen University Graduands

Grace Chow

SELF-ESTEEM and achievement motivation are believed to be two important factors accounting for gender differences in career choice. The present study is an attempt to compare career preferences between male and female students, factors affecting such preferences, their self-assessment of abilities and their achievement motivations.

In recent years, there have been a number of popular approaches to the study of gender differences in educational and career aspirations. Among the many psychological theories, perhaps Horner (1972)'s theory of 'fear of success' has had the widest impact on research in the field. Horner proposed that women's achievement aspiration is lower than that of men because their fear of success is higher, that women are more concerned with the negative effects of 'success' such as sacrifices in family life, loss of women's natural attraction, and unfavourable response from the opposite sex and from society at large, etc. Many other researches (e.g., Hoffman, 1974; Bremer & Witting, 1980; Fogel & Paludi, 1984) have since then conducted studies on the fear of success of both sexes. In brief there are data both supporting and disaffirming Horner's theory.

Another popular approach to the study of sex differences in achievement motivation is Role Theory. Sociologists Spenner & Featherman

(1978) were among the earliest to use role theory to explain sex differences in achievement motivation. Sewell & Hauser (1980) further proposed that the life cycle plays an important part in the level of achievement aspirations among women.

Lower expectation from society is another explanation for women's lower achievement aspirations (Mednick, Tangri & Hoffman, 1975; Meeker & Weitzel-O'Neil, 1977; Bielby & Bielby, 1984; Roos, 1985; Spenner & Featherman, 1978). Stereotyping of women's role in society also accounts for women's lower achievement motivation (Pugh & Wahrman, 1983).

Social discrimination as a result of diffuse status characteristics is yet another explanation for women's lower ambition. In order to gain societal recognition women are expected to do so with much more emphasis on credentialism and performance.

Method

The present study is an attempt to compare career preferences, factors affecting such preferences, achievement motivations, self-confidence and self-assessment of abilities between male and female graduands of the Chinese University of Hong Kong (CUHK) and the Shenzhen University (SZU) in the Peoples Republic of China. A questionnaire soliciting information on the respondents' present and future career/study plans and self-assessment of abilities was distributed to the 1988 graduating class at the two universities and the response rates were favourable, representing 33% (401) of the graduands at CUHK and 41% (334) of the graduands at SZU (Table 1). The questionnaires were administered during January/February 1989, three to five months prior to the respondents' final examinations. The respondents were self-selected as they were users of the Career Services at the two universities. They were given a questionnaire when they visited the Services and were asked if they were willing to participate in the survey. In the course of analysis and computation, considerations were given to the differences in the labour market structure and variance in the pay system in the two

places — Shenzhen and Hong Kong.

Table 1 Response Rates by Sex

	Male		Female	
	N	%	N	%
CUHK	183	45.9	216	54.1
SZU	217	65.4	115	34.6
Total	400	54.7	331	45.3

Summary of Findings

1. Career Plans

Generally speaking, more male students had made definite career plans at the time of the survey as compared to female students. For SZU, only 37.7% of the female students as compared to 51.9% of the male students had made definite career plans six months prior to graduation (Table 2).

Table 2 Graduands Who Had Made Definite Career Plans

Having definite career plans	Male (%)	Female (%)	Chi-square Statistic	D.F.	Significance
CUHK	54.9	51.2	0.4243	1	0.5148
SZU	51.9	37.7	5.4089	1	0.0200*

* Significantly different at the 0.05 level

2. Plans for Further Studies

SZU graduands have significantly higher aspirations for further studies as compared to CUHK graduands and there is no significant difference between female and male graduands in this respect (Table 3).

Table 3 Plans for Further Studies

Planning Further Studies	Male (%)	Female (%)	Chi-square Statistic	D.F.	Significance
CUHK	60.7	56.7	0.4243	1	0.5148
SZU	69.6	75.0	0.7498	1	0.3865

3. Career Preferences

Male students are predominantly inclined towards the commerce and industry sector whereas female students appear to be more diversified in their career preferences, with government, commerce, social services, public utilities and education, claiming over 90% of the respondents' first preference (Table 4).

Table 4 Career Preferences by Sector (First three choices combined)[†]

Career Preferences (by sector)	Male (%)	Female (%)
Commerce	30.3	28.5
Government	22.8	21.8
Industry*	20.9	7.8
Public utilities	13.0	16.1
Social services*	6.8	14.7
Education*	5.1	9.9

[†] Chi-square statistic = 104.47, significance prob. = 0.000

* Chi-square test significantly different at the 0.05 level.

There are also significant differences between male and female students' preference in career fields. Administrative/managerial work is the most preferred career for both male and female students. Substantially more male students prefer banking and computer work whereas more female students opt for work related to the mass media and the tourist industry (Table 5).

Table 5 Career Preferences by Career Fields (First three choices combined)[†]

Career Preferences (by sector)	Male (%)	Female (%)
Administration & management	18.0	20.2
Banking*	17.4	11.4
Computer*	8.1	1.7
Accounting & finance	7.2	8.4
Trading	7.1	6.2
Mass media & related services*	6.4	20.9
Marketing	6.3	6.4
Academic work	5.5	7.5
Tourism*	3.9	9.8

[†] Chi-square statistic = 286.91, Significance prob. = 0.000

* Chi-square Test significantly different at the 0.05 level.

4. Factors Governing Career Choice

It is noteworthy to observe that when choosing a career field graduates place little emphasis on job-satisfaction. Interest ranks highest for both male and female students. Men tend to place more emphasis on opportunities to make use of one's abilities and talents whereas women tend to place more emphasis on personal interest and job-stability (Table 6).

Table 6 Factors Governing Choice of Career (First choice only)[†]

Factors	Male (%)	Female (%)
Interest*	43.5	51.9
Opportunity to make use of one's abilities*	26.4	14.6
Job prospect	9.3	9.2
Material benefits	6.9	4.1
Job stability*	1.9	6.0
Application of academic knowledge	4.0	2.2
Job satisfaction	2.4	2.5

[†] Chi-square statistic = 42.00, significance prob. = 0.000

* Chi-square Test significantly different at the 0.05 level.

Promotion prospects, training opportunity and management policy are the top three factors governing the selection of employers by graduands. Men place more emphasis on promotion prospect whereas women, on management policy. It is intriguing to note that salary only come fourth in terms of the graduands' prioritized consideration when selecting employers (Table 7).

Table 7 factors Governing the Selection of Employer (First choice only)[†]

Factors	Male (%)	Female (%)
Promotion prospects*	30.9	19.6
Training opportunities*	19.2	22.5
Management policy*	17.1	24.7
Salary	15.2	13.0
Working environment	7.2	9.5
Relationship with colleagues	4.5	3.5

† Chi-square statistic = 20.71, significance prob. = 0.004

* Chi-square Test significantly different at the 0.05 level.

5. Self-assessment of Abilities

Respondents were asked to rate their abilities and self-confidence on a five-point scale. Subsequently, a self-confidence index and a self-assessment of abilities index were computed (Table 8–10). Male students were found to be invariably more confident as compared to their female counterparts and also rated themselves significantly higher on the following: organizational ability, analytical power, common sense, creativity and leadership. Female students rated themselves higher on English proficiency.

6. Expectation of Salary

There is no significant difference in the expectation of the first job salary between male and female graduands in CUHK but substantial difference is observed in their expectation of salary five years after gradua-

Table 8 Self-assessment of Abilities by Sex

Factors	Mean		T-test Statistic	2-tailed Prob.
	Male	Female		
Proficiency in Chinese	383.6	377.3	1.25	0.213
Proficiency in English	308.4	326.3	-3.17	0.002*
Common sense	369.6	320.7	9.49	0.000*
Analytical power	389.8	352.8	7.52	0.000*
Organizational ability	358.0	343.6	2.80	0.005*
Leadership	342.9	323.8	3.28	0.001*
Creativity	351.3	314.1	5.93	0.000*
Adaptability	399.5	359.9	0.62	0.536
Social skills	334.2	335.6	-0.23	0.819

* Significantly different at the 0.05 level.

Table 9 Confidence Index

Confidence Index [†]	Male	Female	T-test Statistic	2-tailed Prob.
Mean	387.5	344.2	7.66	0.000*
S.D.	74.8	74.4	DF = 702	

† The Confidence Index is measured on a five point scale whereby

- point 1 indicates 'weak'
- point 2 indicates 'quite weak'
- point 3 indicates 'fair'
- point 4 indicates 'quite strong'
- point 5 indicates 'strong'; and the value of the Confidence Index is the score rescaled into the range of 100 to 500.

* Significantly difference at the 0.05 level.

tion (Table 11). For SZU graduands, male students' expectation of salary for both the first job and five years later is significantly higher than female students (Table 12). An index of expected salary increase is computed to reflect on the discrepancy. The index shows the multiple of increase of the expected salary five years later over the expected first job salary which is indexed at 100. There is significant difference between

Table 10 Ability Index

Ability Index [†]	Male	Female	T-test Statistic	2-tailed Prob.
Mean	359.7	343.2	4.98	0.000*
S.D.	44.6	44.4	DF = 686	

† The ability Index is composed of the following nine aspects:

- proficiency in chinese
 - proficiency in English
 - common sense
 - analytical power
 - organizing ability
 - leadership
 - creativity
 - adaptability
 - social skills; and
- measured on a five point scale whereby
- point 1 indicates 'weak'
 - point 2 indicates 'quite weak'
 - point 3 indicates 'fair'
 - point 4 indicates 'quite strong'
 - point 5 indicates 'strong'

The value of the Ability Index is obtained by taking the average of the scores of these nine measures and rescaling them into the range of 200 to 500.

* Significantly different at 0.05 level.

the male and female students' index of expected salary increase (Table 13).

Discussion

Hofstede (1980) has characterized Taiwan as a collectivist culture and the U.S.A. as individualist. Bond (1983)'s studies on Asian cultures also suggested that a culture which values individual achievements over modesty and responsibility to others should encourage a self-enhancing pattern of attributions and a culture which values social harmony over individual initiative and achievement should nurture a self-effacing pattern. Similar to other Asian cultures, traditional Chinese culture places

Table 11 Expected First Job Salary

First Job Salary	Mean		M-W test Statistic	2-tailed Prob.
	Male	Female		
CUHK (HKD)	6,142	6,121	-0.71	0.476
SZU (RMB)	502	455	-6.43	0.000*

* Significantly different at the 0.05 level.

Table 12 Expected Salary Five Years Later

Job Salary Five Years Later	Mean		M-W test Statistic	2-tailed Prob.
	Male	Female		
CUHK (HKD)	14,400	12,474	-4.78	0.000*
SZU (RMB)	1,194	942	-4.64	0.000*

* Significantly different at the 0.05 level.

Table 13 Index of Expected Salary Increase

Expected Salary Increase Index	Male	Female	M-W test statistic	2-tailed Prob.
Mean	242.3	211.3	-5.04	0.000*

* Significantly different at 0.05 level.

a high value on modesty, humility and the maintenance of social relationships. Gould & Slone (1982) proposed a self-presentational model for explaining gender differences in attribution. They suggested that 'society holds stereotypically different expectations of how females and males should present themselves in achievement situations.' Females may be required to express appropriate 'feminine modesty' in order to win positive appraisal by others. Women acquired such attributes through their upbringing and through the socialization process.

The present study reveals that fewer women students have made definite career plans before graduation, that their career preferences

are to a certain extent dictated by gender role stereotypes. They are invariably less confident as compared to their male counterparts and assess themselves less favourably in many job-related attributes. Apart from lower self-esteem, they also have lower achievement aspirations as indicated by their expected salaries, particularly significant in five years' time.

Fewer female graduands have made definite career plans five to seven months prior to their graduation and substantially more SZU female students have plans for further studies as compared to their male counterparts (75% against 69%). This may either reflect that there is lower family expectation for girls to start working immediately after graduation or a belief that credentialism plays a more important part in women's career success.

It may well be true that career preferences are very much predetermined by the choice of major subjects at the university. Nevertheless, this survey did reveal that there are significant differences in career preferences between male and female students which also portray a stereotypical pattern. Although both female and male respondents indicate a clear preference for the commercial sector, men are much more inclined to join the industrial sector whereas women more inclined to join the social services and education sectors which are traditionally recognized as female professions. As far as career fields are concerned, substantially more men prefer banking and computer work whereas substantially more women prefer mass media/public relations and the tourist industry. A certain stereotypical pattern between the two sexes is thus apparent.

While selecting a career field and an employer, males and females also have different considerations. Men tend to place more emphasis on the tangible elements such as promotion prospect, salary, opportunity to make use of one's ability and material benefits associated with the job; whereas women place more emphasis on the intangible elements such as personal interest, management policy of the company, and job stability. Less than 3% of all respondents ranked job satisfaction as their most important consideration while selecting a career field. One may argue

that fresh graduates' top priority will be finding a job that suits their personal inclinations, that is compatible with their academic training and that pays reasonably. Job satisfaction might well be something that comes subsequently and is very much subject to personal definition. Salary ranks fourth in priority for both male and female students. For Hong Kong students, there is generally an acceptable market range for university graduates as far as salary is concerned and the differential is modest. It is therefore not surprising to find that salary ranks low as a consideration for job choice. It is however a different case with Shenzhen where a labour market has only just started to emerge and the pay differential between a government job and one offered by a company of foreign investment can be very substantial.

The most striking finding of this study is the relatively low self-esteem among female respondents as compared to their male counterparts. With the exception of proficiency in English, women either rate themselves comparable or lower in most of the job-related abilities as compared to men. Of the 10 job related attributes/abilities, women rate themselves higher on only one attribute, and comparable on three and lower on seven as compared to their male counterparts. The overall confidence index for women being 344.2 is significantly lower than that of the men which comes up to 387.5. Woman graduands also have lower expectations in terms of their career development as indicated by their significantly lower expectation of salary in five years' time. The CUHK male graduands' expected salary in five years is 2.3 times their initial salary whereas for female graduands, only 2.04 times. For SZU male graduands, their expected salary in five years is 2.38 times their initial salary whereas for their female counterparts, only 2.07 times. The overall male and female expected salary indices are 242.3 against 211.3 respectively.

Since both boys and girls have to experience the same competitive procedure in order to arrive at the pinnacle of the educational system in both Shenzhen and Hong Kong, it is a bit difficult to comprehend the reasons why there should be such an obvious discrepancy between them in terms of self-image; self-confidence and career aspirations. The

present study cannot provide any conclusive explanation, but it might be a result of socialization, the impact of the schooling system or parental role-modelling, or as Gould & Slone (1982) suggested, a necessary feminine modesty. More studies on the subject of gender differences in self-image and achievement motivations in oriental societies are called for.

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性別與事業發展及就業機會

—對中國婦女就業狀況的探討

陶春芳

社會的發展，必然地把婦女問題推在人們的面前。隨着經濟的發展，婦女就業問題也日益引起了人們普遍的關注。中國大陸四十年來，婦女就業的道路是曲折發展的。改革開放後，婦女就業問題成爲社會發展中突出問題之一。我本人也很熱心於對此問題的探討，在此，僅就性別與事業發展及就業機會方面的問題談談自己的拙見。

婦女就業機會的合理性

“女性是人類經驗的二分之一”的觀念，是近代人提出的。這個提法把半邊天升華爲“經驗的”而不僅僅是數量的。然而，“經驗的二分之一”能否被人們普遍地接受，還要經歷很長的社會觀念改變的道路。也有很長的婦女努力表現自己經驗能力的道路。在中國尤其如此。

既往的歷史發展中，婦女以其實踐曾爲人類的發展做出過巨大的貢獻。婦女曾發明農業、製陶業、紡織業、工藝裝飾業等等。促進了人類第一次經濟革命；在詩歌、音樂的創作發展中也有其不可磨滅的功績。婦女在和男子同等地從事各種社會實踐中，爲人類留下了經濟、文化和管理的經驗，從而受到人們的尊重。而婦女社會地位的降落，其根源也在於婦女從社會經濟生活及其他社會生活中被逐漸排擠

出的結果。中國幾千年塑造女性的基點，就是使女性失去一切社會參與的能力。父、子對子女訓誨的原則是：

女處閨門，少令出戶，喚來便來，喚去便去，稍有不從，當加叱怒、朝暮訓誨，各勤事務，掃地燒香，紐麻績苧。若在人前，修她禮教，遞獻茶湯，從容退步，莫縱驕痴，恐她啼怒，莫縱跳梁，恐她輕侮，莫縱歌詞，恐她淫行，莫縱游行，恐她惡事。

女性在行動上只能：

內外各處，男女異羣，其窺外壁，莫出外庭，出必掩面，窺必藏形。

以這種規矩規範出的女性，只能終生複一日地重復同樣的室內掃灑，遞茶、紉麻之類，被剝奪了與他人交往和鍛煉生存能力的機會。長久地被圈圍在家庭的四壁之內，又必然加深她們的愚昧和遲鈍，成為男人的順奴。反轉來，由於婦女缺乏自主能力，又遭到社會的歧視和欺凌。婦女要改變自己的卑屈地位，就必須改變自己的社會處境，走出家門進入社會，改變自己被人養活的狀況，實現自己在經濟上的自立自養。婦女有了經濟權利和參與社會活動的權利，才能以一個獨立自主的形象立於人羣之中。

自辛亥革命後，在社會的大變革中，使婦女認識到自己真正的社會責任以及社會發展與婦女發展的一致性，大大地引發了中國婦女的奮進精神，婦女開始轉變自己為家庭的犧牲為對社會發展的犧牲，她們勇敢地衝破一層層的羈絆和家庭的束縛，走向社會步入大世界，尋求中國發展之路，尋求婦女解放之路。黃浦軍校創建了女子隊，抗日戰爭中有無數女英傑為國捐軀。歷經近百年的戎馬和文化之戰，為中國的發展做出了不可磨滅的貢獻。

中華人民共和國成立後，中華全國婦女聯合會應運而生，它的職責就是繼續引導中國婦女的解放和發展。其首要的任務則是號召中國婦女投入社會經濟的發展和建設中去，號召婦女通過就業實現自己的自立自養。但是，歷經幾千年封建制度的中國，人們受封建意識的熏陶極深，婦女由閨房之物轉變為社會發展的建設者並非易事。人們接受婦女就業也不會是自發自願和輕而易舉的。必須經歷一個由強迫接

受到逐漸認識並成為習慣的過程。為此，中華人民共和國做了兩件事。

一是1950年4月頒布了《中華人民共和國婚姻法》以及與它相配套的各種法規。通過婚姻法推進男女平等觀念的確立。婚姻法在家庭關係中規定：夫妻在家庭中的地位平等。夫妻雙方都有參加生產、工作、學習和社會活動的自由，一方不得對他方加以限制或干涉。婚姻法公布以後，在全國範圍內開展了貫徹婚姻法的大規模的羣眾運動。它對婦女參加經濟建設起了保障作用。

二是繼婚姻法之後，1954年中華人民共和國又頒布了國家根本大法——中華人民共和國憲法。憲法在公民基本權利和義務一章中規定：中華人民共和國婦女在政治的、經濟的、文化的、社會的和家庭的生活各方面享有同男子平等的權利。國家保護婦女的權利和利益，實行男女同工同酬，培養和選拔女幹部。憲法中還規定婦女有與男子平等受教育的權利和勞動權利，並規定：國家通過各種途徑，創造勞動就業條件。

憲法的公布進一步激發了婦女參與社會活動的積極性，熱情學文化，提高自己的就業能力。憲法又根據憲法中關於“創造勞動就業條件”的規定，為婦女就業制定相應的措施：在國家各級政權部門規定婦女比例，保證婦女參政權利的實現；在各經濟部門規定吸收婦女就業的比例，保證婦女就業權利的實現。這些措施，在社會發展的一定階段內是非常必要的。面對中國國情，改變以往排斥婦女參與達到接受婦女參與，政府能在一定時期以法律、法規的強制性，要求人們接受婦女，是明智而必要的，也是推進男女平等的切實措施。在憲法和婚姻法頒佈後，經過社會的大發動，男女平等、婦女自強自立的觀念深入人心，大批婦女毅然走出家門，在工農業、文化教育、社會服務等各行各業大顯身手。據統計，1949年在城市中就有六十萬婦女就業。這六十萬婦女大軍，對國民經濟的恢復和建設都做出了巨大成績。婦女就業，使婦女的面貌大為改觀。婦女們描述自己的變化是，自己由過去“手背向下”向丈夫要錢養活自己的局面，變成為“手背向上”往家裏交錢獨立自養的現實。婦女的經濟收入逐漸成為家庭經濟不可缺少的一部分。由於就業，婦女在經濟上翻了身；由於就業，普

遍增強了婦女的自信心。婦女不怕艱苦，勤奮學習，在不長的時間內，自身的勞動技能獲得了長足的進展，在實際行動中改變了社會觀念。

在國家支持和婦女自身努力下，婦女就業歷經四十年的努力，就業人數日增。據統計，繼1949年六十萬婦女就業之後，婦女就業的狀況可分幾個大階段：1957年為328.6萬人；1978年為2,126.3萬人；1987年隨着改革的勢頭增加到4,869萬；到1989年又出現了兩個5千萬，即城市女職工五千萬，佔城市婦女勞動力的82%；鄉鎮企業女職工五千萬，達到農村全員勞動力的二分之一。

婦女就業塑造了一代新人。首先推進了婦女自身的全面發展。就業改變了婦女以往只囿於家庭四壁之內的环境，而投身於社會整體發展的廣闊範圍，從而大大開拓了她們的視野，使她們的思想和行為不僅遵從家庭關係的規範，而是更關心國家和世界發展局勢對自己發展的影響。婦女在做自我評價時，不再僅僅看着丈夫、公婆和子女的喜怒來取捨自己的成敗，而是憑着自己的才能和事業上的成就作為衡量自己發展和價值的主要標準。一代自強自立的女性，衝破封建道德禁錮着的心靈，解脫被封建專制制度桎梏着的手腳，改變着自己屈居於社會低層和家庭附屬的卑賤地位，有理想、有主見，再也不任人擺布了。

隨着婦女就業趨勢的發展，廣大婦女的受教育機會逐年增加，婦女的文化程度有了很大的提高。據1982年全國人口普查統計，六歲以上人口中，有大學文化程度的人441萬，其中女性113萬，佔25.6%；大學肄業程度的160萬，其中女性40萬，佔25%；高中文化程度的6,643萬，其中女性2,551萬，佔38.4%；初中文化程度的17,804萬，其中女性6,587萬，佔37%；小學文化程度的35,526萬，其中女性15,066萬，佔42.4%。廣大婦女文化程度的提高，為她們參與社會政治、經濟、科學、教育、文化、醫療等各個領域做出貢獻創造了極為有利的條件。歷經四十年，大陸大部分省市在教育方面達到男女同等教育。據1988年至1989年度全國部分省市統計數字，有二十一個省市女兒童入學率已達到95%以上，其中京、津、滬三大城市和遼寧省，女兒童入學率達到99%以上。當然，在經濟、文化不發達地區婦女教

育還存在一定的問題。婦女就業促進了婦女接受教育，重視科學文化的學習。同樣，對婦女教育的發展，也提高了婦女就業的能力和層次，改變着男女平等參與社會的觀念。

婦女就業改變了婦女的社會觀念，也改變着社會的婦女觀，就社會整體觀念而言，已不再排斥婦女參與社會一切領域的活動，這在家庭關係中反映得比較明顯。既往，男子的生活大多要依賴母親或妻子的幫助，一般地說男子是不理家務的，在家庭中尊居女性之上。婦女廣泛就業以後，經濟自立，與男性共同參與社會事業，社會工作的擔子是相同的，家務擔子必然也要共同分擔，四十年婦女就業的現實，改變了婦女的傳統角色，也同樣改變了男性的傳統角色和行為方式。當今大陸大多數男性能尊重婦女的社會勞動，大多數丈夫理解妻子的就業願望，能平等地分擔家務。根據對部分城市調查，有95%以上的丈夫能不同程度地分擔家務，幾乎不幹家務的丈夫只佔4.2%。在幾項大的家務勞動中的分工狀況大致是：做飯，以妻子為主的佔30.8%，以丈夫為主的佔25.5%，43.7%是夫妻一起動手來做；買菜購物，以妻子為主的佔45.6%，以丈夫為主的佔32.6%，21.8%是誰方便誰買，在管理和教育孩子方面，完全由妻子管的佔31.2%，以丈夫為主的是30%，夫妻共管的佔38.2%。從這些數字可以看出，現在大多數丈夫認識到妻子也有自己的事業追求，擔負着與自己相當的社會勞動，因此完全靠妻子承擔家務已不可能，主動分擔家務，減輕妻子的勞累，逐步成為理所當然，這在社會風氣上無疑的是一大進步。而這種進步是靠婦女的實際行動，靠她們有勇氣改變自己原有的形象和力求為社會作出貢獻的決心。婦女能放棄原有的家庭主婦角色，拋家捨子投入社會勞動的行列，是需要毅力、也需要鍛煉自己的承受力。但是，只有通過婦女走出家庭參與社會的毅然行動，才促成社會普遍接受婦女並確立新的婦女觀，逐漸成為一種習慣。實現婦女從家庭主婦角色到社會發展和建設者角色的轉變，固然要有社會立法的保障，而更重要的還是婦女自己的奮起和自強意識確立。只有當二分之一的婦女創造了不折不扣的二分之一的經驗，社會才能真正認可婦女為“半邊天”。

婦女就業中遇到的新問題

婦女就業儘管是社會發展的重要因素，但是婦女就業的道路却不是筆直和平坦的。隨着社會的發展，婦女會得到發展的各種機遇，也會遇到各種挑戰。隨着經濟體制的改革，競爭機制引入經濟建設領域，由於婦女的特殊生理狀況，造成婦女就業的社會效益和經濟效益發生矛盾，因此婦女就業問題再度引起各種爭議，成為社會發展這個新階段中不可忽視的新問題。

廣泛吸收婦女就業對不對？婦女能否在經濟發展的新時期適應職業和效益對自己的要求？這是在婦女就業問題上爭論的主要問題。對此，理論上討論熱烈，有關部門也做着各種調查，我對此也在思索研究。就經濟效益看，根據某市對重工業、輕工業、紡織、礦務等不同產業的調查情況表明：女職工能完成本職工作的佔96%，其中16.3%能超額完成生產任務。約有4%的女職工不能完成本職工作。男職工中能完成工作任務的是93.5%，其中超額完成生產任務的佔21%，不能完成生產任務的佔6.5%。對本職工作的滿意程度看，女職工對自己現任工作滿意的佔40.2%，一般的佔49.8%，不滿意的佔10%。男職工對本職工作滿意的佔31.5%，感到一般的佔48.5%，感到不太滿意的佔10%。從這些數字看，一方面說明對工作滿意程度和完成任務程度是成正比的，但也說明，只要對工作安排得當，女職工就會與男職工一樣勝任自己的工作。婦女有就業能力。

但是，隨着社會的發展，諸多客觀的社會因素波及到婦女，影響人們對男女兩性應否得到同等就業機會的不同觀念和評價。

一、人口的增殖與社會生產力發展不協調

人口生產過剩，造成勞動力剩餘，使已就業的勞動力面臨可能被淘汰的威脅，尚未就業的勞動力之間求職競爭日趨激烈。在勞動力相對過剩、競爭日劇的情況下，人們在考慮緩解就業矛盾時，傳統意識往往復歸，人們往往反顧傳統角色的“合理性”。認為婦女是擠進就業隊伍的人，從而提出婦女應讓出位置以緩解就業擁擠的局面。有人

提出婦女應重返家庭，實現社會低就業高工資，增加男性的工資，讓婦女重新包攬全部家務，做丈夫的“賢內助”，而為充分發揮男性能力創造條件。持這種觀點的以男性為多。而且不少的人以傳統觀念立論，不分析不同性別的就業品質和性別就業的狀況，不分析性別與對不同職業的適應能力，籠統地以性別偏視，武斷地認為女性的工作能力不如男性。有的單位，一看是女性就不要，甚至在就業考試中男性成績比女性低一半乃至80%的情況下仍招收男性而把女性拒之門外。這不能不說是在社會變革的新形勢下重男輕女的性別歧視觀念在就業問題上的回潮。這種觀點和行為自然會受到婦女和社會上大多數人的反對，也受到中華全國婦女聯合會和政府勞動部門的抵制。各級勞動部門依照婦女勞動保護規定，要求各部門凡適合女性就業的崗位一定要接受婦女就業。中華全國婦女聯合會也積極同有關部門進行產業結構和婦女就業合理流向、就業形式的調查，並準備提出有關婦女就業的方法議案，為婦女的合理就業提供法律保障。

二、婦女自身的生理特點，使她們的就業受到限制

婦女以其生理特點承擔着生男育女、哺育後代的責任。但是，懷孕、生育、哺育子女要佔用時間和精力，因此婦女工作的連續性不如男性強，又由於婦女的生理特點體力不如男性強壯，使許多工作崗位不適宜女性參與。如高空作業，有毒有害工種和一些重體力工種，因體力和生理的限制婦女難以勝任。不顧及婦女的生理特點，硬性要求男女不分地從事這些工作顯然是不利於婦女和子女的健康。在目前的勞動條件，勞動保護和現代科學技術在生產中的應用程度還不高的情況下，社會對婦女實行一些特殊照顧是必要的，但是這對婦女就業和企業單位都是負擔也是不可否認的。對婦女照顧過多，與企業單位講求經濟效益有矛盾。按國務院（1988年）第九號令規定：婦女產假九十天，從懷孕七個月到孩子哺乳周歲以內，一年多的時間內不能上夜班。據此，婦女生育期合計有一百五十多天不能為企業創造價值，相反的企業還要付給女職工生孩子的醫藥費和工資，另外還要支出普查、普治婦科病、計劃生育等費用，要為女職工建立保健設施，

如沖洗室、孕婦休息室、哺乳室等，這些都直接影響到企業經濟效益的提高。面對這些情況，有的企業從經濟效益出發，或者不招收女工；或者雖然招收了女工，但並不給女工以必要的勞動和健康保護，而這又勢必影響婦女和兒童的身心健康。婦女面對這種情況，爲了不失去自己得來不易的就業權利，也爲了自己的自尊不被傷害，只得不求保護，仍堅持工作，決心在競爭中立於不敗之地。她們主動提出國家不要爲婦女爭過多的保護，立志“負重爬坡”。這是社會生產力還沒有充分發展的條件下，婦女在就業中不得不承受的額外的艱辛。

三、產業結構相對不平衡

中國地大物博，人口衆多，企業的發展一般都是根據原料產地決定產業佈局，這就造成在相當時期內產業結構不夠合理，不平衡。有的地區輕工業比較集中並且發達，有的地方重工業比較集中也比較發達；有的地方就完全是單一的礦業生產地。這在經濟發展的一定階段是有其必要性的。但從就業來看，這種經濟發展的單一性和不平衡是不合理的。重工業集中發展而缺乏與之配套的第三產業的建設，缺乏社區服務行業，又兼交通不發達，這對男女就業都是一個不利因素，尤其是對婦女就業影響更大。而在經濟綜合發展的地區，就不存在這類問題。如北京、天津、上海，這三大城市儘管都是逾千萬人口的大城市，但因其產業綜合發展，幾乎是全員性就業，而且多數是勞動者挑選就業崗位。這些城市不僅能全部安置就業人員，還從其他地區流動進大批勞動力。其他的不少省市也不存在就業難的問題，如廣東省，因其經濟綜合發展的速度快，也實現全省全員性就業的局勢。而有的省就很不平衡，在輕紡工業集中的省市，就不僅不是婦女勞動力難就業，而是缺乏女工，爲了補充缺員，不得不到其它地區或農村招收女工。在以重工業或礦產業爲主的省區，很多工種不適合婦女去做，女工待業的就比較多，而在這些重工業和礦業爲主的省區，第三產業又顯得發展不足，人們生活服務設施不足，這既造成人們生活的不方便，也使婦女就業發生困難。如山西省過去集中發展煤炭工業，遼寧省則以鋼鐵和重工業爲主。這些省的婦女就業問題就比較突出。

產業結構對婦女就業存在着客觀的、直接的制約關係，產業結構的調整也必然會導引着婦女就業的流向和就業數量的伸縮。爲此，研究婦女就業問題，必然會引起人們對產業結構的關心，也必然會促進產業結構的合理布局。

四、兩種生產兩種勞動給婦女就業帶來相當的困擾

兩種生產是指物質生產和人口生產，兩種勞動是指社會勞動和家庭勞動。

歷史的前進，既離不開物質生產也離不開人口的生產。而婦女在人類自身再生產中，是作出了巨大奉獻的。然而，這却成了婦女就業的主要障礙。對此，社會各界也普遍感到不公平。

經濟體制的改革，將競爭機制引入經濟領域，是爲了提高勞動效益；實行優勝劣汰，是爲了把在工作中懶散、不努力的人改變過來。可是有的企業單位却不能做到優劣分明，不是擇優捨劣，而是以性別取捨，擇男捨女。理由是女工麻煩事多，主要是把女工的生育視爲負擔。這就出現了在安排女職工時或者把處於生育期（包括未孕和已經生育過的）女職工一律列爲編餘，讓婦女長休達幾年的育兒假；或者完全不考慮婦女的生理特點，在崗位分工時男女平攤，認爲婦女要求就業就應和男子一樣，不應當要求照顧，自己也不應當講究性別。這種安排造成女工力不從心，諸多煩惱。這種處理辦法，顯然有失公平，而不是把男女放在平等的條件下競爭。如果女工因生育而被裁減下去，或要求女工與男工一樣去從事不適宜於女工的工種，這顯然是強女工之所難。

婦女不能拒絕人口生產，這既是人類物質生產延續生產力的需要，也是人類繁衍存續的需要。婦女做爲一個獨立的人，也應當實現自己的社會價值，有自己的理想和事業，作爲一個完善發展的人而生活。婦女在人口生產中的特殊奉獻和作用，應該得到社會公平的評價和公平的待遇。如果因此而限制她們參與物質生產和社會參與的權利，或以各種方式（輿論、觀念、不合理的規定和具體的做法等）讓婦女獨自承擔人口生產帶來的重負，那是極不公平的。一位偉人曾說

過這樣的話：女人生孩子，不僅僅是爲了愛情，也不僅僅是她們想作母親，而是以她們的巨大付出爲人類做着奉獻。這位偉人的話是正確的，應當引起人們的深思。

當人們談論婦女就業時，往往論及婦女在事業上自我表現能力低，文化科學素質較差等等，但是在他們發生這種議論時，却忽視了婦女在努力參加社會勞動的同時還要擔負沉重的家務勞動。目前，多數婦女，尤其是廣大農村婦女，仍然保留着傳統的道德觀念，在她們結婚後仍很自然地以傳統家庭主婦的身份出現，盡心盡力地擔負起侍奉老人、教養子女、料理家務等極其瑣碎而對她們自身素質的提高並無多少補益的事務。家務瑣事，不僅使經濟還不發達、社會服務程度較低的中國婦女處境艱難，就是在經濟發達的國家和地區，婦女也因此而處在較低的地位。兩種生產，兩種勞動使她們沒有更多的時間去繼續學習科學文化知識，不能享受豐富的文化生活和精神生活。家庭和事業兩副擔子，影響了婦女聰明才智的發揮和素質的提高。而婦女若把家務勞動推出去，或不婚不育，將對社會發展產生嚴重影響。僅就家務勞動一項而言，據有關專家推算，若婦女擺脫家務推給社會負擔，國家每年要多投入人民幣420億元，這對國家對社會無疑都是一個沉重的負擔。然而，這個負擔現在是由婦女們默默地承受着。中國婦女歷經四十年的奮鬥，鍛煉出了相當的承受力，在事業和生活的困擾面前，堅定地發出“既要事業又要生活”的呼聲，她們在努力獲取事業成就和建設美滿和諧家庭的道路上艱難地追求完美。

爲促進婦女就業的各種措施

綜上所述，婦女問題確實已經成爲社會發展中的突出的並引起社會關心的問題。在研究婦女就業問題時，普遍提出要正確估價婦女在人類自身再生產中的作用，明確提出生兒育女是社會發展的需要，人類繁衍的保證。當前世界性的對人口的重視，更把“生孩子”與國家前途和民族發展緊密地聯繫在一起，並且倡明了生育絕不僅是女人的私事，而是社會的公事。因而婦女在整個生育過程中所付出的身心代價。在事業發展中所犧牲的許多機遇，應該得到社會的承認並給予合

理的補償，也應對女職工多的企業爲社會人口生產所做的各種付出和所造成的經濟效益上的損失給予合理的補償。

面對社會的呼籲，中華全國婦女聯合會婦女研究所，專門成立婦女保障研究課題組，進行專題研究。還組織社會上有關專家學者進行理論上研究和論證。之後找有關部門協商，並在各級人民代表大會上提出生育補償的議案。議案得到一些與會者的同情和支持。決議在一些不同規模的城市和縣、鄉、鎮開展生育補償的試點工作。這裏我僅介紹四種城市試點的情況。這些城市各自根據本市的情況採取不同的補償辦法。如江蘇省南通市的做法是“取之於企業，用之於企業，造福由社會”，以支定收，由市政府牽頭，組織市經委、勞動人事局、財政局、稅務局、婦聯、總工會、計劃生育委員會等部門的負責人共同組成“生育基金管理委員會”。通過調查、統計、測定，最後決定：企業按每個職工每年二十圓人民幣統籌金一次性繳納給管理委員會，管理委員會按每個生育女職工一千圓的補償發給女職工所在的企業作爲補償。其統籌計算內容是：產前二個月，產後三個月，哺乳假六個月，其中產前假和哺乳假期間發給生育女職工工資的80%，加上產期醫療費，共計一千圓人民幣。這樣可以解決企業因女職工多少而負擔不均的問題，有利於企業間平等的競爭，也可以緩解企業因女職工多而帶來的額外負擔。這樣做也有利於保護女職工的身心健康。

遼寧省鞍山市的做法是：女職工的生育假和哺乳假期間的工資由夫妻雙方所在的單位共同負擔。統籌時間的計算是：女職工產假爲九十天，哺乳假折合爲四十五天，共計四個半月。按生育女職工月工資平均八十圓人民幣計算，共計三百六十圓，其中的一半——一百八十圓由生育女職工的丈夫的單位付給，另一半由生育女職工的單位付給。這個辦法比較簡單易行。

而湖南省株洲市則是將養老、生育、產業救濟三項基金共同統籌，由市勞動局統一管理。具體做法是：按企業工資總額的18%、0.5%、1%的比例統一劃撥給勞動局。女職工從懷孕到孩子三周歲，可以自願申請息工，在這息工的四年內，企業不再發給工資，而由統籌基金中按女職工原工資的60-70%發給女職工。這種辦法實施容易也簡單，女職工可以有充分的時間把孩子帶到了三歲。但是女職

工認為這種辦法息工時間太長，影響技術技能的提高，也影響經濟收入，因而不願息工四年，認為息工一年或兩年比較適宜，此辦法將有待進一步協調。

除了這三種類型的試點以外，還有的城市在設計稅收統計法。即根據男女的比例和生育補償總額等綜合因素，對女職工超過一定比例的企業施行減稅，對女職工低於一定比例的企業實行徵收地方附加稅，增減的稅額基本相等。這樣既可以均衡企業間的負擔，又可使國家的稅收總額波動不大。所有這些做法，都在試行中，都還不夠成熟，有待改進。但是，更重要的意義並不在於具體施行辦法如何，而在於它反映了社會對人口生產社會性的認可。在對婦女生育價值進行着社會的評估，也在一定程度上解決着婦女就業中的疑難。

為婦女的就業和發展，除試行生育補償以外，人們也開始着眼於產業結構與婦女就業關係的研究，提出產業結構方案，並從婦女擇業意向和職業流向的角度進行理論和實踐的探索。現在很多省、區在開展省區產業結構調整的調查和社區服務的試點工作，廣泛發展第三產業和社區服務事業。不少城市注重社區服務網絡的建設，並逐步健全了從老人到孩子的各種家務負擔，也開拓了適合婦女能力優勢的行業，這些都減輕了婦女和就業職工的家務負擔。

當然，最根本的還是提高社會科學技術水平，提高生產力，婦女就業的幅度和婦女解放的程度取決於社會生產力發展的水平。隨着生產力的發展，特別是隨着新技術的應用，那種單靠耗體力勞動為主的“體力型”工作，逐步為“智力型”勞動所代替，隨着社會教育事業的發展，婦女就業範圍將會逐步擴大。隨着生產社會化程度的提高，家務勞動社會化程度的提高，也會使婦女有條件擺脫繁重的家務勞動的纏擾，有更多的精力學習文化知識，提高技能，拓寬自己的就業範圍，廣泛地投入社會勞動領域。

但是，生產力的發展和生產社會化程度的提高是一個循序漸進的過程，並不是一朝一夕就可達到的，因此婦女解放也有一定的階段性。婦女自身也必須提高自己的價值觀念，為了社會的發展，是要付出代價的。要靠自己，提高自尊、自信、自立、自強意識，自覺努力提高素質，跟上社會發展的步伐，做一代新女性。

總之，社會的發展為女性就業提供了機遇，而女性就業的發展，也必然會促進社會更完善的發展，這是相輔相成、相互促進而又相互制約的。社會發展必須吸收它的全體成員的參與，而女性也必須增強自己參與社會的能力，為社會發展做出自己特有的貢獻。

**Daily Life Demands, Stress,
Social Support and Life Satisfaction:
A Comparative Study of Working Women
and Housewives in Taiwan**

Jeaw-mei Chen & Phylis Lan Lin

WITH the increasing number of married women working outside the home, contemporary Chinese families are facing challenges which they have never encountered before (Lin & Wang, 1988; Lin, 1987). Although more egalitarian marriages are expected and found among dual-career and two-paycheck families, childcare and division of labour at home have become the central issues for many working couples (Lin & Moore, 1984; Lin, Lan & Liu, 1985; Tseng, 1986). There are two kinds of women's work: unpaid work at home as a homemaker (housewife) and paid work outside the home as a working woman. A woman's feelings about being a homemaker depend on whether her work is valued and recognized and whether the work itself is rewarding (Strong & DeVault, 1986; Cowan, 1976; Komarovsky, 1967; Lopata, 1972; Oakley, 1975).

Women tend to be responsible for caring for their children and the housework, even though both the husband and wife work (Lin, Lan & Liu, 1985; Weitzman, 1985). Whether it is the expansion or the integration of the woman's traditional family role and the emerging career role, stress has become a way of life for many women today. Researchers of stress have long recognized the significance of life event changes, but only recently have they come to study the impact of daily life demands and hassles on personal mental health and life/family satisfaction (Doh-

renwend & Dohrenwend, 1974; McCubbin, et al., 1980; McCubbin, Sussman & Patterson, 1983). Early studies of family stress focused on identifying and devising coping mechanisms for normative transitions over the life span (e.g., divorce, death of family members). Recently, researchers have begun to focus upon the studying of certain moderating or buffering factors which might reduce the adverse consequences on personal health and interpersonal relations. One of the key stress buffering factors is social support, whether emotional or instrumental and whether perceived or actual. The correlation between social support and stress coping is a complex area of study (Billing & Moss, 1984; Cohen & Wills, 1985; Pearlin & Schooler, 1978; Chen & Lin, 1988; McFarlane, Norman, Striner & Ray, 1983; Lin, Woelfel & Light, 1985; Thoits, 1982). Unfortunately, results of empirical research appear to be either conflicting or inconclusive. In addition, few studies have compared working women's and housewives' experiences of coping with their common daily life demands.

Thus, the purpose of this study is fourfold:

- to identify women's daily life demands;
- to investigate the level of stress from these daily life demands when intervened by social Supports;
- to identify the instrumental support system available to them; and
- to analyze the correlations among stress levels, social support and life satisfaction.

It is significant to note that the strength of a family lies in the ability of an individual to use coping mechanisms and the social support that the individual perceives and/or receives. The present study aims to uncover the strengths of the Chinese family in Taiwan through the analysis of women's daily life experiences and the dynamics of the long believed traditional family-support system in the modern Chinese social-cultural setting.

The paper presented here is derived from a major study by the present authors (Chen & Lin, 1987). The present paper focuses on the

comparisons of working women's and housewives' daily life demands, stress, coping and life satisfaction.

Research Design

Sample

A total of 444 women (274 or 61.7% working women, including 120 from 7 occupational associations; 167 or 37.6% housewives, including 3 students; and 3 or 0.7% unknown) completed the personal interview. Slightly over three quarters (77.4%) of the working women were full-time workers, 17.2% worked part-time, and 5.5% did not respond. Their occupational backgrounds were diverse with 22.1% in business; 15.1% in government and teaching; 6.8% in industry, 7.3% in labour and agriculture, 12.4% in 'free' profession, and 5% not responding. All of them were married. Their ages were distributed as follows: under 20, 0.7%; 20-29, 24.5%; 30-39, 42.1%; 40-49, 18.9%; 50-59, 11.3%; 60 and over, 2.5%. The subjects were drawn from all levels of educational backgrounds: illiterate, 3.2%; elementary school, 14.4%; middle school, 13.3%; high school, 34.0%; college, 35.1%; graduate school, 1.6% and 0.5% not responding.

Instrument and Measurement

A detailed discussion of the methods for the two pilot studies was prepared in a separate paper (Chen & Lin, 1988).

1. Daily Life Demands Scale

The daily life demands segment in the formal study includes the following instructions in the first section: Grocery shopping and laundry are some of women's daily demands. Based on your personal experience, please answer these three questions in the following list of women's daily demands:

- a. *Expected hours*: In your personal view, on an average day, how many hours do you expect to spend on each demand?
- b. *Actual hours*: How many hours did it actually take you to accomplish each demand? and
- c. *Instrumental Social Support hours*: Who helped you to accomplish each demand? How many hours did the person actually help you in accomplishing the task?

Fifty-five daily demands were derived from the two pilot studies (Appendix 1).

2. Objective Stress Index and Instrumental Social Support scale

In the present study, the word 'stress' was replaced by 'demand'. It is assumed that for individuals to accomplish daily life demands stress is inevitable, though it is not necessarily negative or undesirable. Stress was measured by the amount of effort (in terms of number of hours) spent in accomplishing a certain demand. Results from the two pilot studies showed that the demand for 'preparing meal' had the highest frequency count; therefore, the 'preparing meal' demand was chosen as the baseline (anchor) for comparison. The weight for 'preparing meal' was arbitrarily assigned as '50' points. The subjects were asked to assign a score to the demands, by comparing each to the demand of 'preparing meal', ranging from 1–100 points. The higher the score, the higher the degree of the demand. Thus, objective stress is expressed by the following:

$$\text{Objective Stress Index A (OSI-A)} = \sum_{i=1}^{55} (\text{Expected hours in accomplishing demand } i) \times (\text{Weight for demand } i)$$

It is assumed that there is a discrepancy between the expected and the actual hours that individuals spent in accomplishing certain demands (demand *i*). Thus, the more precise measure for the objective stress level is expressed by the following:

$$\text{Objective Stress Index B (OSI-B)} = \sum_{i=1}^{55} \text{Actual hours in accomplishing demand } i \times (\text{Weight for demand } i)$$

While the focus of the previous studies was on emotional support, the present study focuses on the instrumental social support (ISS). ISS was measured during the interview by asking about available practical help (actual hours helped by someone). Information concerning ISS was obtained from the item in which the subjects identified their support network. It is assumed that the more one receives actual support, the less stress the individual experiences. Thus, the Objective Stress Index C is expressed by the following:

$$\text{Objective Stress Index C (OSI-C)} = \sum_{i=1}^{55} \text{Actual hours in accomplishing demand } i - \text{Instrumental Social Support hours} \times (\text{Weight for demand } i)$$

Thus, the lower the index score, the lower the stress level.

3. Life Satisfaction or Well-Being Scale

Life satisfaction, or the sense of well-being, was measured using a range of questionnaire methods which was modified from Campbell, et al., (1976). A 31-item scale was constructed. The scale used in the present study was tested in Wang (1985). High validity and reliability (over 0.80) of this scale were found. For the purposes of the present study, the quality of life satisfaction has been examined in six major domains:

- the general sense of well-being (2 items);
- job satisfaction (11 items);
- family life satisfaction (6 items);
- marital satisfaction (7 items);
- rapport with relatives (3 items); and
- good colleague relations (2 items).

These six domains, in fact, can be regrouped into three categories — work, marriage and family. Items 6, 29, 30 and 31 in the present study were not found in the original measure (Campbell, et al., 1976).

The first section (item 1) contains a 6-point semantic differential method in which the subjects were asked to rate each adjective on a bipolar continuum ranging from one to six points. The second section (items 2 to 31) used a 6-point Likert-type scale ranging from 'strongly disagree' to 'strongly agree'. Because of the wording, certain items were recoded for scoring. The higher the sum score (or mean score), the higher the degree of life satisfaction.

Results

Daily Life Demands

In Table 1, the expected and actual hours spent on daily life demands by working women and housewives were compared. Since daily life demands denote the individual's stress level, the hours spent in accomplishing those demands also denote crude stress level (i.e., the more hours spent on accomplishing daily life demands, the higher the demands or the crude stress level). In Table 1, the mean expected hours spent daily on life demands were higher for working women than for housewives (32.11 hours and 29.59 hours, respectively). The same was true for the mean actual hours spent accomplishing daily life demands; the mean number of hours was higher for working women than for housewives (27.55 hours and 24.61 hours, respectively). It is important to note that only the average actual hours spent on daily life demands showed a significant difference between the two groups ($t = -2.44$; $p < 0.05$).

When comparing both groups on the expected hours spent, only five daily demands showed a significant difference (Table 2). As indicated by the table, housewives expected to spend more time on grocery shopping (mean hours = 0.95 and 0.78, respectively; $t = 2.86$, $p < 0.01$), watching

Table 1 Average Expected and Actual Hours Spent on Daily Life Demands by Working Women and Housewives

Average Expected and Actual Hours on Daily Life Demands	Housewives		Working Women		t
	Ave. Hour	SD	Ave. Hour	SD	
Average Expected Hours Per Day Spent	29.59	18.70	32.11	15.03	-1.47
Average Actual Hours Per Day Spent	24.61	12.51	27.55	12.17	-2.44*

* $p < 0.05$

Table 2 Expected Hours Spent on Selected Daily Life Demands by Working Women and Housewives

Expected Hours	Housewives		Working Women		t
	Mean (Hour)	SD	Mean (Hour)	SD	
5. Grocery shopping	0.95	0.63	0.78	0.58	2.86**
7. Studying	0.68	1.26	0.96	0.95	-2.54*
9. Television	1.97	1.43	1.31	1.01	5.25**
10. Chatting	1.01	1.13	0.74	0.66	2.76*
34. Outing with child	0.96	1.42	0.64	1.04	2.50*

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$

television (mean hours = 1.97 and 1.31, respectively; $t = 5.25$, $p < 0.01$), chatting (mean hours = 1.01 and 0.74, respectively; $t = 2.76$, $p < 0.05$), and going on outings with their child(ren) (mean hours = 0.96 and 0.64, respectively; $t = 2.50$, $p < 0.05$) than did working women, whereas working women expected to study more (mean hours = 0.95 and 0.68, respectively; $t = -2.54$, $p < 0.05$) than did housewives. It is apparent from looking at Table 2 that both groups expected to spend more time watching TV than on the other four demands. Of the five demands listed, housewives expected to spend the least amount of time studying,

whereas working women expected to devote the least time to going on outings with their child(ren).

When comparing the two groups on the list of daily life demands, seven showed a significant difference on the actual hours spent (Table 3). As indicated by the table, housewives actually spent more time preparing meals (mean hours = 1.71 and 1.17, respectively; $t = 4.83$, $p < 0.01$), watching TV (mean hours = 1.86 and 1.31, respectively; $t = 4.13$, $p < 0.05$), chatting (mean hours = 0.87 and 0.68, respectively; $t = 2.23$, $p < 0.05$), caring for their husbands (mean hours = 0.77 and 0.56, respectively; $t = 2.29$, $p < 0.05$), caring for their preschool aged children (mean hours = 2.18 and 1.09, respectively; $t = 3.23$, $p < 0.01$), and caring for their school aged children (mean hours = 0.83 and 0.53 respectively; $t = 2.20$, $p < 0.05$) than did working women. The latter only spent more time than housewives studying (mean hours = 0.61 and 0.42, respectively; $t = -2.07$, $p < 0.05$). As predicted, housewives spent most time caring for their preschool aged children and least time studying. In contrast, working women spent most time watching TV and least time caring for their school aged children.

Table 3 Actual Hours Spent on Selected Daily Life Demands by Working Women and Housewives

Actual Hours	Housewives		Working Women		t
	Mean (Hour)	SD	Mean (Hour)	SD	
1. Preparing meals	1.71	1.22	1.17	1.01	4.83**
7. Studying	0.42	0.99	0.61	0.82	-2.07*
9. Television	1.86	1.44	1.31	1.19	4.13**
10. Chatting	0.87	0.99	0.68	0.66	2.23*
24. Husband care	0.77	0.76	0.56	0.82	2.29*
29. Child care (Preschool)	2.18	3.99	1.09	2.31	3.23**
30. Child care (School age)	0.83	1.54	0.53	1.09	2.20*

* $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$

In Table 4, OSI-A and -B were used to compare the stress levels of working women and housewives. OSI-A is determined by finding the summation of the expected hours spent on daily life demands multiplied by weight. OSI-B is calculated by finding the difference between the expected and actual hours devoted to daily life demands. On OSI-A, working women showed a higher mean and therefore a higher stress level than did housewives (means = 52.98 and 32.84, respectively; $t = -0.502$, $p < 0.01$). On OSI-B, housewives demonstrated a higher difference between expected and actual hours spent on daily life demands than did working women, though the difference between the two groups was not significant (means = 4.81 and 1.16, respectively; $t = 0.86$).

Table 4 Working Women's and Housewives' Stress indices I & II Mean Scores

Stress Index	Housewives		Working Women		t
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	
Stress Index I	32.84	30.99	52.98	52.48	-4.502**
Stress Index II	4.81	21.05	1.16	52.12	0.864

** $p < 0.01$

The Use of An Instrumental Social Support Network

Table 5 indicates the social support received by working women and housewives. According to the data, working women received the highest number of supporters (means = 3.13 and 2.27, respectively), and there was a significant difference between the two groups ($t = -2.043$, $p < 0.05$). In addition, working women also received more hours of support than did housewives (means = 2.73 and 2.31, respectively); however no significant difference existed between the two groups ($t = -0.86$).

Table 6 illustrates the distribution of the social support network for both working women and housewives. For both groups, the women's husbands gave them the most frequent support, although working women's husbands appear to be more responsive to their wives (55.6%

Table 5 Social Support Received by Working women and Housewives

Social Support	Housewives		Working Women		t
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	
Numer (Frequency) of Supporters	2.27	3.59	3.13	4.68	-2.043*
Hours of Support	2.31	5.25	2.73	4.73	-0.86

** $p < 0.05$

Table 6 Distribution of the Social Support Network

Supported by	Housewives		Working Women	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Husband	173	45.9	476	55.6
In-laws	19	5.0	113	13.2
Parents	13	3.5	51	5.9
Children	88	23.3	64	7.5
Daughters-in-law	23	6.1	3	0.3
Other family members	13	3.5	41	4.8
Relatives	11	2.9	28	3.2
Servants	35	9.3	80	9.3
Friends, colleagues	2	0.5	2	0.2
Total	377	100.0	855	100.0

and 45.9%, respectively). For housewives, the second and third most supportive groups were their children and servants, respectively (23.3% and 9.3%). For working women, the second and third most supportive groups were their parents-in-law and servants, respectively (13.2% and 9.3%). It is interesting to note that whereas housewives received 23.3% of their support from their children, working women only received 7.5% from the same group. It is also of interest to note the difference in the amount of support given by the women's daughters-in-law to both groups. Whereas housewives derived 6.1% of their total support from their daughters-in-law, working women only received 0.3% from the same group. In addition, both housewives and working women received

the least amount of support from their friends and colleagues (0.5% and 0.2%, respectively).

Table 7 illustrates the mean scores for both housewives and working women on OSI-C. As explained in the methodology section, a smaller index level indicates a lower stress level and vice versa. It is interesting to note that, according to the table, housewives had a higher index level and therefore a higher stress level than did working women (means = 2.50 and -3.34, respectively). In fact, the latter group had a negative mean which indicates that working women had more than an adequate amount of social support to help them deal with daily life demands. It is important to note, however, that no significant difference between the two groups was found ($t = 1.27$).

Table 7 Working Women's and Housewives' Stress Index III Mean Scores

	Housewives		Working Women		t
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	
Stress Index III	2.50	21.62	-3.34	56.81	1.272

Life Satisfaction (Well-Being) Scale

Table 8 demonstrates both the housewives' and working women's means for life satisfaction, or well-being. On a six-point scale, six being most satisfied, the overall life satisfaction scale illustrated mean scores of 4.44 for the housewives and 4.29 for the working women. Although the housewives showed a higher level of life satisfaction, both groups tended to be satisfied with life overall, as is demonstrated by noting that all sub-categories for both groups have means over 4. Both groups showed the most satisfaction with their relationships to their relatives (means = 4.74 and 4.51, respectively). Housewives' second and third highest means occurred with their marriages (4.56) and family (4.50), respectively, whereas next to relative relations, working women were most satisfied with their colleague relations (4.50) and their marriages (4.39). Three

areas of satisfaction demonstrated a significant difference between the two groups. They are: 1. family, 2. relative relations, and 3. well-being scale ($t = 3.56, p < 0.01$; $t = 2.11, p < 0.05$; $t = 2.25, p < 0.05$, respectively).

Table 8 Mean Scores for Life Satisfaction (Well-Being) Scale

Areas of Satisfaction	Housewives		Working Women		t
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	
General	4.25	0.80	4.26	0.81	-0.15
Family	4.50	0.89	4.20	0.86	3.56**
Marriage	4.56	1.03	4.39	1.07	1.65
Relations to relatives	4.74	0.97	4.51	1.24	2.11*
Job	—	—	4.06	1.31	—
Colleague Relation	—	—	4.50	1.29	—
Well-Being Scale	4.44	0.69	4.29	0.67	2.25*

* $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$

Discussion and Summary

Although subjects were asked to indicate how many hours it took them to accomplish any of the 55 daily demands listed, the study's purpose was not to measure whether they have accomplished every single demand everyday. However, the majority of the women indicated that the expected hours far exceeded the actual hours in meeting their daily life demands. Women, whether working or housewives, play many roles in their daily lives, and they also tend to commit themselves to accomplish as many demands as possible. Therefore, the average total daily hours they actually spent in meeting the demands exceeded 24 hours (Table 1). How could it be possible? It might have been that some of those demands were based on a weekly or bi-weekly basis. While answering the questionnaire, subjects may have conceptualized demands on a daily basis since the questionnaire was addressed to daily demands. Whatever the case, it is quite clear that the overwhelming majority of the 55 demands listed was thought of on a daily basis in a

'normal' household.

Furthermore, the data showed that working women, more than housewives, not only expected to spend but also actually spent more hours studying. It is apparent that working women need to 'study' to meet their work demand. It is also possible that working women tend to have higher education levels and are more inclined to 'study' or read. Although the direct causal relations among daily life demands, stress, social support and life satisfaction are unknown, the data showed significant correlations among these three variables (Table 9). It is interesting to point out that both working women and housewives spent more time watching TV than accomplishing many other demands. It might mean that TV is one of the favourite pastime activities for Chinese women in Taiwan.

The OSIs used in the present study showed some intriguing findings. The OSI-A is considered to be the amount of stress women perceived they should have daily, whereas the OSI-B indicated the amount of stress they have to endure daily after accomplishing daily life demands. Theoretically, the closer the OSI-B was to 0, the closer the stress level was to their expectation. A higher mean score indicated a lesser possibility that the women accomplished what they should have accomplished, and hence experienced a higher stress level. It was found that working women, more than housewives, showed higher mean scores on both the expected and actual hours. Nevertheless, the working women's OSI-B mean was closer to 0 (Table 4). Though the difference between the two groups was not significant, it did indicate that working women, more than housewives, were more able to meet or cope with their daily demands. Or it might be interpreted that the former more than the latter was more realistic in perceiving their daily life demands.

It has been revealed in many studies and lay literature, that receiving social support is one of the most effective ways to cope with stress. Although both groups experienced help from their social support network, the average daily hours they received were far less than the actual number of hours they had to devote themselves to their daily demands. It seems as though women in Taiwan, working and housewives, are

Table 9 Matrix of Correlation Coefficients for Daily Life Demands, Stress, Social Support, and Life Satisfaction

SS & LSS	DLDs & OSI				
	Expected Hour	Actual Hour	OSI-A	OSI-B	OSI-C
Social Support Network					
Supporter Freq.	0.17	0.14	0.09	—	—
	0.00**	0.00**	0.02*	—	—
Supported Hour	—	—	0.12	—	—
	—	—	0.00**	—	—
OSI-C	0.15	-0.10	—	0.93	—
	0.00**	0.02*	—	0.00**	—
Life Satisfaction Scale					
General					
Family	0.81	—	—	—	—
	0.05*	—	—	—	—
Marriage	0.14	0.10	—	0.08	0.10
	0.00**	0.01*	—	0.05*	0.02*
Relatives	0.10	0.10	0.08	—	—
	0.02*	0.01*	0.05*	—	—
Well-being	0.08	—	—	—	—
	0.04*	—	—	—	—

N..B.: DLDs = Daily Life Demands; OSI = Objective Stress Index; SS = Social Support; LSS = Life Satisfaction Scale.

* $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$

carrying a very heavy load (or 'role overload') in their daily lives (Lin, 1986).

Who gave working women and housewives instrumental support? The trend toward the nuclear family in Taiwan points to the fact that a redefinition of the division of labour at home is inevitable as shown in Table 6. The data revealed that husbands ranked the highest for both groups (476 vs. 173 or 55.6% vs. 45.9%). Working women received a total of 855 units of support as compared to housewives who received 377 units of support, mostly from family members, including in-laws and

children. We may assume that working outside of the home has definitely given working wives an advantage in receiving help from family members, especially from their husbands. Though the findings from the present study showed that wives' employment outside the home may be accompanied by increases in their husbands' participation in family work inside the home — that is, housework and childcare, it is apparent that men have not adopted the duties and responsibilities of the women's traditional family role to the same degree that working wives have been sharing the provider role. If that was not the case, those working wives would not have to spend an average of 27.55 hours daily in meeting their life demands. The present study's findings supported the previous study by Lin, Lan & Liu (1985) which discovered that women physicians in Taiwan, regardless of their full-time practice, continued to assume major housework and childcare responsibilities at home.

The traditional family norm in Taiwan is still very much in practice. As demonstrated in Table 6, in-laws and children are major sources of Chinese women's support system. In addition, although there is an increasing labour shortage (due to industrialization) in domestic assistance (house maids), with the increasing household income, many families in Taiwan are able to afford full-time or part-time helpers (servants). It appears that married women in Taiwan are utilizing a social support network in coping with their daily life demands. As the data indicated, there were significant correlations between OSI-A and supporter frequencies ($r = 0.09$, $p = 0.02$) and OSI-A and support hours ($r = 0.12$, $p = 0.01$).

Although the housewives showed a higher level of life satisfaction, both groups tend to be satisfied with life overall. Significant differences between the two groups were found in the areas of family life, relative relations and the total well-being scale.

This study, unlike many others, did not focus on the direct effects on families in terms of the level of economic rewards associated with work or the conditions between the marital pair (Voydanoff, 1987; Aneshensel, 1986; Cooke & Rousseau, 1984; Kandel, Davies and Raveis, 1985; Nathanson, 1980; Spitze & South, 1985). In contrast, the present study

focused on the comparisons between working women's and housewives' daily life demands, stress, the use of a social support network, life satisfaction and mental health. Significant differences were found between the two groups. However, overall, the data revealed that both groups are, in general, making good use of their social support network, and having high degrees of family and marital satisfaction. Although the direct causal relations between and among these variable have not been analyzed in the present study, it revealed areas of daily life demands among Chinese women and housewives. The OSIs have provided new ways to understand that the level of stress is the result of the interactions among the expected demands, actual demands and the social support network.

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Appendix 1 Means and Standard Deviations for Daily Life Demands from Pilot Studies 1 and 2

Daily Life Demands	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
	(1)	(1)	(2)	(2)
1. Preparing meals	50.00	—	—	—
2. Laundry	41.92	21.47	42.99	20.65
3. Household cleaning and maintenance	47.03	23.38	47.51	23.01
4. Washing dishes	26.06	16.76	26.32	16.64
5. Grocery shopping	42.39	22.14	43.26	21.51
6. Shopping for daily necessities	33.67	21.72	43.35	21.39
7. Studying	34.30	23.09	35.36	22.63
8. Crafts	34.20	25.52	38.02	24.05
9. Television	25.86	22.28	28.11	21.82
10. Chatting	25.68	21.21	28.22	21.68
11. Reading newspaper and magazine	27.26	22.09	29.16	21.60
12. Side job	36.53	29.94	44.82	26.96
13. Major or other recreation	30.45	27.89	35.44	26.98
14. Sports and exercises	33.94	25.52	36.30	24.72
15. Family finance	40.03	24.65	40.43	24.44
16. Preparing midnight snack	24.79	18.67	27.24	27.78
17. Volunteer work	30.10	24.49	33.67	23.46
18. Feeding pet, pig, chicken, etc.	28.81	27.09	34.34	26.16
19. Personal washing and cleaning	20.10	16.88	21.15	16.66
20. Preparing and delivering meal (lunch)	32.69	22.15	34.97	21.09
21. Religious activities	32.31	23.53	34.57	22.67
22. Grooming	26.27	18.52	26.94	18.17
23. Social obligations and social-emotional debts	34.27	22.61	35.16	22.21
24. Husband care	37.28	25.28	38.84	24.60
25. Helping husband managed business and other chores	38.44	27.08	41.33	25.85
26. Communicating with husband	37.56	24.96	39.12	24.24
27. Accompanying husband for his social obligations and leisure activities	33.55	23.39	35.31	22.66
28. Having sex with husband (sexual life)*	32.90	20.41	34.66	19.44
29. Child care (preschool age)	54.75	28.74	59.83	24.44
30. Child care (school age)	52.67	26.00	55.74	23.32
31. Child discipline and communication	55.24	24.64	55.79	24.13
32. Helping with child's school work	48.43	24.97	49.67	24.03
33. Supervising child's music, craft, and extra-curricula activities (lessons)	41.81	24.47	44.01	23.09

(cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd Appendix 1)

Daily Life Demands	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
	(1)	(1)	(2)	(2)
34. Outing with child	41.54	25.72	43.73	24.50
35. Taking and picking up child	29.05	24.89	33.20	22.87
36. Greeting parents-in-law by phone, or personal visit	30.13	24.10	33.29	23.15
37. Care of parents-in-law	34.98	28.05	39.55	26.62
38. Special care of parents-in-law	42.57	31.77	48.14	29.54
39. Keeping parents-in-law company	33.00	25.58	36.87	24.25
40. Care of parents	33.33	25.77	37.45	24.32
41. Keeping parents company	32.07	24.97	34.86	24.09
42. Greeting parents by phone or personal visit	28.67	23.16	31.53	22.36
43. Special care of parents	38.34	29.15	43.14	27.35
44. Helping daughter-in-law or daughter(son) with child care	39.13	30.04	47.77	26.23
45. Helping daughter-in-law or daughter (son) with household work	33.99	26.24	40.74	23.44
46. helping relative with child care	34.48	26.17	38.53	24.67
47. helping relative with household work	30.33	25.30	34.27	24.25
48. Personal care (make-up, change, etc.)	29.69	20.61	32.65	19.24
49. Time spend for commuting (work)	34.22	24.93	38.94	22.89
50. Studying for work (new knowledge)	38.84	25.79	42.94	23.63
51. Activities relating to work — time spent in addition to office hour	36.68	25.83	41.24	23.70
52. In-service or on-the-job training	36.64	27.08	44.71	24.02
53. Going to work	49.43	27.48	55.57	22.52
54. Over-time	41.50	29.01	48.58	25.30
55. Business trip	41.04	30.14	49.85	25.74
56. Work related social or business obligations	39.67	27.68	44.48	25.39

* Item 28 was deleted in the formal study

Gender Differences in the Labour Market: Some Evidence from Taiwan

Tsai Shu-ling and Chou Bih-er

THERE has been a tremendous increase in recent years in the literature on women's secondary status in the labour market. Women are assumed to have low labour-force and career commitment, high job instability, low educational and occupational aspirations and achievements, a lack of accumulated work experience and a low wage, relative to men. On the other hand, the increasing hierarchization of work and the differentiation in the demand of labour, has led to a specific need for 'secondary workers', so that women are allocated to jobs which are compatible with their 'endowments' (Scott 1986:158). Can the image of women as 'secondary workers' be contradicted by fact? The main purpose of this study is to describe and explain the relative socio-economic status of men and women in contemporary Taiwan. The necessary inputs include a selective review of the relevant literature on sex differentials in socio-economic achievements and an analysis of the current labour market statistics as they relate to the realities of the contemporary Taiwanese society.

Gender differences in the labour market is a multi-dimensional phenomenon. The institutional complexity of gender stratification has led to its examination with a number of different paradigms. Our discussion on stratification by sex in the labour market begins with the status attainment perspective. According to Pease, Form & Rytina (1970), ideological currents in stratification literature believe that workers are

placed within the socio-economic order through a competitive process in which skills and abilities of differing value and scarcity are carefully identified, evaluated and matched with societal needs. Nevertheless, the meritocratic principle is effective only where the premise of universalistic achievement orientation obtains. Whether or not and to what degree socio-economic achievement depends on factors other than the individual's competence and inclination to perform the role on the basis of which status is conferred, say, gender for example, is exactly the main empirical concern of the status attainment research (Duncan, Featherman & Duncan, 1972). Status attainment research regards sex differentials in earnings as differential outputs caused by gender differences in the process of occupational achievement. Moreover, formal schooling is regarded as the key variable in the process of status attainment, not only because education is an important dimension of stratification system in its own right, but also because it greatly facilitates later occupational and economic achievements in the socio-economic life cycle (Sewell & Hauser, 1980). Thus, the major sex differentials to be empirically analyzed in this paper are those in levels of educational attainment, occupational distribution and earnings. Each of those differentials is a key indicator of relative rewards of men and women in the market economy. Taken together, they may give a multi-dimensional picture of male and female economic status.

By analyzing men's and women's achievements symmetrically, we recognize that differential labour market outcomes between the sexes cannot be explained by their differences in educational attainments alone. It has become increasingly clear that a wide variety of factors combine to create gender stratification in the labour market. Occupational segregation by sex, sex discrimination in the workplace, and women's intermittent patterns of labour force participation are also explanations for gender inequality in socio-economic achievements. In addition, we notice that sex differences in achievements cannot be explained solely in terms of operation of labour market. Sexual inequality of socio-economic opportunities may be attributed in part to sex-role socialization and the traditional division of labour within the family

context. The institutionalization of childbearing and homeworking has led many women to adopt vicarious achievement pattern and to secondary economic status.

Gender Differences in Socio-economic Achievements

Most sociological research on socio-economic achievements is grounded in theories about the status attainment process where achievements are affected by a number of different forces which act upon individuals as they move through different life cycle stages. The basic status attainment model postulates that the influence of socio-economic origins on occupational achievement is largely mediated by educational attainment, and that pursuit of an occupation leads to remuneration in the form of earnings (Blau & Duncan, 1967; Duncan, Featherman & Duncan 1972; Sewell & Hauser, 1975). In other words, according to the status attainment approach, educational attainment, occupational achievement and earnings are the three major dimensions of socio-economic achievements.

Traditionally, a woman's place in the world ultimately depends on the success of the man she marries, whereas the masculine role is mainly an occupational one. Nevertheless, it is no longer true that the occupational-economic route to socio-economic rewards is limited to men, as women have entered the labour force in growing numbers since World War II. Although the analysis of women's socio-economic achievements is of interest in its own right, it is through a comparison with the achievement model for men that a careful assessment of gender differences can be highlighted. Extensive research comparing the nature of the achievement process among men and women has been done in recent years. For instance, women or gender as a variable has been absorbed into the status attainment research endeavour within the past two decades. Findings of a number of causal-model studies (for instance, Treiman & Terrell, 1975; Featherman & Hauser, 1976; Sewell, Hauser & Wolf, 1980) indicate that in the United States, working men and women obtain essentially the same levels of education and beginning occupational

status and do so through quite similar processes. But, women's achievements in the labour market are unequal to men's. The income disadvantages suffered by women are persistent and severe.

Tsai (1983) examine the socio-economic achievement process from adolescence through mid-life in a cohort of Wisconsin high-school graduates who have been followed from 1957 to 1975. According to this study, the stratification process of American men and women diverge in several ways. While women have gained parity in educational attainment, their labour force activities and outcomes are still restricted. Whatever occupational equality may exist at any one stage of the life cycle, women have fewer opportunities for gains in occupational status and prestige over the life cycle. Women obtain smaller returns on their earlier occupational achievement than men do. Whereas women are forced to rely partly on academic performance and formal education for occupational placement, men increase their occupational status over the life cycle through their prior occupational achievement. Moreover, women earn less than men even with similar qualifications and experience. While men's earnings are primarily determined by their occupational status, women's earnings are primarily determined by the amount of labour supply to the market. Finally, marriage and childbearing have positive effects on male earnings, but they exert the opposite effects on female earnings. However, the negative effects of marriage and childbearing for women disappear when the probability of labour force participation is controlled.

Applying the American status attainment model to the Taiwanese data is not what this paper intends to do. Nevertheless, the status attainment approach provides an important baseline for comparisons between males and females in labour market achievements. The remainder of this section is organized as follows: our examination of gender differences in socio-economic achievements will begin with an empirical analysis of sex differentials in earnings. Then, we will compare the levels of educational attainment between working men and women, followed by a discussion on sex segregation in the labour market. Finally, we will make some concluding remarks.

Gender Differences in Income

The role of gender in economic inequality can be noted by an earnings discrepancy between the sexes with similar qualifications. Throughout the industrialized world, women earn substantially less than men for the work they do (Treiman & Roos, 1983). Similarly, an examination of general income figures shows that in Taiwan employed women earn relatively less than employed men. The mean annual earnings of women in the labour market were 43% of those of men in 1964, and the figure were 57% in 1978 (Fei, Tsaur & Lai, 1982).

The present paper updates the empirical evidence on the gender gap in earnings, by analyzing the data collected more recently from the Manpower Utilization Survey (MUS) in Taiwan. MUS is an islandwide survey conducted annually in May by the Directorate-General of Budget, Accounting, and Statistics, Executive Yuan, of the Republic of China. To our knowledge, MUS is the only large-scale official survey which asks information on respondent's education and income, together with their occupational titles based on two-digit classifications of occupations. In order to avoid the problem of scarce cases within some categories of two-digit occupational titles, the data collected from the 1987 and the 1986 MUS are compiled together by excluding those cases who were interviewed in both years. Thus, the sample of our analysis contains 42,763 independent respondents (28,701 men and 14,062 women) who were in the civilian labour force and aged 15 to 65 by the time when the survey was carried out. A more detailed discussion on the above strategy of data analysis has been reported in Tsai & Chiu (1989). Here, we will go directly to the results.

Table 1 presents means and standard deviations of earnings by sex and by major occupational groups, along with their numbers of cases. Inspection of Table 1 confirms the trend that the previous literature suggested — even today women still earn substantially less than men do. Gender differences in earnings are all statistically significant at the 0.05 level. Moreover, the gender gap in earnings for clerical workers and labourers is the greatest among all groups; during the period 1986-87,

Table 1 Mean and Standard Deviation of Earnings Per Month by Sex and Major Occupational Groups

Major Occupational Groups	Mean		F/M	SD		N	
	F	M		F	M	F	M
1. Professional, technical and related workers*	16,510	23,934	69	7,974	13,848	1,148	1,728
2. Administrative and managerial workers*	21,776	33,689	65	11,006	16,802	29	324
3. Clerical and related workers*	12,121	20,765	58	5,233	9,290	3,232	3,342
4. Traders*	11,559	18,995	61	7,447	10,669	1,466	3,745
5. Service workers*	10,365	15,539	67	5,465	8,506	1,610	2,074
6. Agricultural workers	6,806	9,668	70	5,247	6,779	691	4,486
7. Labourers*	8,359	14,499	58	2,765	5,748	5,886	13,002
Total*	10,404	15,920	65	5,655	9,242	14,062	28,701

N.B. F/M = Female earnings as a percentage of male

* Gender difference is statistically significant at the level $\alpha = 0.05$.

women who engaged in such occupations earned an average of 58% of what men earned per month. At the other extreme, the gender gap in earnings for agricultural workers is the smallest; women who worked on farm earned an average of 70% of what men earned. The seven-group average is 65%. That is, in Taiwan the average female worker earned less than two-thirds of what her male co-workers earned.

The above labour market statistics clearly shows marked differentials between working men and women in the distribution of economic rewards. Why does the very large gender discrepancy exist? Economists and sociologists share a common interest in searching for determinants of sex differentials in the labour market, although they differ on approaches. Status attainment models, human capital theory and sex-role socialization perspectives deal primarily with the formation and characteristics of labour supply; segmented labour market theory, theories of discrimination and the Marxist as well as the radical approaches deal primarily with the labour demand side (Amsden, 1980). According to Brinton (1988), these perspectives represent entire sociological or

economic literature unto themselves, with varying emphases on the social actors they consider to be ultimately important and the motivations they assume on the part of the actors.

Prominent among explanations for the gender difference in earnings is one derived from the human capital theory (Mincer 1974). Human capital theory offers an economic conceptual apparatus. The resources of an individual are regarded as a stock of capital that determines the individual's productivity and hence his/her earnings. Differential wages are assumed to result in large part from differences in the levels of human capital possessed by workers. An individual augments his/her stock of human capital by investments in education and training. The investments in human capital increase productivity and hence earnings, and the earnings increase constitutes a return on the investments. Thus, human capital theory explains sex differentials in earnings by looking at sex differences in human capital accumulated by individuals over the life cycle. The most obviously and readily observable type of human capital is education. Length of schooling is generally used as a proxy for education. Another important type of investments in human capital is on-the-job training.

Women's lower earnings are attributed by human capital theorists to their 'voluntarily' smaller investments in human capital and hence low productivity. But, why do women 'voluntarily' invest less than men do? The explanation offered by human capital theory stems from the standard economic assumption that individuals are rational beings. Rational individuals maximize their achievements by calculating the costs of investments in human capital and balancing them against the expected returns of investments. It is rational for women not to invest in human capital as much as men do for two reasons: their intermittent pattern of labour force participation (Mincer & Polachek, 1974) and their tastes (Lloyd & Niemi, 1979). Most women interrupt their employment for a number of years to bear and rear children. Women, on the average, spend proportionately fewer years than men in the labour market over the life cycle. Since job-related investment in human capital commands a return which is received at work, the shorter the expected and actual

duration of work experience, the weaker the incentives to augment job skills over the life cycle. Besides, when women are working, they tend to choose the jobs which are easy to re-enter. But, those jobs provide them with fewer opportunities than men to enhance their skills or to move upward in the occupational hierarchy (Wolf & Rosenfeld, 1978). As a result, women acquire less experience and on-the-job training than men. Consequently, women's productivity is less than men of the same age and level of education.

Very recently, some economists in Taiwan provided empirical evidence supporting human capital theory (Chang, 1988). For example, Jiang (1988) theoretically demonstrated how marginal revenue of human capital investment depended positively upon the expectations of lifetime labour market activities. A higher life cycle path of labour force participation would imply a higher degree of prospective utilization of human capital. Meanwhile, Jiang empirically finds that in Taiwan a portion of sex wage differential can be attributed to different expectations of life time market activities and thus to different accumulations of human capital. Furthermore, he finds that a larger portion of wage differential in marital status could be captured by differences in experience level, rather than by differing investment paths. His empirical results also indicates that junior high education in Taiwan had a positive effect on worker's earnings. Similarly, following the approach of human capital theory, Wu (1988) found that education and experience were the two most important determinants of earnings for college graduates.

At the same time, research has been done examining female labour force participation. For instance, the findings resulting from Chang (1988)'s analysis reveal that the female educational level has a large positive direct effect on female labour force participation rates. This seems to imply that an effective method to increase Taiwan's female labour force participation rates is to raise their educational level through raising compulsory education of young women. The study of Liu (1988) addresses the issue of working hours, showing that part-time and full-time working wives did have quite different determinants on their decision makings. Finally, the analysis of Tsay (1988) finds that the

majority of labour force re-entrants are women aged 30-44 with low education, but there is a slightly declining trend of the age at re-entry. The prior jobs of re-entrants are characterized by limited skills and easy-entry industries. Among re-entrants, the proportion leaving jobs due to childbearing has been increasing gradually. The average time interval between two jobs is five years for those interrupted by childbearing and eight years for those interrupted by marriage. In most cases, women resumed previous industrial and occupational sectors.

To conclude, according to human capital theory, women's lower earnings merely reflect their lower productivity because they have less accumulated human capital. We now turn to the analysis of sex differentials in educational attainment.

Gender Differences in Educational Attainment

At the beginning of the present analysis, it is instructive to briefly review some previous findings. Using the published official reports for the three major censuses ever conducted in Taiwan, Tsai (1989) has examined change in educational attainment, with particular attention to gender similarities and differences. Table 2 reports the trend of educational distribution by sex and by census year.

Table 2 Educational Distributions of the Labour Force in Taiwan, by Sex and Census Year (in %)

Year	Sex	Il-lit erate	Self- educated	Primary School	Junior School	Senior School	College	Total
1956	M	29.9	6.6	42.4	8.9	7.8	4.4	100.0
	F	62.3	3.0	26.5	4.3	3.1	0.8	100.0
1966	M	15.2	5.3	46.2	13.2	13.6	6.5	100.0
	F	41.9	3.5	38.7	7.2	6.8	1.9	100.0
1980	M	7.0	2.3	34.7	18.9	24.3	12.8	100.0
	F	21.1	1.7	36.4	13.9	20.1	6.8	100.0

Source: Tsai (1989)

Inspection of the table reveals that among men and women alike, the majority of the labour force in Taiwan were primary school graduates. However, the government in Taiwan has managed to promote education in Taiwan. The school system expanded to meet the needs of educating the population. An epoch-making event in the history of Taiwanese education is that the period of free education has been extended from six to nine years since the beginning of the 1968 academic year. Indeed, there was a clear trend toward the increase in educational attainment of the labour force over time. For both men and women, the share of labourers with high education had increased with time. Nevertheless, by 1980, the male labour force was still better-educated than the female counterpart, evident in male's higher percentage in categories pertained to higher education and female's higher proportions in categories of lower educations.

Since the percentage distribution is a rather crude measure, Tsai (1987) also used years of schooling as a supplementary measure of educational attainment, and analyzed the raw data of the 1980 census. Part of the results is shown in Table 3. As can be seen in the table, working women not only attained approximately the same mean level of education as that of men, but also tended to be better-educated than

Table 3 Mean and Standard Deviation of Years of Schooling by Sex and Age

Age Group	Male		Female	
	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.
15 - 24*	9.57	2.64	9.69	3.01
25 - 34*	9.61	3.83	9.96	4.43
35 - 44*	7.75	3.84	6.35	4.64
45 - 54*	7.12	3.91	5.01	4.33
55 - 64*	6.71	4.73	4.31	5.09
> 65	4.95	4.71	2.66	4.20
Total	8.39	4.00	8.63	4.34

* Gender difference is statistically significant at the level $\alpha = 0.05$.

Source: Tsai (1987)

men were, after age of the labour force had been taken into account.

It has to be noted that sex differentials in educational attainment vary with occupation. Tsai (1987) found that relative to men, working women tended to be over-educated in white-collar occupations, and under-educated in both blue-collar and farming occupations, as shown in Table 4. Moreover, by applying log-linear models to the 1980 census data, Tsai concluded that the principle of meritocracy did not apply to all women in the labour force, although there was a general tendency toward a higher association between education and occupation among working women than among working men.

Table 4 Mean and Standard Deviation for Years of Schooling by Sex and Three Major Occupational Groups

Occupational Groups	Male		Female	
	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.
1. White-collar*	11.87	3.86	12.36	3.32
2. Blue-collar*	7.90	3.26	7.51	3.25
3. Farm*	5.99	3.18	4.37	3.40

* Gender difference is statistically significant at the level $\alpha = 0.05$.

Source: Tsai (1987)

The present paper also updates the previous findings of Tsai (1987) by using more recent MUS data — the same data set as we used in the last session where we examined gender gaps in earnings. The results are presented in Table 5, in which the levels of educational attainment are classified by year, gender and seven occupational groups. Evident in the table, at the general level, the mean years of schooling for both working men and women are larger in 1986-7 than in 1980. On the other hand, for males and females alike, the standard deviation of educational level is smaller in 1986-7 than in 1980, implying that the labour force in Taiwan is more homogeneous now than before. At present, regardless of sex, an average worker in Taiwan obtains at least nine years of schooling, equivalent to junior-high school education. When comparisons are

made between the sexes, we can see in the table that the female labour force as a group attained a higher mean level of education than did their male counterpart. This gender difference is significant in the statistical sense. On the other hand, the variance in educational attainment is more restricted among working men than among working women, indicating that the female labour force is more heterogeneous in terms of education.

Again, we find that the pattern of gender gap in schooling varies with occupation. Inspection of Table 5 reveals that different from the case in 1980, the only exception to the significant gender differences in 1986-7 occurred in professional, technical and related workers. That is, in 1986-7 professional men and women were about equally well educated. Otherwise, there are significant differences in years of school completed between men and women in the labour market. For example, the academic achievement of female clerks, on the average, significantly surpasses that of their male counterpart. In contrast, the mean level of education attained by female agricultural workers is approximately two-

Table 5 Mean and Standard Deviation of Years of Schooling by Sex, Occupation and Year

7 Major Occupational Groups	1980		1986-1987	
	Male Mean S. D.	Female Mean S. D.	Male Mean S. D.	Female Mean S. D.
1. Professional, technical and related workers	13.71 3.15	14.28 2.54*	14.00 2.33	13.88 2.06
2. Administrative and managerial workers	11.41 3.87	10.37 3.69	12.90 3.11	11.21 4.39*
3. Clerical and related workers	11.87 3.59	12.38 2.57*	11.98 3.05	12.46 2.06*
4. Traders	8.94 3.89	7.84 3.91*	9.62 3.56	8.59 4.01*
5. Service workers	7.76 3.78	6.87 3.59*	8.53 3.44	7.49 3.62*
6. Agricultural workers	5.99 3.18	4.37 3.40*	6.08 2.85	4.11 3.22*
7. Labourers	7.89 3.12	7.60 3.04*	8.49 2.88	7.70 3.36*
Total	8.39 4.00	8.63 4.34*	9.05 3.64	9.20 4.07*

* Gender difference is statistically significant at the level $\alpha = 0.05$.

thirds of that obtained by their male co-workers, which is the largest gender gap in schooling among the seven occupational groups.

To conclude, today in Taiwan women can and often do achieve academically as well as do men. Nevertheless, as mentioned earlier, women continue to receive far fewer earnings in all occupations than their male counterpart. The situation of women who are engaged in clerical and related work is especially striking, for they experience the largest gender gap in earnings, while their academic achievement significantly surpasses that of their male co-workers. In view of the educational credentials that are supposed to link to status, jobs and wages, why are women rewarded so limited for their educational accomplishments? One common suggestion is occupational segregation by sex. It has been argued that female workers are utilized by employers who need skilled labour but unwilling to pay enough for it to attract males (Oppenheimer, 1968 & 1970). In the United States, Treiman & Terrell (1975) find disproportionately more women in occupations which pay poorly relatively to the incumbent's average educational achievement, such as clerical jobs. Therefore, sex segregation in the labour market will be discussed in the next session.

Occupational Segregation by Sex

It is well-known that the occupational structure is highly segregated by sex. Whatever its causes, sex segregation is one of the principle sources of gender differences in labour market outcomes. According to the status attainment research, not only the gender difference in reliance on educational qualifications, but also is the immobility of women over the course of their work lives articulated with patterns of occupational segregation between the sexes (Sewell, Hauser & Wolf, 1980). The destinations of women, where they end up in the system of rewards, is very different from that of men, even though the distances from father's occupation do not differ radically for men and women (Hauser & Featherman, 1977). Historically, women have been concentrating in certain female-typed professional or semi-professional occupations

where they are not only over-represented, but actually in the majority. Even within occupational sectors, men and women are concentrated in different jobs, and the jobs women hold tend to pay less (Treiman & Roos, 1983). Moreover, American research has shown that the level of occupational sex segregation has changed very little since 1900, despite changes in the sex composition of specific occupations (Treiman & Terrell, 1975; England, 1981; Bielby & Baron, 1986; Chou, 1989).

One common measure of segregation is the index of dissimilarity — the percentage of female (or male) workers that would have to be reclassified to equalize the distributions of work roles by sex. According to Bielby & Baron (1986), to equalize the distribution of American men and women across the 645 detailed occupations, over three-fourths of the women (or men) would require reclassification, while the level of sex segregation across the seven major groups is only 36.5%. Treiman & Roos (1983) use the 14 categories of Treiman's International Occupational Classification, and calculate indexes of dissimilarities for nine industrial countries, ranging from 38% in Austria to 60% in Sweden. Their results show the degree of similarity across countries to be striking. In nearly all countries, women are substantially over-represented in high-prestige clerical occupations as well as in low-prestige sales and service occupations, and substantially under-represented in administrative occupations as well as in low-prestige agricultural occupations.

After World War II, Taiwan has been experiencing rapid economic growth. The industrialization process of the economy has been accompanied by transformations in the occupational structure. Change in the occupational distribution by sex in Taiwan has been explored by Chou (1988) and Tsai (1987; 1989). Here, we will briefly summarize the major findings. As can be seen in Table 6, for men and women alike, the major change in the occupational structure are the rapid decline of farming as occupations and the steady growth of operative workers. This pattern was stronger for females than for males. In 1956, the proportion of females who worked on land was higher than that of males. Nevertheless, the reverse was the case in 1980. By then, women had abandoned farming to a greater extent and experienced more gains in clerical

workers than their male counterpart did. In addition, there is a tendency that the increasing ratio of professional women to the total female labour force was higher than that of their male counterpart. Similarly, our current examination of the recent MUS data confirms that men and women still tend to be concentrated in substantially different occupational sectors, with women over-represented in clerical job and under-represented in administrative and agricultural jobs (See Table 1 for occupational distribution by sex).

Table 6 Occupational Distribution of the Labour Force in Taiwan, by Sex and by Census Year

Year	Sex	Farmers	Operatives	Salesmen	Service	Clerks	Managers	Professional	Total*
1956	M	53.08	19.99	8.21	4.39	6.49	2.26	3.14	97.56
	F	63.72	11.94	5.64	8.36	4.22	0.82	5.06	99.76
1966	M	35.88	28.23	8.12	12.52	7.87	2.00	5.27	99.89
	F	45.98	18.76	7.80	13.49	6.47	0.96	6.41	99.87
1980	M	21.78	36.03	9.54	5.25	9.56	1.82	5.55	89.53
	F	15.58	36.46	9.76	8.58	20.45	0.53	8.37	99.73

* The total may not equal to 100% due to some missing data

Source: Tsai (1989)

Meanwhile, the analysis of Tsai (1987) indicates that in order to obtain an equal distribution of the labour force by sex in Taiwan, approximately half of the employed men (or women) would require reclassification across the 290 detailed occupations included in the 1980 census data. In contrast, only 14.7% of female (or male) workers would have to be reclassified across the seven major groups. This is much lower than the index values reported by Bielby & Baron (1986) for their American sample. When the detailed occupational titles are categorized into three groups, namely, white-collar, blue-collar and farm, Tsai finds that the degree of segregation across these three groups reduces to 9.1%. But, there are some variation in the extent of occupational segregation by sex within group. Among the three groups, the

level of sex segregation within the blue-collar category (53.2%) is the highest, followed by the value of 48.9% for the white-collar occupations. The degree of occupational segregation by sex within the agricultural jobs is only 11.7%.

Occupational segregation of the sexes is one reflection of a society-wide system of sex differentiation which promotes different roles, temperaments, opportunities and rewards for men and women. Such segregation is caused by the interaction of a well-entrenched and complex set of institutions that perpetuates the constrained position of women in the labour market, not just the labour market itself. Employers' gender-specific hiring preferences, for example, is one factor indicative of the underlying pervasive patterns of occupational segregation by sex. One possibility is that employers associate women with unstable work behaviour or with sex stereotyping of occupational roles, and women are 'statistically' discriminated against in terms of access to certain labour market positions (Bielby & Baron, 1986). A recent study of Lin (1988) confirms that the hypothesis of the existence of sex discrimination in the labour market cannot be rejected for the case of Taiwan. It is undeniable that the highest status positions are relatively closed to women and are relatively difficult to advance in, even if entry is gained (Epstein, 1970). Besides, in times of recession women are last hired and first fired, playing a role of 'reserve army' in the labour market.

Other factors regarding occupational segregation by sex are related to the characteristics of female jobs and female employees' qualifications and tastes. Because women ordinarily must combine outside employment with family responsibilities, they have high turnover rates and a marginal attachment to the labour force. Consequently, women are more willing to hold jobs which do not require long-term commitment or extensive sacrifice of time. At the same time, most of the occupations held by women are believed to have characteristics traditionally associated with their sex, the abilities to clean, sew and mother, and the tendencies to be feminine, patient and emotional (Oppenheimer, 1970). Bose (1973) notes that women enter jobs that resemble

their work at home. Besides, since female occupations tend to require general training before employment rather than on-the-job training, it is evident that female-dominated occupations are easier to re-enter after interruptions in employment but offer limited chances for upward occupational status mobility (Wolf & Rosenfeld, 1978).

Finally, if sex role socialization is believed to be responsible for the persistence of sex segregation in the labour market in Taiwan, one would also expect that women would prefer traditionally feminine occupations and prepare themselves for different fields than do men. As a matter of fact, Laws (1976) has concluded that work orientations of women have been constrained by role relationships that give precedence to the sex roles. Most adults, regardless of sex, think that men are more capable in physical and administrative jobs than are women, but that women are more competent in homemaking activities (Goldberg, 1968). Except in the high prestige male-typed occupations, an incumbent of either sex who violates the sex stereotype of the occupations receives lower social standing than one who confirms, especially a man in a female-typed occupation (Nilson, 1976). As a result of 'anticipatory socialization' (Bain & Fottler, 1980), adolescent females form vocational self-concepts which differ from those of adolescent males and which later produce different career choices.

Tsai & Chiu (1988) explore gender differences in educational and occupational aspirations among a group of college students of the National Taiwan University. Their analysis shows that, not surprisingly, the average level of educational aspiration to which females aspire is lower than that of males. This gender differences is statistically significant even after effects of socio-economic background and types of enrolled colleges have been taken into account. With respect to occupational and class aspirations, there are some gender similarities and differences. Both males and females in college are more likely to aspire for professional jobs, but the tendency toward aspiration for being employers is higher among men than among women. Again, gender differences in the level of occupational aspirations persist, regardless of socio-economic background and types of enrolled colleges. Finally, a hierarchical

relationship exists between the level of educational aspiration and that of occupational and class aspiration. For those who are satisfied with a bachelor degree, they tend to aspire for non-professional jobs and for employee-class. Among those who aspire to a master degree, it is more likely for them to aspire for becoming an employed professional or an employer in non-professional jobs. As for those who aim at a Ph.D degree, they are more likely to become employers in professional occupations. This pattern fits for men and for women as well.

To sum up, it is evident not only that women are restricted in the world of work, but women themselves are not convinced that the opportunity structure is open to them as much as to men. Therefore, it is very unlikely that much progress will be made in reducing economic inequalities between the sexes unless and until sex role socialization differences and occupational sex typing are substantially reduced (Sewell, Hauser & Wolf, 1980).

Conclusion and discussion

The evidence is in and the conclusion is clear: stratification by sex exists in the labour market. In this paper, we have shown that women as a group obtain a higher mean level of education than do men as a group, but women's achievements in the labour market are inferior to men's. Not only are sex differentials in earnings severe and persistent, but also men and women continue to work in sex-segregated labour markets that have different career ladders. Some implications can be derived from this conclusion.

The role played by education in the maintenance of gender stratification is worthy of discussion. It is commonly believed that educational expansion is a profitable social investment. The main contribution of education to economic growth is to increase the level of cognitive skills possessed by the work force and consequently to improve their marginal productivity. Many sociological and economic theories predict that education increases women's participation in the labour force, and hence upgrades their status in the society. Specifically, it is asserted that

the increased schooling of females raises their potential earnings power and thus provides them with a strong inducement to seek employment; raises their occupational aspirations; changes their attitudes toward women's traditional roles in the household and in the workplace; and provides them with the necessary credentials for employment in many jobs (Benavot, 1989:17). A cross-national study of Benavot (1989), indeed, found clear evidence that in less-developed countries educational expansion among school-age level girls at the primary level had a stronger effect on long-term economic prosperity than did educational expansion among school-age boys.

During the industrialization process, women in Taiwan have played an active role in response to labour market opportunities generated by economic transformation (Chou, 1988). Historically, women responded to new labour market opportunities by getting more education (Mickelson, 1989). Nevertheless, in industrial societies such as contemporary Taiwan, women's educational accomplishments appear anomalous because women's increased educational attainments does not reduce the wage differentials between the sexes. The contradictions resulting from women's increasing educational attainments and their slow-improving wage disadvantages leave open the possibility that women's secondary status in the labour market is due to deeply entrenched institutional arrangements that limit women's opportunities and achievements.

Noticing that women are over-educated for their jobs, Collins (1971) explains employment discrimination against women as the result of women being the subordinate class in a system of sexual stratification. That is, there exists a system of sexual stratification which is different from familiar forms of stratification according to economic, political or status group positions. The basic feature of this sexual stratification is the institution of sexual property: men are sexual aggressors and women are sexual prizes for men. Collins' conflict theory of sexual stratification is, in fact, an exposition of the integration of Freudian ideas and Weberian analytic theory.

We think that Collins over-emphasizes the conflict nature of sexual stratification, and reduces properties of the social system to biological

imperatives. We believe that gender differences in achievements are mainly caused by the operation of most social institutions, not just biologically determined. Various aspects of women's secondary status in the labour market include lower level of investment in human capital, shorter supply of labour to the market, intermittent pattern of labour force participation, segregated occupational distribution, and hence lower earnings, in addition to discrimination. Each aspect is created and perpetuated by the influence of organizations and social roles on people's attitudes and behaviour. It has become increasingly clear that gender stratification is supported by the family, the educational system and the work organization.

Future research may benefit from the emerging body of feminist theory that claims that a social theory which accounts for the male experience does not necessarily describe the female experience successfully (Mickelson, 1989). For example, recent feminist scholarship has challenged the division between public and private worlds, offering a potentially useful framework for understanding women's lived experience in relation to education and occupations. According to Bologh (1986, cited in Mickelson, 1989:59-60), the boundaries between the private world and the public world are demarcated less clearly for women than for men. A continuum, rather than a dichotomy, captures more accurately the public and private dimensions of women's lives. Women's experience is characterized by systems of interdependencies, relationships and networks. Women are not as likely as men to see family responsibilities as distinct from and competing with professional responsibilities. For women, the two are part of one reality and must be accommodated simultaneously. In short, this feminist perspective argues that returns from education are refracted not only through the lens of income and occupational status, but also through familial and community roles.

According to Mickelson (1989), both emerging feminist theory and human capital theory propose that women take their familial roles into account when making occupational choices. However, the two theories are fundamentally different. Human capital theory assumes that actors

maximize individual self-interest in the marketplace and that all people define self-interest in the same way. In contrast, emerging feminist theory proposes that many women have a different notion of value that is related to human relationships.

Economists and sociologists have argued for the usefulness of the concept of human capital development systems that comprise a dimension reflecting the structure and articulation between the educational system and the labour market. Nevertheless, it has to be noted that the development and evaluation of human capital varies across cultural settings. For instance, the analysis of Brinton (1988) shows that Japan has a system of human capital development that encourages the maintenance of greater gender stratification than the American system. It is clear that normative structure and social institutions are not independent. Future work should address the role of norms thoroughly. It will be difficult to understand the anomaly of women's socio-economic achievements without considering women's lived culture in which public and private spheres are interwoven. A well-developed feminist perspective might help capture the ways how gender stratification is maintained in Taiwan.

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II
Gender Stereotypes

性別塑型

Same Job, Different Perceptions: Men and Women in Life Insurance Sales

Kitty Y. Young

LIFE insurance was traditionally considered a taboo in Hong Kong society. Conversations relating to death and its implications were straightly avoided. In recent years, the taboo seems to be lifted. The concept of insurance begins to win growing acceptance in the local community. This is probably due to the improving economic conditions of the individuals, the raising standards of education and the penetration and acceptance of Western ideology. For the individuals, they yearn to seek sophisticated tools to shield themselves from contingencies. With the lack of a comprehensive social security system, individuals naturally turn to life insurance.

The insurance industry is regarded as one with a high growth potential. Total gross premiums written by all insurers in Hong Kong was estimated at HK\$10.7 billion in 1986 and is expected to surpass HK\$12 billion in 1987 (Economic Report, 1988). During the same period, life insurance premium increased from HK\$80 million to HK\$110 million, a 35% jump. This phenomenal growth is expected to continue. As of 1986, only 14% of the working population owned a life insurance policy (the target estimated a lower diffusion of 12%). This is low in comparison to 20% in Singapore, 80% in the U.S. and 90% in Japan (Sin & Chan, 1987). This indicated a high growth potential.

With the spectacular growth of the life insurance industry, more people are attracted to the industries. In 1986, the over 28 insurance

companies provided employment for more than 11,000 people. Out of this number, life insurance salespeople accounted for a sizable portion, with roughly two-third men and one-third women.

Female Employment

Female participation in the workforce is a global trend. However, the employment of women at administrative, professional and managerial levels remain low. Women are still considered as the fairer sex, less desirable for professional positions (Terborg, 1977). Sex role stereotypes often portray women lacking in professional traits. This type of stereotype is reinforced in education. Yau & Luk (1988) studies the way history textbooks paint the sex role. They found that women were typically classified into two groups. The first is the generally acceptable role of being a good mother and a capable housewife. This group of women sometimes take up the role of a supplementary workforce – working in factories, or getting involved in the labour subcontracting system. Lee (1982) recognized this characteristic of the Hong Kong families and attributed Hong Kong's success to this flexible and diligent workforce. The second group of women is considered with distaste. They include female dictators like Empress Dowager and other palace concubines who are considered symbols of sexual indulgence. This group is often regarded as causes for the decline of a dynasty.

The sex role stereotype is again reinforced in the management practice. Ho (1985) examined the recruitment advertisements in Hong Kong. After carrying out a content analysis of 9,924 recruitment advertisements, it was found that women were preferred in clerical positions. In the executive level, women were preferred in jobs requiring people-handling.

Given the sex role stereotypes in Hong Kong, we are interested in how female insurance salespersons are viewed. Schein (1975) supported the premise that women in business suffer from prejudicial stereotyping. The study further pointed out that discrimination is especially true in tasks such as sales. Robertson & Hackett (1977) studies male and

female sales personnel in the real estate industry. It was found that salesmen felt that their female peers lacked professional expertise in approaching, setting up and closing the sales. Saleswomen were seen to be less career oriented, less open-minded, highly emotional and highly dependent. Swan, Futrell & Todd (1978)'s study of pharmaceutical salespeople confirmed that male salespersons possess higher job-related self-confidence than their female peers.

Selling Life Insurance

Life insurance is basically an intangible service. Riordan, Oliver & Donnelly (1975) viewed life insurance as a product with low frequency of purchase, high unit of expenditure, satisfaction in the unknown future and a lack of knowledge of the purchaser when he enters into an agreement (Crosby & Stephens, 1987). In short, it is a high credence service. And since life insurance embodies such characteristics, it requires a high degree of professionalism and creativity in selling.

The selling process consists of seven steps – prospecting, preapproach search, approaching, presenting, dealing with objections, closing the deal and following-up (Kotler, 1986). Sin & Chan (1987) studied the ways to identify potential prospects, using demographics and life style variables. This study covers the preapproach search to some extent. In the next steps of approaching, presenting, dealing with objections and closing the sales, creativity is required. The success of a sales call critically depends on how the salesperson design the package, how the salesperson handles the situation. Communication skills, interpersonal skills and selling techniques appear to be of vital importance. Follow-up is at times performed by back-up departments in some companies. And it is beyond the responsibilities of the salesperson.

Studies were conducted to investigate the characteristics of a successful salesperson. Dowst (1980) found that buyers regarded several attributes as important to a salesperson's effectiveness. They include thoroughness, willingness to demand buyers' need within their own organization, knowledge of market and of product line, willingness to

inform buyers, creativity in solving buyers' problems, and regularity of sales call. Russell, Beach & Buskirk (1987) emphasized on qualities leading to long-term relationships, such as self-confidence, responsibility and patience.

Other studies concentrate on the perceived role of salesmen and saleswomen. Swan, Futrell & Todd (1978) found that women salespersons are less confident in terms of product knowledge, sales ability and when called upon to approach a specialist. In a more recent study (Swan, Rink, Kiser & Martin, 1984), saleswomen were perceived to be weaker in product knowledge, company knowledge, technical assistance and creativity. But they were considered more vigorous, more willing to handle contingencies, better prepared for presentation, possessing better presentation skills and having better communication skills.

The Study

The objective of the study is to examine how male and female life insurance salespersons are being perceived. The previous studies were not performed in the life insurance industry. Besides, we cannot readily apply the finding of the West to Hong Kong. Hong Kong, though westernized, is strongly influenced by Chinese thinking. Many believe that traditional Chinese culture carries more sex-role stereotype.

This study limits the scope to life insurance selling to individuals. Group life insurance is outside the scope of this study. It is highly possible that people who may benefit from group life insurance have never met the salesperson. It is simply a fringe benefit tacked on to the compensation package. Since this study is interested in the perception of the salespeople, beneficiaries of group life insurance cannot provide much insights.

The study is carried out using personal interviews, based on a structured questionnaire. The questionnaire comprises of three major parts. The first section consists of screening questions. Anyone who is under 20 years of age, or is economically inactive (including students, housewives and the retired), or who has never been approached by life insurance

salespersons are screened out. The second part investigates the perceived image of the life insurance salesperson last contacted. This part includes 23 statements drawn from literature research and two focus group interviews. These statements form the basis of the study. The third part deals with the demographics of the respondents.

The interviews were carried out in three shopping areas — Tsimshatsui Ocean Terminal, Shatin New Town Plaza and Tai Koo Shing. A total of 169 completed responses were collected.

Analysis

A profile of the respondents is presented in Table 1. The respondents tend to be below 30 years of age, having received at least some secondary education, with a personal income of around HK\$6,000. About half are men, half are married and half are holders of life insurance policies. Most of them have been approached by one to two salespersons encountered are predominantly men.

Factor analysis was performed on the 23 statements on the perceived image of the life insurance salespersons. Five factors were identified as presented in Table 2. The five factors are — expertise, empathy, sales communication skill, verbal skill and sensitivity in the use of pressure. These five factors appears to be in line with the previous studies performed, as mentioned above.

Based on these factor MANOVA test was run to check the perceived difference between the life insurance salesmen and saleswomen. The Wilks test shown in Table 3 professes that there is a significant difference in the image of the male and female salespeople. Univariate T-test were also run on each of the five factors in order to identify the areas of perceived differences. The T-test (Table 3) indicated that two factors are regarded as different — sales communication skills and sensitivity in the case of pressurizing. Women are seen to be inferior in both areas.

This finding supports Swan, Futrell & Todd (1978) 's result that female salespersons are seen to be lacking in sales ability. It is in con-

Table 1 Profile of Respondents

Profile	N	%
<i>Gender</i>		
Male	94	56.0
Female	75	44.0
<i>Marital Status</i>		
Single	91	54.0
Married	75	44.0
Others	1	1.0
No Response	2	1.0
<i>Age</i>		
21 - 25	45	26.6
26 - 30	55	32.5
31 - 35	39	23.1
36 - 40	12	7.1
41 - 45	8	4.7
46 - 50	5	3.0
51 or above	5	3.0
<i>Number of salespersons previously met</i>		
1 - 2	104	62.0
3 - 4	47	28.0
5 or above	16	9.0
No response	2	1.0
<i>Education</i>		
Primary or below	4	2.0
F. 1 to F. 3	6	4.0
F. 4 to F. 5	70	41.0
F. 6 to F. 7	33	20.0
College or above	54	32.0
No response	2	1.0
<i>Personal Income (HK\$)</i>		
Below 3,000	6	3.7
3,000 - 5,999	54	33.7
6,000 - 8,999	53	33.1
9,000 - 11,999	19	11.9
12,000 - 14,999	11	6.9
15,000 or above	17	10.6
<i>Policy Holder</i>		
Policy Holder	86	50.9
Non policy holder	83	49.1

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd Table 1)

Profile	N	%
<i>Sex of Salesperson previously met</i>		
All men	77	46.0
All female	36	21.0
Men and female	54	32.0
No response	2	1.0

tradition to Swan, Rink, Kiser & Martin (1984)'s finding that women possess better presentation skills.

Discussions

Men and women often take up similar jobs, with the same job title. But their clients often perceive them differently. In this study, women are surprisingly perceived to be weaker in sales communication skills and less sensitive in the use of pressure. There are three possible explanations. First, the female salespeople may be less experienced, more junior than the male counterparts. Traditionally, women shy away from selling jobs. It is only in recent years that women increasingly enter this industry. This implies that in general female salespersons are more junior. Hence, they are less skillful in sales communication and in the use of pressure. A second possible explanation is that the type of women who are attracted to a sales job in the life insurance industry are generally more outgoing, more confident and more aggressive. Such character may well account for the weaknesses in sales communication and in the use of pressure. A third alternative is that sex-role stereotype affects the women's choice of career. It also affects how the prospects view the salespeople. The differences are caused by sex-role stereotype. The perceived image may differ significantly from reality. In this study, there is no evidence to support nor to reject any of the explanations. We need further information on the salespeople to evaluate the explanations. Further research in this area can provide more insight into this issue.

Life insurance selling is a lengthy process. It takes much time to go

Table 2 Factor Analysis of the Image on Salespeople

Factor	Factor loadings
Factor 1 <i>Expertise</i>	
Expert on insurance	0.87379
Willing to share market information	0.76208
Competent	0.67679
Knowledge of company policy	0.64429
Creative	0.63648
Confidence	0.63153
Dependable	0.60992
Ability to design a policy to suit me	0.58947
Factor 2 <i>Empathy</i>	
Friendliness	0.78358
Kind	0.74586
Attentive listener	0.68175
Respect my opinion	0.67723
Understand my needs	0.53474
Vigorous	0.52550
Factor 3 <i>Sales Communication</i>	
Explain clearly	0.80248
Persuasive	0.76054
Easily understand	0.72802
Factor 4 <i>Verbal Skills</i>	
Not a fast talker	0.86338
Know when to stop talking	0.78415
Not emotional	0.65226
Factor 5 <i>Sensitivity in Use of Pressure</i>	
Ask me to buy only when I am satisfied with the policy	0.84992
Do not ask embarrassing questions	0.73071

through the steps of prospecting to closing and follow-up. During the process, the salesperson and the client develop a trusting relationship. In such a relationship, two major factors are vital. The power that a salesperson demonstrates and the communication skills are both important. Busch & Wilson (1976) identified salesperson's expert power, in terms of knowledge and information. They also classified the relationship between the buyer and the salesperson in terms of referent power. In the study, men and women are perceived to be alike in both expert

Table 3 Perceived Image on Salesmen and Saleswomen

Factors	Mean [†]	
	Salesmen	Saleswomen
Expertise	4.048	4.044
Empathy	4.472	4.697
Sales communication skills	4.221	3.976 [‡]
Verbal skills	3.965	3.877
Sensitivity in the use of pressure	4.228	3.679 [‡]
<i>Multivariate Test of Significance</i>		
Wilks	F Value = 4.49707 [§]	

[†] A scale of 1 – 6 is used, with 1 being poor, 6 being good.

[‡] Significant at 10% level.

[§] Significant at 1% level.

and referent power. However, women may have a disadvantage in view of the negative perception of their communication skill. This can be corrected in the recruitment and training process. Communication skills should be used as one of the criteria for recruitment. Specifically, a salesperson should be expected to speak clearly, explain concepts thoroughly, be persuasive and sensitive to the responses of the other party. Once recruited, women should be given the standard training plus communication skills training. High pressure selling is often a technique employed by life insurance salespersons. However, women salesperson should be reminded to be extra careful in using such tactics. These tactics may bring adverse effects, if used untactfully.

Conclusion

The same job with the same job title does not guarantee similar perception. This is the case with the men and women in life insurance sales. This study only addresses issues surfacing at the tip of the iceberg. Further issues can be explored. For example, we may wish to relate sex-role stereotype with the perception of male and female salespeople. We may want to examine the level of job satisfaction of the men and women in the industry.

Managers need to be aware of the difference in perception of the men and women working under them. These differences perceived, whether rightly or wrongly, implies that tactics should be formulated for each group to maximize their value. The deprived need to be better supported, the survivors need to act as models for the juniors.

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A Study of Women's Abilities in Managerial Positions: Male and Female Perceptions

Stella L. M. So and Kitty Y. Young

OVER the past years, increasing attention has been paid to the role of women executives. The traditional sex-role stereotypes tended to conclude that women qualities are not generally in line with management attributes (Schein, 1973, 1975; Terborg, 1977). This greatly affect the efficiencies of women managers. Extensive studies were carried out to examine the changing role of women at work.

The existence of sex-role stereotypes causes women to be rated less desirable for management position. Ho (1984) identified four variables which influence the female labour-force participation. They are availability, marketability, opportunity and rewardability. Availability refers to the degree to which women are freed from the conventional role within the marriage and family, especially in homemaking and childbearing. Marketability relates to the ability of women to capture better jobs. Opportunity reflects the existence of alternatives to working as a replacement for homemaking. Rewardability measures the attractiveness of paid work. In the past decades, with the advancements in technology and the improvement in economic conditions, these four variables observe a forward leap. The availability of education improves the marketability of women; new technologies in home management free housewives from the kitchens; the competitive pay scale increases the rewardability of work. Under each conditions, increasing participation of women in labour force is inevitable. Take the case of Hong Kong, in

1976, women participation in total managerial population stood at 9%. This was raised to 17% in a 10-year period. Besides, in 1976, only 0.6% of the working women were engaged in managerial positions. By 1986, it improved to 1.6% (Hong Kong 1986; 1976 By-Census Main Report).

Sex Role Stereotypes and Women Managers

Sex role stereotype can be defined as 'these psychological and behavioural patterns that are typical of one sex in contrast to the other sex. The sex-role of a person consists of the behaviour that is socially defined and expected of that person because of his or her status as a male or female' (Bowan, Worthy & Greysen, 1965). Many previous studies (Anastasi & Foley, 1949; Maccoby, 1966; Rosenkrantz, Vogel, Bee, Broverman & Broverman, 1971) showed strong agreement between the sexes and the difference between men and women. These confirmed the existence of sex-role stereotype.

Sex-role stereotypes often create a belief that managerial attributes are masculine and that managerial positions are basically a masculine occupation (Fretz & Hayman, 1973; Rosen & Jerdee, 1974). Such sex-role stereotypes often barred women from managerial positions. At the same time, having a woman as a management peer or superior jeopardizes a man's self-image. There are further suggestions attempting to explain the lack of women executives. Kanter (1977) hypothesized that sex difference in supervisory behaviour result from sex difference in organization power. This premise was empirically confirmed by South, Bonjean, Corder & Markham (1982). In that study, when organization power is controlled, the difference between male and female supervisors on all variables are significantly reduced. Noe (1988) put up another explanation. He argued that the absence of women mentor is a cause for the inability of women to develop career plans. Without the career guidance and psychological support of women mentor, and with the barriers to establish a cross-gender, women face inhibition in organizations. Leung (1979) tried to explain the sex stereotype by examining the previous working experience with women. The research project con-

cluded that the interaction effect of sex and direct working experience with women have significant effects on the attitude towards women executives. The result further indicates that females who have direct working experience with women have more favourable attitudes toward women in management than their male counterparts, while both men and women without direct working experience with women workers have neutral or unfavourable attitudes.

Following Leung (1979)'s conclusion, we want to examine whether men and women view women executives differently. The women's movement in the west have much bearings on the social value and the social system. The traditional household arrangements underwent much changes. The allocation of women's time in housework are replaced by many substitutes, such as durable (washing machines, microwave ovens), paid help (domestic help, childcaring center). The life styles of men and women adjust according to the changes in social system. We see a shift from the traditional attitudes to a more moderate or feminist attitudes. This shift appears to be pioneered by women. Men are more likely to hold onto traditional values. The traditional values mean less adjustments. However, wives must face the role overload and role conflicts that come hand-in-hand with the new life style. The demands at work create additional pressure on the women. We believe, therefore, that women are more likely than men to accept women executives.

In an earlier research (So & Young, 1989), it was found that women executives are seen to possess three major attributes — 'agency' factor, affiliation factor and self-related factor. Agency factor (Grant, 1988) refers to male sex-role traits. Affiliation factors include those attributes that are crucial in dealing with other people. Self-related factors incorporate these attributes that are individualistic. In this study, we want to examine if men and women view the management attributes of women executives differently. We premise that women would have a more positive attitude towards women executives than the male counterparts. The rationale behind such formulation is that women are more aware of the changes that increase the availability, marketability, opportunity and rewardability of female employment. They are also more sensitive to the

role conflicts that women executives are facing. Hence, they tend to be more understanding and more accepting. They are likely to show less sex-role stereotype in the evaluation of women executives.

Research Methodology: Samples and Questionnaire

Personal interviews were conducted in various commercial districts. Three major commercial areas are selected. They are Central District, East Tsim Sha Tsui and Wanchai areas. Individuals were selected during lunch hour and after office hours. Interviews were carried out at different days of the week in order to obtain a more representative sample. A total of 600 interviews were conducted. A quota of 300 men and 300 women was used.

The questionnaire consists of four main sections. The first one contains screening questions. People who are not working full-time or who are earning less than \$2,000 per month are excluded from the research. The second part comprises of a list of attributes that are deemed important for successful executives. These attributes were formulated based on previous studies (Leung, 1979; Ho, 1976; South, Bonjean, Corder & Markham, 1982). The respondents are asked to evaluate women executives on these attributes, using a 6-point Likert scale. The third group of questions are related to the life-style of the respondents. These statements were generated, with reference to Venkatesh (1980) and Arnott (1972). The last section includes questions related to the demographics of the respondents. This paper concentrates on the evaluation of women executives in terms of their leadership attributes, that is the second section of the questionnaire. The objective of the paper is to give a picture of how differently women executives are viewed by male and female. This can form a crucial basis for further research in this area.

Results & Discussion

The overall profile of respondents can be seen in Table 1. Respondents of this study are relatively young, 87.5% are aged between 19 to 35. Most

Table 1 Profile of Respondents

	N	%
<i>Age</i>		
19 – 25	282	47.0
26 – 35	243	40.5
36 – 45	57	9.5
46 – 55	16	2.7
Over 55	2	0.3
<i>Sex</i>		
Male	300	50.0
Female	300	50.0
<i>Educational level</i>		
Primary	5	0.8
Secondary	273	45.5
A-Level	102	17.0
Tertiary	150	25.0
Postgraduate	67	11.2
Missing	3	0.5
<i>Personal income (HK\$)</i>		
Below 4,000	165	27.5
4,001 – 8,000	247	41.2
8,001 – 15,000	121	20.2
15,001 – 25,000	38	6.3
Over 25,000	25	4.2
Missing	4	0.7
<i>Marital Status</i>		
Single	421	70.2
Married	171	28.5
Others	4	0.7
Missing	4	0.7

of them earned between HK\$4,000 and HK\$15,000 per month. Seventy-one percent are single and relatively well educated, 92% have received above secondary education with 35% tertiary educated and above.

The perception of women executives between male and female respondents is illustrated in Table 2 and Figure 1. Table 2 indicates the

Table 2 Success Managerial Attributes – Ranking

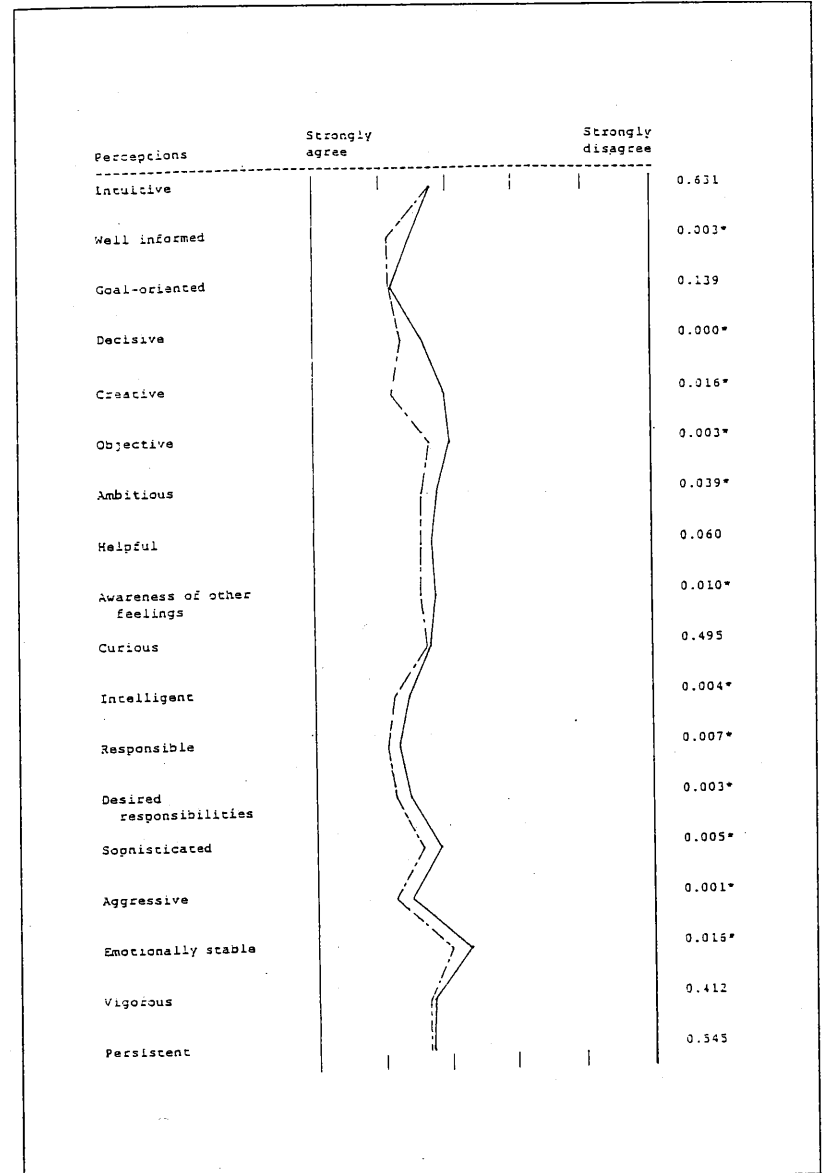
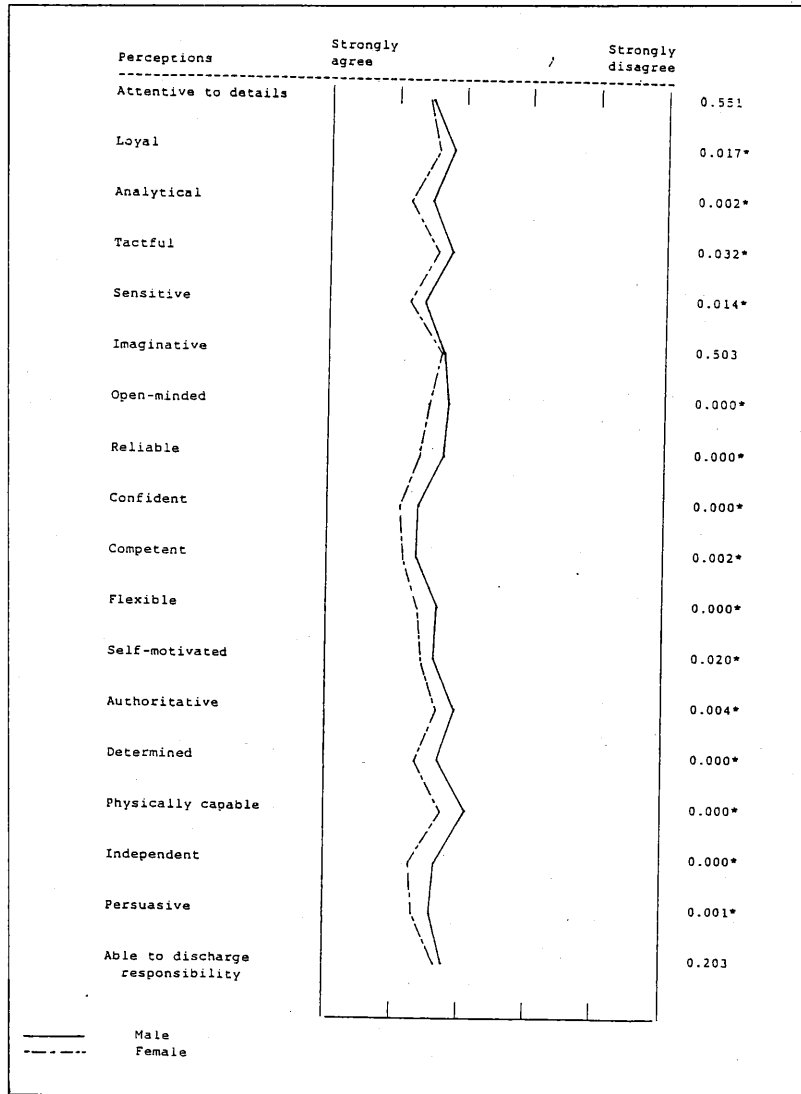
Perceptions	Male		Female	
	Mean	Rank	Mean	Rank
Responsible	2.27	1	2.07	1
Goal-oriented	2.28	2	2.18	5
Competent	2.34	3	2.13	3
Confident	2.35	4	2.09	2
Intelligent	2.41	5	2.20	6
Desired Responsibilities	2.42	6	2.25	9
Sensitive	2.42	7	2.26	10
Aggressive	2.43	8	2.18	4
Well informed	2.46	9	2.24	7
Attentive to details	2.49	10	2.44	18
Analytical	2.49	11	2.24	8
Persuasive	2.59	12	2.31	12
Self-motivated	2.61	13	2.41	17
Decisive	2.64	14	2.33	13
Independent	2.65	15	2.27	11
Flexible	2.66	16	2.36	15
Determined	2.68	17	2.34	14
Reliable	2.73	18	2.36	16
Persistent	2.73	19	2.68	29
Imaginative	2.74	20	2.68	31
Curious	2.74	21	2.68	30
Vigorous	2.75	22	2.67	27
Helpful	2.77	23	2.59	21
Able to discharge responsibilities	2.78	24	2.65	26
Intuitive	2.79	25	2.75	35
Open-minded	2.80	26	2.48	19
Loyal	2.81	27	2.60	22
Tactful	2.82	28	2.63	24
Awareness of others' feelings	2.82	29	2.57	20
Ambitious	2.84	30	2.64	25
Sophisticated	2.86	31	2.60	23
Authoritative	2.94	32	2.67	28
Creative	2.97	33	2.75	34
Objective	3.05	34	2.74	33
Physically Capable	3.11	35	2.74	32
Emotionally Stable	3.32	36	3.03	36

ranking of 36 attributes that should be possessed by successful executives. The five attributes that received the highest scores are – responsible, confident, competent, goal-oriented and intelligent. The five that are ranked lowest are – emotional stability, physical capability, objective, creative and authoritative. Overall, it seems that women managers are perceived to be dedicated to work and to people at work, but they tend to be subjective and are not regarded as the authoritative figure.

The results reflect Grant (1988)'s assertion of some of the psychological qualities of women. Grant argued that there are six important areas to consider regarding the unique female managerial qualities: communication and cooperation, affiliation and attachment, power, physicality, emotionality, vulnerability and lack of self-confidence, and intimacy and nurturance. In sum, women are seen as more conscious about the human relation matters, more cooperative in terms of consultation and democratic decision-making processes, more concern for others and create feelings of cohesiveness, and more at ease when expressing their emotions and weakness. Grant's arguments are in line with our results, such as low score in emotional stability and a relatively high score in intuition and open-mindedness. All these unique qualities possessed by women would lead to higher morale and greater commitment from people in organizations. Furthermore, women are more participative in their leadership behaviour than men, and also women make use of group decision making procedures more frequently than men (Jago & Vroom, 1982). Therefore, if organizations are to become more humane, less alienating and more responsive to the individuals who work for them, they will probably need to learn to value the different qualities possessed by both sexes.

Both male and female perception and the managerial attributes of women are shown in Figure 1. The results demonstrated that male respondents tend to be relatively less positive towards the managerial abilities of women although the overall perceptions of both sexes are tend to be on the positive direction. This indicates that in general women in Hong Kong tend to have a more positive attitude towards women executives than their male counterparts. It also demonstrated the fact

Figure 1 Success Managerial Attributes – Male and Female Perceptions



that female managers are highly respected in terms of their managerial skills in Hong Kong. People usually perceive female managers have possessed certain qualities before they are accepted into managerial positions. In additions, female managers are regarded high in feminine qualities such as affiliation, sensitivity, goal-orientation and responsibility which would lead towards more successful management practise.

Both male and female respondents view female managers to be responsible as it is ranked number one in both columns whereas both male and female respondents regard emotional stability as the least managerial ability that possessed by female. Women seem to have far greater ease in expressing their vulnerability, their lack of confidence and their emotions (Grant, 1988). This can be considered as a kind of strength in managerial qualities. To be able to assess one's strengths and weaknesses would also enable improvement and flexibility in managerial skills.

For attributes that do not show significant differences between male and female perceptions are: intuitive, goal-oriented, helpful, curious, vigorous, persistent, attentive to details, imaginative and ability to discharge responsibility. In other words, these are the basic qualities of female managers recognized by both sexes. Intuitive, helpful, imaginative and attentive to details seem to be the typical feminine managerial traits which might not be in line with the male model of managerial success traits. However, these unique managerial traits that possessed by female are valuable to organizations especially in service industry which emphasizes on human-oriented managerial abilities.

Conclusion

From the research findings, women have more positive attitudes and confidence towards female abilities in managerial positions. Women executives are generally regarded high in the typical male model of managerial success traits. This reflects that as women move up the organizational hierarchy, their identification with the male model of managerial success becomes very important. Results also show that

there are minimal discriminations towards female managers. Although women managerial abilities are not being discriminated against, women executives should not neglect and reject their unique feminine managerial traits which might be equally valuable to the organization.

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徘徊在傳統與現實之間

——對中國女性塑型的思考

張敏傑

性別塑型作為涉及到人與社會兩者關係的概念，是社會性別問題在人們頭腦中的反映，它既包括男女兩性對自身性別問題的自我意識，也包括整個社會對待性別問題的認識。男女兩性的生理差異固然是性別塑型的基礎，但社會文化對性別塑型產生更為廣泛和深遠的意義。本文試圖探討中國當代婦女如何在社會文化的影響下塑造自我形象的問題，這個問題正成為當前大陸婦女問題的一個焦點。

“在任何社會中，婦女解放的程度是衡量普遍解放的天然尺度”（恩格斯，1972：412）。可以這樣認為，女性的形象如果作為婦女解放程度的一種標誌的話，也就完全可以作為全社會解放的標誌之一。因此，中國女性塑形問題，既是個理論問題，又具有重要的實踐意義。思考這個問題，可以說是從更高一層次上展示了婦女解放的內容。

循着歷史的軌迹透視

女性塑型，在不同時代、不同社會，有不同規範、不同要求。在漫長的歷史長河中，婦女的社會角色隨着生產力的發展、經濟結構的變化和上層建築的變革，也有一個較大的變化發展過程。

在原始社會的蒙昧時代和野蠻時代的低級階段，人口稀少，生產

力水平極其低下，形成了低水平下男女平等的地位。由於當時人類發展還處在艱難的時期，死亡率高，於是突出了婦女在人口再生產中的作用，女性不但為人口繁衍作出了貢獻，而且擔負着十分繁重而又非常重要的社會生產勞動和公共事務，在社會經濟生活和家庭生活中的作用被自然地承認，所以，她們享有崇高的社會地位，受到普遍的尊敬。中國古姓有姚、姬、姜、媯、姚等偏旁都是女字，以及女媧造人、女媧補天等古代神話，便是女性崇拜的有力例證。

隨着經濟的發展和私有制的產生，婦女的社會地位發生了歷史性的轉折。在奴隸社會裏，女性被推進了受奴役的深淵。宗法制度是以男性為中心的，男尊女卑、男女不平等是宗法制的一項基本內容。在以男性血統為世系的宗法家庭中，婦女失去了對生產資料的佔有權，在經濟生活中失去了獨立性；她們被單純作為淫慾的對象和生育的工具，却不能傳宗接代，因而也沒有任何繼承權。

到了封建社會，男尊女卑的性別塑型不僅被原封不動地保留了下來，而且成為封建制度的重要組成部份。所不同的是，婦女的人身自由條件有所改善，而社會對待婦女的態度卻更富於矛盾性和虛偽性了。一方面人們可以讚美女性美的純潔和高尚，另一方面又將美的讚賞對象淪為淫慾的獵物和供人玩樂的商品；一方面人們可以稱頌女性創造生命的偉大和神聖，另一方面又極力壓抑着創造生命者的創造力的發揮；一方面人們可以讚嘆女性的柔弱與嬌嫩，另一方面又用無窮無盡的繁瑣而沉重的家務使其變得異常粗糙和醜陋；一方面人們可以規定種種以“禮”對待女性的繁文縟節，另一方面又剝奪其起碼的人格尊嚴和權利。封建的“三綱五常”，“三從四德”等倫理禮教成了統治婦女的精神枷鎖和塑型標準。從戰國初至鴉片戰爭的兩千三百多年期間，大量文學作品中的婦女形象，不是一個背負着嬰兒、腰系圍裙、俯首低眉操作着瑣細家務的奴僕，就是一個穿戴着綾羅綢緞、塗脂抹粉、忸怩作態以供人玩樂的“色性”角色。她們在家從父，出嫁從夫，夫死從子，“嫁雞隨雞，嫁狗從狗”，終生是男人的附庸和玩偶。

辛亥革命是孫中山領導的一場反對封建統治的政治大革命，這場革命也開創了中國女權運動的先聲。很多社會人士在反對封建專制主義的同時，從不同角度為婦女的解放呼喊，特別是近代婦女解放運動

的先驅者和傑出代表秋瑾，以嶄新的女性形象出現在歷史舞台上，並提出了比較完整的婦女解放思想，對於更新婦女觀念、確立新的女性價值產生了深遠的影響。繼而在“五四”運動中，一大批青年女子在新文化思想的鼓舞下，打出了鮮明的反封建旗幟，走出閨閣，進入學校讀書，參與社會改革，爭取婚姻自主，謀求男女平等，無疑是社會的一大進步。

中華人民共和國成立後，1950年頒佈的婚姻法，規定了男女平等，婚姻自由，實行一夫一妻制，它在中國歷史上引起了男女關係和婚姻關係的根本變化。《中華人民共和國憲法》第四十八條也規定：“婦女在政治的、經濟的、文化的、社會的和家庭的生活等各方面享有同男子平等的權利。”“國家保護婦女的權利和利益，實行男女同工同酬，培養和選拔婦女幹部。”這表明婦女在法律上具有與男子同等的地位，從根本上改變了婦女在家庭和在社會上的不平等地位，為塑造新的女性形象奠定了基礎。

循着歷史的軌跡，縱觀婦女地位的演變和女性形象的塑造選擇，我們不難把握婦女塑型與社會發展之間的客觀聯繫。由於社會在不斷地發展變化，婦女形象及其塑造標準也一定要隨之改變。這是因為：一、社會制度的改變，必然會引起女性形象的改變，也就是說，不同的社會制度下會產生不同的婦女形象和塑型標準。二、社會生活方式的改變，也會引起女性塑型的改變；可以說，生活方式是婦女解放的突破口，最明顯的標誌是戊戌變法、辛亥革命期間興起的戒纏足（即放小腳）運動。不纏足不僅僅是婦女生活方式的重大改革，而且是對夫權、族權束縛的突破，也是婦女覺醒、要求解放的表現，它同二十世紀初男子的剪辮子一樣，導致性別塑型的深刻變化。三、家庭結構的改變，同樣引起女性塑型的改變。大家庭裏的女性依附於男性，妻子對於丈夫來說不過是他的婚生的嗣子的母親，他的主要管家婆和僕人而已；但是現代小家庭裏的核心是夫妻關係，因此女性也是家庭的主人，她們不再被禁錮在家庭裏，而有了更廣闊的活動天地。

總之，任何一種婦女形象，都是一定社會發展階段和時期的產物，都有其歷史局限性。從事物發展的規律看，女性塑型決不是一個一成不變的僵死模式，它的變動是社會發展的客觀必然要求。

社會變革與女性面臨的兩難境地

中國的社會革命之光使廣大婦女獲得了空前的解放。當歷史脚步跨進了八十年代這個改革和開放的時代，這一強大的社會變動為實現女性價值、促進婦女解放、塑造新的婦女形象提供了機會。首先，社會對婦女的要求注入了時代的血液，即把婦女當作一種生產力量，當作一種社會動力，不僅希望她們與男性一樣能承擔社會責任，而且希望她們具備符合時代需要的科學文化知識和專業能力，希望她們自尊、自強，具有強烈的事業心和責任感。其次，婦女對自己的要求也有了顯著的提高，她們走上了社會，廣泛參與社會生活，從而在一個更廣、更新的天地裏進一步認識了自己，發現了自己一度被壓抑、被埋沒的才能，也找到了自己新的角色，於是，她們對自我形象的追求也就由原先比較封閉的狀態向比較開放的狀態轉化。

1985年7月至12月，在北京、天津、上海三個城市對二百名職業婦女進行的一項抽樣調查表明（《瞭望》雜誌，1986年第6期），中國職業婦女的自強自立、奮發向上意識更加深化。問卷中提到倘若家庭的物質條件可以允許她們不參加工作，她們是否還願意工作的問題，76%的婦女仍表示願意工作。有的婦女明確地說：“我們婦女首先是一個有事業心的人，其次才作一個女人。”有的女職工認為婦女回到家庭就失去了做人的價值，男女平等也就成爲一句空話。顯然，這些婦女的主要動機是希望保持同社會的接觸，做一個對社會有貢獻的人，但是也有20%的婦女傾向於不參加工作，同意回到家庭。調查中，很多女性提出應根據自己的個性來塑造自己的形象，達到自身的完美。對“你能否勝任你所擔負的工作”這一問題，80%的婦女回答是肯定的；對“婦女在勝任社會工作中的能力是否比男人差”這一問題，86%的人回答：“一點不差”。她們都對知識充滿渴望，希望增強自己的才幹，希望在社會生活中發揮更大的作用。與這項調查差不多同時開展的對四川、黑龍江、安徽三省五百二十名已婚農村婦女的調查，也發現目前多數農村婦女都不甘心自己的職責就是做個好主婦，而願意了解和參與國家和集體的事情。有70.3%的農婦不同意“婦女管好家就行了，不用管國家、集體的事”的說法，只有26.2%的人表

示同意；93%的婦女認為“婦女應有自己的工作和收入，且不要放棄”。97%的婦女認為“妻子應有選擇自己職業和愛好的權利”。可見，大多數農村婦女在經濟獨立問題上有較強、較一致的態度，但是農村婦女對男女傳統分工的認識比在經濟自立方面更帶有傳統色彩，68%的婦女贊成“夫治外、妻治內”的傳統生活方式。據此，通過綜合測量尺度的考察，這項農村調查發現“有14.9%的婦女可劃入傳統範圍，61.6%的婦女居於傳統和現代的中間地帶，23.5%的婦女接近現代性”（仇雨臨，1988：35）。

確實，在中國波瀾壯闊的社會改革大背景下，婦女形象的兩極反映是清晰的：一方面，競爭的觀念和進取的意識，同延續了30餘年的平均主義大鍋飯等保護落後，絕對不講任何差別的觀念發生了尖銳的衝突，並由此擺脫了過去束縛婦女發揮自己聰明才幹的框框，激勵越來越多的女性依靠自己的努力和拚搏，同男子進行對等擇優競爭，在競爭中塑造自我，實現同男子的平等地位。正是在這激烈競爭的改革年代，才塑造了一大批勇於開拓進取的女中英傑。從這個意義上說，改革無疑提供了使女性實現自我價值的機會。另一方面，改革對平均主義的衝擊和對競爭進取的褒揚，既意味着女性可以依靠自身的努力同男子進行對等競爭，也意味着昔日對婦女帶有某種保護、照顧意義的措施將自行消失。於是，改革在湧現出一大批女中英傑的同時，也迎來了部份女性的失落。她們或者因自身素質不高而無可奈何地退出競爭舞台，或者被優勝劣敗的規律所無情淘汰，或者成爲改革中不可避免出現的某些失衡機制的犧牲品。

社會改革空前地突出了中國婦女面臨的矛盾，苦惱困擾着她們，使女性塑型處於一種兩難的境地。

1. 婦女社會權力高和婦女社會能力偏低的矛盾塑造了具有濃重兩重性色彩的女性形象。解放後，國家以立法的形式保證了男女在各方面的平等地位，中國婦女從被奴役、被壓迫、受歧視、愚昧落後的狀態，一躍成爲生活的主人，這是社會革命的結果，只有借助於社會的力量，才能使婦女地位在較短時間裏，以較快的速度取得今天這樣巨大的提高。但是，法律平等還不是實際生活中的平等。

由於歷史和現實中種種因素的影響，在中國婦女的社會化起點上，具體到每一個女子的個人素質，卻普遍偏低，絕大多數人還沒有覺醒到婦女解放的意識，就獲得了社會解放，因此在思想上產生了很大的社會依賴性。（李小江，1988：174）

中國婦女的個性起點是在傳統的女性氣質上直接發展起來的，是在整個民族氣質中陶冶生成的。從總體發展方向上看，它是非個人主義的，但同時又是執着保守的，傳統的家庭角色觀念根深蒂固。

2. 社會配角和家庭主角的矛盾使中國女性的角色行為面臨困境。當代婦女從家庭走向社會，一身兼有家庭角色和社會角色兩重身份。她們能在家庭裏擔任主角，如妻子掌管家庭經濟，柴米油鹽、衣食住行、贍老撫幼、人情來往等一切家庭事務，家庭開支都幾乎由妻子包攬；但是，在社會上，婦女實際上仍處於配角位置。社會配角表現為女性羣體的職業結構偏低，參政人數和機會少。據對江蘇省第三次人口普查資料所作的分析（華健，1988：97），該省婦女就業狀況是：

婦女勞動者的75.5%是從事農林牧漁勞動。在所有職業中，凡技術水平較低的行業，婦女所佔比重就高，反之，在需要文化與技術的職業中，婦女比重就較低。全省人口普查抽樣調查中，從事“國家機關、黨羣組織、企事業單位領導”這些職業的婦女僅佔全省就業婦女的0.37%，佔該職業就業總數的10%。而這一職業中的男性高於女性795.3%。即使在一般工作人員中，男性比例同樣高於女性249%。

造成這種情況的原因，歸根到底是婦女文化素質低和家務負擔重，影響了婦女社會角色的塑造。如江蘇省：

全省文盲、半文盲佔十二歲及十二歲以上全部人口的36.64%，其中男子佔19.3%，婦女佔50.4%，婦女人文盲率高於男子161.1%（華健，1985：96）。

從文化程度上看，中國接受過小學、初中、高中和大學教育的人口，均是男性多於女性；文化知識層次越高，女性的比例越低。在這種男女素質不平等的情況下，一旦女性的社會角色與男性的社會角色發生衝突，女性就不可避免地成為失落者。《中國婦女》雜誌1988年

第一期報導說，山東某廠為提高經濟效益，解決結構性待業，一百二十一名職工被列為編餘，其中一百二十名是女的；北京某公司因生產不景氣，讓六百八十名職工拿60%至70%工資回家息工，其中90%是女的；某工業部門試圖輸出幾萬名女工，因勞動人事部門提出難以安排而告吹；經濟騰飛的天津大邱庄，有84%的已婚婦女回家了，形成一個眾說紛紜的“家庭婦女”階層。如果說廣大婦女既希望當好家庭主角，也希望當好社會主角的話，這無疑是女性塑型的理想目標。但如果把這種目標作為社會評判女性形象是否完美的價值標準，則是多數女性難以勝任的，它只能成為女性的多重負擔，使女性在多重角色衝突中深受失去自我平衡之痛苦。

3. 女性承擔人類生產的義務與承擔社會責任的矛盾是造成女性素質低於男性的根本原因。當代女性與男性相比，具有負荷更重的特點。婦女走上社會後，參加了社會生產，承擔了社會責任，在男女平等的社會境遇中獲得了和男子不相上下的進取機會。但女性事實上並不與男性處於平等的條件，並不與男性站在同一起跑綫上。這是因為女性除了與男性一樣地承擔社會責任外，還必須承擔人類自身的生產。

當婦女承擔人類自身生產——生孩子的時候，卻又不可避免地造成了她的社會生產的中斷，也就是學業、事業或職業的中斷（李小江，1988：127）

於是，在婦女的人生歷史上出現了一段相對的空白階段，在此期間，她們為生兒育女消耗了巨大的能量，也因學業、事業的中斷而擴大了同男性的差距，從而在個人素質和任用升遷方面處於劣勢的境地。令人困惑的是，雖然女性為人類生產所作的貢獻及為此作出的犧牲是有目共睹的，但在現實生活中，不少女性卻反而因此受到了懲罰，近年來我國存在的女大學生分配工作難，招生、就業方面拒絕接納女性等等問題，就是這一矛盾的產物。在一個社會保障制度尚不完善、人民知識水準相對較低的國度裏，男尊女卑的傳統觀念因此而有廣泛深刻的基礎，女性就總免不了被打上“弱者”的印記。

傳統的後患及女性塑型的思路

通過對中國婦女在當前社會變革運動中面臨矛盾的現實分析，終於發現了這諸種矛盾的出現，正是傳統積淀的反映。歷史的沉渣溶解在人們現實的社會意識中，成爲了構造新時代女性的習慣阻力，影響着婦女形象的更新。

首先，傳統的女性塑型仍強化着當代女性的家庭角色。傳統歷來把婦女與賢妻良母、家務勞動緊密地聯系在一起。我們並不否認賢妻良母形象不僅在現實生活中，即使到了遙遠的將來也是需要加以肯定的。但是，必須強調指出的，當代社會所倡導的，“賢”與“良”絕不是封建社會中要求婦女具備的“三從四德”，也絕不是那種只爲丈夫和子女含辛茹苦、克己求全、喪失自我的女性形象。問題是，現在有相當一部份婦女囿於傳統，把家庭角色作爲自己的唯一責任；在家庭與事業的關係上，也總把希望寄托在丈夫和子女身上，爲做丈夫、孩子事業成功的“賢內助”而心安理得，以借他們的光來照亮自己。這種觀念強化了她們的劣勢，鞏固了“家庭主角”和“社會配角”的形象。

婦女形象主要靠婦女自身來塑造，但社會用什麼樣的觀念看待、要求婦女，用什麼標準衡量、評價婦女，總要直接或間接地影響着女性形象的塑造。男性的婦女觀更具有特殊的影響作用。在中國的現實社會中，儘管“男女平等”的思想已爲大多數男性所接受，但傳統女性觀在一部份男子中仍很強烈。他們重“內賢”輕“外才”，視傳統性角色分工爲天經地義，認爲做“賢妻良母”是婦女的天職，而對婦女的才學、事業則抱輕視態度，對事業心強的女性更是敬而遠之。他們重“柔順”輕“自主”，把女性的溫柔扭曲爲對男性意志的服從，將“夫唱婦隨”視爲女性的美德，以扼殺婦女人格、意志來維護所謂“男子尊嚴”，表現出一種畸形的支配慾。這樣，男性傳統婦女觀作爲一種負向的外在因素，嚴重妨礙了婦女自我形象的设计和完善，壓抑了婦女個性的自由全面發展，強化了社會對女性塑形的消極態度，造成了一部份婦女形象的依賴性、被動性和保守性的特徵。

其次，傳統的家庭觀念也使女性“家庭主角”的形象黯然失色。

現實生活並不能證明女性在家領域裏的形象是高大完美、光彩奪目的，恰恰相反，傳統的積淀使她們的“家庭主角”形象也蒙上了陰影。在婚戀觀上，擇偶是就高不就低，堅持“男強女弱”的聯姻模式，多數女性都希望有一個才能比自己強、地位比自己高的丈夫；反之，“女強男弱”模式則是絕大多數男性斷然拒絕的。很多女性婚後將自己以前的進取心、事業心轉移到丈夫身上，希冀通過丈夫的成功把它體現出來。在生育觀上，不能說“男尊女卑”思想已經沒有市場，特別在農村，妻子生子身價百倍，生女則自卑頹喪的狀況仍比比皆是。近年來，城鄉女嬰遺棄事件有所增加，這是現實社會中女性面臨矛盾的折射。在貞操觀上，“嫁雞隨雞，嫁狗從狗”、“好女不嫁二夫”、“從一而終”的觀念仍相當頑固，因此使中國產生了一批高穩定、低質量的家庭，不少人是完整的婚姻連結着破碎的心。喪偶後，男性再婚“天經地義”，女性再嫁則阻力重重，得不到同情和支持，結果使有些女性把爆發的生命之火悄悄地熄滅在心頭，像一段枯樹僵硬到死，這是與時代精神格格不入的。

此外，傳統的女性審美觀扭曲着當代婦女的形象。在中國封建社會裏，女性魅力表現在品性德行上的要求是“三從四德”、賢妻良母；表現在容顏體貌上的要求則是“身如柳，腰如蟬，膚如玉，指如葱”。封建統治階級把這些作爲中國傳統的女性美的標準，世代沿襲，並不斷加以強化。現在，傳統的女性審美觀仍受到相當多男性的欣賞，男性的這種要求，使廣大婦女愛美、追求美、塑造美好的自我形象又面臨一種挑戰，一部份女性在男性的要求下因襲了傳統的封閉的女性審美觀，迎合了社會對女性塑型的傳統心態，甘當傳統角色，而缺乏現代女性應有的強者之美。有的女性對自身的美應表現在那些方面，應追求怎樣的美，缺乏一種正確的認識，往往熱衷於外在的表面的修飾打扮，嚮往形體美，這本是無可非議的。但過多地精力放在修飾自己上，用浮華虛偽的外表來掩飾內心的淺薄無知，就不僅扼殺了女性正當的追求慾望，使她們逐漸產生人格的失落，而且也無助於婦女內在本質力量的感性顯現。當前，即使在中國大陸也不乏借女性靈光來推銷劣質產品的人，無論是掛曆、廣告，還是招貼畫，都可以看見搔首弄姿的女人像，矯柔造作的“美女”圖，於是也就造成了一種假象，

似乎這些女人便是當今社會女性塑型的典範。這對婦女而言，與其說是美，倒不如說是一種不幸。如果女性不掙脫幾千年社會文化留下的審美局限，將成爲婦女解放的絆腳石。

爲了結束當代中國女性在傳統與現實之間的徘徊，迫切需要婦女自己起來正視來自自身的挑戰，使整個社會的女性價值觀、家庭觀和審美觀有一個深層的廣泛的更新，開發新型的女性角色，形成有時代特色的女性塑型。對此，我們需要認真地進行思考，並從思考中獲得一些有益的啟示。

啟示之一是女性要果斷地揚棄傳統女性意識，強化時代社會意識，調整和確立自己的價值目標。這就意味着，男女兩性都應當且必須突破對傳統意義上的“女人”的偏俗見解，重新尋找、確定女性的價值定向。對於女性來說，就要從自己所承擔的多種角色中，逐步平衡相互位置。這就是說：

從對家庭的過多犧牲、奉獻的感性意識轉移到對社會的犧牲、奉獻的理性意識，不再將自己囿於丈夫、兒女的小天地，僅僅定值爲一個好妻子、好母親（舒英，1987）。

當然，這並不等於要求廣大婦女都反“賢妻良母”而行之。剔除“賢妻良母”這一範疇中所有封建糟粕的內涵，好的妻子和好的母親不僅體現在婦女的家庭義務上，而且也體現在婦女的事業追求上。一個有作爲的女性、一個真正的女強者，應該既是一個名符其實的賢妻良母，又是一個社會領域中，有貢獻的人物，否則就不是完美的女性。

啟示之二是女性要破“男主女從”的依附觀念和“男強女弱”的自卑觀念，摒棄“二等公民”的惰意識，努力開發自身潛力，樹立民主、平等的自強精神。科學研究證明，男女兩性的差異不是先天和絕對的，而且兩性各有智力和能力的優勢，關鍵是女性要克服自身的心理障礙，不斷提高自身的智力素質（才、學、識等）和非智力素質（意志、毅力和健康心理等），清醒地認識自身的優勢，選準發揮其潛在才能的最佳突破口，從而在爲社會作貢獻中逐步走向自我完善。需要一提的是，女性的自我完善需要有男性的理解和支持，唯有兩性的共同的全面發展，才有人類社會的和諧進步。所以，新時代女性塑

型的實現，需要把女性對自身的要求、社會對女性的要求、男性對女性的要求協調起來。

啟示之三是女性要從現實社會出發，根據自身的實際條件和具體情況發展個性，選擇和扮演多元化的角色。並且要努力提高自己的角色轉換能力。現代社會千姿百態，爲每一個人提供了充當各式各樣紛雜如流角色的機會，這對於女性也毫不例外。現代女性往往一身兼有家庭、職業和其他多種多樣的社會角色，這就要求她們能夠承受這些角色，並且能夠隨着環境的變化而轉換自己的角色。角色衝突是客觀存在的現象，這些衝突也不可避免地會給人們帶來困惑感，因此，女性要自覺調適傳統角色和現代職業角色的矛盾，力求達到完美的統一。由於我們的社會生產力水平比較低，不可能爲婦女提供解決角色衝突問題的充裕條件，因此，社會應該允許女性有不同的角色側重。對女性過份荷求是脫離實際的，女性也不要作繭自縛，陷於新的困境。

從本質上看，女性塑型最終取決於社會發展的水平。中國是一個發展中的國家，隨着中國現代化的進程，中國女性將迅速擺脫傳統與現實之間的徘徊，站在時代潮流的前列，塑造出光彩的形象。

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關於性別偏見的調查報告

—中國大陸各級學生對兩性
角色的態度

張 德

七十年代麥考比和杰克林 (E. Maccoby & C. Jacklin 1974) 在研究了有關男女兩性心理差異的大量著作之後，在她們的被稱為有劃時代意義的《性別差異心理學》一書中指出：已有的有關兩性心理差異的許多說法，是沒有事實根據的、是荒誕的。她們認為，男女兩性在一般智力、成就動機的水準上並無不同 (西爾斯等 1986: 784)。八十年代立恩和佩特遜 (Linn & Petersen, 1985, 1986) 研究在數學、科學和空間能力方面的性別差異，結論也是“在這些能力之中，不存在一致的性別差異” (引自 Jacklin, 1987: 127-133)。此外，許多心理學家強調：在能力、氣質和性格方面，“個人之間的差異是很大的，而兩性之間的平均差異卻很小。此類性別差異或許已達統計上的顯著水平。但是在實質上，仍是相當微小” (西爾斯等，1986: 790)。“在心理上同男女兩性之間的差異相比，男女兩性更為類似” (海登·羅森伯格，1986: 16)。“傳統上對性別差異的重視，掩蓋了婦女和男人在許多方面很相似這一事實。實際上男人和婦女絕大部分特性，而且是很重要的特性，是很相像、很接近的” (謝爾曼·登馬克，1987: 366)。

人們不願男女兩性在心理方面的相似這一基本事實，自覺或不自覺地誇大兩性之間的心理差異，認為男人優於女人，女人不如男人，

這就是性別偏見。偏見是對人或對物的不以事實為根據的、不客觀、不正確的態度。人們對於某一性別（通常都是指婦女）的人，所持的不符合事實的、不客觀、不正確的態度就叫性別偏見（Sex Prejudice）。

美國心理學家 Baron & Byrne（1984：191）指出：“在大部分歷史以及大部分文化中，女性受到的似乎是次等人羣的待遇。她們成了消極定型作用的對象。”他們還以美國為例，指出在美國賦予女性的特質有點不如賦予男性的那麼令人嚮往。男性被賦予堅定、自信、果斷，有抱負等特質，而女性被賦予的特質只是溫柔、依賴、服從、少抱負等。美國心理學家不僅強調在美國“基於性別的歧視繼續存在”，而且認為，同性別歧視密切聯系着的性別偏見的形成同學校教育有關。丹瑪克（F. L. Denmark）指出：“初級課本，作為兒童接觸的頭一個正式教材特別重要……美國兒童讀物的所有研究都表明，這些書是關於兩性作用定型看法的根源”（丹瑪克，1981：11-12）。

那麼，在大部份民族文化和大部份歷史時期裏存在的性別偏見，在我國當今的社會裏存在不存在呢？（下稱第一個問題）在美國被當成兩性定型看法的根源的初級課本，在我們的學校裏是怎樣塑造性別角色的呢？（下稱第二個問題）這是本研究所要探討的兩個問題。

方法與步驟

為了研究第一個問題，調查了大學、高中、初中和小學生。大學生來自師範大學政治（113人）、歷史（83人）和外語系（包括英日俄語三個專業85人）的二年級共281人（男118人，女163人），平均年齡22歲。高初中學生都來自長春市的一般中學的二年級。高二兩個班共69人（男26，女43），16-17歲。初二兩個班共73人（男31，女42），13-15歲。兩個班的五年級小學生分別取自重點小學和一般小學。兩班共101人（男52，女49），11-14歲。調查是在1989年三月末至五月初之間以問卷的形式進行的。人們對待婦女的態度最明顯不過地表現在對婦女人格特質的評價和社會職業的分配這兩個方面。所以問卷提出了關於男女兩性的人格特質和社會職業兩個方面共四個問題

（見附錄）。其中第二個問題是，男女各有甚麼優點？要求從給出的十五個語詞（這十五個語詞是以前開放式問卷中被試選擇次數最多的十五個）中為男女各選五個。而第三個問題則提供了四句話（這四句話表現了四種人格特質），要求被試推斷每句話說話人的性別。就回答問題的思維過程來說，前者是從性別到特質。後者則相反，是從特質到性別。對於這樣兩個問題的回答是更有可能表現出被試的真實態度的。第一與第四兩個關於兩性的職業的問題，也是如此考慮確定的。實驗者在各班分發問卷，宣讀指導語，待被試用二十至三十分鐘作答之後，逐桌將問卷收回。

為了研究第二個問題，作者確定以《語文》為例。從《語文》的插圖、故事性課文的主角和人物個性的塑造這三個方面，分析了人民教育出版社1979年至1982年出版的、通行全國的《全日制學校小學課本—語文》教材。

結果與分析—第一個問題

一、關於男女兩性的人格特質

1. 性別—特質（附錄·問題之二）

向被試提出，男女各有甚麼優點？要求從十五個標誌人格特質的詞裏為男女各選五個。把這十五個語詞按被選次數多少順序排列，結果（見表一、表二）表明了下列幾點。

- a. 各組被試都傾向於認為，男人和女人的優點是並不相同的，他們認為男女分別具有不同的人格特質。胸懷寬廣、勇敢、意志堅強、事業心強、能力强（可稱A系列）是屬於男人的；而善解人意、心地善良、性情溫和、細心善操家務（可稱C系列）則是屬於女人的。各組被試選擇A系列為男人優點、選擇C系列為女人優點的次數都佔選擇總次數的70%以上。這是對男女人格特質的傳統觀點。

表一 各組男女被試對男人的優點選擇結果的比較(%)

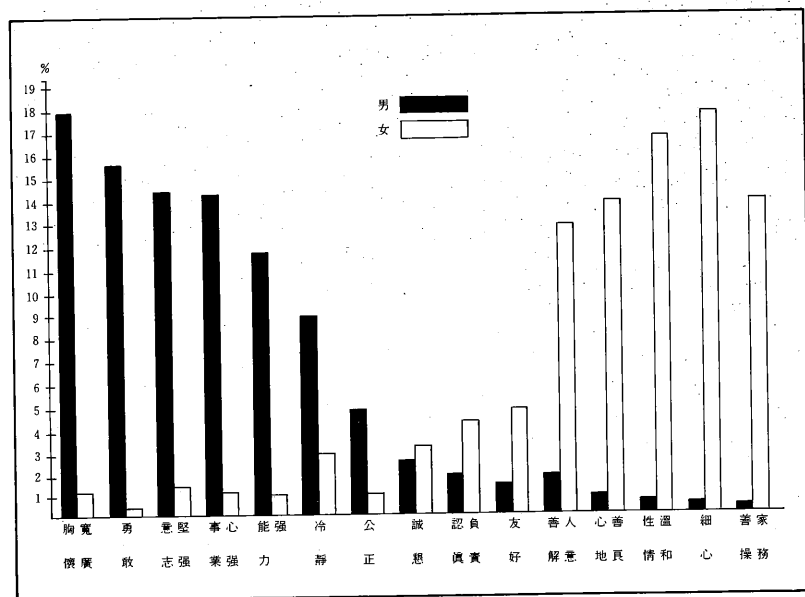
	A				B				C						
	胸懷寬廣	勇敢	意志堅強	事業心強	冷靜	公正	誠懇	認真負責	友善	善解人意	心地善良	性情溫和	細心	善操家務	
大學組(281)															
男生(118)	17.8	17.5	16.1	14.1	12.2	6.5	5.8	3.6	1.5	2.2	1.0	1.0	0.5	0.0	0.2
女生(163)	18.2	14.6	13.4	14.8	11.8	11.0	4.5	2.5	2.5	1.1	2.9	1.0	0.6	0.7	0.4
平均	18.0	15.8	14.5	14.5	12.0	9.1	5.1	2.9	2.1	1.6	2.1	1.0	0.6	0.4	0.3
小計	74.8				20.8				4.4						
高中組(69)															
男生(26)	18.3	16.0	18.3	15.3	10.7	7.6	2.3	3.8	6.1	0.0	0.8	0.8	0.0	0.0	0.0
女生(43)	17.7	14.0	13.0	13.0	10.7	7.4	5.6	3.7	4.2	0.5	5.1	0.9	0.9	1.4	1.4
平均	17.9	14.7	15.0	13.9	10.7	7.5	4.3	3.8	4.9	0.3	3.4	0.9	0.6	1.1	0.9
小計	72.2				20.8				6.9						
初中組(73)															
男生(31)	19.0	14.2	18.0	12.9	9.0	5.1	5.1	3.9	5.8	1.3	0.6	3.2	1.3	0.0	0.0
女生(42)	19.0	16.1	15.7	12.4	17.4	5.7	1.4	3.3	5.2	1.0	2.4	2.4	0.5	0.5	1.4
平均	19.1	15.3	16.7	12.6	11.2	5.5	3.0	3.6	5.5	1.1	1.6	2.7	0.8	0.3	0.8
小計	75.0				18.6				6.3						
小學組(98)															
男生(50)	19.2	16.8	14.4	13.2	10.4	4.8	4.4	4.4	4.4	3.2	2.0	1.6	0.4	0.8	0.0
女生(48)	17.5	17.1	18.3	11.7	9.6	5.4	3.8	5.4	6.7	1.7	1.7	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.0
平均	18.4	16.9	16.3	12.4	10.0	5.1	4.1	4.9	5.5	2.4	1.8	1.0	0.4	0.6	0.0
小計	74.1				22.0				3.9						

表二 各組男女被試對女人的優點選擇結果的比較(%)

	A				B				C						
	胸懷寬廣	勇敢	意志堅強	事業心強	冷靜	公正	誠懇	認真負責	友善	善解人意	心地善良	性情溫和	細心	善操家務	
大學組(281)															
男生(118)	1.0	0.0	0.3	1.0	0.7	2.2	0.7	2.9	5.0	3.9	12.3	15.6	18.3	19.3	16.8
女生(163)	1.6	0.5	2.7	1.6	1.4	3.6	1.7	3.4	4.4	5.5	13.7	13.3	16.6	17.6	12.4
平均	1.4	0.3	1.7	1.4	1.1	3.0	1.3	3.2	4.6	4.9	13.1	14.2	17.3	18.3	14.2
小計	5.9				17.0				77.1						
高中組(69)															
男生(26)	0.8	0.0	1.6	0.8	3.9	3.1	0.0	1.6	2.3	3.1	14.7	14.7	20.0	17.0	16.3
女生(43)	4.2	1.4	5.1	2.8	4.7	5.1	1.9	1.9	3.3	1.9	11.6	12.6	18.1	14.4	11.1
平均	2.9	0.9	3.8	2.0	4.4	4.4	1.2	1.7	2.9	2.3	12.8	13.4	18.9	15.4	13.1
小計	14.0				12.5				73.5						
初中組(73)															
男生(31)	1.3	0.6	0.0	2.6	3.2	3.2	0.6	4.5	5.8	3.9	13.5	11.6	18.0	16.1	14.8
女生(42)	1.0	0.5	1.0	4.3	1.0	1.9	1.0	5.7	7.6	6.2	8.1	13.8	19.0	16.1	12.9
平均	1.1	0.5	0.5	3.6	1.9	2.5	0.8	5.2	6.8	5.2	10.4	12.9	18.6	16.1	13.7
小計	7.7				20.5				71.8						
小學組(98)															
男生(50)	0.4	0.0	0.8	3.2	2.8	1.6	2.4	3.6	7.2	6.0	6.0	12.8	19.2	15.2	18.8
女生(48)	1.3	0.0	0.8	2.1	1.7	2.9	1.3	2.1	7.9	5.4	5.8	16.3	17.9	15.8	18.8
平均	0.8	0.0	0.8	2.7	2.2	2.2	1.8	2.9	7.6	5.7	5.9	14.5	18.6	15.5	18.8
小計	6.5				20.2				73.3						

- b. 除高中組選擇A系列為女人特點的佔選擇總次數14%之外，其它各組把A選為女人優點和把C選為男人優點的，都只佔選擇總次數的8%以下。就大學組來說，主張A系列是女人特質的共八十一人次，只佔總選次數的5.9%。這也就說明主張女人具有A特點、男人具有C特點即持非傳統觀點的為數是很少的。
- c. 在認定A屬於男人C屬於女人這一點上，男女被試的意見是相當一致的。即女生同男生一樣也是主張男人有A特點，女人有C特點的。以大學組來說，儘管在主張A系列是女人特質的八十一人次中有六十三人次是女生選擇的。但這六十三人次只佔女生總選次數的7.7%。這就是說大多數女生被試是並不認為女人具有A系列特質的，大多數女生也是把A系列看成男人專有的。

圖1 大學生對男女兩性人格特質選擇次數比較圖



- d. 如果說在十五個語詞中，A、C系列被當成兩極品質，被分別歸屬於男人和女人。那麼，冷靜、公正、誠懇、認真負責和友好（可稱B系列）則被視為男女共有的，可算是中性品質。把A、B、C三個系列順序排列，以大學組為例繪圖表示，可見被試對男人優點選擇次數呈遞減趨勢，對女人優點選擇次數呈遞增趨勢（見圖一）。大學組是這樣，其它各組莫不如此。男女被試賦予男人和女人人格特質的不同是一望便知的。

2. 特質—性別（附錄·問題之三）

要求被試就給出的四句話（這四句話分別表現說話人的四種特點：小氣、勇敢、聰明和吝嗇）推斷說話人的性別。也就是說要求被試把四種不同的人格特質（其中小氣、吝嗇從道德方面來看明顯屬於消極的、不良的品質）自由分配給男女兩性。結果（見表三）表明：

- a. 各組都把第一和第四句話推斷為女人說的，即認為女人具有小氣、吝嗇的特點；而把第二句話推斷為男人說的，即認為男人具有勇敢的特點。贊成人數，前者在79%以上，後者在93%以上。
- b. 推斷第一句話是男人說的，即認為男人小氣的為數很少。人數最多的小學組也只佔20.8%。推斷第四句話是男人說的，即認為男人吝嗇的人數更少，四組都不超過10%。推斷第二句話是女人說的，即認為女人勇敢的共有十六人，只佔被試總人數的3.2%。
- c. 儘管在認定女人小氣、吝嗇和認定男人勇敢方面，各組多是男生被試的百分比高於女生，男生的偏見表現得更為強烈。但是，所有各組的大多數女生也都認為小氣、吝嗇是女人的特性。誠然，在判斷女人勇敢的十六人裏有十三人是女性（大學八、高中四、初中一）但這十三人只佔女生總數的4.6%。這就是說大多數女生同男生一樣，也是認為勇敢是男人的特點，而女人是不具備勇敢的特點的。
- d. 對於第三句話，小學和初中組的多數被試推斷是女人說的，即多

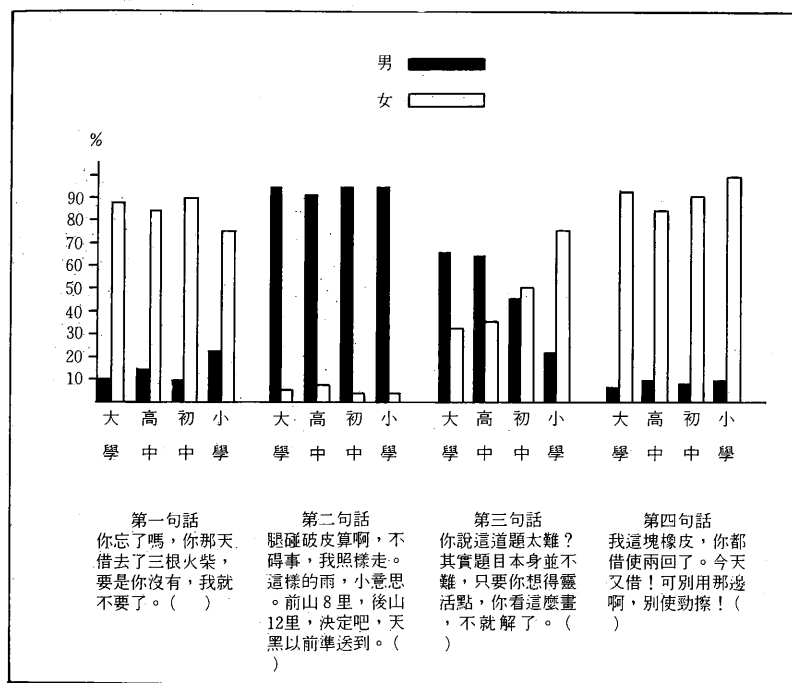
數主張女人聰明；而在高中和大學組裏，則多數推斷為男人說的，即多數認為男人聰明。在判斷男女兩性的聰明，能力方面，所表現出的這種年級的差異，在對小氣、吝嗇和勇敢的推斷上是並不存在的（見圖二）。

表三 各組被試對說話人的性別推斷結果的百分比

	第一句話 (小氣)		第二句話 (勇敢)		第三句話 (聰明)		第四句話 (吝嗇)	
	男 性	女 性	男 性	女 性	男 性	女 性	男 性	女 性
大學組(262)*								
男生(108)	6.5	93.5	99.1	0.9	81.5	18.5	3.7	96.3
女生(154)	11.0	89.0	95.0	5.0	60.4	39.6	5.8	94.2
平均	9.2	90.8	97.0	3.0	69.1	30.9	5.0	95.0
高中組(69)								
男生(26)	7.7	92.3	96.2	3.8	88.5	11.5	7.7	92.3
女生(43)	16.3	83.7	90.7	9.3	53.5	46.5	9.3	86.0
平均	13.0	87.0	93.0	7.0	67.0	33.0	8.7	88.4
初中組(64)								
男生(28)	7.1	92.9	100.0	0.0	64.3	35.7	7.1	92.9
女生(36)	8.3	91.7	97.2	2.8	36.1	63.9	8.3	91.7
平均	7.8	92.2	98.4	1.6	48.4	51.6	7.8	92.2
小學組(101)								
男生(52)	15.4	84.6	98.1	1.9	21.2	78.8	5.8	94.2
女生(49)	26.5	73.5	100.0	0.0	22.4	77.6	12.2	87.8
平均	20.8	79.2	99.0	1.0	21.8	78.2	8.9	91.1

*在大學組281人裏有19人未按要求在括弧裏填男或女，而填了“小氣”“勇敢”“聰明”“吝嗇”等詞語。因而作廢未計。

圖2 各組被試對說話人性別推斷結果的比較圖



二、關於男女兩性的職業

1. 性別—職業（附錄·問題之一）

要求被試分別列舉適合於男人和女人的三種職業。把被試列舉的職業中，性質相近的加以合併。把被選次數最多的前十五種綜合列表（見表四）。由表四可見：

- 各組被試在主張這十五種職業是男人的職業方面，由左至右次數分配大體呈遞減趨勢；而從主張這十五種職業是女人的職業方面來看，次數分配則呈遞增趨勢。無論分組來看，或就四組被試選

表四 各組被試給男人和女人選擇職業的次數分配 (N = 520)

	軍 人 警 察	礦 工	科 學 技 術	廠 長 經 理	政 治 法 律	運 動 教 練	家 庭 主 婦	幼 兒 教 師	保 育 員	紡 織 刺 繡	秘 書	醫 生	服 務 員	護 士 教 師
大學組(281)														
男生(118)	男職 73	71	40	39	50	17	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	4
女人(163)	87	98	57	70	54	12	1	0	0	0	0	5	0	5
男生(118)	女職 0	0	4	0	3	0	4	11	25	19	16	27	58	49
女生(163)	0	0	5	0	8	0	2	14	30	21	35	50	33	57
高中組(69)														
男生(26)	男職 19	10	16	4	11	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
女生(43)	23	25	19	15	9	6	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	4
男生(26)	女職 0	1	2	0	2	0	1	1	1	2	7	6	8	16
女生(43)	2	0	4	7	11	0	0	6	3	4	14	6	7	13
初中組(72)														
男生(29)	男職 32	16	13	10	8	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	5
女生(43)	38	22	7	12	7	4	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	12
男生(29)	女職 1	1	2	1	4	0	1	5	2	5	12	13	12	19
女生(43)	5	0	4	4	5	0	0	16	1	5	7	11	14	24
小學組(98)														
男生(51)	男職 39	31	22	11	4	18	0	0	0	0	1	2	2	7
女生(47)	40	33	12	7	2	12	0	0	0	0	0	3	1	6
男生(51)	0	0	4	0	0	3	1	0	9	14	4	12	20	40
女生(47)	0	1	1	1	2	0	1	0	7	17	1	15	13	38
被試選擇總次數	男職 351	306	186	168	145	72	1	0	0	0	1	19	3	44
	女職 8	3	26	13	35	3	10	53	76	67	96	140	165	368

擇總次數來看都是如此。這就是說，多數被試都認為軍警、礦工、科技、經理、政法、教練是男人的職業；而家務勞動、幼兒教師、保育員、紡織工、秘書、醫護、服務員、教師則是女人的工作。這也就是說，大多數人對社會職業的分配所持的是傳統觀點。

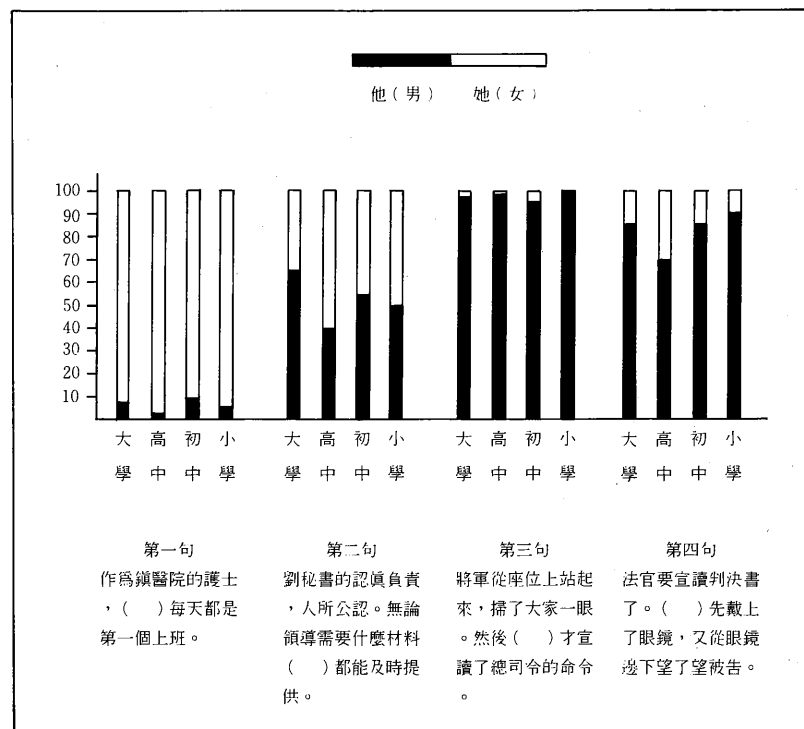
- b. 認為表四中左列工作也適合於女人的，無論那組選擇次數都很少。大學組沒有任何人主張女人可當軍警、礦工、廠長或經理。即使讀成女人當科學家、工程技術人員的也只有九人次。只佔大學被試總選次數的1.1%。至於把右列工作分給男人的選擇次數更少。
- c. 男女被試在把表四左列工作分給男人，把右列工作分給女人這方面，意見是相當一致的。男生認為女人可做左列工作的很少，女生認為可做的也不多。男生沒有認為男人可做幼兒教師、保育員、護士工作的，女生也沒人認為男人可以做。
- d. 在把教師選作男人的職業的四十四人次裏，有九人次寫的是大學教師、講師、教授（這九人是三男六女），有一人寫的是校長。在主張女人當教師的368人次裏有二名小學女生寫校長。

2. 職業—性別（附錄·問題之四）

要求被試推斷四句話裏四種職業者的性別。結果（見表五·圖三）表明：

- a. 各組都有90%以上的被試在第一句填“她”，即認為當護士是女人的職業。在第四句、第三句填“他”，即認為當法官、當將軍是男人職業的則分別佔被試總數的72%和97%以上。
- b. 男女被試之間在把社會職業按傳統觀點分給男女兩性這方面，並無分歧。各組女生被試認為當護士是女人職業的也都在90%以上，而認為當將軍是男人職業的則佔95%以上。儘管在全體被試中認為女人也適於當將軍的有八人，這八人全是女生。但是這八

圖3 各組被試對四種職業者性別推斷結果的比較圖



人只佔全體女生被試的2.7%。

綜上所述，大中小學各組被試，都有誇大男女兩性心理差異的傾向。他們一面高估男人的人格特質，認為男人具有同工作成就密切相關的勇敢果斷、意志堅強、能力高、事業心強等優點；一面低估女人的人格特質，認為女人特有的只是感情豐富、性情溫和、心地善良、善解人意之類。與此相適應，男人被分配承擔軍人警察、政治領導、科學技術、企業管理等較高層次的社會職業；而女人則被分配從事服務員、營業員、保育員、護士等較低層次的社會職業。所有這一切都

表明，我們的大中小學生，包括男生和女生，對於女性都是傾向於低估的，都是比較輕視的。低估女性、重男輕女的性別偏見在我國是相當普遍地存在着的。

表五 各組被試對四種職業者性別推斷結果的百分比 (N = 508)

	第一句話 (護士)		第二句話 (秘書)		第三句話 (將軍)		第四句話 (法官)	
	他 (男)	她 (女)	他 (男)	她 (女)	他 (男)	她 (女)	他 (男)	她 (女)
大學組(281)								
男生(118)	7.1	92.9	68.1	31.9	100.0	0.0	87.4	12.6
女生(163)	6.3	93.7	61.9	38.1	96.8	3.2	85.4	14.6
平均	6.6	93.4	64.5	35.5	98.1	1.9	86.2	13.8
高中組(69)								
男生(26)	4.0	96.0	52.0	48.0	100.0	0.0	84.0	16.0
女生(43)	0.0	100.0	31.7	68.3	97.6	2.4	64.3	35.7
平均	1.6	98.4	39.4	60.6	98.5	1.5	71.6	28.4
初中組(71)								
男生(30)	6.7	93.3	56.7	43.3	100.0	0.0	86.7	13.3
女生(41)	9.8	90.2	48.8	51.2	95.1	4.9	85.4	14.6
平均	8.5	91.5	52.1	47.9	97.2	2.8	85.9	14.1
小學組(87)								
男生(43)	7.0	93.0	44.2	55.8	100.0	0.0	93.0	7.0
女生(44)	4.5	95.5	52.3	47.7	100.0	0.0	88.6	11.4
平均	5.7	94.3	48.3	51.7	100.0	0.0	90.8	9.2

人。當然，革命領袖和英雄人物只能按着事實表現他們的性別。但是在“看圖填空”、“看圖說話”中凡表現科學家的都畫的男性（如一冊74頁、77頁，二冊56頁等）。凡有需要照顧兒童的場面，從學前到小學都畫的女性（如一冊62、65、75、88頁，二冊6、15、21、35、42、79、84、102、108、109頁等）。

二、故事性課文中的主角

1. 男女兩性擔任主角的量的不同：在全部十冊語文教材中，共有故事性課文166篇。除去以集體為主角的十三篇外，以男性為主角的有132篇，以女性為主角的只有二十一篇，所有各冊都是男性主角多於女性主角。（見表八）

表八 男女兩性在語文教材中扮演主角的數量

	一	二	三	四	五	六	七	八	九	十	合計	%
男	2	10	14	12	21	17	18	14	12	12	132	80
女	0	3	3	0	1	5	1	4	2	2	21	13
集體	0	0	0	1	1	1	3	2	3	2	13	7
合計	2	13	17	13	23	23	22	20	17	16	166	100

2. 男女兩性擔任主角的質的差異：語文教材在故事性課文中，分配給男女兩性扮演的主角，不僅有數量的不同而且有性質的差異，在全套教材充任主角的二十一個女性中，有八個是小孩子和小學生，有七個是一般羣衆（如六冊中的養蠶者，七冊中的氣象員）。教材寫了許多中國和外國的革命領袖，但是沒有一個女的，寫了不少中外文學家，藝術家，也是沒有一個女的，教材以古今中外科學家、工程技

術專家為主角的課文有十三篇，這十三個人中沒有一個是女的，以歷史上的著名人物為主角的課文有九篇，其中還是沒有一個是女的。

三、人物個性的塑造

大家知道，就心理面貌來說，人們彼此之間都是各有差異的。個性差異的重要表現是在能力和性格兩個方面。人們的能力是有高有低的，人們的性格是有好有壞的。語文教材所描述的女人在能力和性格方面都比男人更低一些、更差一些。

1. 在能力方面：語文教材描述女人在知識、能力方面不如男人的課文不少，例如九冊九課《落花生》，母親提議種花生，並在收穫之後“把花生做成了好幾種食品”。至於花生的可貴之處則是由父親指出來的。母親只是當父親發表高見之後“點點頭”表示贊同而已。三冊二十課《數星星的孩子》，當張衡指着天空數星星的時候，奶奶說：“那麼多星星一閃一閃地亂動……你能數得清嗎？”，而爺爺則開導說：“天上的星星是在動，可它們之間的距離是不變的。”四冊二十三課《看月蝕》，奶奶說：“我們小時候叫天狗吃月亮”，而奶奶的兒子—爸爸則糾正說：“不是天狗吃月亮，是地球轉到了太陽和月亮的中間，擋住了太陽光”，再如，四冊二十四課《螢火蟲》，奶奶拍着弟弟輕輕地唱：“螢火蟲，掛燈籠”，“我”提出螢火蟲怎會掛燈籠的問題，爺爺闡明說：“那是你奶奶編的歌兒。螢火蟲的肚子後面有一粒能發光的東西……到晚上……就會發出螢光。”在這些課文裏充當無知，低能的都是女人，而男人則是知識淵博，能力高超的。

2. 在性格方面：語文教材在一些課文裏往往讓女性突出地表現人類的不良性格特徵。例如教材以少年兒童、小學生為主角的三十八篇課文，以男孩為主角的三十篇中，除去以勇敢堅強著名的小英雄如二冊《王二小》、《小八路》，五冊的小交通員、小蘿白頭、六冊的二虎子，七冊的鷄毛信，十冊的小英雄雨來等等之外，其它像八冊小挑煤工，十冊凡卡、小抄寫員、小三輪車夫等都是具有吃苦耐勞、正直善良、勇敢堅強、團結友愛等優良性格品質的。而人類的不良的

性格特徵如小氣、吝嗇則讓女孩來表現。三冊五課《藍樹葉》淋漓盡致地刻畫了女生林園園的小氣、吝嗇，當同學向她借綠鉛筆的時候，她先是“吞吞吐吐地說‘我還沒用完呢’”，後來又說怕人家“把鉛筆尖弄斷了”，得到對方保證“小心一點兒”之後，她又提出“不要削”，“不要用力劃”，“不要畫得太多”，終致對方沒有使用她的綠鉛筆而畫出了藍樹葉。

《語文》不僅在小學生中讓女孩表現不良的性格特徵，而且還一而貫之，在成人在老人中也讓女人表現不良的性格特徵，例如十冊十課的《田寡婦看瓜》，當男人秋生哀求說：“嫂子，你給我個小南瓜吧！孩子們餓得慌！”“田寡婦哪一個也舍不得摘，挑了半天給他摘了拳頭大的一個。”而當今年秋生的瓜種得太多了，田寡婦提出，吃不了不能賣？”的時候，秋生則說：“賣？……園裏還有，你要吃就打發孩子們去擔一些……”。這裏使用陪襯對比的手法描述了小氣與大度兩種性格特徵，心地狹小的性格特徵是由女人來表現的。再如八冊《漁夫和金魚》一課裏的老太婆，她貪得無厭、舉止粗野，是十分可惡的，六冊《西門豹治鄴》裏的巫婆更是凶惡狠毒、草菅人命、極其可恨的，而相形對比。課文裏的男性，老頭兒、西門豹則都是和藹可親，正直善良的。《語文》教材由女人擔任故事性課文主角的總共只有二十一人，其中竟有四人（佔19%）——林園園、田寡婦、老太婆、巫婆——被派充當了表演人類不良性格特徵的角色。

總之，無論從教材的插圖，或從故事性課文的主角，或從人物個性的塑造方面來看，我們的《語文》都是高估男人低估女人，是重男輕女的（張德、赫文彥，1987）。

結論

一、長期以來，人們以為輕視婦女、性別偏見是舊社會的產物，是在舊社會生活過的老年人、成年人才有的。調查材料表明，重男輕女，低估女性的性別偏見在我們的大、中、小學生中，是相當普遍地存在着的。

二、長期以來，人們以為舊的小說，戲劇等文藝形式才是輕視婦

女的，才是形成性別偏見的根源。調查材料表明，我們的《語文》教材對於男女兩性的人格特質的描述和社會職業的分配，同我國青少年學生對男女兩性人格特質的判斷和社會職業的分配是頗為相似的。語文教材對兒童性別偏見的形成具有不可低估的、潛移默化的作用。

值得強調的是，性別偏見不僅妨礙婦女才能和個性的充分發展，造成人際知覺的偏差和人際交往的障礙，不利於家庭的建立與鞏固，導致性別歧視的產生和蔓延，而且危及計劃生育這一重大國策的實行，危及社會的健康發展。因此，深入關於性別偏見的研究，特別是對減少和消除性別偏見的方法途徑的研究，是有重大意義的。只有減少並消除性別偏見，“女孩學業成就優於男孩，但是職業成就女子落後於男子”（海登·羅森伯格，1986：164）的局面才能改觀；婦女的才能才能充分發揮；婦女的個性才能全面發展。到那時，也只有到那時，婦女才能“頂半邊天”；男女才能生活幸福；社會才能健康發展。

參考文獻

** 在本研究中，對中小學的調查，是在長春市第81中學、東北師大附屬小學和東岑小學的有關領導和教師的支持之下進行的。教育系心理專業八五級部分同學參加了調查。《語文》教材的分析是由教育學教研室赫文彥老師幫助完成的。我願在此一併深致謝意。

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附錄：問卷

年 月 日 學校 班級 姓名 姓別 年齡 民族

爲了科學研究的目的,我們熱誠歡迎您回答下列問題。這些問題同考試無關,請您按著自己的真實想法、看法回答,我們感謝您對我們的支持,向您深致謝意。

一、您認爲適合於男女不同性別的職業是什麼?請分別列舉三種。

適合於男人的職業	1	2	3
適合於女人的職業	1	2	3

二、據您看來,男人和女人各有些什麼優點?請從下列語詞中爲男女各選五個。

性情溫和 胸懷寬廣 認真負責 冷靜 勇敢 心地善良 公正
 意志堅強 細心 事業心強 誠懇 能力強 友好 善解人意 善操家務

三、下列四段話,說話人是男的或是女的?請推斷說話人的性別(寫在括弧裏)

1. “你忘了嗎,你那天借去了三根火柴。要是你沒有,我就不要了。”()

2. “腿碰破皮算啥,不得事,我照樣走。這樣的雨小意思。前山8里,後山12里。決定吧,天黑以前準送到。”()
3. “你說這道題太難?其實,題目本身並不難。只要你想得靈活點,你看這麼畫,不就解了。”()
4. “我這塊橡皮,你都借使兩回了,今天又借!可別用那邊啊,別使勁擦!”()

四、請在下列句子的括弧裏填一個合適的人稱代詞。

1. 作爲鎮區院的護士,() 每天都是第一個上班。
2. 劉秘書的認真負責,人所公認,無論領導需要什麼材料,() 都能及時提供。
3. 將軍從座位上站起來,掃了大家一眼,然後() 才宣讀了總司令的命令。
4. 法官要宣讀判決書了。() 先戴上了眼鏡。又從眼鏡邊下望了望被告。

淺議當代中國大學生的女性觀

閔冬潮

目前，在禁錮了多年的中國大地上，一種新的，遲到的潮流在湧動着，這就是新性別觀的覺醒。它產生於改革開放所帶來的形形色色的社會問題的撞擊中，也挾帶着西方“性解放”與女權運動的滲入，正蕩滌着人們生活的方方面面。當然，在新思想叢生的大學校園裏，它更像是一朵耀眼的浪花活躍着。對如何塑造新的女性形象，如何處理好戀愛婚姻與家庭問題等方面，當代大學生們比以往任何一代人都傾注了更多的熱情，從而成爲社會中最敏感，最富有色彩的一個層面。鑒於此，結合婦女學的研究工作，我們自去年起在天津師範大學開設了“婦女研究”的選修課及“當代家庭”的專題課。同時還分別在北京大學（北大）、南開大學（南大）、天津師範大學（天津師大）等院校進行了有關性別問題的調查。這樣，通過講課、課堂討論、書面作業、問卷、座談會、個別談話等方式，對當代大學生有關女性解放、婚姻、家庭等方面的思想觀念有了個大致的瞭解。本文將對這方面的情況做個簡單的介紹，並對形成這些觀念的歷史的和社會的原因作一些初步分析。

婦女解放與理想女性

提起性別觀念，最爲敏感的還是在於如何看待女性的問題。而在現代社會，一提起女性問題就離不開“如何使婦女解放？”“什麼是理想女性？”這些百年老調。1949年新中國成立以後這些問題似乎早

已有了現成的結論：社會主義的勝利就帶來了婦女的解放，一心為革命的女強人就是理想的女性，於是沒有什麼可討論的了，一切都已寫在革命導師的著作裏，只要照着這些書裏的指示去實踐就是了。

然而隨着改革開放大潮的席捲，商品經濟的衝擊，使以前表面似乎平靜的婦女領域暴露出種種問題。男女平等的天平在傾斜，理想女性的光輝在消失，婦女解放這個自1949年以來不成其為問題的問題失去了往日的權威效應。面對這一現實，在改革開放時代成長起來的新一代大學生形成了與前幾代人不同的女性觀念，有着他們獨特的看法。他們首先提出：女性自我意識的覺醒應當成爲婦女解放的主要支點。

一、女性自我意識的覺醒應當成爲婦女解放的主要支點

大陸新一代大學生是以自我意識最顯著稱的，這一特點也必然反映在如何看待婦女解放問題上。在討論何爲婦女解放的問題時，絕大多數同學對大陸五、六十年代以來以婦女參加社會生產勞動爲標誌，以“男人能做到女人也一樣能做到”的所謂“男女平等”爲目標的婦女解放持懷疑態度。他們認爲：婦女參加社會生產，使她們走出家庭狹小的天地，自食其力，在客觀上對婦女“翻身”，提高女性地位無疑有重要意義。問題是，在大多數情況下，她們的行爲不是出於自覺的要求和選擇，或者說，她們走向社會的行爲與女性自我意識的覺醒是割裂的，錯位的。事實上，婦女就業，包括婦女參政，基本都是由國家來安排、培養的。因此，在忽視女性自我意識的層面上尋求的婦女解放，不能不掩蓋着許多問題，實際上這種“解放”有時不排除以漠視甚至犧牲女性利益爲代價。

中國婦女解放運動幾十年艱難的跋涉和沉痛的教訓，使當代大學生們轉而向婦女自我意識的覺醒尋出路。一位女同學明確表示“婦女解放應是使婦女擁有獨立的人格，在精神上不受壓抑，不受束縛，心靈不被扭曲。女性要能用自己的目光審視自己，審視男性和社會，並作爲獨立的社會歷史主體能動地參與社會生活。所以說，婦女解放就是在精神上做一個完整的人。”由此可見，注重自我意識的覺醒，

注重精神方面的解放和個人自由的選擇，在當代大學生的婦女解放觀上佔有至關重要的地位，這一特點是前所未有的。

正是在自我意識這一支點上來尋求婦女解放的途徑，於是大學生們呼籲：放棄統一模式，允許女性自由發展。

二、放棄統一模式，允許女性自由發展

當代大學生們認爲，在這個多元化發展的世界，無須有什麼統一的模式，應該允許女性在個性上自由發展。愈是萬花筒般的豐富多彩，愈能標明時代的進步和女性的完善。

他們首先向傳統的婦女解放的圭臬——“男女平等”發難。

一部份同學認爲，男人、女人總歸不同，有種種無法消除的條件制約着他們各自的行爲，這也就決定着男性、女性在社會中要充當不同的角色，所以女性與男性也就不可能達到一種絕對的平等。不能用男性的標準來衡量婦女的解放，男性、女性各有所長，爲什麼要“棄長取短”非要使“女性男性化”呢？這本身就是一種不公平。既然共產主義社會是以“每個人全面自由的發展爲基本原則”的社會形態，那麼，今天的社會就應朝着這個方向努力，鼓勵女性在個性上的自由發展。

這是大部份女大學生的心聲。但男同學對此則有另外的理解。他們大多對婦女在實際生活中的不平等遭遇抱有理解與同情的態度，但對婦女解放所帶來的一些後果則往往不以爲然。例如，有人把一些主張女性在任何方面都要超越男性的思想稱爲“大女子主義”。他們認爲，大陸上的婦女解放已經走得夠遠了，以致“陰盛陽衰”，“氣管炎”（妻管嚴）的現象隨處可見。個別男生還發出了“婦女再解放，我們怎麼辦？”的哀嘆，似乎對婦女解放的潮流呈現出一種無可奈何的心態。究其原因是多方面的，不排除這些男學生頭腦中的“大男子主義”在作祟，此外也與那種“錯位”的婦女解放帶來的複雜的社會後果有關。

打破了婦女解放的統一模式，帶來的便是多種多樣的人生追求。一些女同學認爲，事業對女性的發展是至關重要的，婦女解放可

定義為婦女普遍的參與和女性社會價值的實現。如果婦女不參加工作，經濟上不能獨立，也就不會產生自我意識。另一些人則對事業持相反的態度。從我們在南大及天津師大十二個系，八十七個女生的調查問卷中可發現一些傾向。被問者中有44%的人對事業的態度是盡職盡責，有34%的人想在事業上有所作為。但在問及對事業前途的追求程度時，佔36%的人表示抱有希望，有所追求。只有9%的人選擇了目標明確，不斷追求，其餘佔半數以上的人則表示無從入手或無所追求。從這些數字可以看出，大部份女同學對事業的理解是找到一份理想的工作，並表示願意做好本職工作，但敢於積極地參加激烈的社會競爭，大胆追求事業的成功的女同學畢竟還是少數。

與此同時，為數眾多的女大學生們對女性傳統角色的回歸則給予了更多的關注。她們認為，以往婦女解放所提倡的男女平等，首先就意味着，最終要達到在生存競爭中設有保護與照顧的平等，這種解放，是以婚姻家庭的鬆散，女性風度魅力的逝去為沉重代價的。現在，她們不願再付出這種代價，轉而追求一種更為現實的生活道路。這一特點在北大這類重點學府中表現得更為明顯。一般來說，這種學校中男生在人數上比女生多，素質比女生強，於是造成一種男生佔有絕對優勢的競爭形勢。這種局面，給大部份女生造成心理上的壓力，有的人還沒有正式走上競爭戰場就退下陣來，開始尋求另外的出路。例如，北大歷史系八十八級的一些女生一進校門就開始考慮把自己培養成家庭主婦。她們以日本婦女為楷模，學習化妝、裁剪、烹調等等，而對專業課程則不感興趣，北大的女生部長就宣稱：“女生部的宗旨就是要把北大的女生培養成未來的賢妻良母。”

這種現象並不只是一種簡單的向傳統女性的回歸；而是在回歸之中體現了當代女大學生對人生價值的刻意追求。她們認為：“女性在經營家庭方面具有特殊的能力，這是女性的優勢。把家庭搞得舒適溫暖，同樣也體現了一個女人的價值。”北大外語系一女生說得更為明白：“為丈夫補襪子的妻子，她的價值決不亞於一個女總統！”如此價值取向，已與傳統意義上的男女平等觀念相去甚遠。但在一個多元的世界裏，你有什麼理由無視它存在的合理性呢？

婦女解放的統一模式既已打破，追求已呈現多元，於是當代大學

生們提出了：重建理想女性的標準。

三、重建理想女性的標準

在何謂理想女性的標準這一點上，當代大學生們的態度也不盡相同，尤其是男女同學之間的觀點有較明顯的分歧。但無論男女，都對大陸傳統“女強人”的形象持一種反感的態度。在南大及天津師大的調查問卷中，只有10%的人渴望成為女強人，9%的人認為女強人可敬佩學習，其餘大部份同學認為女強人可敬不可學。在當代大學生眼裏，女強人只會工作不懂生活，女強人的家庭生活總是不幸的。既然如此，有的同學甚至主張，只顧事業的女強人最好不要建立家庭，以免給別人帶來痛苦。看來，多年來宣傳的一心撲在社會主義建設事業上的“女強人”，結果帶來負面的效應要超過正面的效果。

當代大學生們提出的理想女性標準有如下幾種類型。在男同學中最有代表性的觀點是：追求新時代的賢妻良母。畢竟時代不同了，中國傳統式的一切依賴於男人的女性已經落伍。現代的男性追求的是現代的“賢妻良母”。那麼它的含義是什麼呢？一些男同學指出：“賢”“良”不僅表現為對丈夫生活上的體貼、照顧，事業上的支持，以及不可代替的妻子獨有的心理能量，通過丈夫的傳遞、發揮造成對社會的影響，而且還表現為妻子直接通過自我塑造，積極參加社會事業，榮耀丈夫，影響社會，用事業上的成功反襯其“賢”。這種“賢”的特徵是：

- 妻子是自覺自願的，不是也不可能是舊時代那種被強迫的或盲目的機械行為；
- 妻子不僅表現為丈夫服務，通過丈夫對社會作為體現她的“賢”及其價值，而且也直接地表現自我。

照此辦理，“賢妻”的作為既有利於社會，更有利於丈夫與家庭，而這一切又都是建立在“賢妻”自我選擇的基礎上，真是“三全”其美了！所以，大部份男同學舉雙手贊成。據調查，北大80%的男生要找賢妻良母型的愛人，他們自強、自尊、不能容忍女孩子與他們並駕

齊驅。從他們的選擇中，我們可以看到，父權社會傳統觀念的因襲和自我為中心的復合物對他們的影響。

女大學生們則提出要做“超賢妻良母”。也就是要超越賢妻良母的傳統標準與傳統角色，既要在事業上取得成功，也不放棄家庭的責任。她們自強、自愛、具有獨立的個性；她們要做精神上的強者，而不願再做依附於人的“第二性”。但考慮到現實生活的艱辛，社會環境的複雜，只有一部份女同學把這種新女性作為自己生活的楷模。

既然做不了“超賢妻良母”，不妨做一個“新賢妻良母”，這就是眼下大部份女大學生們的追求。所謂新賢妻良母，就是基本捨棄事業上的追求，而把主要的精力、責任和享樂放在家庭。例如，北大哲學系一位女同學說：女性就應該溫柔，再強的女人也需要堅強有力的臂膀依靠，男女平等永遠不可能也不必要爭取。男同學將來可以從政、經商、做學問，女同學自我修養成賢妻良母正好互補。那麼，“新賢妻良母”的“新”體現在哪呢？她們認為，這種賢妻良母對於新時代，對於自己將要做的事情，不是被動的就範，而是主動的選擇，因而這種賢妻良母不是對丈夫千依百順的那種“陶春”式人物的翻版，而是要將自己的生活方式與命運始終掌握在自己手裏。此路是否能走得順暢，還要靠她們將來的實踐。

總的看來，對理想女性的追求，儘管男女生之間還存在着一些分歧，但向傳統女性角色的回歸傾向是明顯的，這不能不是個值得注意的問題。

婚姻與家庭

處於全面開放的時代，情感體驗作為人的一種不可扼殺的正常的生活內容，正在被越來越多的人要求着。《第四代人》一書的作者說，“情感作為彷彿天然的擺在青年人身邊的一顆菓子，如果不拾起來嚐一嚐，就簡直不是青年。”（張永杰、程遠忠，1988：332）

今天，情感生活與家庭生活的關係越來越密切，因此，當代大學生在考慮婚姻家庭問題時，就要把情感問題擺在首位，男生、女生概莫能外。“愛情是家庭幸福的基石”，“家庭是愛的場所”是眾多男

女同學追求的理想。

在婚戀問題上，雖然他們仍然受到經濟、門第、社會輿論壓力等問題的干擾甚至左右，但情感型已成為當代大學生追隨的主潮。除此之外，還有一派可稱為享樂型。例如，北大東語系的一位女同學說：“我們在交朋友和找戀人方面是有區別的，要交會說的，玩得痛快，標準是我愛的人。找戀人，要溫存體貼，是愛我的人。”有的女同學同時交好幾個男朋友，讓他們提供物質上享受的條件。有的女生還說，祇要有錢，找個個體戶做丈夫也不妨。這派人為數不多，大多數同學認為這種做法不足取，但做為一種新的傾向也不可忽視。

面對第三者插足，離婚率增高等“新潮”問題，男女同學之間觀點的分野極為明顯。一般來說，女同學們能夠較為勇敢地承受這個現實，並持一種理解、寬容的態度。她們認為，由於個性解放的發展，男女都較為普遍地要求擺脫法定婚姻對愛情與自由的束縛，把男女結合和離異的社會行為變為個人的私事。現代人崇尚“主體意識”及“自由選擇”，根據這個準則，當一對“高峯體驗”已過的夫婦中的一個被另一個異性吸引，而且與第三者的關係又完全出於“自主選擇”，那麼應該認為是一個時尚而合理的事情。以“愛情是婚姻的生命線”的現代婚姻觀來評價，一位“第三者”插足於失去愛情的死亡了的婚姻中，不僅不是罪過，似乎還是一種拯救落難者的義舉。

天津師大歷史系的一些同學還從歷史、社會等方面分析了當前婚外戀與婚變增高的原因。她們分析到：在小土地生產的男耕女織社會，家庭是由生產、生活、生殖三個“鏈”聯絡着，加上法律和道德規範的法則，那時的婚姻是穩定的。到了工業社會及後工業社會，家庭不再是生產單位，家務勞動的社會化使家庭也不再是賴以生活唯一地方，而傳宗接代也不再是家庭的根本任務。這樣，三個強大的聯結鏈均被打斷了，此後發生的種種有悖於傳統婚姻家庭道德的行為，不管你喜歡不喜歡，依舊我行我素地存在與發展是完全可以理解的。

怎樣尋求解決的辦法呢？她們認為，這需要現代社會的人們找到新的聯結鏈。例如，互相留意對方的職業與愛好，最好滲入其中，成為其中不可缺少的一環，這就產生了新的“生產聯結鏈”。保持互相尊重，保持一定的心理距離，是符合美學中距離美原理的，這就增加

了“審美聯結鍵”……在許多方面營造出新的“聯結鍵”，婚姻家庭就會更具有現代的穩定性了。這些同學能夠理性地面對現實，又能夠創造性地營造新生活，實在令人欣慰！

相對來說，一部份男性大學生面對現代社會的這些“新潮”問題，卻表現出了更多的困惑。他們將其或歸於歐風美雨的侵蝕，或歸於“屏幕深入到生活”的結果，在向昨天告別，迎接今日的挑戰中，顯得不那麼勇氣十足。

當代大學生性別觀念形成的歷史、社會原因

當代大學生性別觀念形成的歷史和社會原因是極其複雜的一個體系，這裏只能擇其要點，歸納為如下幾方面。

一、自我意識強化，已成為當代大學生行為模式與情感範式的基本點

常掛在當代大學生嘴邊的一句口頭禪就是“自我意識”。他們強調以自我主體來設計和選擇，而一改老一代人由別人來改造、規範和抉擇的局面；他們注重的是自我的主動性、積極性和建設性，即自己肯定自己，而一反那種自我壓抑，自我貶損和自我否定的作人之道。

自我意識的強化，絕非當代大學生們一廂情願，而首先是社會生活變化為其提供了生長的土壤。

十年改革開放以來，中國已出現從原來單一的产品經濟形式向商品經濟過渡的趨勢，隨之而來的思想解放運動也使得我們的社會發展到這樣一個階段：在這個社會，社會環境為個人提供了儘管不是很多，但卻比以前多的選擇機會。個人可以根據自己的意志，在一定的可供選擇的範圍內實現自己，進而使自己成為個人的主宰者，成為個人在社會和在自已的私人生活中的存在方式的決定者的條件大為改善。“自我”既已形成，以往家庭與社會組織對個人施加的那種決定性的影響便大大減弱了。

時代造就的當代大學生的人生觀就是“以自我為主體”，在這個

大前提下的選擇則呈現出多重色彩。例如，對理想女性的追求，即有在自我選擇前提下的向傳統的以家庭為主的“賢妻良母”型的回歸，也有對事業家庭兼顧的“超賢妻良母”型的追求，當然，以事業為重的新型“女強人”也不乏其人。諸條道路，諸種選擇，都是“自我選擇”的結果。

值得注意的是，當代大學生雖然懷有強烈的“自我選擇”的願望，但在複雜的現實環境下到底選擇甚麼都不能不受到各種條件的制約。例如，今天婦女在社會上遇到了比過去更為嚴峻的競爭環境，對這些已經萌發了自我意識的女大學生來說，如果她們的“自我”在社會上無法體現出來，就只能企望通過她們的家庭、丈夫及孩子體現出來，所以，眾多的女大學生選擇“賢妻良母”式的道路，實則也是一種自我保護的手段。

二、西風東漸的結果

八十年代之後，中國大陸在忐忑不安中遲疑地推開了窗子，之後又打開了大門。繼與外界政治、經濟的交往不斷擴大之後，從西方世界駛來的商船和飛機終於帶來了西方現代意識形態。窗口擠滿了渴望了解西方世界的人，而當代大學生是他們之中心情最急切的一批。

當這些大學生以懷疑的眼光審視已知世界，探求未知世界時，他們選擇了西方的思想文化做為武器。他們飢不擇食似的啃着各種理論的著作，從盧梭、黑格爾，到薩特、弗洛伊德，這些無一不是他們涉獵的對象。而影視等各種大眾傳播媒介，則以具體的形象對西方文化做了解說。這些更加深和強化了他們對西方文化的印象。可以說，在當代大學生的精神結構中，西方文化起着重大的支撐作用。

在性別觀念上，來自西方的性解放，女權主義之類的思想對當代大學生起着不可低估的影響。例如，在當代大學生中，相當一部份人反對舊的貞操觀，此風在女學生中尤盛。北大一位女同學就說過：“我們反對把性問題責任都推給男方，而說女性是受害者。只要雙方願意，有性行為沒有甚麼。雙方互利，無可指摘；好聚好散，無可遺憾！”這種以坦然和無所顧忌的態度對待性問題的論調，在改革開放

之前的中國大陸是不可想象的。而今天，它卻為大多數當代大學生所接受，可見西方性解放思潮在他們之中的影響之快，之廣。

西風東漸的結果，使禁錮了多年的性別觀念出現了更新。而當代大學生們則是率先起來革新的倡導者和實踐者。但他們畢竟是不成熟的一代人，在囫圇吞棗式的“引進”了許多西方的新觀念之後，很可能出現消化不良的後果。

三、對前幾代人性別觀念的逆向選擇

當代大學生是在文化大革命後成長起來的一代人，用當下流行的劃分中國代際標準看，他們屬於“第四代人”。這一代人在進入青春時期之後，正值國家實施改革開放政策之時，於是在他們的行動策略與生活模式方面就呈現出與上幾代人明顯的區別。這些特點在第四代人的精英——當代大學生中表現得尤為突出。

簡單來說，在中國共產黨建黨時期出現的第一代人的最高行為準則是“革命”，在共和國成立時步入青春歲月的第二代人的最高準則則是以繼續奉行第一代人的原則為宗旨，他們是以“組織原則”著稱的。生在紅旗下，長在新中國的第三代人，在開始自己新的選擇的時候，發現在“文革”十年中丟棄的東西太多了，於是“為了事業”成為他們的最高行為準則。而第四代人則把這一切都不再看重，而以主體性為根本的行為原則。

為什麼在老一輩人的眼中奉若神明的東西，在第四代人看來都無足輕重？因為第一、二代人所經歷的事情對於第四代人來說是太遙遠了，那些在第一、二代人看來是激動人心的歲月，在第四代人眼中則彷彿是天方夜譚一般不可思議。而本應對他們影響較大的第三代人，由於在生活和事業中的兩難困境，對當代大學生來說，與其說是一種生活的楷模，莫如說是一種前車之鑒。這就更加劇了他們重新選擇行為準則的意向。

這種選擇的過程一開始就呈現出一種逆向選擇的傾向。由於第一、二代人現在無論在家庭還是在社會還居於權威地位，就會有意無意地向年青人灌輸他們的行為準則，使這些在新環境中成長起來的當

代大學生由於強烈的反差深感壓抑，而壓抑的結果使他們擺向極端，表現出逆向選擇的傾向，越是為社會肯定的越容易被他們拋棄。例如，社會越是宣傳“女強人”，他們越是反感，再加之“女強人”生活中的種種不幸，於是在理想女性的追求上，多數人都趨向於傳統女性角色的回歸，也就不足為奇了。

當代大學生這種在價值取向上逆向選擇的心理，雖然有它形成的特定的歷史社會原因，有它存在的合理性的一面，但它表現出的非理性的行為多於理性思考的特徵却是令人深思的。

當代大學生是時代的幸運兒，由於特定的歷史環境，使他們成為中國當代最具有獨立自主意識的一批人。然而，改革開放剛剛起步，個人選擇也並非易事，雖然他們都期望向舊生活告別，向新生活邁進，但尚未在理智和感情中確定必要的平衡，以致出現了新的困惑：“女大學生分配難”對她們的職業威脅；“賢妻良母”觀念在大學生中的強化；告別不幸婚姻的艱難……所有這一切都會在他們心理上引起一陣陣的騷動。

處於新舊文明激烈衝突中的中國當代大學生們，他們既是舊生活、舊規範的變革者，又是舊規範、舊觀念的載體，這就注定了在他們進行自我選擇時，既要改造社會又要改造自己，只有經過痛苦的“煉獄”，才能再造自我。

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III
Education

教育

Development and Women's Higher Education: A Comparative Study of China & Hong Kong

Grace C. L. Mak

THE past three decades has witnessed a significant expansion in women's enrollment in institutions of higher learning (see Sutherland, 1989; for relevant statistics see OECD, 1986; UNESCO, 1986). The extent of expansion varies. In some countries, such as France, Canada, Sweden, Norway, Finland, and the United States, women comprise about half or slightly more of the student body in higher education by 1983. In other countries, especially in the Third World, women remain a minority in spite of increased access. The causes behind the expansion also vary. A common stimulant is educational reforms that affect women in one way or another (Elgqvist-Saltzman, 1988; Ethington, et al., 1988).

The People's Republic of China (the PRC) and Hong Kong have been part of this expansion. In both societies the expansion initiated in the 1950s, a period which coincided with drastic social and political changes. In China this was marked by the success of Communist revolution and the founding of a socialist people's republic. Events in China had a great impact on the development of Hong Kong. From the late 1940s and well into the 1950s, Hong Kong received a large influx of mainland migrants. It was to grow from an entrepôt to a major international city. The people of both China and Hong Kong share a common cultural heritage, but different political and economic forms. Why has higher education been extended to women in both societies alike? How does growth in women's enrollment relate to the expansion in higher

education in general? What roles do political philosophy and level of economic development play in the changing enrollment patterns and how do they mediate with the social class background of woman students? Given the increased opportunities, which women respond to them and how? Do cultural values and attitudes affect women of China and Hong Kong in the same way?

This paper seeks to understand the historical background of women's access to higher education in China and Hong Kong. It will identify and compare the factors that have enabled this growth. It will then examine the extent they have shaped women's enrollment patterns in institutions of higher learning and the way they articulated with women's social class background. Individuals from two generations in China and Hong Kong respectively were interviewed to find out if and how their enrollment patterns have changed over time. It will be argued that while the numbers of women in higher education has grown in both China and Hong Kong, they remained a minority. However, the experiences of the women in this study suggests that in China women's opportunity in higher education has been shaped primarily by politics whereas in Hong Kong it has generally been a result of economic development. They also suggest that in both societies women's social class membership mediated closely with government policies for admission to institutions of higher learning, the ways differ. It will also be noted that though a similar culture characterizes the values and attitudes of the people of both societies, its impact on the latter varies in degree though not in nature.

This study is an explorative one and does not intend to generalize. The main data came from interviews with university-educated women in Beijing in the spring and early summer of 1988¹ and in Hong Kong in the late summer of the same year. Women of two generations were studied in each setting. The middle-aged group were around 45 to 50 years of age. In China they entered university in the late 1950s and early 1960s and in Hong Kong they did so in the early 1960s. There were 10 of them in the China group and nine in the Hong Kong group. The younger group were around 30 to 35 years old at the time of interview. In China

they entered university in the mid to late 1970s and in Hong Kong they did so in the early to mid 1970s. The time difference is due to deferred college entrance of youth in China after the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976). Ten women in China and nine in Hong Kong of this generation were studied. Women in the China sample were either Beijing natives or permanent residents of Beijing. Most of them attended college in Beijing. A few did so in other major cities in China. Those in the Hong Kong sample were either born in Hong Kong or had migrated from China and had become Hong Kong citizens. They were educated at the University of Hong Kong or the Chinese University of Hong Kong, the only universities in Hong Kong as of 1989.² Semi-structured open-ended questions were posed. The interviews in Beijing were conducted in Mandarin, and those in Hong Kong were conducted in Cantonese.

History of Women's Higher Education in China and Hong Kong³

China

For centuries women in China were subordinate to men. Knowledge and employment were the preserve of men. As a rule education was inaccessible to women. In the second half of the nineteenth century schools, founded by western missionaries, admitted girls and boys. Similarly, Christian colleges in China pioneered in admitting women.⁴ Government colleges followed suit. In 1919, they began to admit a few female students. In the 1910s higher education took the form of specialized colleges. General universities were few. Females comprised a very small percentage of the student population at the tertiary level. In 1919, 34,889 students were enrolled in specialized colleges across China, of whom 847 (2.43%) were female (Lu, 1989:100).⁵ The situation had only slightly improved by 1922, when out of 34,880 students in general universities and specialized colleges, 887 (2.54%) were female (Lu, 1989:102). More progress was observed in the representation of women in higher education later. According to statistics provided by the Ministry of Education

then, in 1928 there were 17,285 students in higher education, of whom 1,485 (8.59%) were female (Lu, 1989:132).⁶ In 1937 the Japanese attacked China and for the next eight years the Sino-Japanese war raged. Many cities in eastern China were besieged and their institutions, including universities, were moved to the interior in the provinces of Sichuan and Yunnan. Data on higher education in the 1930s and 1940s are scattered. Some provincial data suggest that women's enrollment increased proportionally. For example, in 1934, of 567 students in higher education in Guangxi province, 86 (15%) were female (Guangxi Sheng Zhengfu Jiaoyuting, 1936:3). In 1940 there were 4,839 students in higher education in Guangdong province, of whom 767 (16%) were female (Guangdong Sheng Zhengfu Mishuchu Peinyishi, 1943:86).

After 1949, one of the priorities of the new government was to expand higher education to produce skilled workers for national development. Some figures suggest the extent of this expansion. In 1949 there were 205 institutions of higher learning and by 1985 the number had soared to 1,016. The 1985 enrollment in higher education was 1.7 million, roughly a fifteen-fold increase from that of 1949 (Yang, et al., 1988:6). Women's representation also soared both in absolute numbers and in proportion. As Table 1 shows, women represented only 17% of higher education enrollment in 1947. By 1950 they had increased to about a fifth. Since then the proportion has hovered in the neighborhood of 20% to 30%. What merits attention here is women's representation was the highest from 1973 to 1976, years marked by the Cultural Revolution. These high figures may stem from the commitment to egalitarianism in the Cultural Revolution. In sum, since the introduction of modern higher education to China, female enrollment has expanded both in numbers and proportion. The progress is certainly impressive if we compare the 2.43% of 1919 with the 30% of 1985. Although the progress since the 1950s has been great, it is still a far cry from the advertised official equality to which women of China are supposedly entitled.⁷

Table 1. Enrollment Trends of Female Students in Higher Education in the PRC, 1947-85

Year	Graduate	Schools	Universities & Colleges	
	No.	(% total)	No.	%
1947	--	--	2.76	17.8
1949	--	--	2.32	19.8
1950	--	--	2.94	21.2
1951	--	--	3.51	22.5
1952	--	--	4.54	23.4
1953	--	--	5.47	25.3
1954	--	--	6.77	26.3
1955	--	--	7.58	25.9
1956	--	--	10.04	24.6
1957	--	--	10.33	23.3
1958	--	--	15.37	23.3
1959	--	--	18.33	22.6
1960	--	--	23.56	24.5
1961	--	--	23.35	24.7
1962	--	--	21.03	25.3
1963	--	--	19.38	25.8
1964	--	--	17.63	25.7
1965	--	--	18.13	26.9
1973	--	--	9.65	30.8
1974	--	--	14.52	33.8
1975	--	--	16.33	32.6
1976	--	--	18.65	33.0
1977	--	--	18.16	29.0
1978	--	--	20.65	24.1
1979	--	--	24.57	24.1
1980	0.26	11.8	26.81	23.4
1981	0.27	14.3	31.24	24.4
1982	0.36	13.7	30.54	26.5
1983	0.53	14.3	32.49	26.9
1984	0.92	16.0	39.98	28.7
1985	1.62	18.6	51.06	29.9

Source: Compiled from Ministry of Education, 1984:39-40; Ministry of Education, 1986:39, 47.

Hong Kong

The Chinese in Hong Kong owed their roots to the mainland and on that score they assigned their females an inferior position in the social distributive system. However, because Hong Kong was (and still is) a British colony, the status of women departed from that of those in China. Already in 1870, 111 girls (8.5% of the total) were enrolled in schools under the government Inspectorate. By 1900 the figure had risen to 3,092 (41% of the total) (Irving, 1905:94). As early as 1902 it was stated that 'the education of girls in the Colony should follow the line indicated for boys as a general rule' (Irving, 1905:100). The lower enrollment of girls in Anglo-Chinese schools⁸ seemed to reflect a greater demand from boys than girls to acquire English for business purpose (Irving, 1905:95), for parents deemed it necessary to invest on the education of sons and not so much on daughters even though educational provision did not seem to discriminate against girls.⁹

In higher education, the University of Hong Kong was founded in 1911, but not until 1921 did it begin to admit women (Cheng, 1962). The percentage of female students grew. By 1938, of 525 students enrolled, 121 (23%) were female (Yuen, 1948:107). The percentage of female students at the University of Hong Kong had increased to 28.5% by 1949 and between then and 1962 it stayed between 23% and 29% (see Table 2). Evidently women remained a minority of university students. Between 1950 and 1986 university enrollment in Hong Kong registered a sixteen-fold increase, with women's enrollment at about 22 times. The founding of the Chinese University of Hong Kong in 1963¹⁰ contributed to this growth. For the first time women's representation exceeded the 30% mark and it has grown, in spite of some backward steps in certain years, to about 40% in recent years.¹¹ Women's share of higher education in Hong Kong has expanded considerably, but equality remains a goal rather than the reality.

Why were some women able to use the expanded opportunities and others not? A number of factors can be detected from the interviews. The rest of this paper analyzes and compares the degree they affected

Table 2. Enrollment Trends of Female Students in Universities in Hong Kong, 1941-1986.

Year	Total	Females	%
1941	570	117	20.5
1949	629	179	28.5
1950	711	206	29.0
1951	850	243	28.6
1952	964	265	27.5
1953	917	238	26.0
1954	844	217	25.7
1955	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
1956	834	218	26.1
1957	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
1958	937	220	23.5
1959	1,028	261	25.4
1960	1,146	278	24.3
1961	1,312	348	26.5
1962	1,426	391	27.4
1963	2,963	992	33.5
1964	3,354	1,192	35.6
1965	3,691	1,320	35.8
1966	3,754	1,362	36.3
1967	4,036	1,458	36.1
1968	4,338	1,493	34.4
1969	4,638	1,582	34.1
1970	4,952	1,651	33.3
1971	5,280	1,702	32.2
1972	5,604	1,775	31.7
1973	5,912	1,830	31.0
1974	6,513	1,986	30.5
1975	7,091	2,100	29.6
1976	7,622	2,376	31.2
1977	8,000	2,553	31.9
1978	8,431	2,799	33.2
1979	8,707	2,989	34.3
1980	9,051	3,130	34.6
1981	9,195	3,153	34.3
1982	9,483	3,315	35.0
1983	9,838	3,471	35.3
1984	10,372	3,746	36.1
1985	10,893	4,113	37.8

(cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd Table 2)

Year	Total	Females	%
1986	11,286	4,462	39.5

Source: Hong Kong Education Department, *Annual Reports*; Hong Kong Census & Statistics Department, *Hong Kong Annual Digest of Statistics*, available years.

women's access patterns to higher education in China and Hong Kong.

Influences on Women's Access to Higher Education in the PRC and Hong Kong

The major influences detected are family background and government policy, which are interrelated. In the absence or scarcity of government sponsorship higher education would be expensive and access to it would hinge on availability of family resources. With greater government sponsorship it would be cheaper and the role of family wealth would dwindle. The other influences are personal performance, the time factor and geography.

Family Background¹²

As in other societies, expansion in higher education has opened the gates of universities and colleges to those from humble origins. In China, before the Communist Revolution, university-educated women tended to have come from the upper classes, i.e., officials, landlords, rich merchants, and intellectuals.¹³ Data on the social class background of female university students in Hong Kong several decades back is scarce. However, the fact that the University of Hong Kong uses English as the medium of instruction means recruitment has been restricted to secondary schools that rely on the English medium. These secondary schools tended to admit children of the upper classes (Yuen, 1948:94).

After the founding of the People's Republic in China, one of the priorities of the nation was to expand higher education and increase the

opportunities for children of peasants and workers. By 1958, children of worker or peasant background had increased to 48% of the student body at the tertiary level, and of the fresh entrants to universities and colleges in that year, the proportion had risen to 62%.¹⁴ There was no corresponding effort to expand higher education in Hong Kong in the 1950s. As mentioned earlier, the impetus came with the founding of the Chinese University of Hong Kong. However, this was a response to public demand for a university that offers courses in Chinese (Fung, 1986:303). Unlike China, the expansion was not fueled by a commitment to social equality. Ironically, despite government philosophy behind the expansion, data from the interviews for this study suggests that in China women from elitist backgrounds were still over-represented whereas in Hong Kong the presence of women from the lower-middle class has strengthened.

In general the China sample of both generations in this study came from a higher social background than the Hong Kong sample. Most of the fathers of the middle-aged women in China in this study had a university or at least a secondary education. Their occupations reflected their education. They were journalist/editor, film director, or engineer. There was also a peasant and a carpenter, who had received little or no education. Of the mothers a few had a university or secondary education; the rest had either primary education or less. Their occupations were medical doctor, film director, peasant, or housewife. The background of the younger group of women in China in this study was also quite prestigious. Many of the fathers had a university or secondary education; a few had primary or less. They were university professor, engineer, cadre, writer, technician, soldier, and peasant. The mothers' education was similar to that of the mothers of the middle-aged women. These mothers were university professor, cadre, soldier, worker, peasant or housewife. Even though there were a few daughters of worker, peasant, or soldier background, most came from educated professional families.

However, an intellectual family background may not always be an asset to university entrance. Its value depended on swaying political

tides. For example, in the Anti-Rightist Movement in 1957, about half of those labeled 'rightist elements' were intellectuals (Li, 1987:410). Their children met great obstacles in education. Therefore, women's social class membership negotiated with the expansion of higher education. This will be dealt with in greater detail in the section on government policy. A similar pattern recurred during the Cultural Revolution, when children of intellectuals found their educational prospect undermined. Although Rosen (1984:70) correctly revealed the open secret that the system of university recruitment during the Cultural Revolution worked primarily to the advantage of children of cadres, children of peasants and workers did benefit from it. In this study the only two women that attended university during the Cultural Revolution had peasant parents, and one owed it to the recruitment system based on recommendation by party officials. After the Cultural Revolution, selection of students to tertiary education reverted to the criterion of ability. In 1977 the national examination for college and university entrance was restored (Henze, 1984:111-5). Not accidentally, none of those in this study that entered college after 1977 came from a peasant background.

In Hong Kong family background had a different expression on daughters' access patterns. Overall the Hong Kong women came from a less elitist background. Most parents of both generations of women in this study had migrated from the mainland. Typically they came from the rural areas in south China with little education or skill. The fathers of the middle-aged group in Hong Kong, a few had a secondary education, the rest had little or less education. Only one had a university education and he was a manager. A secondary-educated one missed university education but pursued training in flying and became an air pilot. They were the only professionals in this group. Indeed, only their daughters reported a childhood of affluence. The other fathers were small shop owners or clerical employees. One father was a chronic unemployed. Of the mothers two had a university education, four had secondary, and the rest had little or no education. Most of them were not gainfully employed. While the middle-aged Hong Kong women came from a lower social status than their mainland counterparts in terms of parents' education

and occupation, most of their families were not too badly off financially. At least they did not have to work for an income right after secondary school. A middle-aged woman in this study who entered university in 1961 put it succinctly:

Even if you were a bright student, if your family was poor you still could not make it to university. For example, in my time many of my classmates were denied a place at the university not because they were not good enough, but because they had to get a job. It was like that in my generation. In those days education was elitist. If you could get to form 4 or 5, you must be quite competent already. But many of my classmates had to get a job to help their families. I was lucky, my family did not need an additional income from me.

Few in this group reported poverty. In contrast, the younger women clearly came from more modest backgrounds. Only two of their fathers had a junior secondary education, the rest had less or none. None of the mothers went beyond primary education. To make a living a few fathers were clerical employees and that seemed to be the only jobs in this group that required a certain amount of education. Another father was a street cleaning worker. The most common occupation in this group was running small shops. It could be convenience store or household ware store, etc. The shop owners in this study ranged from relative poverty to medium level sufficiency. Most of the mothers did not have gainful employment.

Only two middle-aged women gave examples of an affluent childhood. For example, the daughter of the manager in this study:

I lived in (a middle-class neighborhood) ... My mother attended (— university), but she worked for wages. She had wanted to be a teacher, but after marriage she had us. Even though we had an amah, my mother did not like her to look after us. She said that young children raised by amahs had a certain air that showed it. So she preferred to look after us and

let the amah do other household chores.

In Hong Kong in the 1950s and 1960s families that had amahs tended to be well-off ones. The affluence described above was absent from interviews with the younger women.

What was typical of an average Hong Kong resident was the following living conditions, as recalled by a middle-aged woman:

We were ten. We lived in a tiny mezzanine flat. My parents ran a shop downstairs. During the day you would not see a bed in our mezzanine flat, but at night it was crowded with beds. I did not have my own room or even my own desk. We were used to it. The shop downstairs was noisy, and the radio loud. But we were used to it.

This working-class environment was more common among the younger women. One of them described a setting familiar to many that grew up in those days.

Our family shared a flat with another one. (In those days you had to pay for a radio cable.) We could not afford to have cable radio, but the other family could. They turned on the radio really loud, so we could listen to it too ... (When I was 19) my parents were finally able to mortgage a flat.

A moderate to low income seemed to characterize the younger women as a group, but they were able to attend university because of government grants and loans and the availability of part-time jobs, which will be discussed in the next section.

Parent's socio-economic status often has much bearing on their expectations for their children's future. Sociology of education literature on Western societies points out that in general parents with more education and/or a higher occupational status tend to have higher expectations for their children's education and occupation, and those on the lower end of the social ladder tend to expect less for their children. This study reveals that the Hong Kong sample was closer to this pattern than

the mainland one. Parents of the middle-aged and younger women in the mainland sample, regardless of educational attainment, emphasized the value of education to these daughters. The educated parents expected their daughters to attain at least as much education as they had. For example,

Both father and mother wanted us to do well at school. Father came from a family with an intellectual tradition. He and all his siblings had been to university. Mother also loved to study. She always emphasized that we should receive more education.

Mainland parents with less education in the middle-aged group also encouraged their children to study in order to compensate for what they had suffered. For example,

My father was a humble employee in a firm owned by a capitalist in the old society. He felt that we must have skills and knowledge, or else capitalists could easily fire us.

A similar pattern was found among the younger women. The following is typical of women in this group.

Both parents encouraged me. Father especially had suffered from a lack of education. He felt it deeply and said we should go to school.

How did expectations translate into actual help? Often it was verbal and moral support. Daughters grew up instilled with ideas that they, like their brothers, were expected to go far and do well. This was especially evident among the children of intellectuals. Our younger respondents in China whose parents were intellectuals said their parents had been so dedicated to contributing to the nation that they hardly had time left for their children. However, they did pass on to them their respect for knowledge. This was less marked among parents who were peasants or workers in this study. Another kind of help was exempting daughters from household chores. Most women in both generations of my China sample said they did not have to help too much with housework, or they

only helped with light tasks such as setting the table. In the younger group, some women had to keep the whole household when they were very young and their parents in labour service during the Cultural Revolution. However, those from peasant/worker background whose families were not dramatically disrupted during the Cultural Revolution said they did not have to do much housework. This is particularly significant as daughters in not so well-off families usually had to take up household chores. The exemption shows that their parents were liberal enough about daughters' education to break from the traditional pattern and let daughters concentrate on their studies. A more active kind of support was family education in the form of parents or grandparents telling children stories from Chinese literature and history, and parents buying books for children to read and helping them with their homework. For example, a middle-aged Beijing woman's father, who was a senior engineer, always bought her science magazines. She grew up aspiring to be a natural scientist. A telling example was a mother who became the only source of help to her daughter, a younger woman in this study that prepared herself for the national university and college entrance examination after spending seven years in the countryside and a factory. The mother, a university professor in another province, sent her study materials about every other day. She studied all that reached her and finally succeeded.

Some parents could not give concrete help even though they recognized the value of knowledge. For example, a middle-aged woman with a rural background said,

My parents' expectations for us were conditioned by their ability. They were not able to support my eldest sister's education even if they had wanted to, and so she left school early.

They are of course pleased with what I have got.

Thus, the mainland parents in this study that had the means and knowledge gave more concrete and informed support, and those that did not at least gave moral and verbal support, and made it easier for their daughters to study at least by cutting down their share of household

chores.

In contrast, the parents of my Hong Kong respondents did not appear to place as much emphasis on the value of education. In the middle-aged group, two women reported that their parents had high expectations for their education. These happened to be the best educated parents. For example, one father planned his daughter's schooling thoughtfully. The daughter had completed grade 5 at a vernacular primary school when her father sent her to study grade 4 again at an Anglo-Chinese school hoping an English education would promise a better future. At the end of primary school he used all possible connections to enroll her in a prestigious Anglo-Chinese secondary school, which would then make it easier for her to get admitted to university. However, typical of other parents in this group was a *laissez faire* attitude.

They did not care too much. If I could go further, fine; if I couldn't, they wouldn't mind too much either. They did not urge me to get a job, but they did not encourage me to study either. Not even a few words of encouragement.

Among the younger Hong Kong women, only one, whose father was a clerk and mother a housewife, reported high expectations and active support from her parents.

My parents always encouraged us to study. They cared a lot. They gave us a lot of help. My father always bought us reference books and other reading materials.

Another younger woman felt an encouragement from her semi-illiterate mother.

Because we were poor, we wanted to receive more education. As long as there was an opportunity we would take it. Mother always said that she had never been to school, so she wanted her children – sons and daughters – to go to school. She had an influence on us. She worked so hard (for an income) to

support this family, yet she still did almost all the household chores. Unless she could not cope, she wouldn't have us do the housework. Perhaps this was a form of family encouragement.

Most of the parents in this group, however, showed less enthusiasm. The daughters felt a basically positive attitude in their parents toward education, but it was not transformed into open encouragement.

Well, I guess my parents wished we could go to university, but they never even said anything to encourage us. But I knew that my father would be proud of me if I made it to university.

Sometimes the positive attitude even sounded sour.

My father never said or did anything to support me. On the contrary, he ridiculed me. Often he said, 'Huh, you did so poorly!' But I knew that in his heart he really wanted me to do well at school.

As with the middle-aged group, a *laissez faire* attitude was quite common here. But there were also parents that placed low expectations on their daughters.

My father was very conservative, he did not expect me to go too far.

Sometimes the relatively low expectation was caused by economic need.

My family did not force us to study, nor did they encourage us. My parents did not pay attention to our schooling ... When I finished secondary school, they hoped I would enroll in a college of education¹⁵ so I can help them with an income.

The father of a middle-woman in this study also would like her to receive teacher training at the secondary level. It was common for lower-middle class parents in the past few decades to expect their daughters to teach at primary school. To them it was a decent job which gave a steady income and a respectable image and was particularly suitable for

females. A reason for this rather modest expectation was teaching at primary school was attainable intergenerational mobility. Information in Hong Kong was less developed in the 1950s to 1970s, and success stories enabled by a university credential were not readily within the sight of lower-middle class parents. Today, increased opportunities in higher education, the impressive growth in the economy of Hong Kong which needs talents and brings high rates of economic return to graduates from tertiary education, and the proof by a growing number of people who made it to the top in spite of humble origins have boosted Hong Kong parents' expectations for their children's education.

There are both commonalities and differences in what lies behind the expectations in China and Hong Kong. While both the mainland and the Hong Kong parents share a positive view on education, they differ in degree. The intellectuals of China were most concerned that their children be well-educated regardless of the reward for knowledge. In spite of low wages and distrust of the Chinese communist party leaders for intellectuals, intellectuals continued to have faith in knowledge. Possession of knowledge more than economic status marks their identity as a social group. Even though intellectuals have repeatedly been penalized in political movements, many of them wish the next generation will inherit their identity. The reverence for knowledge is therefore deep rooted and genuine. In comparison, the peasant and worker parents of women in this study were less obstinate about knowledge. They liked their children to receive a good education, but failing that they did not seem to be regretful. In the Hong Kong sample there was less emphasis on education. Because most of the parents of both generations of women in this sample had not received much education themselves, their positive value on education remained rather vague. Hence their *laissez faire* attitude. A university education would be something nice to have, not a must. They were busy making ends meet, and anything more than a secondary education would be a luxury. The value they attached to education was therefore conditioned by their own financial well-being. When they did realize the importance of education, it often had a pragmatic stimulant. Explaining why her parents wanted her to be edu-

cated, a middle-aged woman had this to say.

The last generation didn't feel the importance of education. By my generation, parents began to realize that with a diploma you can get a better job. My father said I should study because then I would be able to make money and show people how smart I am.

Some of the parents of the younger women seemed to share this pragmatism. Their vanity also reflected what skills were sought after in society.

I felt that Father hoped that I would succeed at school, for he told me how nice it was to be able to speak English and to do arithmetic.

My mother hoped I would become a doctor or lawyer. She thought doctors and lawyers enjoy a very high social status.

When family financial resources are scarce one's position among the siblings may be critical to one's educational future. The younger siblings tend to be more fortunate as the older ones have to give up schooling and work for an income to relieve their parents' financial burden. Such examples were not rare in pre-socialist China. After Liberation, the government made a great effort to resolve the unemployment problem and the income structure was reorganized so that disparity among occupations narrowed. Besides, education became free. Teacher colleges had a tradition of providing student with allowance for meals. It seems that the phenomenon of several family members having to work to keep the family going was becoming less common in China,¹⁶ when it still was in Hong Kong both in the 1960s and 1970s (Salaff, 1981). Some women in the Hong Kong middle-aged sample attributed their access to university to their position as among the younger in the family.

I came from an average family. I was the youngest in the family. When I finished secondary school, my two elder sisters were

already worker. The eldest one had gone to mainland China for medical studies and had graduated by then. My second sister was doing some clerical work, and that was because the next sibling was a brother and my father made sure that his son be educated first. So my second sister had to be sacrificed. I came fourth in the family. I was lucky. One's position among the siblings is extremely important.

Similarly, even more women in the younger group benefited from being born later than their siblings to a poor family.

If I were the eldest child of the family, like my eldest brother was, I would have to look for a job right after secondary school. He was 12 years my senior ... He was lucky to have finished secondary school. Education wasn't free then. You had to pay \$10 for the school fees. That was a large sum. My parents had eight children. School fees alone would be a very heavy burden on them. Besides, school uniforms, books and stationery all cost money. Those old enough to work would have to get a job. That's why the two eldest siblings started work when at a very young age. I was lucky to be in the middle ... When it came to my younger siblings, my parents were keen to have them receive a good education ... because by then my family had become better off. It matters a lot whether you are among the elder or younger siblings.

In sum, higher education had extended to women from the lower middle classes in both societies, but more so in Hong Kong than China. However, other family factors, such as parental support and sibling order, influenced women's access to university differently in the two societies.

Government Policy

The changing role of family background as a key influence on women's access to higher education can only be discussed on the premises of

changing government policies that affected women. In September 1949, on the eve of the founding of the PRC, the *Common Programme of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference* was adopted. It was the precedent of the official constitution adopted in 1954. Article 6, Chapter I of the *Common Programme* stated that '(T)he People's Republic of China abolishes the feudal system which holds women in bondage. Women shall enjoy equal rights with men in political, economic, cultural and educational and social life. Freedom of marriage for men and women shall be enforced' (Hu & Seifman, 1976:10). This set a context for legislative equality between men and women. There were no major specific policy to bring more women to universities. However, women benefited from the vast expansion of places in higher education and the provision of scholarships and subsidies for students from poor families. Apart from a need to train skilled workers for national development, the political philosophy of egalitarianism worked to the advantage of children of peasant and worker origins. This expansion was particularly phenomenal in the years around the Great Leap Forward (1958-59). The total university enrollment in 1957-60 was 441,000, 660,000, 812,000, and 962,000 respectively (Ministry of Education, 1984:22). Women felt the positive impact of the expansion.

When we took the exam for entrance to institutions of higher learning, I think only two students in our class failed. I think there was expanded recruitment of students in 1958. There was a slogan then advocating the popularization of higher education in 15 years ... Getting into university did not seem to be a hard task then.

The society has developed, especially after the liberation. My formative years coincided with the 1950s, a time when China was most motivated to improve itself. Especially 1950-57. No matter how poor my parents were, I could still enter college. Tuition was free and I received student subsidies.

However, women as a gender group did not have an edge in spite of the

slogan that 'women hold up half the sky'. Their fortune was tied to their social class membership. Thus, despite the expansion the proportion of women relative to men in those years did not show a rise (Table 1).

The articulation between gender and social class was more pronounced after the Anti-rightist Movement of 1957. Children of those labeled 'rightist elements', many of whom being intellectuals, faced a bleak future. Daughters in this group were disadvantaged when compared to those of non-rightist origins, namely, workers and peasants. Our respondents from intellectual families who entered college in 1957 and 1958 suffered from this turn of politics. No matter how bright they were, top universities were closed to them. In fact, they were lucky to have been admitted to lesser ones.

I happened to start going to college in 1958. In 1957 there was a campaign against the rightists. After the political struggle in that year, university recruitment emphasized applicants' social class background. Good institutions admitted those with a good background ... Those of worker, peasant, or soldier families or some cadre families belonged to the good background. They were admitted to key universities. Those who ended up in teachers colleges usually came from families with complicated social relations, or those with a not so good social background, meaning, non-worker or non-peasant, or those having relatives abroad. Most of these people could only settle for teachers colleges. Many in my class at the teachers college had such a background. Now things are changing. At that time being rejected by a top university did not mean that you were academically poor.

The discrimination was still effective in 1960, when the daughter of a 'rightist' engineer could only enter a teachers college not of her choice.

At that time I wished to study physics. But when I filled my order of preference for the college and university entrance exam, I had to become mature. No matter how hard I tried, I

would probably never be able to go to university. I was not a Communist Youth League member. My father was a 'rightist'. Fortunately the teachers at school liked me and my performance was good. They said if I did well I would still have a chance. Finally I was admitted to (— Teachers College) ... My fate was affected by my family background. It was already good fortune that I could go to a teachers college.

The antagonism toward the intellectuals was pushed to an extreme during the Cultural Revolution, when selection for admission to universities and colleges was based on recommendation. Children from the masses whose political performance was favorably assessed were recommended. The only two women from the younger group in my sample who entered college had a peasant background and they owed their fortune to it.

I finished primary education at the age of 14. Once we left (junior secondary) school we would be recruited to senior secondary school. But conditions then did not allow me to enter senior secondary school. When your family was short of labour you had to go back to the village to do agricultural work. If the conditions in my family allowed, my parents would have liked to let me enter (senior) secondary school ... But I was the eldest child at home and so had to go back. I completed junior secondary school in 1971. At that time they recruited worker/peasant/soldier students whose families did not lack labour ... I was the eldest child in the family so I was not in a good enough position to enter senior secondary school. Schooling was free, but the number of places was limited ... I returned home to do labour work. After three or four months, I went to work in a factory. I left school in January 1971 and joined the factory in May of that year and stayed there until February 1976. In September 1976 they recruited the last batch of worker/peasant/soldier students. I did not know then that it was the last cohort ... I was admitted (to — University) in

February 1977 ... I was just in time for it. If I had to write an exam I would not have succeeded. My (academic) background was weak.

The other peasant daughter had a similar experience.

Significantly, none of the younger women I interviewed that attended college after 1977, when selection criteria reverted to academic performance,¹⁷ came from a peasant background. Children of intellectuals regained the stage, together with those of cadres and urban factory workers.

Policies in Hong Kong were far more stable and their impact on women was mainly economic. The early 1960s group in this study revealed that there were few scholarships or subsidies in their times. One woman had a scholarship and her parents gave her some pocket money. Most had to rely on their parents to a large extent and get a part-time job to make up for the rest. The government treasury did not appear to be a significant source of help.

When I went to university there was no such thing as student loans. There were few scholarships and you had to be very outstanding to earn one. Many students had part-time jobs then. I became a private tutor and gained my pocket money this way. My parents paid for my tuition and dormitory fees. They spent quite a large sum on me so I did not want them to spend more.

There did not seem to be a shortage of jobs. One woman who came from an average family was angry that her father invested all family resources on the only son and ignored her. She managed to finance her own education by working part-time.

I could not stand his partiality. So I began looking for part-time jobs. Two private tuition jobs would give you enough to cover the tuition fees. There was no government grants and loans then.

Government support did exist on a small scale. The only woman in this group who reported to have come from a poor family had this experience.

Only the very best students were awarded scholarships. The poor could apply for a bursary. My application was approved. I got some money from the government. Besides, I also had some private tuition jobs. So I could do without my parents.

The major spur came with the introduction of an assistance scheme in 1969 which ensured that 'no student who has been offered a place in one of these institutions [of tertiary education] should be unable to accept it because of lack of means' (Bray, 1986). Able students no longer had to give up university education due to poverty. My younger respondents felt the impact of this scheme. All of them came from the lower-middle or lower class, and without exception they benefited from the scheme. Some enjoyed a relatively large amount of grants and loans, others had to work part-time jobs or secure a slight degree of support from their parents.

I started giving private tuition when I was in senior secondary school. Of course I did more of it while attending university. I had had more than 20 private tuition jobs altogether. Then of course I got money from the government. So finance was not a problem.

It must be pointed out here that the student assistance scheme involved a redistribution of university spaces among social classes rather than drastic expansion or gender equality. The expansion of university places proceeded gradually. The policy did not address gender equality. On the contrary, the proportion of females showed a slight drop by about one percent each year. While more women of modest background got a share of higher education, they as a group had not gained much relative to males. Women's gain grew from the late 1970s on. As in China, women's fortune was tied to their social class membership.

Personal Performance

In the broad context of social conditions and family background, how did individuals use the opportunities? My data suggests that while all the women in the study had proven their ability with examination scores (except for the two mainland women who were recommended to universities during the Cultural Revolution), there was a sharp contrast between the mainland and the Hong Kong women in determination and self-concept. The mainland group, especially the daughters of intellectuals, appeared to be very determined about getting to college. It seemed to them natural to continue as bearers of knowledge.

The Hong Kong women on the whole seemed to be less self-conscious. A few women in the middle-aged group said they aimed at going to university, but most reported that they did not particularly see it as a must. A typical attitude was:

I never made a special effort to go to university. If the chance came, I would take it. I just let things be. I had to spend so much time working in my father's store that I wasn't prepared for further schooling. But I knew that it was nice to have knowledge.

That the Hong Kong women did not seem to see university education as a major goal in life may be related to their parents' background. Their parents had received little education and had migrated to Hong Kong from rural south China. Their goal for the next generation would be a less elusive step, such as completion of secondary education.

The Time Factor

The time factor in a broad sense was shared by both samples, but especially the mainlanders. They thought that being a generation removed from their mothers' as well as a more liberal attitude toward women's schooling was a reason for their access to higher education. Thus they shared optimism about social progress. In this case time was measured on the scale of generations. Remarks like 'time has changed'

and 'society has progressed' ran through the interviews with the mainland women. The Hong Kong women also pointed out that their mothers grew up in a time of turmoil in China, marked especially by the Sino-Japanese War; and that in addition, it was not common for women to be educated several decades before.

However, when compared with their contemporaries, the mainland respondents who had witnessed policy fluctuations congratulated themselves for reaching college age at the right time. Here time was measured on the scale of years.

I am the only university-educated one in my family. This is because I was born at the right time. I went to university in 1962, whereas my younger brothers and sisters left school during the Cultural Revolution. Since then they had worked in the rural areas and factories. When the Cultural Revolution ended they had grown too old for university education.

Timing was critical to the younger women too. What the best moment was depended on one's class membership and the political mood. For the two peasant daughters it was during the Cultural Revolution. For the rest of the younger women it was after it, and before they reached 25, the age limit on applicants.

This sense of having to catch the right moment was not felt in Hong Kong. In a society of stability, one's future was more predictable.

Urban Residence

In addition to the above factors, geography affects one's educational prospect. This is especially marked in the Third World,¹⁸ including China.¹⁹ Most Chinese universities are located in the urban areas. Urban-dwellers in general have more exposure to modern ideas and are more receptive to them. Therefore, urban females are usually better situated in education than their rural sisters. Since about only 20% of the Chinese population live in cities, an urban location would give the women there an advantage in education. Not surprisingly, a majority of

my mainland respondents had an urban background. The remaining few either migrated to the city at an early age or were in rural areas adjacent to Beijing.

The rural-urban notion does not apply to Hong Kong. However, most of the women in the Hong Kong sample benefited from geographical mobility of the last generation. Had their parents remained in their native villages, these women would not have been exposed to chances offered in Hong Kong. In this way, the time and geography factors combined enabled these women to depart from the life patterns of their mothers.

Conclusion

This paper has argued that China and Hong Kong have been part of the world-wide pattern of expanded women's access to higher education. It has explored the reasons behind it. In both societies family background negotiated closely with government policy to shape women's access patterns. However, in the absence of a political philosophy advocating the emancipation of women, women in Hong Kong appear to have made more gains than their mainland counterparts in higher education. The disparity seems to be widening. Recent trends in China reveal the worrying sign of renewed discrimination against women in university recruitment.²⁰ In Hong Kong the proportion of females in the university population is still increasing. According to the latest enrollment figures of the Chinese University of Hong Kong, females have slightly outnumbered males. A possible explanation for it is that with the imminent reversion of sovereignty over Hong Kong to China, parents tend to send sons abroad for an overseas education and thereby secure an escape route for them (Tsang, 1985), leaving daughters behind. In my study many of the Hong Kong middle-aged women indicated that they had sent or were planning to send their sons and daughters abroad. It seems that at least when there were sufficient resources, daughters of educated parents stood a fair chance of overseas education. However, the speculation may hold in families where sons

and daughters compete for scarce resources.

Notes

1. The China data for this paper came from Mak (forthcoming).
2. The discussion on Hong Kong covers its two universities only.
3. The discussion is confined to undergraduate education.
4. The first girls' school was founded in 1844 by Miss Aldersey, a member of the Church of England, in Ningbo. See Lewis (1919:18). For an account of women in Christian Colleges, see Lewis (1919), Part 2, Chap. 2.
5. Examples of specialized colleges were engineering, medical, business, law and teachers colleges.
6. The data cited in Lu (1989:100, 102 & 132) are confusing. The surveys involved claimed to be national ones, but the list of institutes of higher learning on p.132 is incomplete. Some provinces are left out. I would see the value of these data in terms of the proportion of women in higher education enrollment.
7. New legislations were enforced which led to an improvement in women's economic status. See for example, Croll (1983).
8. These are schools that use English as the medium of instruction and teach Chinese language as a subject, as distinguished from vernacular schools that use Chinese as the medium of instruction.
9. In practice female students were disadvantaged on at least one count. As of 1903, the amount of government subsidies was HK\$40 per boy and \$35 per girl for Anglo-Chinese schools and \$35 per boy and \$14 per girl for vernacular schools. See Yuen (1948:58).
10. Three non-government-funded colleges (New Asia, Chung Chi, and United) were the forerunners of the Chinese University of Hong Kong. In 1963 they merged under public finance.
11. A breakdown of the statistics of the two universities shows an interesting trend. Women's representation at HKU is as a rule lower than that at CUHK. The 1986 figures are 35% for HKU and 45% for CUHK. Part of the reason is that the engineering faculty, the second largest faculty at HKU, is predominantly male. CUHK does not as yet offer programs in engineering.
12. The terms 'family background' and 'social class' are used rather liberally here. The definition of class in socialist China has changed. According to Kraus (1981), the class conflict in the early years of the PRC that revolved around struggle between economic groups that owned the means of production and those that did not has since 1956 given way to stratification characterized by bureaucratized social relations. Kwong (1979:Ch.2) also pointed out that the notion of class after 1949 was distinguished by political ideology rather than economic possession.
13. A survey done in 1937 revealed that a higher than average proportion of the fathers of female university students had received a university education. See Lang (1946:98).
14. See Renmin Jiaoyu Chubanshe (1960:1-16). There is some discrepancy in these

figures. According to *Beijing Review* (May 1958), in 1957-58 students of worker/peasant origin made up 36.42% of enrollment in higher education. Cited in Price (1970:168).

15. These are institutes that train secondary school leavers to be teachers at primary or junior secondary school.
16. Sibling order as an influence on women's educational prospect in China was complicated by its mediation with political events. For example, during the Cultural Revolution it mattered more at what point in the educational process one was when schools were closed than being the youngest in the family. This will be further discussed in the section on the time factor.
17. In 1977, 10 million people applied for college entrance in China. Of them only 278,000 were admitted. Cited in Henze (1984:115).
18. Morrison (1976)'s study of Tanzania is an excellent example illustrating the vital role of geographical location in affecting access to schooling.
19. Beijing's share of the number of institutions of higher learning is remarkable considering its population. See the distribution of institutions of higher learning in Ministry of Education (1984:19).
20. *Zhongguo Funu Bao* [Women of China Newspaper] has numerous reports on this. See for example September 22, 1986.

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中國婦女教育問題

梁軍

1949年以來，大陸的婦女教育事業有了很大的發展。國家為婦女提供了與男子均等的就學機會：七歲入學，並按同等的分數綫升入中學、大學和其它各類學校，除了個別極不適合女性的專業，對婦女幾乎沒有別的限制。

平等教育權利的獲得，使大陸婦女的整體文化素質有了較大改善，受教育的人數幾十倍地增長，受教育的程度不斷地提高，知識婦女的隊伍迅速壯大，女性的社會參與面越來越廣。

但是，教育的發展和社會的命運是密切相關的。自中華人民共和國建國始，大陸的婦女教育事業也和中國社會的發展一樣，走過了一條曲折的道路。

五十年代的初期至中期是大陸教育也是婦女教育發展的第一高潮。當時，政府一方面大抓了適齡兒童（包括女童）入學，一方面在全國範圍內廣泛開展學文化運動。各地紛紛建立工農速成學校、識字班、冬學和夜校，許多城鎮家庭主婦和農村婦女受到敦促，學習積極性很高。不少人通過學習，達到了初小、高小的文化程度。少數優秀者繼續升入速成中學，速成大學，加入了知識婦女的行列。

然而，學文化運動並沒有深入持久地開展下去。在五十年代末的“大躍進”運動中，不少城鎮婦女中斷了學業，以很低的文化層次參加了社會工作。而那些參加“突擊掃盲”的農村婦女，即使暫時摘掉了文盲的帽子，也很難在根本上擺脫文盲狀態。沒過多久，她們便又重新“復盲”了。

六十年代初，社會冒進的惡果顯露，加之連續三年的自然災害，大陸的教育受到了相當大的衝擊。在壓縮教育發展規模的過程中，一些學校被合併、停辦、撤消。儘管這一調整對平衡教育發展和提高教學質量起到了一定的作用，儘管男女學生在調整中均等地承受了被迫輟學的命運，但對剛剛獲得與男子平等教育權利的婦女來講，不能不說是一次重大的挫折。

1966年至1976年的“文化大革命”，從學校教育的角度上說，可說是大陸教育史上的一次大浩劫。全國性的“停課鬧革命”，使至少有一百萬人未能受到大學教育，一億多中小學生接受了水平低劣的教育。如果說在當時看來男女學生所受的損害是同樣嚴重的話，十年之後，便可明顯看到婦女受害尤其嚴重。因為在這十年期間，不少青年女性結婚並有了孩子，1977年高考制度恢復時，她們中的許多人迫於家庭生活的壓力，不得不做出犧牲，放棄繼續深造的機會，全力幫助丈夫求學。這在無形中又一次拉開了男女兩性的文化差距。

改革開放以後，是大陸教育發展的第二次高潮。對人才的急需，使教育成爲舉國上下關注的熱門話題。在“振興教育”的呼聲中，教育規模擴大，發展迅速加快。僅在1977—1987年的十年間，大陸普通高等學校的數目和在校學生的數目就分別增加了163%和212%。高等學校在校女生的比重也由1980年的23.44%提高到1985年的29.98%。

然而，教育上的急於求成和國家經濟實力嚴重脫節，在發展中、高等教育的同時極大地忽視了基礎教育。於是，在婦女教育方面造成了這樣的後果：一方面是高校女學生猛增，另一方面卻是大批女童失學。

從大陸四十年婦女教育的發展，可概括出如下特點：

1. **發展快**：建國以來，婦女教育事業發展的速度可以說是驚人的。以如下數字爲例：全國在校女大學生，1947年（建國以前的最高年）有27,599人，1985年增加到510,586人，增加了18.5倍；女大學生佔在校學生總數的比例，由1941年（建國前的最高年）的17.8%，1950年增加到22.2%，1985年增加到29.98%；1947年全國僅有研究生424人，其中女生寥寥無幾，1963年全國有女研究生790人，佔研究

生總數的16%，1985年女研究生增加到16,216人，佔總數的18.57%（沈適涵，1989：12）。

2. **基礎差**：建國以前，婦女教育基礎本來就十分薄弱，建國以後又未能穩步發展。所以從總體上來說，目前大陸婦女教育的水平，不僅遠遠低於發達國家，而且低於某些發展中國家，同時還低於大陸男子受教育的基本水平。

據1982年全國第三次人口普查的數據，在各種文化程度的人口，男性均高於女性。如大學畢業的人口中，男性爲女性的2.89倍；高中文化程度的人口中，男性爲女性的1.6倍；初中文化程度的人口中，男性爲女性的1.69倍；小學文化程度的人口中，男性爲女性的1.36倍。而在全國2.2億文盲和半文盲中，女性卻佔了70%左右（朱楚珠，1985：74）。

3. **差距大**：若將大陸婦女作爲一個整體，取其橫斷面加以剖析的話，便可明顯看出她們之間受教育程度的極大差距。用大陸一位男作家的話來說：“中國很難把政治、經濟、文化的精英和農村婦女放在同一水平線上，那差距恐怕要用世紀來衡量。”（《中國婦女報》，1989年7月31日）。

鑒於以上特點，本文很難在同一水準上去論述大陸的婦女教育，因而，將從農村婦女教育和城鎮婦女教育兩個方面加以論述。

農村婦女教育問題

農村婦女的教育問題，歷來是大陸婦女教育的難題。這是因爲：

教育面太大：大陸農村婦女數量很大，幾乎佔全國女性人口總數的80%。儘管建國四十年來，尤其農村經濟體制改革以來，農村面貌發生了很大變化，但廣大農村婦女仍未能從根本上擺脫貧困和愚昧，大陸女性人口中的文盲和半文盲，就有92%集中在農村。

農村基礎教育落後：廣大的普及教育面，要求相應的基礎教育機

構。然而，農村的基礎教育卻非常落後。表現在：

1. **辦學條件差**：全國有80%的人口在農村，卻只有10%的學校在農村，即使在這10%中，也有相當一部分不具備基本的辦學條件（即擁有校園、教室、桌椅和基本教具）。人們用“危房子，黑屋子，土臺子，爛凳子”來形容一些學校，是不過份的。幾年來連續發生教室倒塌砸死砸傷學生的事故，就是最好的說明。

2. **師資素質低**：按照大陸教育部門的規定，小學、初中、高中教師的起點學歷應分別是中等師範、師範專科、大學本科畢業，在現代教育中，這種起點已是很低，但仍有半數以上的教師達不到這種學歷要求。在城鎮的中、小學中，已有一些初中畢業生教初中，高中畢業生教高中的情況，農村學校更是集中了大量的不合格的民辦教師，難以勝任教學任務。

3. **教育觀念陳舊**：建國四十年來，農村學校和城鎮學校一樣，基本上未能擺脫片面追求升學率的單一辦學模式，一直把幫助學生升入國家包分配的學校作為最好的教育結果，這可以說是中國古而有之的“學而優則仕”的陳舊觀念的反映。它所造成的直接後果是：千軍萬馬擠在“獨木橋”上，能升入中專、大學的寥寥無幾，絕大多數學生只是少數“精英”的“陪讀生”，因而極大地挫傷了他們的學習積極性。同時，由於單純以升學為目的教育和農業生產脫節，那些未能升學的學生眼高手低，對促進農業的發展起不到應有的作用，被家長和社會視為包袱。這也影響到農民送子女求學的積極性。

以上種種因素，造成了以下目前農村婦女教育的幾個難點。

一、女童失學嚴重

近幾年，女童失學問題日益突出，已成為引人注目的社會問題。

1986年以前，女童失學主要發生在那些文化不發達、經濟較貧困的地區。在那裏，或因辦學條件太差，或因學生家境貧寒，只能維持較低的小學入學率。而由於傳統觀念的滯重（大陸仍有許多農民認為

女孩子遲早是“人家的人”，對她們進行智力投資不合算），女童自然更多地被剝奪了入學的機會。據國家教委統計，1988年全國未入學的適齡兒童共有275.5萬人，其中女童就有227萬人，佔未入學人數的82.6%。

已入學的女童，鞏固率也很低，年級越高，輟學率越高。有人統計，農村小學的女學生約有80%讀不到小學畢業。如江西省南城縣萬坊鄉上湖小學於1983年招收一年級女學生十九人，升到三年級時還有九人，到四年級時僅剩下二人，流失高達89%（《中國婦女報》，1986年11月20日）。

1987年以來，在一些經濟發達地區，女童失學也日益嚴重起來。據國家教委透露，浙江、福建、廣東珠江三角洲一帶是中小學生流失比較嚴重的地區，上海、江蘇、湖南等一些經濟較發達的地區，也出現了中小學生流失現象。流失的學生中，大部份是女性（《中國婦女報》，1988年6月10日）。

按說，女童失學似乎算不上什麼新問題，“文化大革命”前也有。但那個時期女童失學多是在小學畢業以後，由於政府實行教育統包政策（包括教學管理和教育經費），學齡女童大多都能完成小學教育。只是由於教育本身落後，初中教育不能在農村普及，她們才輟學歸鄉。

而改革開放後的女童失學，儘管仍不乏基礎教育落後、農民生活貧困、重男輕女的傳統觀念等方面的原因，但也有許多伴隨農村經濟體制改革而產生的新問題。

例如，農村實行家庭聯產責任制後，農村中小學教育從經費到管理都很難落實，這種情況加劇了農村基礎教育本來業已落後的程度。農村經濟搞活後，許多男性農民加入了流動性勞動大軍，到外地去經商、務工或從事其它行業的勞動，留在本鄉本土的已婚中青年婦女不僅成為農田勞動的主力軍，還承擔着家庭副業生產及家務勞動的重擔。加之，這幾年計劃生育失控，農婦被多子女拖累，負擔十分沉重。因此她們傾向於讓孩子，尤其是女孩子回家當幫手。農村鄉鎮企業發展後，吸收了大量勞動力，其中也有不顧國家的三令五申而吸收的童工，不少女童成為“急功近利”的犧牲品。

福建省教委在1988年對所屬十個縣進行調查，發覺失學女童有489人，在鄉鎮企業或自家的小工場、小作坊勞動的有336人，佔總數的68.7%，這些女童工每月的收入約七十至一百元人民幣（《光明日報》，1988年7月13日）。

另外，經濟實行市場調節後，物價大幅度上升，學費也水漲船高。學費的上漲有些是正常的，有些則是人爲造成的。但無論正常與否都加重了農民的負擔，使生活水平本來很低的農民無法承擔子女的教育費用，只好限制或有選擇地讓子女就學。自然，女童又成爲首當其衝的受害者。

這些失學女童，便成了新中國的一代新文盲。

據吉林省婦聯對全省婦女文化素質現狀的調查表明，1982—1987年間，全省女性文盲佔文盲總數的比例，由64.78%上升到66.98%，全省有新文盲（十二至十七歲）71,300人，其中女性佔56.9%（《中國婦女報》，1989年9月11日）。

這些數字不能不說是驚人的。長此下去，不僅勢必造就一代素質低劣的女性，其影響還會波及幾代人，所造成的後果是令人深深憂慮的。

二、掃盲教育的困境

國務院關於掃除文盲工作條例規定的個人脫盲標準是：農民識一千五百個漢字，企、事業單位職工及城鎮居民識二千個漢字，具備最基本的讀、寫、算的能力。

無論在五十年代還是人民公社時期，掃盲教育儘管時緊時鬆，運動式地向前發展，缺乏系統性和持久性，但仍可以說是有成效的。由於政府在農民中有很高的威信，加之採取了多種切實可行的措施，所以農民參加脫盲的積極性較高。

而今，農村實行了聯產責任制，一家一戶成了生產基本單位，農村的社會管理實際上大大削弱了。離開了統一的社會管理和政府的某些強制性措施，教育的落後和農村婦女自身的惰性便都在掃盲教育上表現出來。全國大部份農村的掃盲教育往往是一無機構，二無經費，

名義上有專人負責，卻大都有名而無實。而農村婦女由於素質的低下極大地局限着她們的思維空間；落後、麻木的生活使她們沒有求進的慾望；繁重的勞作又令她們疲憊不堪。因而，她們幾乎沒有脫盲的主觀願望。

筆者曾在河南省三十一個縣、鄉級婦女聯合會的主任中，採用問卷形式調查當地掃盲活動開展的情況，得到以下結果：

1. 掃盲機構：在三十一人中，回答當地“無機構”的有十五人，佔48.4%；回答“徒有虛名”的有十三人，佔41.9%；回答“有機構”的僅三人，佔9.7%。

2. 掃盲經費：在三十一人中，回答“沒有掃盲經費”的有十九人，佔61.3%；回答“經費極少”的有八人，佔25.8%；回答“羣衆集資，每人一元”的二人，佔6.45%；回答“不了解情況”的二人，佔6.45%。

3. 在所開展的掃盲活動中，婦女參加的情況如何：三十一人中，回答“婦女不願參加”的十八人，佔58.1%；回答“僅有未婚婦女參加”的十人，佔32.2%；回答“半數以上婦女參加”的僅三人，佔9.7%。

調查到掃盲的實際效果時，則有74%的人回答“僅僅是走走過場，並無實效”。甚至有人回答，爲了應付上級檢查，不得不做些手脚，將回鄉的中學生集中起來參加“脫盲考試”，自然，上報的“脫盲率”絕不會低於98%。

看來，目前大陸的掃盲教育大多落而不實，難以正常開展。而數目龐大的女性文盲的存在，正牽制着社會的進步和婦女的發展，制約着中國婦女解放的進程。

三、實用技術教育的起落

1986—1987年間，隨着聯產責任制的廣泛推行和農村致富道路的拓寬，曾在廣大農民中掀起一股學習各種實用技術的熱潮，農村實用

技術的範圍包括農業、畜牧業、養殖業、家庭手工業等方面的管理和操作技術，以及簡單的機械、電器修理技術等。

為提高廣大農村婦女的文化、技術素質，全國各級婦女聯合會會積極協同有關部門，在各地都辦起了專門吸收婦女參加的實用技術培訓班。本着“農村需要什麼，就培訓什麼”的原則，學習的實用技術從小麥、水稻、棉花管理，到快速養豬、籠養雞兔、食用菌栽培，以及縫紉、鉤綉、抽紗、柳編、草編等，可說是門類齊全。

當時，包括筆者在內的許多人，都以為找到了開展農村婦女教育的捷徑——從引導農村婦女脫貧致富入手，幫助她們學習一到兩門實用技術，以此來刺激她們學科學、學文化的需求。

不容否認，實用技術教育的確使部分婦女走上了科學致富的道路，對農村商品經濟的發展也起到了一定的推動作用。但自1988年以來，當實用技術教育向更大範圍內發展時，卻顯得後勁不足。對農村婦女來說，真正能從實用技術教育中受益的，只是極少數具有初中以上文化程度的青年婦女，而大多數農村婦女則因文化素質太差，不具備接受實用技術教育的起碼條件。用一位鄉婦聯主任的話說：“沒有文化，學技術便是一句空話。”

由此，可得出如下結論：

- 實用技術教育和基礎教育有着密切的關係，在不具備一定程度基礎教育的人員中，實用技術教育難以開展。
- 實用技術教育和基礎教育之間具有不可替代性。
- 根本改變廣大農村婦女的素質狀況，需要一個漫長的、從零開始的過程，決不是開展幾次運動，掀幾個高潮就能解決的。

從以上女童失學、農村掃盲教育、實用技術教育三個方面，可以看出，由於農村婦女中數目龐大的老文盲、新文盲，由於農村基礎教育和農村婦女自身雙方面的落後，大陸婦女教育的大頭在農村，難點也在農村。

城鎮婦女教育問題

大陸的城鎮泛指大、中、小型城市以及縣城。一般來說，城鎮是全國、各省或各地區的政治、經濟、文化中心，各類學校、文化設施和各科人才也基本上集中在這裏，較之農村有極大的優勢，可以全方位地開展各類教育，包括基礎教育、高等教育、職業教育和成人教育。同時，男女教育平等的思想在城鎮基本上是深入人心的，重男輕女的傳統觀念也不像在農村那樣有廣闊的市場。所以，大陸城鎮婦女教育的狀況要比農村好得多，表現為文盲、半文盲在女性人口中所佔的比例大幅度下降，女性受教育面擴大，受教育的層次大大提高。請看表一。

表一：農村、城市婦女文化構成情況比較(%)

	大專以上	高中	初中	小學	文盲
城市	2.49	30.04	39.82	20.37	7.28
農村	0.03	5.46	18.74	32.46	43.31

(資料來源：1982年全國人口普查數據)

但是，大陸城鎮婦女的各層、各類教育也面臨着不少問題，有些是建國以來就存在的老問題，有些是改革開放以後出現的新問題；有些是共性的，即在男性教育中也存在的問題，有些是特殊性的，即為婦女所獨有的問題。

一、文化、職業教育狀況

1. 基礎教育

小學：大陸城鎮基本上普及了小學教育。城鎮中一般按照居住區域劃分入學範圍，凡持有本區常住戶口的適齡兒童均可入學，不存在

性別歧視。女童入學率可達99%，中途輟學者也微乎其微。

可是，改革開放以來，農村中大量剩餘勞動力流入城市，或務工或經商。不少兒童隨父母常住城鎮，卻沒有城鎮戶口，因而不能入學讀書。這部分適齡兒童（包括女童）成為城鎮普及基礎教育的一個重大空白點。據估計，目前這類失學兒童在大陸有上千萬人，他（她）們也是一代新文盲的重要來源之一。

初中：小學畢業後，男女學生按同等考分考入重點中學或普通中學，未能升學者一般都想方設法回小學重讀，輟學在家者很少。

高中：初中畢業以後，由於種種原因，許多女學生對升入大學期望不高，就業意識卻比較強。她們在去向選擇上偏重於普通中學或職業中學，少部份輟學就業，升入重點高中的女學生人數大幅度下降。根據筆者在河南省鄭州市第六中學的調查（該校介於重點中學和普通中學之間），1988年在校初中女生的人數佔初中生總數的49%，而高中女生的人數，只佔高中學生總數的36.3%

目前，大陸基礎教育最突出的問題是教育指導思想的一元化，表現在教學目的上只為升學服務，在教學水平上也只以升學率為衡量標準。它造成了一系列的惡果：為了升學，家長們要拚了命地把子女依次送進重點小學、重點初中、重點高中。有幸進去的學生如牛負重，整日被考試壓得抬不起頭，難以保證德、智、體的全面發展。進不了重點學校的學生就意味着入了另冊，厭學情緒嚴重，學習秩序混亂，難以管理。另外，由於教學只為升學服務，學習內容與社會需要嚴重脫節。升不上學的學生，也沒有一技之長，閑散在社會上，容易誘發社會問題。

這個問題，是建國以來就存在的、男女兩性都承受惡果的共性問題。

2. 高等教育

1980年以來，大陸高等教育發展速度較快，在校女學生的人數也相應逐年遞增。到1988年，女大學生佔大學生總數的比例，已突破30%，在師範院校，女學生的人數尤其可觀。如天津師範大學，1988

年在校女生所佔比例高達67.5%。女研究生的數量，也在逐年遞增，但從總的情況來看，所佔比例始終未能突破20%。

從女大學生的專業選擇上看，一般說學社會科學的比學自然科學的多，在自然科學中，選擇適合女性專業的多，如心理、醫學、紡織、園藝等。

高校中的女生大多學習勤奮、刻苦努力，較少有偏科現象，因而，她們常常因學習成績優良或品學兼優而獲得獎勵。她們是同齡人中的佼佼者，有着強烈的優越感，獨立意識較強，對事業有着執著的追求。但也存在知識面較窄、動手能力較差、學習方式上循規蹈矩、較看重分數、獨立思維能力和創造能力較弱等問題。因而迫切需要在女大學生中開展女性教育，幫助她們克服事業上求進取的心理障礙。

隨着近幾年婦女問題的突出，女大學生在畢業分配上遇到難題，不少用人單位排斥女性。應當說，這主要是社會對女性生育問題既缺乏正確的認識，又缺乏包容的力量。畢業分配的困難又引起招生時對女性的排斥。性別歧視的回潮，表明了男女兩性在法律上的平等並不等於實際中的平等。這些問題造成不少女大學生的困惑，她們感到無論怎樣努力，也無法改變女性的命運，因而學習缺乏動力，對前途感到迷茫，更有一些人放棄了學業，默默地學習如何扮演家庭主婦的角色。女大學生的這種心態，還沒有引起社會的廣泛關注。

3. 中等職業技術教育

大陸的中等職業技術教育，主要包括普通中等專業學校、技工學校、職業學校三種形式。近年來，國家把發展職業技術教育作為振興經濟的戰略措施來抓，使中等職業技術教育獲得了較大發展，其中，職業學校的發展尤為突出。

職業學校克服了普通學校教育與社會發展需要脫節的弊病，針對社會經濟發展的實際需要，特別是第三產業的需要設置專業，因而對學生，尤其對女學生有較強的吸引力。不少女孩子在初中畢業後放棄對升學的選擇，報考職業學校。

以鄭州市第一職業高中為例，該校共開設幼師、服裝、音樂、美術、公關五個專業，除美術專業的男女學生基本各佔一半外，幼師、

公關專業全部是女學生，音樂、服裝專業的男女學生比例是1：8。

同時，在政府及社會有識之士的倡導下，各地紛紛創辦了多種形式的女子職業學校。1984年創辦的大連女子職業高中是大陸第一所女子職業學校，另外，較有影響的還有北京朝陽女子職業中學、河南省女子職業中專等。目前，僅上海市就有三所女子職業中學，還有近二十所職業學校裏專門辦有女子職業班。

在發展中等女子職業學校的同時，全國還辦起了三所女子職業大學，即西安培華女子大學、湖南女子職業大學，以及全國唯一的一所私立女子大學——華南女子學院。

女子職業教育的蓬勃發展，適應了改革中經濟發展對專門人才的需求，緩解了未能升學的女中學生的就業問題，應當說在一定時期內收到了較好的社會效果。

但從總體上看，職業學校的發展無論在規模、結構還是水平上都處於起步階段，在辦學形式、發展規劃、師資和教材建設以及生源質量等方面，還面臨着許多困難和問題。如辦學者教育思想上的急於求成，過分強調按社會當前需要設計人才，忽視了人才對社會的改造和促進。表現在：專業設置上，缺乏長遠打算，一哄而上；師資、教學設備極差；教學質量難以提高；畢業生水平很低。因而，短短幾年，就出現了職業學校畢業生難以適應社會發展的要求，尋找出路困難的問題。

所以，加強對職業學校的宏觀指導，進行統籌規劃，加強師資隊伍建設，提高教育質量，是目前大陸職業教育中迫切需要解決的問題，

二、女性教育問題

我們所說的女性教育，是指對具有一定文化水平的婦女進行認識女性自身的教育。通過這種教育幫助婦女從女性的生理與心理、歷史與現實、社會與家庭、生產與生育等多種層面認識自己，提高她們的主體意識，增強她們適應社會的能力，使她們在競爭中能夠較好地發揮自己的優勢，維護自己的權利。

鑒於農村婦女的素質狀況，女性教育目前基本上只能在城鎮婦女中進行。

女性教育在大陸的興起，是有其深刻的社會背景的。

1949年中華人民共和國成立以後，廣大婦女第一次在法律上獲得和男子完全平等的地位。中國共產黨和中國政府為廣大婦女走出家庭、參與社會生活進行了長期不懈地努力，大大加速了大陸婦女的社會化進程。

但是，大陸婦女在確立“時代不同了，男女都一樣”的觀念的同時，却在某種程度上減弱了、甚至斷送了女性的主體意識，她們“在向男人的認同中求證自己的價值，無視或斷然否認兩性社會差異，將自身的主體意識斷送在似乎是平等的‘人’的概念中”（李小江，1988：20）。

同時，由於國家長期對婦女實行保護性就業、保護性參政的政策，造成了婦女過分依賴國家的心理。在改革中，當經濟體制轉換，需要每一個人獨立發揮潛能時，缺乏主體意識的婦女便顯得束手無策，難以適應。在改革中回潮的“女人應當回家”、“女人天生不如男人”的歧視婦女的男權觀念，更加劇了廣大婦女的失落感。使大陸婦女陷入了空前的困惑之中。

當時，幫助廣大婦女樹立主體意識，以增強其社會適應力、應變力和競爭力，已成為一項緊迫而現實的社會任務，它不但關係到女性自身素質的提高，而且關係到社會改革的命運。正是在這種背景下，大陸女性教育開始興起。

首先在女性教育這塊土地上拓荒的，是鄭州大學中文系副教授李小江。她曾多次發表論文，做學術報告，呼籲社會加強對中國婦女的歷史和現狀研究，同時親自進行開展女性教育的嘗試。1985年5月，她與河南省婦女幹部學校合作，創辦了全國首屆“女子家政班”，首次向社會婦女進行“女性自我認識”教育，收到了良好的社會效果。筆者便是在這屆學習班上受到李教授的啓蒙，並義無反顧地投身於女性教育事業。

由於男女教育權利的平等，反而使女性教育沒有一條現成的渠道。社會上沒有專門的女性教育機構，學校中也沒有開展女性教育的

課程和師資，因而，女性教育不得不打破傳統的教育格局，以多種形式直接面對數以億萬計的不同類型、不同層次、不同職業的教育對象。

1. 短訓班：近幾年來，全國各地陸續辦了許多各種類型的短訓班，如“女性自我認識”、“婚姻家庭心理學”、“性文化與婦女解放”、“改革與中國婦女”等等，直接向全社會婦女招生，進行短期教育。

2. 專題講座：女性教育工作者直接深入大中學校、機關單位、醫院、廠礦、婦女組織等，舉辦專題講座，廣泛傳播女性教育。

3. 廣播電視講座：在大陸遼闊的土地上，大眾傳播媒介是一種理想的教育工具，它可以起到任何教育所起不到的普及作用。許多女性教育工作者利用廣播、電視開辦各類專題講座，或系列講座，大大促進了女性教育的拓展。筆者就曾在鄭州人民廣播電台、河南省電視台、中央人民廣播電台舉辦《女性·事業·家庭》、《漫談當代女性要走的路》等系列講座，使女性教育的影響波及全國各地。

來自四面八方的反饋信息向我們印證：女性教育不僅是必須的，而且是有效的。

隨着女性教育的逐步深入，女性教育開始走上大學課堂。李小江女士在鄭州大學開設了《婦女文學》選修課；榮鐵生先生及其同仁在河南大學開設了《中國近代婦女史》，並在全國第一次招收了婦女學科的研究生；杜芳琴、閔冬潮女士在天津師範大學開設了《中國古代婦女史》和《婦女學基礎理論》；遼寧大學、貴州大學等也都開設了有關的婦女學科。

同時，各省的婦女幹部學校也開始打破傳統的婦女幹部教育架構，把教學重點放在全面進行女性教育上，如河南省婦女幹部學校已陸續將《婦女生理學》、《婦女心理學》、《婦女社會學》、《婦女人才學》、《中國婦女史》、《世界婦女史》、《婦女美育》、《家政學》等搬上講壇，使女性教育逐步走上系統化、學科化的道路。

總之，大陸的女性教育目前正方興未艾。建設中國的婦女學、發

展中國的女性教育，這是一項很有前途的新事業。

但是，大陸當前的女性教育也面臨不少困難。除女性教育師資匱乏，各科教材極待建設外，主要的還是社會性的女性教育仍然沒有一條暢通的渠道。高等院校也好，婦女幹部學校也好，都為傳統的教育體制所限，難以將女性教育面向全社會婦女，而各類短訓班或專題講座的形式，能夠取得一時的社會效果，却難以將女性教育深入、持久、系統地開展下去。

為了使女性教育社會化、學科化、系統化，使全社會的婦女都能接受女性教育，我們尚需付出極大的努力。

結論

綜上所述，我們可以看到，建國四十年來，大陸婦女教育事業發展很快，但不可避免地受制於大陸教育的總體落後狀況，因而有着許多與教育大環境相關的難點。最突出的是大陸農村婦女教育問題。

在當前大陸基礎教育落後而經濟實力不足的情況下，佔文盲、半文盲大多數的農村婦女教育狀況的改變是不容樂觀的。提高農村婦女的素質將是一個歷史性的任務，需要幾代人的努力才能完成。目前的當務之急，不是掃除老的文盲，而是杜絕新文盲的產生。女童失學問題應引起政府和社會各界的廣泛重視，並採取行之有效的措施，狠抓女童入學率、鞏固率，保證婦女接受一定程度的文化教育。否則，貽害的將是整個社會。

改善城鎮婦女的文化、職業教育，有待於教育指導思想的更新、管理體制的改善和基礎教育的發展。而在中、高等學校的招生和畢業分配中歧視女性的問題，是近年來出現的新問題，既有經濟的原因，也有觀念上的問題。其實質是女性生育問題在教育領域的反映。社會如能採取力所能及的措施，以示承認女性生育勞動的社會價值，將會有利於這些問題的解決。

大陸的女性教育是在經濟體制改革中勃興的新事業。幫助廣大婦女樹立女性主體意識，引導她們在社會上發揮更大的作用，是女性教

育的主要目標。開展女性教育必須面向社會廣大婦女，僅在校園內或知識婦女的範圍內進行是不夠的。女性教育必須社會化、系統化、學科化。因此，必須建立和發展中國自己的婦女學。女性教育的任務還相當繁重，同樣需要幾代人的努力。但可喜的是，目前大陸有着一批不計名利的知識婦女，正在成爲女性教育事業的開拓者。

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中國婦女教育的發展和問題

陶鳳娟

人類社會是由男人和女人組成的，男女平等的問題對於任何社會的進步都是非常重要的。世界各國的女權運動者們都很重視提高本國婦女的地位問題，都注意研究婦女是否真正處於和男人平等的地位。不論是發達國家還是發展中國家，婦女都佔人力資源的一半，爭取社會的發展和進步，也包含有爭取男女平等這一項工作。男女是否平等是衡量社會進步程度的標準之一。早在十九世紀，法國學者傅立葉就評述過資本主義社會的兩性關係和婦女地位問題，他指出，在每一社會中“婦女解放的程度是衡量普遍解放的標準”（引自江流，1988：178）。

在我國憲法上規定男女是平等的。《中華人民共和國憲法》第48條規定：

中華人民共和國婦女在政治的、經濟的、文化的、社會的和家庭的生活等各方面享有同男子平等的權利。國家保護婦女的權利和利益，實行男女同工同酬，培養和選拔婦女幹部。（《中華人民共和國憲法》1982：27-28）

男女是否平等，我們不僅應從憲法和據此而製定的一系列法律條款來看男女是否平等，而且還要從實際上在教育、就業、參政，以及家庭關係等各方面來看男女是否平等。其中，我們首先要看教育上男女是否平等，其次要看就業上男女是否平等，這二者都需要我們不斷努力爭取，而它們之間又是相互影響的。試想，如果婦女在教育上受到不平等的待遇，她們能在就業等其他方面享受平等的待

遇嗎？

自從1949年新中國建立以來，婦女的解放有了較好的條件，婦女的地位有了很大的提高。在舊社會，婦女地位很低。當時在中國人民中約有80%的人是文盲，其中絕大多數是婦女，婦女被壓在了社會的最低層。新中國建立四十年來，婦女的地位有了根本的改變，不論是受教育、就業、參政，甚至在家庭生活上都比舊社會有了很大的提高。中國婦女地位變化的原因，主要有以下幾個方面：(1)由於社會制度的改變，社會主義制度不允許壓迫和歧視婦女；(2)由於社會生產力的發展，工農業的發展為大量婦女就業提供了物質前提，僅從女職工人數的增長率就可看出這一點，據《中國統計年鑒》的統計，1949年女職工人數為61萬人，佔職工總數的7.5%，1986年女職工人數為4,688萬人，佔職工總數的36.6%；(3)由於教育的普及，絕大多數婦女有了受教育的機會，也為婦女尋找職業或進一步接受高等教育提供了條件；(4)中國婦女運動有悠久的歷史，長期以來婦女運動的領導者為爭取婦女的權利進行了堅持不懈的鬥爭。

1988年9月在北京召開了中國婦女第六次全國代表大會，代表們來自全國三十個省、自治區、直轄市，代表五十六個民族，總結了各

表一 婦女參政：人大代表數

年	屆	女代表數	佔總數%
1954	一	147	12.0
1959	二	150	12.3
1964	三	542	17.8
1975	四	653	22.6
1978	五	742	21.2
1983	六	632	21.2
1988	七	634	21.3

方面的工作。我們從1989年二月全國婦聯國際部所編的大量參考資料中摘取一部份統計數字，(見表一至表六)就可以更具體地看出中國婦女地位的提高。

表二 婦女參政：國務院各部委女部長及各省、自治區、直轄市女省(市)長數

	女部長 (含副)	佔總數 %	女省(市)長(含副)			
			省	直轄市	總計	佔%
1983*	10	4.6	6	1	7	3.9
1985	12	5.2	-	-	-	-
1986	14	5.6	9	1	10	5.4
1988**	14	7.1	10	3	13	7.0

* 六屆人大；** 七屆人大

表三 婦女就業：全國全民所有制和縣(區)級以上集體所有制企業和事業女職工數

年	女職工數(單位：萬人)	佔職工總數%
1949	60	7.5
1978	3128	32.9
1981	3935	36.0
1983	4199	36.5
1985	4500	36.4
1986	4688	36.6
1987	4869	36.8

表四 婦女就業：全國女自然科學技術人員數字(萬人)

年	科技人員總數	女科技人員數	佔%
1978	435	141	32
1986	746	239	32
1987	820	261	32

表五 婦女就業：全國鄉鎮企業女職工數(萬人)

年	職工總數	女職工數	佔職工%	佔農村女勞力%
1985	7600	3300	43.4	20.6
1987	8500	3500	41.2	21.8

表六 教育：1987年全國各類普通學校在校學生數(萬人)

校別	在校學生數	女生數	佔總數%
普通高等學校	195.87	64.66	33.0
中專、中技學校	187.39	84.94	45.3
普通中學	4948.11	2018.62	40.8
農業、職業中學	267.61	116.33	43.5
小學	12835.35	5821.76	45.4

從以上統計可以看出中國婦女的地位確實有了很大的提高。而且婦女教育發展的情況和其他各方面如參政、就業等發展的情況是密切

相關的。

雖然中國婦女的地位比以前有了很大的提高，但實際上婦女的地位仍低於男子。中國婦女從家庭走向社會，從基層工作逐漸走上高層工作，以及爭取受到良好教育的機會，從而更好地發揮她們的才能，是有一個長期艱難的過程的，需要研究的問題仍然不少。真正的男女平等，還有待於進一步爭取。

婦女地位的改善和婦女教育的關係極為密切。下面我僅就婦女教育問題談談個人的看法。

一、我們要進一步為婦女爭取在中小學教育及高等教育的機會

我國是發展中國家，在發展教育上需要做的工作還很多。在舊中國文盲充斥，中華人民共和國成立後，廣大教育工作者做了大量的工作，在發展幼兒教育及小學、中學、大學教育上取得了很大的進步。近年來，每年有小學畢業生約二千萬，初中畢業生約一千萬，高中畢業生約二百萬，大學招生每年約五十萬。和舊社會相比，教育確有很大發展。但從十一億人口大國的需要來看，發展還是不夠的。目前，學齡兒童入學率，據統計為97.15%。小學及初中畢業生的升學率分別為70%和40%左右。高等教育，將所有攻讀高校課程的人數都計算在內，共約653萬人（尚志，1989）。建國以來，由於國家製定了男女平等的教育政策，婦女教育也有了發展。全國七至十一周歲的學齡女童的入學率，1949年是10%，1987年增長至95%，稍低於男童的入學率。但女生的流動率却遠遠超過男生，在流動生中，女生約佔70%以上。在全國未入學的273萬學齡兒童中83%是女兒童。在西部11個省的學齡女童的入學率只達到73-74%（*Women of China*, Mar., 1989）。但在發達城市，如北京市，1985年，小學入學率是99.82%，及格率是98%，年留級率是1.5%，（《北京日報》，1986年2月16日）入小學的問題男女兒童沒有甚麼區別了。在這個問題上，城市和鄉村，發達地區和邊遠地區，差別還很大。

女兒童入學率低、流動率高的原因是多方面的，它既和經濟條件

有關，又受社會舊觀念的影響，而教育主管部門是否重視和採取措施以及家庭對女童的期望等等都有關係。

1986年全國人民代表大會通過《義務教育法》，在全國開始實施九年制義務教育。它使兒童青少年，包括女孩，在接受教育上有了法律的保護。

當前，我們還有很多困難。二億三千萬文盲中，70%是婦女。初等教育還沒有完全普及，各地在教育發展上還很不平衡。例如，1982年，北京市居民平均受教育的年限是七年或八年，而有的邊遠的一個縣的女孩子中竟有98%是文盲。所以全國要劃分三類地區，不同程度地實現九年制義務教育。當前，要使女孩子和男孩子一樣能接受九年制義務教育，不僅要依靠法律的保護，而且要依靠輿論的支持。我們還必須要做大量工作使得家庭和社會都能認識到婦女受教育的重要性。

不同的家庭，對於女孩子的看法、期待是有差別的。知識分子家庭，一般對於男女在受教育上是同等對待的。男孩、女孩同樣可以上小學、中學、大學。這是因為知識分子不僅在道理上懂得男女應該平等，而且從價值觀上也認為女孩受教育的程度直接關係到她的就業。當然，也有一些知識分子家庭還有重男輕女的舊觀念，不讓女孩上大學。農民家庭中一般女孩在受教育上不如男孩，這是因為在農村，小生產的生產方式以及舊的傳統觀念深一些，對女孩的地位、角色、期待一般要受“男尊女卑”“男主外，女主內”等思想影響，認為女孩受不受教育對於她未來的角色關係不大。當前，這種情況已開始變化，由於婦女在農村不但是生產上的主力軍，也經營商品，有的還是企業領導者，她們必須要受教育，才能適應新形勢。至於工人家庭對待女孩，則是介於知識分子家庭和農民家庭之間的狀態。這是由於很多工人既是來自農民而又受到現代化大生產影響，學了新技術。

中國婦女在接受高等教育上，比舊社會有了很大的好轉，但仍低於男子。雖然男女在進入大學時都經過同樣的入學考試，並在同樣環境下努力學習，但在畢業後的就業競爭中婦女可能遇到不平等的待遇。每年幾十萬的大學畢業生中女生約佔四分之一。上海復旦大學的統計，1984年有三分之一的用人單位只要男生，1985年又有二百個單

位提出不要女性。只是由於社會上對大學生還有需要，而且學校做了工作，才使女畢業生不致失業。（譚曼尼，1986：18）並且還有一些學校的某些專業在招生時就不錄取女生。這種現象嚴重傷害了女大學生的積極性和上進心。這些歧視婦女的問題已引起了社會上的注意，但仍需要我們呼籲各方面努力爭取解決。

二、要針對未來社會對婦女的要求和當前婦女遇到的問題來進行教育

首先，分析問題要從未來出發，未來社會將重視每一個人的發展。而當前作為人材資源的一半的婦女却還未被很好地開發。因此，把婦女培養成爲未來社會所需要的新型的人是非常重要的。新的未來學的觀點應是和重視婦女的作用聯系在一起的。我們應該研究如何培養未來的婦女。

自然科學史家倉孝和（1988：822）評論愛因斯坦時說：“愛因斯坦是公認的本世紀最偉大的科學家…相對論的建立，否定了牛頓的絕對空間和時間。愛因斯坦把牛頓力學概括在相對論力學之中……”

這一段話所讚揚的創造精神是我們培養未來社會的人材應該重視的，當然也是培養新型婦女所應具有的。

其次，要從當前婦女的實際狀況出發來分析問題。當前婦女的地位比以前提高了。據1985年統計，有十四位女科技工作者獲得博士學位，3,500位女科技工作者獲得碩士學位，約佔全國碩士學位的12%左右。（陳耀榮，1986：44）但婦女在科學界居於較高地位的人仍比男子少得多。這是普遍現象，從世界範圍來看，婦女在科學界居於較高地位的人也很少。例如，從美國學者哈里特·朱克曼（H. Zuckerman）（1979：378-382）所著《科學界的精英》（*Scientific Elite*）附錄中所列1901至1976年諾貝爾物理學獲獎者共一百零五名，其中僅兩名是婦女。我們可以設想，如果有更多的婦女受到較好的培養，那末，居於高層次的婦女人材必將增多。另外，婦女還受到一些不平等的待遇，例如，招工、招生、提幹中的歧視婦女的問題。（王金玲，1986）這些都是從實際中提出的應解決的問題。

婦女的地位稍低於男人的原因很多。其中原因之一是幾千年遺留下來的諸如所謂“男尊女卑”的封建觀念在人們頭腦和婦女自身的思想意識中仍然或多或少地殘存着。我於1989年八月向十七位中小學校長、教導主任進行了一次問卷調查。他們思想中認為：男女平等，十三人；男優女劣，三人；初中以下是男劣女優，高中以上是男優女劣，一人。他們認為有些女學生最需解決的問題是：依賴性，九人；自卑感，五人；厭學，二人。1989年十一月我又向七十五位中小學校長、教導主任進行了同樣的問卷調查。他們認為：男女平等，五十九人；男優女劣，十三人；其他如各有所長、有差異，三人。他們認為有些女學生最需解決的問題是：依賴性，四十五人；自卑感，十三人；厭學，九人；其他如早戀、講求吃穿等，八人。兩次問卷的結果，所反映的問題大同小異，但都說明在一些人的頭腦中或多或少存在着貶低女性和不利於培養女性成材的舊思想。

我國學者何立嬰女士（1987：24）在《女性的智力開發》一書中指出：“多方面的科學研究結果表明，男女智力發展在總體上是平衡的。他們在智力發展水平的分佈上略有不同。”所以，認為“男優女劣”是沒有科學根據的。

當前，如果我們希望人們對婦女持正確的態度，我們必須呼籲社會的各方面都來重視婦女，而在教育界本身，在中小學教育以至高等教育中掃除人們思想意識中舊的傳統的錯誤看法也是很重要的。諸如傳統思想中似乎生來就是女孩愛玩娃娃，男孩愛玩汽車，女孩胆小，男孩勇敢，女孩應做家務，男孩應到社會上去幹大事等等，都是不利於女孩更好地發展她們的聰明才智的。因此，在教育部門，從幼兒園到小學、中學，甚至大學，都應對學生灌輸新的觀念，即女人能被教育而獲得和男人一樣的能力。

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香港大專教育中婦女的機會

陸鴻基

中國古代社會重男輕女，女子受正規教育的機會不大。明代以降，更流傳“女子無才便是德”的說法。

香港在十九世紀中葉開埠之初，即有傳教士創設女塾，是中國婦女教育史上的一個里程碑。但在香港早期歷史上，有機會受教育的婦女畢竟不多。

戰後四十多年來，隨着社會變遷和經濟發展，女子就學也就一級一級地增長。這趨勢在統計數字中是顯而易見的。

1951年香港的小學教育尚未普及，男童和女童都有很多人失學；但男生的數目却比較女生多出很多。當年全港小學共有男生九萬人，而女生却只有六萬人；中學男生約二萬八千人，女生一萬三千人；中學以上學校男生四千人，女生不足一千人。差距是很明顯的，而且學級越高、差距也就越大。

到了1961年，香港政府的十年小學擴建計劃，已取得相當成果。小學教育雖然漸趨於普及，但仍未能達致人人入學，而男女之間的差距仍然存在。小學階段，男生共有二十八萬人，女生則有二十三萬人，距離已經比較十年以前縮短了許多。但中學及以上的差距，仍是很大。中學男生七萬人，女生四萬多；中學以上學校男生二萬多，女生只有一萬人左右。

1971年，香港正式實施六年小學義務教育。小學階段男女生的入學機會，已經沒有明顯的差異，兩者同是四十萬人左右。但中學有男生十五萬，女生十二萬；中學以上學校男生五萬餘，女生約三萬。可

見義務教育以上階段，兩性的機會仍有頗大的差距。

從1978年開始，香港逐步推行九年義務教育，到1981年完成；又同時大幅度擴展高中階段的免費學額。1981年的統計，小學男女生各約二十六萬、中學各約二十三萬。六歲至十五歲的兒童，不分性別，都已全面就學。而十六至十八歲的少年，男女就學的人數也差不多。這時期主要的差異就在中學以上的階段，男生十一萬餘，女生只有八萬。

所謂中學以上的階段，包括大學、理工學院、教育學院、護士學校、大學預科等各種課程。預科以外，可算大專。

大學的男女生人數，歷年來頗有差距。歷史較為悠久的香港大學，戰後四十多年來，男女生的比例，經常維持在七與三之比左右。而香港中文大學從1963年創校到1983年之間，男女生的比例，也經常徘徊於六比四及二比一之間。1983年以來，差別逐漸減少。到現在，男女學生人數大約各佔一半。

兩所理工學院的女生人數，大概是三成左右。四所教育學院却是七成左右；而護士學校的三千多名學護之中，女性則佔了九成以上。如果把大學、理工學院、教育學院和護士學校的學生總數加起來，則女生共佔了四成多（見表一）。不過，這其中隱藏着的機會不均等，却遠比較總人數比例的差距嚴重得多。

表一 全港主要公費大專院校全日制學生中之女生百分率，1982-83

院校	女生百分率
中大	36%
港大	34
理工	28
四師	72
護校	90

表一清楚地顯示出男女生在選擇大專院校（或大專院校選擇男女生）有很大的不同。女生大都集中在師範教育和護理教育，而男生則

分佈得寬廣許多。這個現象不單只在院校之間可以觀察得到；就在同一所學校的不同院系之間，也清楚可以看到。（見表二）在大學和理工學院，女生較多的院系，都是文科和服務性行業學科，而男生則較多在理科和科技學科，但在文科社會科院系的，也還不算少。

表二 香港中文大學及香港大學各學院本科全日生之女生率

中大	1978	1982	1987	港大	1978	1982	1987
文學	58%	61%	73%	建築	16%	14%	29%
商科	25	32	56	文學	66	74	67
醫學	—	10	25	牙醫	—	20	14
理科	12	12	23	工程	2	3	2
社科	45	31	62	法律	40	50	56
				醫學	12	15	20
				理科	16	25	15
				社科	55	48	46

表三 青年婦女就業率

歲數	1976年	1981年	1986年
20-24	71.8%	79.7%	83.7%
25-34	47.8	56.8	64.8
35-44	42.9	53.4	57.9

這些現象，顯示社會上的人（包括教師、家長、僱主、學生本人、和友儕等），對男子和女子的升學、就業、和社會角色、經濟角

色等，仍是有着十分不同的看法。香港婦女就業非常普遍。十五歲以上的婦女，1976年的就業率是43.6%，1986年是51.2%。如果集中看年青的婦女，1976至1986年間就業率的增進如表三。

可見年青一代的香港婦女是踏出家門，在外就業，經濟上能夠自立。但中國傳統的“男尊女卑”、“男主外、女主內”、“男動女靜”等觀念，在現代化、工業化、國際化的香港社會，仍然有它的影子。婦女在社會上的角色，往往仍是“賢妻良母”的“相夫教子”職守的延伸，例如：擔任護士、小學教師、行政助理，等等。

事實上，小學教育行業的“女性化”，在1950年代的香港，可以說是一項政府的政策。那時期，香港政府的薪酬制度，男女並不平等；同樣的職位，女公務員的薪金只有男公務員的四分三。當時港府為求節省教育經費，冀能及早普及小學教育，於是訂下指標，師範學院招生，按照一男二女的比例。這項措施維持了十多年；小學教育這個行業，也就成了婦女佔大多數。1970年代以來，公費事業都奉行男女同工同酬的原則；性別差異的招生指標也不復存在了。但小學教育是女性職業這個觀念，也已經深入人心了。

同工不同酬當然不合理，但在1950年代，社會風氣未開，一般家庭都未能接受女子升學和就業。而教育當局這項措施，却為數以千計的女性中學畢業生創造了升學和就業的機會，也為更多的女性中學生和她們的家長，指出一點光明的前景；不合理的措施，也未嘗沒有一些積極的後果。可以說，師範學院是香港最先主動大規模招收女生的大專。

我商學院何淑貞女士分析了一萬則香港報章的徵聘廣告，發現其中不乏指定應徵人性別的。而性別的要求，也有其紋路可尋。大抵科技、財經、高層管理等職位，一般徵求男子，而文職、公共關係、中層人事管理等職位，較多徵求女子。這些廣告既反映了當前市場人仕的心態，同時也對青年學生的自我界定，發揮或多或少的指引作用。

女子就業和升學途徑的界定，跟女學生選修科目的抉擇，互為因果。而在香港現行學制之下，大專女生的選擇主修科，早在她從初中升上高中選修文科或理科之時，便已經註定了。

表四 香港中學會考男女考生出席人數最多的十科

1984年	男生	英文	中文	數學	物理	生物	化學	中史	地理	附加數	文學
	女生	英文	中文	數學	中史	地理	世史	文學	生物	經濟	經公
1985年	男生	英文	中文	數學	物理	化學	生物	中史	地理	附加數	經濟
	女生	英文	中文	數學	中史	地理	世史	文學	經濟	生物	經公
1986年	男生	英文	中文	數學	物理	化學	生物	中史	附加數	地理	經濟
	女生	英文	中文	數學	中史	地理	世史	經濟	文學	生物	物理
1987年	男生	英文	中文	數學	物理	化學	生物	中史	附加數	地理	經濟
	女生	英文	中文	數學	中史	地理	經濟	世史	文學	生物	化學

表四顯示過去幾年來香港中學畢業會考男女考生出席人數最多的十科。一般說，男女生都必修中文、英文、數學三科，但其餘的科目，男生以理科為主，而女生則以文科為主。也可以說，男生選考的科目，多半是“漸進性”科目，不學第一年，追不上第二年的；而女生選考的，則多半是“非漸進性”科目。學習了“漸進”科目，要改行學“非漸進”科目也不大困難；反之則否。因此，中學修理科的學生（男生為主），投考大專時四通八達；但中學修文科的學生（女生為主），投考大專時却很多局限。最近一兩年，女生考理科的漸多，但仍是理科之中“漸進性”較少的生物和化學，而不是“漸進性”最強的“附加數學”和“物理”；不過還是一個可喜的現象。

表五 香港中學會考男女考生“出席”率及“五科及格或以上”率

年	總人數	出席男生	出席女生	總及格率	及格男生	及格女生
1984	100,236	46.9%	53.1%	45.7%	46.7%	44.8%
1985	96,099	47.3	52.7	46.8	46.9	46.7
1986	93,649	47.5	52.5	48.0	48.4	47.7
1987	92,611	46.6	53.4	49.0	49.3	48.7

男女學生除了在中學傾向於選修不同的科目，以致影響到日後投考大專的機會，和在大專裏的選擇之外，他們對於升學的成敗，往往也抱着不同的態度。表五顯示會考考生的“出席率”，幾年來都是女生高於男生六至七個百分點，但“五科及格或以上成績”的百分率，却是男生高女生一至二個百分點。同時，多年以來，會考考生之中，標準年齡或以下的，以女生較多；而超齡的（多半是重考生）則以男生較多。這些資料都隱喻着家庭的期望和支持，對中學生努力謀求升讀大專是一個極重要的因素。很多家庭對於兒子的升學，期望和支持都很熱切；但對於女兒却沒有那麼熱心。這也是男女生大專教育機會差異的一個重要原因。

婦女在大專教育的機會，不單只是作學生的機會，也是當教師的機會。表六顯示中文大學各級教師的女性比率。雖然尚未平等，但倒也是漸入佳境。

表六 香港中文大學各級教師之中女性的百分率

年	講座教授	教授	高級講師	講師	副講師	導師等	男女總數
1985	0 %	0 %	9 %	14 %	29 %	47 %	538人
1989	0 %	0 %	12 %	16 %	37 %	30 %	650人

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IV Gender & Health 性別與健康

台灣婚姻暴力特質與家庭動態關係

——25名個案研究

陳若璋

本研究的目的是在於了解現階段台灣家庭結構的內涵以及這些結構與婚姻暴力相關的因素為何；這些結構之內涵包括被毆者及毆打者在基本資料、工作經驗、出生家庭、家庭結構、婚姻過程、自我概念等變項靜態資料（量的資料）所呈現的分配狀態；同時想瞭解台灣婚姻暴力發生之頻率、嚴重性、性質、過程及影響。除了以量的資料作結構性的分析，本研究同時採用紮根理論（grounded theory）以深度訪談（depth interview）的研究方法，以被毆婦女為主要訪談對象，來探討被毆者其主觀知覺之認定如何進入婚姻狀況，婚姻中互動內涵，與婚姻惡化之相關壓力及因素，以及暴力的發生過程與其處理。

總之，藉著這些資料，研究者企圖回答以下的問題：

- 毆妻行為為什麼發生？
- 毆妻行為如何發生？如何穩固？
- 每次衝突前的互動組型是否相同？
- 衝突中之回饋模式，是否是穩定的系統過程？
- 如果看系統回饋模式，是否可預測衝突前的事件？
- 那些變項最能預測婚姻暴力的嚴重性？
- 什麼樣的改變能導致此一模式的改變？

總而言之，藉著這些資料的回答，本研究以期建立台灣家庭暴力本土化的理論，最後希望能利用本土化的理論，而建立一短期具體的

治療計劃，用以釐清未來專業人員處理暴力家庭的方向。

文獻探討

一、特質論：線性因果的關係

早期研究這方面的學者大多集中於探討毆打者及被毆婦女的背景及特質上，他們認為這些毆打者或被毆者可能集中於某些階層，同時這些階層的變項及因素（如社經，年齡，教育程度等）與暴力行為之間有某種程度的關連；同時被毆打者可能大多具有某些特性，而這些特性較容易激起別人的憤怒及虐待的意願。截至目前為止，這方面的研究顯示無論毆打者或被毆者皆來自各個不同階層，各種種族，在社經地位方面，也未有特別集中在某一社會階層的現象（Carlson, 1977; Straus, 1980）。在年紀上，Gayford（1975）分析一百位毆妻者發現其年齡分佈於20至61歲之間，平均33.9歲。而在美國被毆婦女的年齡以30歲以下者為最多，佔65%，其次為31-50歲，平均年齡不到30歲（劉可屏，1987）。但在教育程度上，似乎有暴力家庭中妻子比丈夫的教育程度還高的現象。同時Gayford（1975）的研究發現100位毆妻者中，有29%的丈夫在失業中。失業者與兼職工作者毆妻的情形比專職者多。Hornung, McCullough & Sugimoto（1981）研究比較丈夫和妻子的教育、職業與毆妻之間的關連，指出地位不一致性，例如，丈夫是低成就者，而妻子是高成就傾向，就有較高被毆的可能性，甚至有致命的威脅。

1. 被毆婦女之人格特質

在人格特質方面，多數研究顯示，被毆婦女大多個性被動不積極，特別在人際關係上總是被動、慣於自責、孤獨、朋友少、遇到挫折時難找到可以支持的朋友和親戚等（Gelles, 1979）。同時，Kingbeil & Boyd（1984）綜合各項資料指出，被毆婦女之特質綜合如下：（1）長久忍受痛苦；（2）長期感到憂鬱、壓力、有身心症，同時可能有酗酒和服藥；（3）經濟依賴與情緒依賴；（4）不太確定

自己的需求；（5）非常低的自我評價；（6）不實際的期望，期望丈夫會突然改變；（7）社會隔離，連娘家也不太連繫；（8）相信毆打只是暫時性的，情況一定會有改善；（9）接受丈夫的暴力行為是因為自己引起，並因此而內疚；和（10）缺乏判斷何者會導致生命危險的能力。

2. 毆打者之人格特質

人格特質方面，臨床研究發現毆妻者的自尊低，自我概念亦受他人影響，例如在他人聽來無所謂的話，他們容易感到受侮辱，常覺得自己一無是處。因此暴力有些時候成了表現自己能力的一種手段。此外，Walker（1979）研究400名婦女，發現他們的配偶具有以下特徵：（1）低自我評價；（2）相信暴力關係神話；（3）相信男性傳統至上及刻板男性印象；（4）責備他人應為他的行為負責；（5）陷入病態妒忌的情緒中；（6）表現出雙重性格；（7）以毆打妻子及喝酒作為應對壓力的反應；（8）常以性當作攻擊作為提升自我評價的工具；和（9）不認為暴力行為會有負向後果。

Geller & Wasserstrom（1984）指出毆妻者通常缺乏和女性親密關係的經驗，他們和女性的關係經常是受挫的，不懂得如何愛女性及取得女性的愛，而往往以生氣和攻擊表達出來，並缺乏自省及為他人設想的能力，比較不能站在妻子的立場體會妻子的想法，他們認為毆打是妻子自找的，有時還認為自己是犧牲者。

但Saunders（1980）也指出毆打者並非全是一般刻板印象中的粗暴男性，有些毆妻者頗為害羞，不能自我肯定並有憂鬱情緒，另一些則富於攻擊性，並因此失去朋友和工作。還有一些則介於害羞和攻擊性之間，而攻擊性的底下往往是憂鬱，借著男性化的面具掩飾他本身的無力和憂鬱。有些毆打者在表現出毆打行為之後，會自我責備及後悔，有些則毫無罪惡感。

二、系統理論的探討

1. 系統理論的基本概念

系統理論模式的提出，並應用於行為科學，其主要的貢獻在於提供一個架構來檢視一些現象，並瞭解這些現象在大系統中如何連結，彼此如何互相牽制。系統的看法強調部份之間的關係，不同的部份在整個大系統的功能下能夠被瞭解的更多。因此要瞭解一個現象或事件怎麼樣發生，我們必須研究各部份之間發生作用和互動的過程。

系統是以結構安排（structural arrangements）和互動的模式（patterns of interaction）來描述其特性。系統的組成並不僅僅是因果的方式。在一個互動模式中對一個行為的反應也可能是下一事件的因。不同的系統在穩定（stability）和變動（change）程度上也不同，一般言，越固著越穩定的系統，比較不承認有外界的刺激，這樣的系統在它自己不能滲透的範圍內，沒有新的能量輸入，與外界環境不能發生作用，因此系統內的變化很小；而比較不固著的系統，比較能和外在環境交換能量，改變的可能性亦較大。

2. 系統理論和毆妻行為的研究

系統理論不去探討毆妻的線性-因果之間的關連，因為因-果的分析不能解釋複雜的社會行為，因此把重點擺在研究暴力事件發生的過程（process），以及人、事件（events），和系統之間的關連，例如暴力如何發展轉變成爲毆妻的模式，和毆妻又怎麼成爲不能改變的模式等。

如果把毆打關係看成一個系統，是說我們可以把行動（actions）和反應（reactions）的過程視爲一連串因果鏈，彼此互爲因果；甚至我們可以從一個系統中找出穩定和改變的階段，清楚這些不同階段中的過程（process）爲何。

因此從系統理論的觀點來探討毆打行為至少有兩個方向：一是從社會結構的觀點來看社會結構的因素和人類毆打行為的關連；二是從毆打行為發生的內容來看社會結構和某個個人毆打行為的關係以及在

毆打行為中的互動情形，以及這些和社會結構互動的關係。

系統理論對毆妻行為研究較有興趣的議題如下：

- 毆妻行為爲什麼會產生？
- 毆妻行為如何產生？
- 什麼社會或家庭中的力量會導致毆打妻子成爲固定的模式？
- 什麼社會或家庭中的力量導致毆打妻子的模式改變？

以下是一些理論對毆妻行為的觀點：

1. 過程論（*process model of violence*）：Pagelow（1977）認爲若丈夫的暴力行為變成一種習慣或模式，必然是這家庭體系中有一個穩定的“過程”在進行，這過程往往是由某一暴力行為出現後，另一方的“反應”方式，會影響這暴力行為的方向與路線，或進而引導下一個暴力行為的發生，於是發展了一些假設，如：

- 若毆打關係中處弱勢的配偶越能接受暴力爲對壓力的反應方式時，毆打行為越會產生。
- 配偶越是願意維繫彼此的關係，同時越固守傳統的觀念，毆打行為則越不會導致關係的結束。

2. 循環論：Walker（1977-78，79）對毆妻行為如何發生的研究有兩個重要貢獻，（1）描述了毆打週期的三個階段：第一是長期的衝突無法解決而形成的緊張階段；第二是當衝突繼續增加而爆發激烈的爭吵，而後產生毆打；第三是通常在毆打後，男性悔悟，請求原諒，女性則又回到男性身邊，這時有段和諧甜蜜的日子，因此第三階段稱爲蜜月期。但隨著蜜月期時間的拉長，衝突緊張又開始升高，回到第一期，如此不斷的循環下去。（2）將心理學的概念“學得無助感”（*learned helplessness*）應用到被毆婦女的情況。他並指出，在長期受虐之下，這些妻子已經認爲不管做什麼事情都改善不了現況，這種“學得無助感”是阻礙這些婦女脫離其丈夫的理由，雖然這些婦女極爲不滿意此種狀況，但會多年皆維持此種狀況而不改變。

3. 階段論：Giles-Sims（1983）則利用系統理論的概念來描述毆妻現象的關連，並把毆妻的過程用數個階段來說明：

階段一：家庭系統的建立

- 其他系統中已經有的模式是如何影響新的家庭系統？已學得的互動模式是如何的影響新系統的建立？Broderick & Smith (1979) 認為從其他系統產生的經驗結果可能會成為另一個新系統中的刺激。一個人對於曾有過的衝突 (conflict) 暴力 (violence) 的經驗會影響到下一個關係中的衝突和暴力的模式。Straus, et al. (1980) 發現如果一個人曾被父母親毆打或是曾看父母親有暴力行為，那麼這個人長大後很可能對他的小孩或他的配偶使用暴力。
- 家庭系統的界限的產生：在這個階段中，系統的界限還沒建立，回饋變得重要——新配偶在其他的系統中早已學得行為的模式，會反應到新的關係中。

階段二：第一次暴力事件的影響

在剛開始的階段中，暴力入侵家庭並成為家庭系統中一部份，其權力規則為何？第一次暴力事件時，大部份婦女都認為只是個單一事件 (single case) (Giles-Sims, 1983)。有86%的婦女陳述：當伴侶第一次使用暴力時，她們“感到”生氣，但是並沒有以生氣報復，或拒絕的方式回應，而增強暴力行為。

階段三：暴力的穩定期 (Stabilization of the Violence)

系統理論預設當一個行為得到正向的回饋時，會增強該行為，在一個系統中如果雙方有差異，衝突就一定擴大此差異的循環 (deviation-amplifying loop)，暴力很可能成為互動模式中一部份。因此如果第一次暴力行為得到正增強，暴力行為極可能再發生。

系統理論認為衝突昇高與否，須視：(1) 事件的結果 (the consequence of events)：如果結果讓雙方皆不滿意有可能昇高衝突；(2) 在系統中對增強暴力行為可能有的替代物；(3) 經由適當的回應後可能有的改變。

當婦女被打時，有一些個案會打回去，有些退縮，而這些回應可能導致更多的暴力，在一些暴力行為中暴力和維持系統的目標有關，或和男人為維持他在家中的權勢有關。但是有很多的婦女並沒有打回

去，她們試著屈服於男人以停止暴力，可能男人藉著使用暴力來達到他的目的。一旦婦女屈服，她順從這些暴力的規則並增強暴力行為，於是暴力行為成為一個模式。一旦增強作用產生，在系統裏的糾正行為並不能產生功效。

經過一段時間的掙扎，婦女向社會機構求助的行為只有些微的增加 (第一次事件後有23%的人求助，最嚴重的一次有20%的人求助，最近的一次有35%的人求助，見 Giles-Sims, 1983: 56-57)，在增強作用產生後，系統的改變必須仰賴發現另一個回應 (alternative responses)。但是由於社會對家庭暴力的烙印可能會導致婦女隱瞞她的情況，因此這個家庭系統的界限變成相當的封閉，一般而言，當家庭系統相當的封閉時，男性的地位得到了正向回饋，女性的地位得到負向的回饋，如果家庭成員無法糾正系統，暴力的模式會更穩固 (Giles-Sims, 1983)。

階段四：選擇點或轉點 (choice point)

當成員不能再忍受系統的模式時，系統可能需要一些基本的改變，系統理論提供我們可依下列問題來了解基本改變的可能性：(1) 什麼時候毆妻的行為成為不能忍受；(2) 系統中有那些比暴力更不能忍受的。

一個系統一旦有了穩定的暴力模式後，是會引起相當的危機，系統理論建議如果要使系統產生變化，必須在系統中加入新的刺激，下列有幾種新的刺激突顯了系統的改變：(1) 害怕孩子受到傷害；(2) 這些婦女無法再忍受孩子們看到他們的母親被父親打；(3) 家人以外的人知道暴力事件。

階段五：離開系統

當前述的幾點新刺激發生時，若加上得到一些社會福利機構的協助，婦女通常會選擇離開此一系統。

三、台灣被毆婦女之警政資料

國內這方面的官方統計資料如何？與國外的資料相比後其差異又

如何？當檢視國內之警政資料時，發現很難有直接的統計資料可以回答以上的問題。唯一可供參考的資料是每年內政部警政署公佈的『台灣刑案資料表』中受理的傷害案及故意殺人案這兩類犯罪中，因家庭糾紛及婚姻糾紛引起的案件數。在受理的傷案類裏，從1984年到1986年，依照年次，有關家庭糾紛和婚姻糾紛合併的案件數為27件、61件、94件，分佔全類案件總數的1.43%、1.84%、1.47%；而在受理的故意殺人案類裏，從1984年到1986年，依年次其有關家庭及婚姻糾紛的案件為8件、23件、24件，佔全類案件總數之0.39%、1.28%、1.18%。

從以上的資料，表面上似乎這類的案件無論從數字本身或其他原因產生的傷害及殺人案比較起來以乎並不高，但是有可能這些數字是觸及到了犯罪黑數（dark figure of crime）的問題。而婚姻暴力引起的案例數字不高，也相信是（1）當事人的報案率低，（2）受理的機率也很低：一方面由於我國警察通常以不涉及家務事為由，不予受理，受理後通常在觀念上也不視此種暴力為犯罪行為。因此如何取得這方面的共識，以獲得較正確的統計資料，是未來立法者、學者及警察機關有待努力的方向。

國內劉可屏（1987）收集了兩年（1984與1985年）的臺北三大報紙——中央日報、中國時報與聯合報上的被毆打婦女報導。結果發現，毆妻者最常用的四種方法是打、砍、潑毒液及下藥。毆妻者在施暴時僅用一種方法的有93位，27人用兩種，三種以上的有14人。至於引起暴力的原因，統計發現最多的是為生活瑣事爭執，如夫晚歸、夫打麻將、養育子女問題，亦有丈夫嫌妻子無嫁妝、妻連生女兒、夫酗酒、夫不務正業、房事不合、外遇或索錢不遂。受虐者因夫之虐待而死亡的共有14人，受傷的46人。

研究方法

一、機構及個案的選擇

本研究是在台北晚晴協會及社會局婦女服務中心進行，多數的個

案皆是到以上兩個機構去求助者，有時也混雜有除了婚姻暴力困擾以外的求助者（諸如配偶有外遇者）。而本研究之樣本仍以家庭暴力的個案為主，至於其他類型的個案經過會談之後，瞭解案主的需要、期待，視情況而定轉介至相關機構，但仍繼續追蹤輔導。

二、研究工具與資料收集、分析

1. 問卷：兩份研究問卷，一是身心生活適應量表，以期了解婦女半年內曾有過那些的身心現象；二是參照 Giles-Sims（1983）針對被毆婦女所設計的問題，並依研究者的目的，做了一些修改，問卷內容計有本人和配偶的基本資料，家庭結構及婚姻過程，自我、婚姻等概念，毆打的過程和調適，夫妻爭執的原因，暴力歷史，對離婚的看法等，問卷於會談結束後，請案主作答，費時約三十分鐘。當個案填完後，研究者則進入深度訪談。

2. 深度訪談：包括交友，結婚過程，婚後至第一次暴力的狀況，婚姻生活壓力，暴力穩固過程及對目前狀況的期望為何。

3. 資料收集時間：從1988年十一月到89年七月共會談了二十五人，但會談者常需要繼續會談，共會談了四十次。

4. 資料分析：

- a. 在問券方面，在某一個變數上，尋求其百分比，以了解其分配狀態。
- b. 顯示出高百分比的變數則引起我們的注意，在下一個深度訪談時則特別要注意澄清，是否此變項為有意義的變項或類別（Category）；及其屬性（Property）為何？
- c. 在深度訪談（Inquiry）後取得的資料：
 - 整理
 - i. 以編年史方式整理其婚姻暴力史。
 - ii. 尋找爭執過程互動的組型。
 - iii. 主觀認為爭端衝突的原因。
 - iv. 目前的因應決定，及求助方向。
 - 從資料找類型。

- 每一類型找相關穩定的變項：類別及屬性。
- 理論抽樣。
- 檢定此歸納後的現象是否穩定，再做續談。

結果分析

一、案主及其配偶之人口統計變項資料

表一 案主及其配偶之人口統計變項資料

	個案 (N=25)	配偶 (N=25)
年齡	平均：34.6 幅度：26-47	平均：38.76 幅度：26-56
學歷	碩士：0 大學：5 (20%) 專科：5 (20%) 高中：7 (28%) 國中：8 (32%) 小學：0 其他：0	碩士：1 (4%) 大學：9 (36%) 專科：4 (16%) 高中：4 (16%) 國中：4 (16%) 小學：1 (4%) 其他：2 (8%)
收入 (新台幣)	1-2萬：5 (20%) 2-3萬：3 (12%) 3-5萬：4 (16%) 5萬以上：2 (8%) 無(家庭主婦)：11 (44%) 平均：3萬以上	1-2萬：1 (4%) 2-3萬：9 (36%) 3-5萬：10 (40%) 5萬以上：4 (16%) 不確定：1 (4%) 平均：4萬以上

(續下頁)

(接表一)

	個案 (N=25)	配偶 (N=25)
經濟來源	配偶：12 (48%) 工作：10 (40%) 親友：1 (4%) 其他：2 (8%)	工作：23 (92%) 配偶：1 (4%) 其他：1 (4%)
宗教	佛教：13 (52%) 基督教：3 (12%) 民間信仰：1 (4%) 其他：3 (12%) 無宗教信仰：5 (20%)	佛教：7 (28%) 基督教：1 (4%) 民間信仰：1 (4%) 其他：6 (24%) 無宗教信仰：10 (40%)
工作狀況	公商家管皆有 全天職：10 (40%) 兼職：1 (4%) 無工作：14 (64%) 婚前有工作：20 (80%)	公教工商皆有 全天職：23 (92%) 兼職：1 (4%) 失業：1 (4%)

表一資料顯示目前來求助之案主，大多集中在30歲與40歲之間，教育程度則為國中以上，大學和專科佔40%（十位），而其配偶程度在專科以上則佔56%（十四位）；並且其配偶平均收入在四萬以上。

當檢視案主與其配偶教育程度的差異時發現，在二十五位中，絕大部份先生的教育水準高於妻子，僅有一位妻子是高中畢業，而其配偶為國小畢業；大多數案主傾向於婚後辭職，並成為全職家庭主婦，唯擁有大學畢業文憑之五位婦女中僅有一位為全職家庭主婦。因有十三位案主為家庭主婦，因此半數之案主需倚賴丈夫之經濟；而丈夫的工作狀況尚稱穩定與滿意。綜合以上資料顯示半數之案主因在經濟上須仰賴其配偶，故陷入較不利的位置；資料初步未支持“妻子教育水

準高，威脅配偶，因而易起暴力”之說法，亦未支持丈夫多為失業者，因失業壓力而引起暴力之說。唯以上之人口統計變項資料尚未與全國一般家庭人口統計資料做比較，故難以做進一步的推論，僅能就此二十五位個案的描繪，進行分析、探討。

二、案主與配偶之原生家庭背景

表二 原生家庭背景

	個案 (N=25)	配偶 (N=25)
學歷	父：小學：16 (64%) 母：小學：18 (72%)	父：小學：16 (64%) 母：小學：18 (72%)
職業	父：有職業：18 (72%) 母：家管：17 (68%)	父：有職業：20 (80%) 無：5 (20%) 母：家管：15 (60%)
收入*	1-3萬：15 (60%) 3-8萬：6 (24%) 無收入：4 (16%)	無收入：12 (48%) 1-3萬：10 (40%) 3-8萬：3 (12%)
父母婚姻狀況	尚可：16 (64%) 關係不好：6 (24%) 其中有4位關係惡劣	尚可：11 (44%) 關係不好：10 (40%)
父母毆打情形	有：6 (24%) 否：19 (76%)	有：7 (28%) 否：18 (72%)
被虐兒童	是：4 (16%) 否：21 (84%)	是：7 (28%) 否：17 (68%) 孤兒：1 (4%)

*個案為娘家；配偶為夫家

據表二資料顯示，二十五位案主的父母與公婆教育水準大多在小學程度；收入也較案主目前為低，24-40%者夫妻關係不好，20%左右案主之父母、公婆也有互毆現象。其中配偶在兒童期有被虐經驗有七人 (28%)，而公婆有互毆情形並且配偶亦為被虐兒童者有七人，故是否因生長在一暴力家庭因而習慣以暴力來做為應對壓力的方式，值得未來研究和進一步探討，在案主主觀陳述中大多與母親較親近，與父親較疏遠；而其配偶多與雙親有距離。

三、婚前交往及成婚過程

1. 婚前與異性的關係：與案主做比較，配偶婚前離婚或有同居經驗者較多，但僅有一位案主提及配偶之前妻、孩子造成目前的婚姻困擾。
2. 婚前交友時間短：25位個案中有過半數 (14位) 從認識到結婚時間均不到一年。
3. 婚前性行為及未婚懷孕：個案中約有七位在婚前發生性行為，有五位婚前住在一起，其中三位未婚懷孕。這些個案交往的過程中，也有些覺得不合適，但因婚前發生性行為，在在“烈女不侍二夫”、“從一而終”的心態下，或在有了孩子的矛盾心情下，完成終身大事。
4. 有衝突、暴力的行為產生：個案中約有五位 (20%) 婚前即有衝突、暴力的場面，雖然婚前知道其配偶有暴力的行為傾向，但案主大多認為那是一次單一 (single) 事件，並未警覺這可能是配偶平日在壓力下的習慣反應，有可能婚後延續此行為；且同時認為只要結婚後一切都會有所改變，相信愛能改變一切。
5. 婚前家人的反對：來訪的個案中，雖有三位在支持下結婚，也有七位 (28%) 遭到家人特別是爸媽的反對，反對的理由在於父母認為兩者年齡、教育程度、背景的差異大。或是配偶和家人婚前連繫不夠，無形中有些疏遠、距離，引起家人的反感。至於家人反對是否

造成日後的壓力而產生暴力亦或如何造成壓力則有待進一步探討。

6. **婚前感情尚佳**：雖有五位提及婚前已有暴力的行為，以及多數在短時間成婚，但問及婚前的感情時仍有十四位（56%）認為婚前是有感情基礎且頗相愛，七位認為普通。因此婚前有感情，並不一定保障婚後的關係必然會好，婚姻關係良好與否似乎和婚後如何調適及配合較有關。

大體而言，這些個案在婚前的特色為認識配偶時間短，而決定婚姻的關鍵，仍為“傳統”上女性對婚姻伴侶的期待，例如要求配偶能呵護，能終身倚靠等，因此當她們覺得對方還不錯，能滿足這些條件時也就接納對方，但通常缺乏對配偶本身或是婚姻本體更深一層的了解，另外婚前性行為或未婚懷孕及向家人社會交待，都是這些案主成婚的重要因素。

四、婚後生活壓力到第一次暴力的發生

1. 目前婚姻、家庭結構

一般而言，這些個案成婚齡平均25歲。而結婚齡為9.45年（由二月到二十四年），子女數二個者為最多，有二十位（80%）是小家庭（但其中有四位提到曾和婆家住）。

2. 婚姻關係惡化及第一次毆打的時間

由個案的回溯中，婚後不到一年關係即開始惡化者居多數（十位），其次是婚後一至二年者有六位。共佔全人數之64%。在婚後第一次毆打時間可分四個類型：（1）在一年之內的有十位（40%），這其中有四位（16%）在三個月中被打。（2）二至四年間的有八位（32%）。（3）五至九年的有四位（16%）。（4）十年以後才被打有三人（12%），各為13年，23年，11年。由於以上的分配現象，可以看出如果有暴力傾向時在婚後很快即會反應出此種行為模式（72%的配偶在一年內動粗），而且婚後第一年為婚姻關係的考驗期，若渡

過它，則關係惡化的可能性減少。

3. 導致第一次毆打及婚姻惡化之事件與壓力

案主所提及第一次暴力前的重要事件，主要是對妻子的抱怨（24%）、丈夫的外遇（16%）及對丈夫的抱怨（12%）等事件，但若綜合案主的陳述，讓婚姻關係開始惡化的幾個因素為：

- a. **婚後的壓力**：如個案中有十五位案主婚後馬上懷孕。當彼此都還在配合、適應，還沒有準備好如何做父母，兩人關係還未趨向穩定固著時，新生兒的誕生多少給予家庭一些危機及新的壓力，因此有四位案主提到孩子出生後，兩人關係開始不好，其原因不外孩子太吵，加上是第一個孩子的緣故，所以孩子難帶；或因為孩子的出生婦女太過專心照顧孩子而忽略丈夫。
- b. **配偶婚後有不良的嗜好**：如喝酒（六位）、賭博（三位）。
- c. **外遇問題**：外遇問題是造成婚姻關係惡化的一個相當重要的因素。案主中有三位配偶在婚姻第一年就有外遇的問題。
- d. **大男人主義與溝通不良**：部分案主反應在婚姻中，是認為丈夫常無法控制自己的情緒，常不知道為了什麼事招惹丈夫，只要稍為不順從他，不聽從他，有違反他的意願，就招來打罵的情形。
- e. 也有因先生工作忙，應酬多，回家晚，妻子不滿意此種狀況而引發衝突，進而動手。

4. 第一次暴力後案主的反應，歸因及因應之道

第一次暴力後，妻子大多反應震驚、楞住、不相信、退縮、默默的不哼聲（十五人，60%）；其次為回嘴、對罵、哭泣；再其次為告訴婆婆、回娘家；而接下來則以冷戰繼之。

至於妻子如何去理解自己床頭人會動手打自己呢？有60%的人認為“這是他的習慣”，但也有36%左右案主認為這是一個獨立事件，他大概是控制不了才發生的。

至於誰該為這件事負責呢？52%案主認為是配偶，28%認為兩人皆需負責，16%認為其他人，如婆婆、外遇的第三者等，其感受大多為非常悲傷（88%）。

第一次事件發生後，妻子驚嚇、難過之餘，處理的方式有兩種情形，一是消極的不做任何處理，雖然經過暴力的行為，即使內心充滿著難過、委曲，會有幾天冷戰，但當彼此情緒漸平息，又回到平時的生活型態；二是告訴自己的父母及公婆，通常家人的反應，也是比較消極，勸女方要忍耐，再者家人在不了解事情真相之下，會有比較多的情緒，有時不但不能解決問題，反而更加深彼此的反感；而公婆也大多勸媳婦要忍耐，他的兒子從小就這樣，無法改變，要女方睜一隻眼，閉一隻眼等，大多數的婦女就在此不知道該怎麼辦的情況下，沒有進一步做適當處理。

5. 暴力婚姻的生活模式、壓力與爭執原因

至於這些有暴力的婚姻，其容易產生爭執而引發暴力的原因，由案主陳述的次數多寡排列次序如表四。

表四 爭執原因

項目	N	%
金錢使用	14	56
太太對先生猜忌	12	48
孩子管教	10	40
性生活與情感表達	9	36
先生對太太猜忌	5	20
先生酗酒	5	20
婆媳問題	4	16

6. 婚姻暴力的固著與穩定

除了少數個案（四位）只發生過一次或兩次的暴力事件外，多數的案主在第一次暴力事件後，與配偶爭執、毆打的模式就逐漸穩固下來。當檢視暴力模式時，發現大多是起源於一個相似的事件或情境（如配偶回家晚），雙方開始爭執，而其互動的過程亦呈穩定現象，等到爭執最激烈時，開始動手；通常毆打後的反應也大致雷同（如案主開始執問→配偶動怒→案主說了最能挑釁配偶的話→配偶動手→案主回罵→配偶停手繼續威脅→案主哭泣）。

這些暴力的穩定模式顯示，經常在前一個爭執的事件中，在未妥協與未處理的狀況下，雙方對此一事件，都有其歸因及看法，而這樣的看法又導致負面的情緒。這種負面的認知與情緒通常就會形成一種強大的心理動力（psychodynamic），在遇到類似的情境與事件時，它會從背景（background）轉化成主體（figure），而無法壓抑住負面情緒，又進入下一個暴力循環。從暴力過程的穩定性，亦顯示出互動方式是一種因應習慣方式（coping style）。因此若要改變此一穩定的模式，一方面要能重新認知（restructure）原來之爭執事件、情境，另一方面要改變雙方的因應模式。

至於爭執過程中，男、女慣用的爭執行為，表五顯示女性最習慣的行為為據理力爭，不交談，哭泣，漫罵及侮辱對方等。偶爾會做的行為包括丟擲東西，打對方巴掌，推咬或打或用東西打等；但是通常不至於痛毆對方或使用刀槍或用以威脅之，僅有一位案主在一次危急狀況下欲保護自己而用菜刀威脅對方。

相對於女性行為，男性最常使用的是據理力爭，漫罵及侮辱對方，丟擲東西，打巴掌，咬打，也有一位使用刀子或以刀子威脅；比較不常使用的是尋找第三者支持，跑出房間，哭叫等行為。一般而言，男性在爭執時的行為較為凶暴及危險。

當詢問毆打的頻率時，案主回答較不明確，大多回答“不定期”，經分類後發現，在求助前被毆打一至二次的有四人，四至五次有六人，每月至少一次有十五人。暴力造成的傷害甚至威脅到生命者有二人，其中一位曾因骨盆破裂而住院。暴力後有明顯外傷，如流血或被

表五 案主與其配偶爭端行為之比較表

項目	頻率	自己的反應		配偶的反應	
		N	%	N	%
心平氣和討論	從來沒有一兩次	12	48	21	84
	偶而有一經常如此	13	52	4	16
各自據理力爭	從來沒有一兩次	5	20	8	32
	偶而有一經常如此	20	80	17	68
第三者支持	從來沒有一兩次	19	76	25	100
	偶而有一經常如此	6	24	0	0
謾罵侮辱	從來沒有一兩次	17	68	4	16
	偶而有一經常如此	8	32	11	84
鬧彆扭不交談	從來沒有一兩次	10	40	20	80
	偶而有一經常如此	15	60	5	20
跑出房間	從來沒有一兩次	22	88	21	84
	偶而有一經常如此	3	12	4	16
哭	從來沒有一兩次	19	76	25	100
	偶而有一經常如此	6	24	0	0
砸碎東西	從來沒有一兩次	24	96	18	72
	偶而有一經常如此	1	4	7	28
向對方丟東西	從來沒有一兩次	24	96	14	56
	偶而有一經常如此	1	4	11	44
推擠 抓奪	從來沒有一兩次	24	96	16	64
	偶而有一經常如此	1	4	9	36

(續下頁)

(接表五)

項目	頻率	自己的反應		配偶的反應	
		N	%	N	%
打對方巴掌	從來沒有一兩次	25	100	14	56
	偶而有一經常如此	0	0	11	44
推咬或打	從來沒有一兩次	23	92	15	60
	偶而有一經常如此	2	8	10	40
打架或用東西打	從來沒有一兩次	24	96	10	40
	偶而有一經常如此	1	4	15	60
痛毆對方	從來沒有一兩次	25	100	15	60
	偶而有一經常如此	0	0	10	40
用刀威脅對方	從來沒有一兩次	25	100	23	92
	偶而有一經常如此	0	0	2	8
用刀打擊對方	從來沒有一兩次	25	100	24	96
	偶而有一經常如此	0	0	1	4

工具毆傷的共有十一人，而暴力後呈現瘀青紅腫等局部傷害有九人。

暴力時之方法與工具：72%配偶仍是使用手，其餘使用皮帶，籐條，木棍，家具及菜刀。

暴力後的反應方式：女性大致有數種類型（1）哭泣（在原地及走開），不哼聲；（2）質問，但沒有明顯動怒；（3）回罵；（4）回打；（5）離家出走，或回娘家；（6）就醫；（7）外出打第三者。但目前以在原地哭泣，回罵，離家出走或回娘家者最多。男性的反應類型有（1）停止，離開原地，沒繼續處理；（2）停止，但繼續威脅；（3）去睡覺；（4）道歉；（5）逗她，討好她。

其暴力型態呈現 Walker (1979) 三期者：在二十五位個案中，有六位個案婚姻暴力的關係呈現明顯的三期，亦即 Walker 所謂的蜜月期，緊張期及毆打期，三期不斷的循環，成為穩定固著的關係。

表六 第一次和最嚴重暴力事件之比較

項目		第一次被虐			最嚴重一次		
		N	%	G-S* %	N	%	G-S%
時間 (婚後)	不到3個月	4	16	-	0	0	-
	3月-1年	6	24	-	3	12	-
	2-4年	8	32	-	1	4	-
	4年以上	7	28	-	18	72	-
狀況	同居	1	4	-	0	0	-
	結婚	23	92	-	25	100	-
重要事件	對妻子抱怨	6	24	-	4	13	-
	丈夫外遇	4	16	-	5	20	-
	對丈夫抱怨	3	12	-	3	12	-
歸因	獨立事件	10	40	90	4	16	0
	他的習慣	15	60	10	21	84	100
事後	不哼聲	15	60	-	13	52	-
	回嘴	3	12	-	3	12	-
	回打	2	8	-	3	12	-
	離開房子	2	8	-	0	0	-
	回娘家	1	4	-	2	8	-
感到罪惡感	是	2	8	41	3	12	22
	否	23	92	-	22	88	-

(續下頁)

(接表六)

項目		第一次被虐			最嚴重一次		
		N	%	G-S* %	N	%	G-S%
對自己生氣	是	7	28	32	7	28	24
	否	18	72	-	18	72	-
對丈夫生氣	是	23	92	86	22	88	92
	否	2	8	-	3	12	-
願意原諒	是	7	28	93	3	12	29
	否	17	68	-	22	88	-
誰該負責	配偶	13	52	45	13	52	55
	兩人	7	28	6	6	24	14
	他人	4	16	10	4	16	3
感受	非常悲傷	22	88	-	20	80	-
	一點也不 一點悲傷	3	12	-	5	20	-

*Giles-Sims, 1963

由表六可知最嚴重之事件大多發生在結婚兩年後，暴力模式穩定後妻子在這時已不再認為這是一件單一事件，有趣的是，大多婦女在事後的反應絕大多數仍是“不哼聲”。

暴力後多數案主感到委屈，害怕，生氣，絕望，憤恨甚至羞恥。同時表示目前最需要的幫助是撫平心靈的創傷（40%），另外則是做離婚前的準備、了解相關的法律常識及親友的支持。她們最習慣的求助途徑是自己的朋友、父母以及專業的機構，同時也認為自己的父母通常是會支持她們（僅有兩位表示父母會支持其配偶），而婆家對其處境基本是相當疏遠及冷漠。

7. 綜合而言

本研究有意義的資料，在於顯示有婚姻暴力的家庭並非全來自低社經階層，甚至可說一半是來自中上階層。被毆婦女有一半以上經濟皆完全仰賴先生；毆打者的學歷從小學到研究所皆有，大學以上者佔40%，職業分布於公、教、工、商，收入平均在三至四萬左右。當探討其原生家庭背景時，發現父母及公婆出現婚姻暴力的比率皆極為接近，當探討其目前的家庭結構時大多為小家庭，以兩個子女的為最多。婚前認識時間不滿一年者佔半數以上，婚前感情尚佳者也有半數之多，同時大多在婚後一年內即表現出暴力行為。以上的資料皆與陳若璋和李瑞玲（1988）的十八位個案的研究資料穩合。

基本資料中還顯示妻子的教育水準皆比其配偶低，此資料初步並未支持因妻子的社經高而威脅丈夫自尊的說法，另一個值得進一步驗證的資料為七名早期經常被父母打的配偶，其父母也經常有互毆的現象，是否因早期常觀察到父母的暴力行為及經驗此暴力行為，透過社會學習（social learning）的結果，被虐孩童長大後也很容易以暴力的方式來處理挫折或與人溝通的特殊方式，可值得再繼續探討。

本研究資料與美國 Giles-Sims（1983）以三十一名被毆婦女為樣本的資料比較後顯示（參見表六），Giles-Sims 樣本中的配偶其教育水準較低及其失業狀況亦較嚴重。（本研究的樣本很少有因為失業而引起爭執者）至於爭執的起因，兩個研究結果相同的有：金錢的使用，男的有藥癮、酒癮的問題，孩子的管教問題，家事的處理，以及男的外遇問題等等。不同的在於 Giles-Sims 的樣本因配偶的工作或失業，及婦女的工作或失業問題而引起爭吵，同時配偶有藥癮、酒癮的問題以及性與情感表達問題方面，比本研究高出及嚴重很多。至於比較在第一次及最嚴重暴力事件之後案主的感受和歸因時，發現 Giles-Sims 的樣本在第一次暴力後比本研究樣本更傾向於歸因“這是一次單一失控的狀況，是可以原諒的”；而到了最嚴重的一次暴力事件，已大多領悟到這是配偶的習慣與個性，屆時通常會歸因為這是配偶的錯。這個現象相信都和兩地的社會，文化因素有關，在我國的父系社會體系內，通常毆打妻子的現象較為普遍與被社會接受，因此很

早就意識到毆打為男人的習慣，也較傾向於認同被毆打亦是自已惹的禍。

討論

本研究資料，不僅只是勾勒出這些被虐婦女的生活藍圖，這個羣體的特質與困境，更反應了這個社會兩性關係的深層結構，這個深層結構包括了顯示這個社會還是一個相當閉鎖的男性中心社會，比如說這些虐待妻子的丈夫普遍都相當的權威，擁有刻板化的婚姻角色概念，對貞節理念持著雙重標準。諸如參加本研究晤談的配偶中，不乏在晤談過程提到“我打她是為了教育她，我把她殺了也在所不惜”，常把妻子當成是一個物體，而不是“人”來對待，“我給她吃，給她穿，要她不要作事，在家享福；她還要和我辯，說什麼她要出去做事，要有成長的機會……”她們不能體會做妻子的有其獨特的需要，常以其刻板化的角色概念來要求妻子，即是做妻子的該“待在家，照顧小孩，料理家事，伺候公婆”；對於外遇的問題通常也有雙重標準，諸如“我不管和別的女人上床幾次，只要不涉及感情，就不算外遇…若我的太太和別人上床，我就要她好看”。

在這種閉鎖式的父系中心社會環境中成長的婦女，也容易不知覺中將自己角色定位在某個層次而陷入了一些困境，這些包括：（1）將“好女人”的定位放在扮演一個提供者，管理者，犧牲的角色上，自然有很多的怨氣；因她自認已扮演好一個“好女人”的角色，故對兩性關係的互動知識或男性的了解時常缺乏也不刻意追尋。（2）中國家庭的隱性夫妻軸特質也在本研究中展露無遺。許烺光（Hsu, 1970）曾提及中國人的家庭是隱性的夫妻軸，以及過份擴展的父子、母子軸，本研究的資料顯示出大多數配偶很少將其注意力放在家庭中，對妻子有很多的要求，卻很少願意花時間及精力提高夫妻關係的品質。而妻子在扮演這種“提供者，管理者，犧牲者”的角色時，也容易將許多注意力放在子女身上，這種與子女過分的投入，過分的共生關係，這種“子宮家庭”的特色是台灣婦女的一個困境。這種狀況造成的後果是，婦女主要投入對象是子女，即使是離婚後又不容易再

婚；也因為和子女的關係太過親密，因此當她的子女成立家庭時，也常感到威脅，容易和新進入家庭者形成權力的競爭，造成婆媳問題，以及下一代的婚姻問題。因此簡而言之，在此閉鎖性的男性中心社會，婦女常因對問題缺乏意識感，缺乏自我，無法分化等種種問題而陷入遭受暴力的困境。

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性別差異與心理調適

—台灣地區青少年研究

張珏

近年來對適應 (adjustment) 的研究，以洪冬桂 (1986) 的文獻歸納共分成五大方向，它們是 (1) 強調個人與環境之交互作用 (interaction)；(2) 強調生活歷程 (process)，不斷調適與成長；(3) 強調和諧的狀態或關係 (harmonious state or relationship)，自我實現，人際和諧；(4) 強調品質、能力或方法；(5) 強調壓力 (stress) 和因應行為 (coping behaviour)。其中以壓力與調適的觀念，其實可以涵蓋前四項的理念 (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984; Cohen, 1987)。而調適也可謂之因應形態與因應行為，其定義為當個體為避免承受內外壓力情境所引起的傷害；威脅而產生使之平衡的反應行為 (Pearlin & Schooler, 1978)。其功能在於減除並改變行為問題，認知改變或控制行為，維持情緒在可控制範圍內。而調適策略或因應策略，則可謂之是一個過程，在不斷評估，因應的互動下，經第二，第三次的認知評估下，經認知思考而形成策略以為因應行為，即稱之，它亦指特殊情境下對壓力的反應 (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984)。因應形態 (coping style) 則指個人平時多半採行的因應特性，即已成為習慣及有所偏好 (Vaillant, 1976)。

調適與因應在用詞上有其同異處，但目前習慣上，兩者可通用之。

在過去20年對調適的研究，多半偏向行為的產生、類別、常採用

型式、功能等，也有針對特質 (trait) 來比較，也有以特定情境所生反應 (episodic) 來探討，而其間又可區分為單一方向 (unidimension) 或多方向 (multidimension) (Cohen, 1987; Lindog & Gibson, 1982)，由此又更進一步探討影響壓力反應的各項因素，而調適被視之為重要中介變項 (Cheung, 1986)。然而在對調適的探討中，那些因素影響調適的發生，卻甚少提及 (洪冬桂, 1986; Holahan & Moos, 1987)。洪冬桂 (1986) 曾嘗試以十九種變項，去預測因應的標準型態，但她所採用的因應型態是直接予四種類別直接選擇使用頻率，而非採用客觀量表，也未對性別差異分開探討。

性別因素常習慣被視之為一個變項，最後分析時，只說有差異或有影響，甚或將兩性合併一起討論，卻未深入去了解真正造成兩性的差異原因為何，或是單獨只做一種性別 (陳滿樺, 1983; Hwang, 1978)。在台灣這種現象尤其多。

Miller & Kirsch (1987) 曾對壓力所作認知調適 (cognitive coping) 進行男女差異的比較，他們提出六種調適原則並各舉出文獻上數篇報導，檢視多少篇提出性別上有差異，其結果摘要如下：

1. 負面自我評價，負面期待與負面思考 (Negative self-evaluation, negative expectations, and negative thoughts)：其中對此三種類別，十一篇中之二篇 (2/11)，七篇中一篇 (1/7)，五篇中一篇 (1/5) 呈現男女不同。
2. 不合理思考，認知偏差與詢息處理 (Irrational thoughts, cognitive distortions, and information processing)：前二者為九篇中二篇 (2/9)，後者為十篇中一篇 (1/10) 提出差異。
3. 歸因，內外控與主觀控制想法 (Causal attribution, locus of control, perceptions of control)：十九篇中無一篇有差別。
4. 尋找資訊與逃避 (Information seeking and avoidance)：十五篇中三篇 (3/15) 有性別差異。
5. 自我監視與自我調整 (Self-monitor and self-regulation)：六篇中三篇 (3/6) 提出有性別不同，但結果不一致。

6. 情緒專注，問題傾向與認知傾向的因應 (Emotional-focused, problem-focused, and appraisal-focused coping)：在前二者上有明顯性別差異 (6/7)。但卻呈現不一致現象，也就是說在有的研究中，強調男性較多問題傾向處理，男女在情緒上相同，但也有研究指出，男比女在情緒上較少，但問題處理上一樣。

由於上述六種調適方式，以第六種較呈現差異，因此本研究也就嘗試以第六種調適做探討。

過去一般認為是生理，環境與文化影響性別，而導致不同的適應，其實近年來女性研究立場，更提出男女兩性有受其社會壓抑，及社會化的結果，過去多半只以男性為研究對象，或由男性立場去描述女性，同時加上既定刻板觀念而解釋最後現象，或採用統計差異較籠統地便認定男女差異，其實真正要明瞭兩性的同異，需真實去檢視並指出男女兩性可能皆有的反應，與可能不同的特質為何才較合宜 (Archer & Lloyd, 1985)。

因此本研究嘗試比較由客觀量表上男女兩性的調適反應，同時也將男女兩性分開，以相同變項來預測調適方式，欲明瞭那些變項對男或女有其特別的意義。

研究方法

本研究係以台灣地區五專學生為訪問對象，採橫切面 (cross-sectional) 問卷調查法。

研究對象雖以全台灣五專學生為主，但由於此研究係配合另一類肌症的調查同時進行，而為該研究需要，去除屬於體育類與醫學類的專校，結果成為十四大類 (普通科、報政、會統、企管、音樂、電機、航海、法文、化工、服裝、國貿、機工、土木工程與園藝科) 五十七所學校為調查母羣體，再經叢集抽樣 (cluster sampling) 每一類別凡滿五所即抽一校，而一校二百五十名學生，分佈各年級，男女各半，但由於有的學校全屬同性別，也有的學校只有一~二年級，因此最後抽樣結果共十六所學校，3,681人。

訪視過程係採團體施測方式進行，藉等待牙齒檢查之前回答問卷，統一收回，當場僅一人拒交，共回收3,680人，回收率99.9%，分析時發現有227人填答不盡詳實，因此實際參與分析人數共3,454人，其中男性2,037人，女性1,644人，年齡分佈為十五至二十四歲，學校分佈台灣地區的北、中、南部。

研究工具

以美國 Haynes 等人 (1978) 於 Framingham 地區進行心臟血管疾病危險因子長期追縱研究中，所採行的心理社會量表共計四十八題，其分項各為：

- A型性格：對時間要求、工作競爭上緊迫，共十題。
- 情緒化：情緒不穩、易感、易變化起伏、耽心等，共十一題。
- 野心傾向：有完成事業、超越他人的雄心，共三題。
- 自在性格：有幽默感、可隨遇而安，共三題。
- 緊張反應：無法放鬆、在壓力下不安、失眠等，共六題。
- 學業壓力（工作壓力）：要求多、負荷重，共二題。
- 焦慮反應：坐立不安、呼吸急促等，共三題。
- 生氣反應：生氣時的症狀包括頭痛、擔心、憂鬱等，共五題。
- 生氣內控：生氣時常採壓抑、表面裝作無事狀，共二題。
- 生氣外責：生氣時會責備別人、會表現出來使他人知，共一題。
- 生氣問題解決：生氣後會找人談論、抒解，共二題。

此外亦採用筆者另一研究 (Chang, 1985) 中所自編競爭性格共三題、社會支持共三題，面對壓力的生理反應二題，以及周遭人物環境給其壓力的主觀感受共七題。

上述得分皆以李克 (Likert) 方式四分點評量，分數越高、傾向越大。

調適量表則採 Jalowiec & Power (1981) 所設計之量表共四十

題，亦經筆者在其他研究中採用 (張珏，黃文鴻，鄭姜貴等，1989；張鈺，黃梅美，林弘崇，1988) 為測量一般人碰到不如意情況或壓力事件所採的因應反應為何。題目方向以問題解決與情緒處理兩大類。量表係以李克式五分量表填答，得分越高表示此方法常被用。此外亦同時收集研究對象的家庭背景等相關資料。

研究結果與討論

一、基本資料

由表一可得研究樣本中男女在家庭背景上的同異，家庭組成父母是否健在上並無差別，但在排行上，父母教育上則略有不同，其中男性排行么子女較多，父母教育程度較低一些。

由表二則可比較男女在社會心理特質上的差異。女性比男性得分較高於下列變項：A型性格、情緒化、緊張反應、學業壓力、焦慮反應、生氣反應、生氣外責、生氣問題解決與社會支持。而男性較女性高分於有野心傾向、自在性格、生氣內控與競爭性格。

對上述男女的差異顯現出一些有趣現象，一般而言在A型特質多半男比女高 (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984; Haynes & Matthews, 1988)。但由於本研究對象是五專生，在成就趨力方面男性反而較低，也代表這個羣體的特性，女性反而較積極些。同樣也反應在對學業感受壓力上，女性較重視學業成就 (Chang, 1985)，而男性則對外顯事業的競爭性較強。尤其特別的是男女在生氣反應處理的比較，女性呈現較會外現，且表達更進一步採解決方法，而男性則較偏壓抑，裝成若無其事，其實其生氣這情緒並未得到化解，由 Cox (1979) 在其壓力 (“Stress”) 一書中曾指出，逃避壓抑生氣未抒解，會造成血壓高漲，形成高血壓或心臟血管病變，也有因壓抑而造成內分泌系統的不平衡，雖然由此預測略嫌快速，但對男女在疾病罹患率上的差異，如高血壓、甲狀腺等，是否有其情緒處理上的影響，有待進一步研究。

而女性在焦慮反應、情緒化方面，呈現比男性較高，這與一般男

表一：樣本依性別之基本資料

	男生		女生		χ^2
	N	%	N	%	
總數	2056	55.9	1625	44.1	
父母存歿					4.48
雙亡	3	0.1	0	0.0	
父歿	74	3.7	52	3.2	
母歿	17	0.8	8	0.5	
俱健	1931	95.4	1552	96.3	
總數	2025	55.7	1612	44.3	
父親教育程度					37.2**
無	60	3.0	38	2.4	
國中以下	1050	52.7	696	43.4	
高中	516	25.9	475	29.7	
大學以上	367	18.4	393	24.5	
總數	1993	55.4	1602	44.6	
母親教育程度					32.1**
無	245	12.3	148	9.2	
國中以下	1348	67.5	1025	64.0	
高中	308	15.4	295	18.4	
大學以上	95	4.8	134	8.4	
總數	1996	55.5	1602	44.5	
家中排行順序					35.5**
長子女	528	26.1	467	29.0	
中間子女	687	34.0	646	40.1	
么子女	762	37.7	457	28.3	
獨生子女	46	2.3	42	2.6	
總數	2023	55.7	1612	44.3	

**p<0.01

*p<0.05

表二 男女在社會心理量表上的差異

	男生樣本		女生樣本		F 值
	M	S.D.	M	S.D.	
A型性格	2.62	.44	2.69	.45	8.64**
情緒化	2.31	.44	2.51	.47	170.73**
野心傾向	3.10	.69	2.90	.74	68.44**
自在性格	2.91	.60	2.83	.61	14.59**
緊張反應	1.79	.51	1.85	.53	10.55**
學業壓力	2.02	.69	2.10	.73	11.59**
焦慮反應	2.01	.59	2.10	.61	19.56**
生氣反應	1.72	.50	1.88	.55	87.18**
生氣內控	2.29	.69	2.16	.67	35.60**
生氣外責	1.89	.75	2.03	.73	31.56**
生氣問題解決	2.60	.72	2.68	.71	11.53**
競爭性格	2.71	.66	2.56	.66	44.90**
社會支持	2.49	.58	2.65	.57	70.33**

**p<0.01

女比較時呈現一致現象，而這種特質是否也同樣影響個人的調適方法，與男性一樣，下面將分開探討這些心理社會因素如何影響調適行為。

二、調適行為

針對 Jalowiec & Powers (1981) 的調適量表，分別進行男女在每一組項目回答的差異，同時也進行因素分析，將調適行為分成大類別，以俾進行心理社會因素預測調適的探討。

表三 總樣本對調適量表的因素分析結果與男、女、總樣本調適方式的排序

因素一 主動式問題解決	總樣本		男生樣本		女生樣本		Sig	
	因素分數	Mean 排序	Mean 排序	Mean 排序	Mean 排序	Mean 排序		
33. 您嘗試從許多可行的辦法中，找一件最可行的去做	.67509	3.45	7	3.49	7	3.41	8	M
39. 您會設立一個目標，然後針對目標，去解決問題	.67130	3.20	15	3.24	15	3.15	18	M
36. 您會把遭遇到的事情，分成好幾個步驟，然後一步步去處理	.65473	3.04	19	3.12	18	2.93	22	M
35. 您會用過去的經驗去解決問題	.63862	3.47	6	3.54	5	3.38	9	M
40. 您會為下一個您最想作的事作準備	.61594	3.40	10	3.42	9	3.37	10	
25. 您會主動地設法改變現況	.60328	3.27	13	3.30	11	3.22	16	M
6. 您會考慮採用其他的方法	.60183	3.30	12	3.33	10	3.25	12	M
20. 您會從這不如意的事中體會到一些事情	.58989	3.77	2	3.72	2	3.84	2	F
18. 您會客觀地分析問題	.57890	3.45	8	3.49	8	3.41	7	M
13. 可能做的事，您都會去試試看，雖然您不能確定那樣行得通	.57789	3.15	18	3.19	16	3.10	19	M
14. 您會和面臨同樣情況的人交換意見	.55452	3.31	11	3.27	13	3.36	11	F
32. 您會盡力尋找這不如意事相關的資料	.46548	2.59	27	2.62	25	2.55	29	
17. 您會接受事實	.45617	3.65	3	3.68	3	3.62	3	
4. 您會希望事情逐漸好轉	.42689	3.90	1	3.85	1	3.96	1	F
19. 對於某些事，您仍希望參加自己的意見，而不願任何事都由別人作主	.40124	3.54	5	3.53	6	3.56	6	
15. 您會在心裏作最壞的打算	.37190	3.24	14	3.25	14	3.22	15	
27. 您想獨自一個人靜一靜，不希望別人來打擾您	.30645	3.57	4	3.54	4	3.61	5	
30. 您希望由家人或朋友那兒，獲得安慰或支持	.28271	3.44	9	3.30	12	3.61	4	F
		3.38		3.38		3.37		
因素二 逃避式情緒處理								
22. 您變得神經質	.62937	1.93	37	1.73	39	2.18	35	F
24. 您會將這不如意事歸咎於別人	.61966	2.14	34	2.11	34	2.18	34	F
26. 您會由於情緒的不穩，而遷怒於他人或他物	.59298	2.50	29	2.40	29	2.62	28	F
23. 您變得畏縮，不喜歡和別人說話或主動拜訪別人	.57760	2.44	30	2.35	30	2.54	30	F
28. 您認為毫無希望了，因而自我放棄	.56726	2.04	35	1.99	35	2.10	36	F
1. 您會很擔心並且焦慮不安	.55507	3.02	20	2.84	24	3.25	13	F
12. 您不自覺地會幻想，或作白日夢	.54971	2.64	26	2.60	26	2.69	25	F
11. 您會把問題讓別人去幫您解決	.45195	2.24	32	2.28	31	2.21	33	
2. 您會哭泣	.44920	2.18	33	1.79	37	2.67	26	F
16. 您會發脾氣、罵人	.43069	2.58	28	2.52	27	2.65	27	F
34. 您相信這是命運的安排，所以不做任何打算	.43002	2.25	31	2.25	32	2.25	32	
21. 您會禱告，求神保佑	.36231	2.68	25	2.50	28	2.89	23	F
		2.40		2.28		2.52		F>M

(續下頁)

(接表三)

因素三 行動傾向	總樣本		男生樣本		女生樣本		Sig	
	因素分數	Mean 排序	Mean 排序	Mean 排序	Mean 排序	Mean 排序		
8. 您會去喝酒	.59830	1.51	39	1.73	38	1.23	39	M
7. 您會不停地吃東西、抽煙、嚼口香糖或嚼檳榔	.50145	1.87	38	1.98	36	1.74	38	M
9. 您會服用鎮靜劑或安眠等藥物	.45278	1.10	40	1.13	40	1.06	40	M
3. 您會做些身體活動(或運動)來消除緊張	.39607	2.72	24	2.95	21	2.42	31	M
5. 您會一笑置之，因為預料還有更糟的情況	.38840	2.80	23	2.88	23	2.70	24	M
31. 您會做些肌肉鬆弛之調解法(如瑜珈、打坐、或打太極拳等)使自己心情不受干擾	.32646	2.01	36	2.15	33	1.84	37	M
		1.98		2.13		1.83		M>F
因素四 順其自然								
37. 去睡一覺，您想明天就會覺得好過些	.51020	3.19	16	3.17	17	3.23	14	
10. 您試著不去想它，或去想些別的事	.48631	2.93	22	2.90	22	2.97	21	
38. 您會告訴自己“不用擔心，任何事情都會圓滿解決的”	.42615	2.97	21	2.95	20	3.00	20	
29. 您照常生活，希望問題會自行解決	.12053	3.16	17	3.11	19	3.21	17	F
因素負荷量		3.07		3.03		3.10		F>M

由表三中，可以發現因素分析結果可解釋33.9%的現象，共分成四大因素，第一項十八題，較偏向行動趨向，與 Jalowiec, Murphy & Powers (1984) 原始量表分類比較只四題屬情緒部份，也較偏認知想法方面(例如希望事情好轉，想獨自一人靜一下等)，因此定名為主動式問題解決。在這個項目上，男女回答排行皆高，各項目回答比較上，有四題女性偏高，它們是希望事情好轉，由這不如意事中體會一些事情，希望得到家人朋友支持，和同經驗者交換意見，其中三題屬情感性傾向(Jalowiec 定義)，而男性則有八題比女性高，它們是用過去經驗解決，嘗試多種方法，客觀分析問題，考慮用其他方法，主動改變現況，設立目標努力，儘量嘗試與分段進行等。而有六題無差別。總分比較時，男女在第一因素上無所差別。

第二因素共十二題，只一題為行為趨向。其他皆為情感性傾向，包括擔心、禱告、情緒不穩、退縮、責怪他人等，而女生皆偏向比男

生高。我們為此因素定名為逃避式情緒處理。

第三個因素共六題，定名為行動傾向。包括積極地用活動如運動、放鬆等來消除緊張，也有訴之口慾來消除壓力，如吃東西、抽煙、喝酒與服用藥物等，所有項目男生皆比女生高。

第四個因素共四題，定名為順自然方式，包括去睡一覺、不想它、聽天由命等，其中有二項女性比男性高，但總分無所差。

上述的因素分析，若以過去筆者針對乳癌患者的因素分析，五大類，即本研究的第三因素再細分成二種，相接近。林宜貞和張素鳳（1988）之研究所區分出四大類（聽任自然、積極的謀求解決之道、消極的發洩情緒、消極的自我調適）亦有部份歸類上的相近。也與Jalowiec, Murphy & Powers（1984）對此量表的信效度探討中結果相近。

而在張珏，黃茂芳和張素滿（1989）對老年人健康調適的研究中，則發現男性老人較女性老人多採客觀問題解決，而女性比男性較採負面情緒，但在認命與接受（即聽天由命順自然）與找尋社會資源上則男女無所差別。與本研究分類結果相近，但男女比較則有些不同，可能原因在年齡層的不一樣，受教育程度也有差別，其社會網絡也有影響。在Miller & Kirsch（1987）文獻回顧中，也對問題解決傾向與情緒傾向二類男女的差異性提出討論，指出男性較女性常用問題解決傾向調適方式，尤其在工作狀況，不可控制情境下，或需找諮詢情形下。

進一步比較男女兩性在調適行為的每一項目上的排行，則發現在優先次序選擇上，大部份類同，也有一些較不同，例如希望得家人朋友支持安慰方面，女性顯示高於男性（排行第四與第十二之分），主動設法改變方面則男性高於女性（第十一與第十六之分）；在擔心焦慮不安上面，女性提出出現率為第十三，則男性排行第二十四。哭泣也是女性出現第二十六而男性則第三十七，非常少出現。而做一些身體活動來消除緊張時，則男性呈現第二十一，女性則第三十一，表現男女在採用調適行為的優先次序上，有其差異性，而也不排除它的存在。例如在哭泣方面平均分數男性1.79，表示在甚少如此與從不如此之間，表示的是也接受有哭泣的時候。而設法解決方面雖然男性排行

比女性高，但男女在採用這方式都偏向經常如此與有時如此。整體而言，不論男女在因應行為出現的優先次序上，仍較偏主動問題解決，而以行動式喝酒、用藥等則排行最後。順自然心態則居中。

在男女差異比較上則洪冬桂（1986）進行大學生調適行為研究中，曾以二十項因應行為：包括找朋友談、找家人談、聽音樂、看電視、不管它、看看書、吃東西、喝酒、抽煙、運動、逃避它、散步、睡覺、哭一場、獨坐、摔東西、寫日記、逛街、寫信、其他等，比較男女性別在選擇上的差異，結果發現男女兩性除在“看電視”與“不管它”無所差之外，男性較女性表現較多因應行為於“喝酒”、“抽煙”與“運動”。女生則在其他十三項中比男生高。與本研究中第三類的調適因素中採行的方式，運動，抽煙，喝酒等結果有一致傾向。唯一在行動方面本研究將吃東西，抽煙等合併一起，女性可能對吃東西方面選擇較多，但即使如此，總分上仍是男性選擇比女性多。

上述現象與同年齡青少年，只是為藥物濫用者比較時則發現用藥但在口慾行為上較偏高（如喝酒、抽煙等），在衝動外現行為上也較一般青少年高（張鈺，黃文鴻等，1989）。

因此在因應行為上，尤其是外觀行為上，對男性青少年是一較明顯指標，需加以協助，而一方面也顯露出男性在因應行為上的缺乏廣度，可加以教育與宣導（洪冬桂，1986）。

三、預測調適行為的心理社會因素

由上述在心理社會因素與調適行為上，男女呈現有不同程度的差異，再進一步探討那些心理社會因素在影響調適行為的呈現中較具影響力，因此進行複相關迴歸的分析，以前述四大類（因素分析結果）為依變項，進行分析。

由表四可知：在主動問題解決上，總樣本上男女並未扮演影響角色，與前述分項比較相同，而在預測因素上，則發現總樣本與男女分開預測時，有些差異存在，對男性而言，生氣外責越少，學業壓力越小，或較情緒化與生氣內控方式者，伴隨其他與女性一樣有的特質，如競爭，生氣問題解決，自在性格，A類型性格，野心傾向等，則會

表四 總樣本與男女樣本選擇調適策略的迴歸模式

	調適一			調適二			調適三			調適四		
	總樣本	男生	女生	總樣本	男生	女生	總樣本	男生	女生	總樣本	男生	女生
β 值	31.12	35.04	28.33	15.09	15.85	15.22	7.29	7.35	5.53	8.58	9.42	7.71
A型性格	1.38	1.20	1.64	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
情緒化	0.96	1.09	-	2.43	2.27	2.59	-	-	-	-	-	-0.33
野心傾向	0.98	1.10	0.82	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.18	-
自在性格	1.54	1.63	1.56	-0.73	-0.83	-0.74	0.28	-	0.30	0.48	0.34	0.59
緊張反應	-	-	-	1.41	1.58	1.35	0.30	-	-	-	-	-
學業壓力	-0.64	-1.19	-	0.35	-	0.59	-0.20	-	-0.23	-	-	-
焦慮反應	-	-	-	0.96	1.02	0.97	-	-	-	0.28	-	0.37
生氣反應	-	-	0.75	1.08	0.84	1.38	0.52	0.53	0.61	0.32	0.28	0.42
生氣內控	0.57	0.67	-	-0.56	-0.40	-0.77	-	-	0.41	-	-	-
生氣外責	-0.61	-0.98	-	1.90	1.78	2.07	-	-	0.22	-	-	-
生氣問題解決	2.34	2.23	2.59	-	-	-	0.31	0.42	-	0.52	0.50	0.54
競爭性格	2.62	2.97	2.31	-0.61	-0.83	-0.48	0.32	0.34	0.41	-	-	-
社會支持	0.90	-	1.34	-0.33	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
壓力反應	-	-	0.98	0.80	0.81	0.80	0.63	0.86	0.42	-	-	0.47
壓力感受	0.61	-	0.70	0.41	0.49	-	0.28	0.29	0.30	-0.17	-0.21	-
年級	0.48	0.51	0.40	-	-	-	0.20	0.29	0.14	0.11	-	0.13
性別(女生)	-	-	-	1.57	-	-	-1.79	-	-	-	-	-
R	0.541	0.537	0.559	0.660	0.611	0.660	0.419	0.304	0.313	0.267	0.234	0.317
R ²	0.293	0.288	0.312	0.436	0.373	0.436	0.175	0.093	0.098	0.071	0.055	0.100

採用主動問題解決方式。女性則除與男性相同者外，其他影響因素包括社會支持，生氣反應，壓力感受與壓力反應等。顯示女性有壓力感受並顯現出來，能運用社會支持則較採主動行為，而男性則若生氣時少責怪他人，用內控方式，注意到其有情緒的變化，則反能採主動。

在情緒處理方面，則總樣本中出現女生較高，而分別比較影響男女因素中，大致相同，都受情緒化，生氣外責，緊張，焦慮，不自在性格，不競爭性格，生氣反應，壓力反應的影響，而其中男生尚受壓力感受的影響，而女生受學業壓力的影響，這些變項可解釋情緒處理調適行為的40%左右。

在行動傾向上，則總樣本男性較高，分開比較時，則男女在生氣處理上有不同影響，男生是生氣解決具影響力，而女生則為生氣內控

或外責，以及學業壓力。

在逃避、順自然方式上，無男女差別，但分開比較時，仍呈現部份因素對男女有不同影響，男性方面是野心傾向與壓力感受，女性方面則為壓力反應、年級別、焦慮與情緒化。

針對上述現象，在其他研究中也發現男女同異的現象，在認知調適的研究文獻探討中，洪冬桂(1986)採用十九種變項(包括個人因素，家庭因素，學校因素，性別，年級等)來預測她所提大學生四種因應處理方式，結果發現其中二種呈現性別上差異，它們是採立刻解決方式或延宕方式，以及採面對方式或逃避方式，其中男性皆高於女性。而另二種因應處理方式為自己一個人處理或找人幫忙，以及責怪自己或責怪他人二項上性別未進入預測公式中，但是其進一步就其十九個變項進行典型相關分析時，則呈現性別因素是最主要影響“自己一個人處理或找人幫忙”以及“採立刻解決方式或延宕方式”二種因應的主要影響管道。整體以洪氏研究結果，則在所有因應行為上，男性幾乎都高於女性。這方面與本研究結果有同異處。而進一步比較預測的複相關迴歸係數，則因為二個研究用的變項有所不同，洪氏涵蓋層面較廣，而本研究則較偏向個人心理社會因素，不過洪氏的預測力並不高，其四個因應方式係數為0.2—0.5，而本研究則為0.2—0.6不等，各有其影響力存在，亦需在未來更進一步釐清二個研究變項的重疊與相異處。

此外中國特有文化對個人調適採用的影響也是不容忽視的因素(Bond & Hwang, 1986)，對五專學生這一羣體而言，其受傳統刻板印象涵化影響為有待進一步分析。

結論與展望

由六十年代女性運動以來，性別差異的研究在女性主義與婦女研究的領域廣被重視。然而在各種學科的研究報告中，仍是多半僅以一種性別(尤其男性)為代表，出現以偏概全的現象，或以男性觀點來預測女性反應，即使有性別出現，也經常呈現單純的摘述男性反應與女性反應為何，卻未對為何有此差異做闡釋，也較少探討影響男女不

同反應的決定因素。因此本篇研究的主要目的即在：探討男女在因應壓力事件或不如意情境的調適行為其間同異現象為何？而對一般社會因素或個人情緒，特質因素是否因性別而有所不同去影響其調適行為的呈現。

結果在對3,454各台灣地區五專學生進行問卷調查分析結果後，發現在心理社會指標上，則男性較女性偏高於：有野心傾向、自在性格、生氣內控、競爭傾向；而女性則較男性偏高於：情緒化分數、A型性格、緊張反應、學業壓力、焦慮反應、生氣反應、生氣外責，生氣問題解決與社會支持方向。

而經因素分析後在 Jalowiec 調適量表上則呈現四個因素，其可解釋量為33%，第一為主動問題解決，男女無差異，且兩者選這方面皆高。第二為逃避式情緒處理，則女比男高。第三為行動傾向，則男比女高。第四為順其自然，則差異不大。在迴歸方程式預測這四個調適因素時，也可發現男女在預測因素上有其相同因素。表示男女性別有其分開觀察的必要。

由結果可明顯了解男女在心理社會指標上有同異現象，女性對情緒方面的陳述較高，而男性在競爭傾向上較高，但在預測採取因應調適策略時，則各種心理社會因素都對兩性有影響，而調適項目上而言，男女也呈現類同於問題解決為較多採用的方法，此外女性較多些情緒上的發洩，男性則比女性多一些於行動式的運動，抽煙等方式，這些都強調男女雙方是相對比較時有高低之分，而不是絕對地謂男一定多於女，亦或男性就一定有這些特質，而呈現目前對兩性的刻板印象，這現象對於從事研究工作的學者，必得相當小心，強調相對而不是絕對的觀念。此外有鑑於影響男女調適不同因素的影響，在未來教育或介入計劃對男女兩性引導上也有所不同。

然而本研究亦有其限制與缺失，(1)在樣本選擇上由於去除二大類學校（體育與醫學），因此無法謂完全具五專生的代表性，但至少85%。(2)在方法上，本研究為採橫切面方式，自有些方法的不足處，採回溯與一般性調適的探討，而並非針對某個事件，觀察個人調適變化情形。(3)在工具上，採用自陳式問卷，雖屬既有問卷，國外已有不少研究採行，同時也經翻譯上的修正，但是有的題目太少，仍

代表一個變項，有其不妥之處，而效度信度的探討也是需要的。此外自陳問卷較主觀，需經作答者本身體認，因此不少非語言行為，或社會較不讚許的想法或許被低報。(4)在預測變項上，僅採用心理社會因素，並未加入其他個人，社會，環境的影響，例如社會網絡等，因此在預測力僅達25%左右，仍有不少變項需探討。尤其是性別角色的看法，更屬兩性研究差異時可做為參考的變項。(5)在成果的預估上，本報告並未將調適如何預測心理健康提出討論，因此無法知悉那一種調適較為適應。

面對有如上的研究結果與限制，只有在未來更加强研究設計上的突破，更多變項影響力的探討，同時也配合同時效度的驗證，不只採自我陳述的問卷調查，再加上開放式的回答，並配合客觀行為的觀察，使更為完整，而不同事件與情況可能有不同調適方法，也有待進一步研究。

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Changing Patterns of Contraceptive Practice and Gender Role in Hong Kong

Margaret Kwan

SINCE its founding in 1950, the Family Planning Association of Hong Kong (FPAHK) has been promoting the concept of planned parenthood among the local population. Over 30 years of energetic promotion, the FPAHK has contributed to the decline in fertility level and stable population growth. In 1951, the first year when the FPAHK providing family planning service, the crude birth rate of Hong Kong was 34 per thousand; but in 1988, it was 13.4.

As the Government of Hong Kong does not have a policy in population control, and family planning is voluntary, this dramatic decline in fertility can only be explained by the fact that local couples have changed their attitude and behaviour towards childbearing. Beginning in 1967, the FPAHK carried out quinquennial 'Family Planning Knowledge, Attitude and Practice (KAP)' Surveys of married couples in the reproductive age group (women between 15 and 49 years of age) in order to better understand the changing needs of its target population. With this five territory-wide surveys, their findings clearly show the changing trend of attitude towards childbearing and family planning matters in the past two decades.

Changing Attitude Towards Childbearing

Industrialization in the 1960s and 1970s as well as improved education

have contributed much to the change in attitude towards childbearing. In each of the five KAP Surveys, respondents were asked their ideal number of children and findings indicate the trend towards small families (Table 1).

Table 1 Ideal and Actual Family Size

Year	Ideal Number of Children	Actual Number of Children
1967	3.8	3.7
1972	3.2	3.3
1977	2.6	3.0
1982	2.4	2.6
1987	2.1	2.1

It can be seen that while couples in the 1960s wanted to have three to four children, couples in the 1980s have in general accepted the 'Two is Enough' idea promoted by the FPAHK. The trend towards small families coincided with industrial and commercial development of Hong Kong and the increased participation of women in the labour force. The average number of children per family of the respondents also showed the same trend, indicating that couples follow their decisions made (Table 1).

The two major reasons for not wanting to have many children are 'financial factor' and to give better quality of life to their children. Another factor could be the change in preference for more sons. Traditional Chinese attitudes place emphasis on having sons to continue the family line and many couples with daughters would not stop giving birth after reaching the desired family size. It was found that the preference for sons has declined considerably over the years and couples are in general equally eager to have daughters (Table 2).

Increased Contraceptive Practising Rate

As more and more couples decide not to have too many children, it is

Table 2 Sex Preference of Children

Preference	1977 (%)	1982 (%)	1987 (%)
More Girls	18.4	20.2	25.2
More Boys	25.6	26.8	22.5
Sex Immaterial	56.0	31.2	23.0
So long as having both sons and daughters, which is more is immaterial	†	21.8	29.3

† Option not included in the 1977 survey.

expected to see an increasing percentage of people practising birth control methods to prevent unplanned pregnancy. As a result, the high current practising rate of 80.8% was recorded in the 1987 survey (Table 3).

Table 3 Current Contraceptive Practising Rate

Year	Rate (%)
1967	47.0
1972	49.6
1977	71.9
1982	72.3
1987	80.8

Choice of Contraceptive Method

It is interesting to note that the choice of contraceptives changed over the years, and the popularity of certain methods 'fluctuated' (Table 4). Both the oral contraceptive pill and the intra-uterine device were developed in the late 1960s and these methods of high effectiveness grew in popularity in the 1970s, at the expense of older, coitus-related barrier methods. In Western countries, from a historical point of view, 'male' methods — *coitus interruptus* and the condom — have played a far greater

Table 4 Principal Contraceptive Methods of Current Users (in %)

Method	1967	1972	1977	1982	1987
Pill	27	36	32	26.8	20.3
IUD	16	10	4	4.8	5.6
Condom	11	7	18	20.2	32.2
Sterilization	22	23	26	29.1	29.4
Barrier/Diaphragm	17	8	8	3.5	2.2
Injection	0	3	3	3.8	3.1
Folk & Rhythm	7	13	12	11.7	7.3

role in fertility control than female methods since men assumed a dominant position in traditional societies. However family planning programmes are always biased towards women and have traditionally been offered through the family planning clinics or maternal and child health services where diaphragms and caps were promoted in preference to condoms as women would have had higher motivation to contraception than men after childbirth. Even today, family planning clinics are also designed to cater for women, so it is not hardly surprising that few men attend. It is estimated that only about 8% of the world contraceptive budget is spent on the development of male methods.

There are three ways to define male involvement: male directed, male initiated; and male complied. Even if a method is female directed, it may be male initiated or male complied. Compliance of the male partner has been shown to be important in maintaining consistent and continued use of all female directed methods. For example, men could be responsible for obtaining supplies, or for reminding his female partner to take the pill.

It was in the mid-1970s that the FPAHK began promoting the concept of male responsibility and the advantages of male contraceptive methods: condom and vasectomy. Innovative campaigns such as the 'Mr Family Planning Campaign' of 1977, the 'Kung Fu Master Campaign' of 1983-84 and the 'Be a Mr Able in Family Planning Campaign' of 1986-87, all helped to arouse attention and awareness of male methods and

shared responsibility. In 1987, it was found that about one-third of contracepting couples in FPAHK were using condom or vasectomy. If we consider folk methods (such as withdrawal) and rhythm as contraceptive methods that require a high degree of male participation and cooperation, then we can say that over 40% of couples were using male-related contraceptive methods.

Age-specific Contraceptive Practice Rate

The age-specific practice rate also changes, particularly in the 15-24 age group: from 62.0% in 1982 to 73.1% in 1987 (Table 5). The 'cumulative' proportion of respondents having practised contraception rose sharply from 2.5% by age 18 to 87.5% by age 30. The median age, i.e., the age by which half of the respondents having practised contraception, was 25. The increased use of contraception by younger women indicates an earlier commitment to delay childbearing and is reflective of women's rising educational level and increasing contraceptive knowledge and experience.

Table 5 Rates of Contraceptive Practice by age

Age	Ever Practice Rate			Current Practice Rate		
	1977	1982	1987	1977	1982	1987
15 - 24	78.0	84.5	92.3	56.6	62.0	73.1
25 - 29	90.7	89.0	94.9	72.9	73.2	79.5
30 - 34	95.8	94.4	96.2	83.7	82.0	82.5
35 - 39	95.5	97.3	97.6	87.9	86.2	91.1
40 - 44	89.9	89.0	94.8	80.2	74.2	88.3
45 - 49	73.9	83.0	89.8	49.2	52.6	56.6
Mean (15 - 49)	87.5	89.9	95.0	71.9	72.3	80.8
Mean (15 - 44)	90.8	91.4	95.8	77.4	76.7	84.4

Timing of first contraceptive practice

The proportion of ever users starting practising contraception at parity zero continued to rise over the past decade: 10.0% in 1977, 19.6% in 1982, and 28.5% in 1987 (Table 6). A similar trend was observed in the corresponding proportion for parity one.

Table 6 Proportion of Ever Users Starting Contraception at Different Parities (in %)

Contraception Started at Parity	1977	1982	1987
0	10.0	19.6	28.5
1	30.0	34.7	39.4
2	23.0	20.7	17.6
3 or higher	37.0	25.0	14.5
	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total (N)	—	(1,257)	(1,436)

Attitude towards Male Responsibility

Traditional Chinese attitude on sex roles put the burden of childrearing and housekeeping on the wife and it is still a strong belief that 'to have children is a woman's business'. Recognizing the fact that this attitude is the major obstacle to male participation and adoption of male-related contraceptives, the FPAHK launches a series of publicity campaigns to enforce the concept of male responsibility.

Findings of the KAP Surveys show the long-term effects of the campaigns and the gradual change in attitude (Table 7). The promotional campaigns also have short-term booster that of reminding Hong Kong men of the availability of Male Birth Control Clinic services of the FPAHK and the advantages of male permanent contraception – vasectomy. Statistics of the FPAHK's service for men clearly indicate the relationship between publicity campaigns and demand (Table 8).

It can be seen that the number of vasectomies performed increased

Table 7 Attitude of Husband's Responsibility in Family Planning (in %)

Attitude	1977	1982	1987
Wife's Responsibility	29.6	37.6	33.4
Husband's	3.1	4.6	11.7
Both	64.0	52.5	51.4
Neither	0.8	0.8	0.5
No Answer	2.5	4.4	3.0

Table 8 Statistics of Vasectomies Service of FPAHK

Year	Vasectomies Performed
1978	512
1979	599
1980	519
1981	338
1982	367
1983	461
1984	632
1985	463
1986	507
1987	499

significantly in 1979 when the FPAHK launched the Sterilization Promotion Campaign in 1983-1984 when the 'Kung Fu Master Campaign' was in progress and in 1986 when the 'Be a Mr. Able in Family Planning Campaign' was carried out. After the campaigns, the number of operations dropped to pre-campaign levels.

Attitude towards Vasectomy

Vasectomy is a simple out-patient surgical operation, and is considered by medical authorities such as the International Planned Parenthood Federation and World Health Organization to be one of the two per-

manent birth control methods for couples who have reached their desired family size. The FPAHK has been providing vasectomy service since 1973. Surveys of vasectomy clients found that most of them were happy with the operation. In a study on 1,000 vasectomized men done in 1976, about 80% were satisfied with the operation and definite dissatisfaction was shown in only 2% of the cases. Forty percent of clients mentioned that they would recommend vasectomy to their friends and relatives, an indication of acceptance and positive attitude.

However, the number of men applying for vasectomy remained very small in relation to the contracepting population. In the 1987 KAP Survey, the ratio of vasectomies to female sterilizations was 1.1% to 28.3% of all current couples using contraceptive methods (Table 9).

Table 9 Principal Method of Current User

Methods	1982	1987
Condom	20.2	32.2
Female Sterilization	27.5	28.3
Pill	26.8	20.3
Rhythm	11.2	6.7
IUD	4.8	5.6
Injection	3.8	3.1
Spermicides/Diaphragm	3.5	2.2
Vasectomy	1.6	1.1
Fork Methods	0.5	0.6
	100.0	100.0
Total (N)	(1,015)	(1,221)

It seems that while the concept of permanent contraception is generally accepted by the general public, when it comes to the question of actually undergoing the operation, couples are more in favour of female sterilization. Therefore, the FPAHK began asking respondents in the KAP Survey of 1982 why they chose female sterilization instead of vasectomy. The answers they gave showed considerable bias and misconceptions and the situation did not improve very much in 1987 (Table 10).

Table 10 Reasons for Adopting Female Sterilization Rather than Vasectomy (in %)

Reason	1982	1987
Did not want to affect husband's health/disturb his work	33.8	38.2
Male is not to be sterilized	12.9	16.1
Female sterilization is more popular	12.2	15.5
Husband objected to vasectomy	15.6	12.5
Did not know of vasectomy then	14.8	6.6
Post-partum sterilization is convenient	5.3	5.4
Other persons in the family objected to vasectomy	2.7	1.5
No special preference as to female or male sterilization	0.4	0.9
No confidence in vasectomy	0.0	0.9
Husband had no time	0.0	0.9
Never considered vasectomy	1.1	0.0
No answer	1.1	1.5

It is obvious that while couples who chose vasectomy were highly motivated and have positive attitudes towards the operation, others were not. Although knowledge of vasectomy and the concept of male responsibility has improved, the attitude towards vasectomy did not. Misconception or lack of confidence in the health consequences of the operation seemed to be the main concern.

Conclusion

The five KAP Surveys conducted between 1967 and 1987 provide detailed information on the pattern of contraceptive choice of Hong Kong couples. The two decades has been a period of rapid social and economic changes which have important ramifications on gender roles. It is interesting to note that as the opportunity for education and occupation of women improved, couples' choice of birth control methods and their attitudes towards childbearing also changed in the same period. It can be said that the present trend is in the direction of shared responsibility and equal participation, as shown in findings of the KAP Surveys.

However, the attitude towards the choice of vasectomy or female sterilization shows that the transformation is not so complete and much informational, educational and motivational efforts is needed.

Smoking and Women

Judith Mackay

IN 1983 the Fifth World Conference on Smoking and Health in Winnipeg, Canada, highlighted two major problems: smoking in developing countries and smoking among women (Health Consequences Recommendations 1 & 6). There is considerable overlap between these two concerns.

Trends of Smoking Among Women: Developed and Developing Countries

In most industrialized nations the prevalence of cigarette smoking among men is declining more than among women. Of particular concern is the level of smoking in teenage girls, which now equals that of teenage boys in some countries. Overall, approximately one-third of women (and one-third of men) smoke in developed nations (Table 1).

It is still very difficult to obtain long-term, accurate, country-wide statistics from many poorer countries. World Health Organization (WHO) has estimated that overall only 5% of women in developing countries smoke compared to 50% of men. This figure is influenced by low smoking rates for women in China, Bangladesh and India, but elsewhere there are many women smokers (WHO, 1983:11-12). In Chile, Brazil and Venezuela between 20-25% of pregnant women smoke, similar to rates for women in richer countries. Even in countries where cigarette smoking is low, other forms of tobacco use are common, for

Table 1 Smoking Prevalence in Developed Countries

<i>U.K.: Prevalence of Daily Cigarette Smoking (16 & Over)*</i>											
	1956	1961	1965	1972	1974	1976	1978	1980	1982	1984	1986
Males (%)	75	72	68	52	51	46	45	42	38	36	35
Females (%)	42	44	43	41	41	38	37	36	33	32	31
<i>Australia: Prevalence of Daily Cigarette Smoking (16 & Over)</i>											
	1945	1964	1969	1974	1976	1980	1983	1986			
Males (%)	72	58	45	41	40	40	37	32			
Females (%)	26	28	28	29	31	31	30	29			
<i>USA: Prevalence of Cigarette Smokers (over 20)</i>											
	1935	1955	1965	1970	1975	1980	1983	1987			
Males (%)	53	53	52	44	43	37	35	32			
Females (%)	18	25	34	31	32	29	30	27			

N. B.: These figures have been updated since 1983 by information from the relevant national anti-smoking organizations

* Figures prior to 1972 include all forms of smoking

Source: U. K.: General Household Survey, 85/2; Lee, 1976. Australia: Hill & Gray, 1984; Woodward, 1984. USA: Ashley, 1983; Stoto, 1986.

Table 2 Prevalence of Daily Smokers in Asian Countries

Country	Year	Sample Size	Age	Men (%)	Women (%)
China	1984	519,600	15+	61.0	7.0
Hong Kong	1988	4,657 [‡]	15+	30.0	2.9
Japan	1986	-	-	62.5	12.6
Korea	1987	-	20+	74.2	5.0
Malaysia	1989	-	15+	41.0	5.0
Pacific Islands	1975-81	13,814	-	38.0-88.0	4.0-74.0
Papua New Guinea	1988 [†]	-	-	85.0	89.0
Philippines	1987 [†]	-	-	17.0-35.1	7.0-17.8
Singapore	1984	-	15+	35.0	3.0
Taiwan (Taipei)	1986	-	'Adults'	48.4	5.1
Thailand	1986	-	-	67.2	6.0
Vietnam	1984	-	-	25.0	2.0

N.B. Some of these figures may be inaccurate and are intended for guidelines only, to illustrate the patterns of women smoking in the region.

‡ Household; † rep.

Source: Weng, et al., 1987; Hong Kong Government, 1988; Country Information on Tobacco, 1987; Country Reports on Tobacco, 1988, 1989; Tuomilehto, et al., 1986.

example, in India 39% of women chew tobacco (Chandler, 1986) (Table 2).

In some developing countries, if money is used for cigarettes rather than food, it has been shown that this can lead to a serious decrease in calorie intake by the children. Also, children are more likely to smoke if their mother (or father) smokes. Finally, women's (and father's) smoking affects the health of their children, especially in the first few years of life.

The prevalence of female smokers in this region is still low in comparison to male smokers. It is also low in comparison to western countries. Thus there is still an opportunity to prevent a rise in cigarette smoking among women in this region.

Influences On Women

Why Girls Start Smoking

Most studies showing why girls start smoking (for much the same reasons as do boys) have been done in western countries.

- Peer group pressure (O'Rourke, O'Bryne & Wilson-Davis, 1983).
- Parental smoking habits (Charlton, 1986).
- Parental attitudes towards smoking (Charlton, 1984a).
- The influence of advertising and other forms of promotion (Chapman, 1985).
- Curiosity.
- Teachers' smoking.
- Rebellion against authority.
- Wanting to imitate the adult world.
- The attraction of risk.
- Poor academic achievement.
- Family stress.
- Wanting to stay slim (more frequently quoted by girls) (Charlton, 1984b).

Saito (1987) presented data at the 1987 6th World Conference on Smoking and Health on young women in Japan, showing that while most agreed with the persistent social expectation that women should not smoke, and in spite of the fact that smoking is forbidden in Japan until the age of 20 years, 25.6% of teenage girls smoked. She noted that the numerous cigarette vending machines provide a huge loophole in the law. Concern was also expressed in the paper at the recent marketing bid for the female Japanese market by the transnational tobacco companies.

Studies in Hong Kong have shown that peer group pressure, the influence of family members and cigarette advertising are the most commonly cited influences by young people themselves for starting smoking (Leung, 1983; Chung, Mackay, Munro & Tse, 1989). However, less girls than boys cite advertising as a factor, probably reflecting that at the time of the studies, advertising was only directed towards men. Sadly, this has changed and advertisements specifically for women now appear.

Profile of a Female Smoker

Studies show that emancipation does not cause women to smoke (Eide, 1983; Nilson, 1985; Haglund, 1985; Maschewsky-Schneider, 1985; ASH Working Group on Women & Smoking, 1986). The profile of women most likely to smoke or consume heavily in developed countries is as follows:

- less liberated.
- low educational and job qualifications.
- working mothers, housewives.
- unskilled and semi-skilled workers.
- workers in typically 'female occupations'.
- unemployed (half are smokers compared to one-third of employed).
- city dwellers.
- widowed, divorced or separated women (53% versus 37% married).

This profile might be quite different in poorer countries. In some areas consumption of locally grown tobacco is greater among rural women. In others it is the more sophisticated working city-dweller who first takes up the habit.

Social pressure can discourage women from smoking. There are countries where it is thought as 'not nice' for women to smoke, or that they are imitating western culture. Women usually have less money than men to buy cigarettes, and certain religious attitudes may also discourage women from smoking.

Knowledge of Health Hazards

In a 1981 review of data from several sources, the Federal Trade Commission in the United States of America found serious gaps in women's knowledge of health risks. Nearly 50% did not know that smoking during pregnancy increases the risk of miscarriage and stillbirth, and about 30% were unaware of the relationship between smoking, oral contraceptives and heart disease (Luoto, 1983).

British nurses not only have high rates of smoking, but their knowledge of health hazards is poor compared to other health professionals such as doctors. In 1977 only 38% acknowledged smoking caused lung cancer compared to 70% of doctors (Coutts, 1979).

In the 1987 Japanese study on young women, only 22% of smokers and non-smokers believed that smoking was harmful to health (Saito, 1987). In Hong Kong only half of smokers and non-smokers (and only one-third of girl who smoked) were aware of the association between smoking and cardiovascular disease (Chung, Mackay, Munro & Tse, 1989).

Some women (and men) believe the risks of smoking are similar to other risks in life. This belief is encouraged by the tobacco industry, that all food, drink or even sport carries a risk (Dollison, 1985). But smoking is uniquely dangerous in that it kills one quarter of smokers. There is no other risk in life that approaches this degree of risk.

Addiction

WHO has recently stated that 'tobacco is clearly addictive' (WHO, 1985) and the 1988 US Surgeon General's Report was entitled 'Nicotine Addiction' (US Surgeon General, 1988). As with all addictions there is a triad of physical (nicotine), social and psychological dependence, combining to maintain the smoking habit in women smokers. Even teenage smokers suffer the same withdrawal symptoms as older women when they try to quit (McNeill & West, 1987).

Psychologically, there is evidence in western countries that women may smoke for different reasons than do men (Jacobson, 1981:23-29; Russell & Peto, 1974). Studies have shown that men smoke when they are happy, women smoke when they are sad and to relieve tension, for example, the stresses of being at home looking after small children.

In the Hong Kong study 72.9% of girls claimed they knew that smoking was addictive (Chung, Mackay, Munro & Tse, 1989). Naturally, the tobacco industry strongly opposes any mention of the addictive nature of cigarettes.

Quitting

In western countries women are less successful than men in quitting smoking (Stoto, 1986:7-20; Todd, 1986; Jacobson, 1981: 14-5; Royal College of Physicians, 1983b). This may be for several reasons:

- a. *Tension reliever*: it is more difficult to give up something that relieves tension than one that increases pleasure (Jacobson, 1981:32-4).
- b. *Self-image*: many women have a self-image of being less able than men to succeed in carrying through a difficult decision (Jacobson, 1981:37-39).
- d. *Weight*: more women are worried about weight gain after quitting, being concerned over appearance (Jacobson, 1981:35-37; Royal College of Physicians, 1983a:17; Carney & Goldberg, 1984). However, in successful quitters, only 6% found weight gain a problem (Leventhal & Cleary, 1980). This concern would not apply in countries like India

where women do not wish to be thin.

- e. *Encouragement*: women receive less support from their husbands and families than do men who try to quit (Scottish Committee Action on Smoking & Health, 1983:2); and
- f. *Professionals*: health educators have usually concentrated on getting men to quit smoking and paid less attention to women (Jacobson, 1981:69-74; personal communication with Jacobson 13 June 1986). However, during the last few years, some countries have established supportive and responsible programmes aimed at women.

Tobacco Promotion

Advertising messages from the tobacco industry directed towards women vary with the position of women in society (ASH Working Group on Women & Smoking, 1986). While in wartime patriotic themes emerge. The main theme of cigarette advertising for women nowadays is the image of slimness, glamour, attractiveness and emancipation (Howe, 1983).

In developing countries these same advertisements now appear, usually using western female models. Another highly questionable aspect of tobacco promotion in the Third World is the portrayal and idealization of western cultural values. One vivid example was the launching of Virginia Slims in Hong Kong in 1984, directed towards young women. As less than 1% of women under the age of 40 years smoke in Hong Kong, this was a clear attempt to create a market (not brand-switching as the tobacco industry claims). Asian women present a vast potential market to the tobacco industry. It is expected that advertisements aimed at women will appear in Asia much more frequently over the next few years.

Smoking is more dangerous to women than the dangers of childbearing and all methods of birth control combined, so women's organizations and publications should be extremely concerned about smoking.

The British Medical Association recently published *When Smoke Gets in Your Eyes*, a review of 53 British women's magazines, read by half

of all British women (Jacobson & Amos, 1985). In spite of declared Government policy that young people should not be exposed to cigarette advertising it was estimated that at least one million non-smoking girls are exposed to cigarette advertising through these magazines. The sad reality is that when publications accept tobacco advertising, they usually do not report on the hazards of tobacco to the extent its seriousness justifies (Warner, 1985).

Although there is no study in Asia, anecdotal evidence suggests that tobacco advertising is widespread in countries where advertising is allowed, and even somewhere it is prohibited by national regulation, as in China. In addition, some types of advertising that have been eliminated in the country of origin, are used by the cigarette companies in an Asian country, e.g., television advertising.

Tobacco advertising is misleading, as it exploits ideas of independence, power and emancipation in an effort to sell a product that in reality means dependence and ill-health (Personal Communication with Jacobson, 13 June 1986).

Health Consequences of Smoking for Women

General Health Hazards

The belief that female smokers are at less risk than male smokers is now known to be a fallacy (US Department of Health & Human Services – Public Health Services, 1980). Previously slightly lower risk figures for women are now known to reflect past differences in smoking pattern, such as a later age in starting smoking, a lower intensity of smoking, and use of lower nicotine and tar cigarettes. These factors lead to lower cigarette risk exposure, but as trends in smoking and patterns of cigarette usage become more alike, for example, girls starting to smoke earlier, then the risk exposure should be the same (Ashley, 1983:12).

Smoking is dangerous to women's health (Doll, Gray, Hafner & Peto, 1980; Royal College of Physicians, 1983b), causing lung, oral and oesophageal cancers; it is a risk factor in cervical, bladder, kidney,

pancreatic and other cancers. Smoking causes chronic obstructive lung disease and cardiac and circulatory disorders. In addition, women smokers have more rapid aging and wrinkling of the skin than non-smokers (Model, 1985).

Reproduction-related Hazards

a. Hazards to the offspring: In pregnancy, smoking is not only a hazard for the foetus (Nieburg, Marks, McLaren & Remington, 1986; Bewley, 1984), but also for the mother, because some of the complications such as haemorrhage may be dangerous for her. Foetal risks are greatest if the woman smokes after the fourth month of pregnancy, as tobacco interferes with maturation, not formation, of the baby. These risks include low birth weight (Lancet Editors, 1979; D'Souza, Black & Richards, 1981; Bosley, Sibert & Newcombe, 1981), pre-term delivery (Lancet Editors, 1979), perinatal death (Lancet Editors, 1979) and even possible long-term influences on physical growth, neurological development, and intellectual function (Butler & Goldstein, 1973; Everson, 1980; Naeye & Peters, 1984; Dunn et al., 1976). These risks increase when maternal health is poor as in developing countries.

There is a further effect on a new-born, infant or child from any smoker in regular, close contact, and this may be the mother, father or other person such as a grandparent or minder (Jarvis, et al., 1985; Greenbag, et al., 1984). Children of smokers have more respiratory infections (Fergusson, Horwood & Shannon, 1980; Ekwo, et al., 1983; Charlton, 1984c), especially in infancy, have a greater percentage of tonsillectomies and adenoidectomies (Said, Zalokar & Leeouch, 1978), are smaller in stature (Rona, Florey, Clarke & Chinn, 1981:1363), and are more likely to become smokers themselves (Charlton, 1986:125-7).

b. Oral contraceptive and tobacco use (Royal College of General Practitioners, 1983): Women who take the oral contraceptive pill, especially after the age of 35 years, are more prone to heart disease, strokes and other problems; smoking increases these risks tenfold (Royal College of Physicians, 1983c).

c. *Reduced fertility* (Howe, Westhoff, Vessey & Yeates, 1985; Baird & Wilcox, 1985; Olsen, Rachootin, Schmidt & Damsbo, 1982): The reduction in fertility among women smokers is shown in one recent large study where it was found that twice as many smokers failed to give birth within five years of stopping contraception compared with non-smokers (Howe, Westhoff, Vessey & Yeates, 1985).

d. *Menopause* (Jick & Potter, 1977; Bailey, Robinson & Vessey, 1977; Kaufman, Slone & Rosenberg, 1980; Willett, et al., 1983; McKinlay, Bifano & Mckinlay, 1985): The menopause occurs an average of two years earlier in smokers.

Recommendations for Reducing Smoking Among Women

For several years the specific problem of women and smoking has been recognized. This is particularly important because women are now the declared target of the tobacco industry. Given that smoking is addictive and a difficult habit to quit, it is crucial to prevent a rise in smoking among women in developing countries. The following recommendations were made at the 14th International Cancer Congress in 1986, and apply worldwide.

1. Non-smoking should be regarded as normal social behaviour for women and all action which can promote the development of this attitude should be taken.
2. The achievement of lower smoking rates in all age groups of women (by legislation, health education and price policy) by the encouragement of:
 - Non-smokers to remain non-smokers;
 - Smokers to quit;
 - Women who have not yet stopped smoking to reduce their exposure to harmful components of tobacco smoke; and
 - Prevention of the expected rise of smoking in women in developing countries as a matter of grave priority.
3. The cessation of all forms of tobacco promotion directed towards

women, within the context of cessation of all promotion.

4. Research is urgently needed to identify profiles of female smokers and other forms of tobacco users in all countries, especially poorer countries. Research is needed into social and psychological attitudes that encourage or discourage women to smoke. Until this is done, health educators cannot plan appropriate programmes. The complexity and variety of smoking patterns in women worldwide make it no more appropriate to develop one policy for women than it would be to develop a single policy on smoking for all men in the world.
5. Integrated local, national and international smoking control strategies and health education programmes on women and smoking is required. Women should serve on all anti-smoking committees.

Summary

Women in this region are lucky that in many countries smoking rates have not approached the high levels seen in many western countries nor those of men. However, while at risk, women offer a unique public health opportunity for the prevention of disease, disability and death caused by tobacco.

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- (* Recommended Reading)

Osteoporosis: A Women's Plague

Edith M. C. Lau

OSTEOPOROSIS means a reduced amount of bone. Osteoporosis is an important public health problem among elderly women in Asians and Caucasians. It was estimated that in the United States, about 10 billion was spent on treating and rehabilitating patients with osteoporotic-related hip fracture (Kelsey & Hoffman, 1987). Mortality in patients with osteoporotic-related hip fracture is about 12% (Cullition, 1987), and about 15 to 25% of patients remain in long-term care institutions for more than a year (Cummings, 1985).

Women are particularly affected by osteoporosis. Many of the risk factors for osteoporosis are related to the changing role of women in societies, and prevention is feasible only with a thorough understanding of the gender role of modern women.

Osteoporosis and its Consequence in Hong Kong

The most important public health consequence of osteoporosis is hip fracture. In the past, this was uncommon in Hong Kong Chinese (Chalmers & Ho, 1970), the incidence was less than one-third of American rates (Melton & Riggs, 1983:45-72). Nevertheless, as Hong Kong urbanized, there was a change of life-style among women. The results of a recent survey conducted in Kwong Wah Hospital and Queen Elizabeth Hospital in Kowloon showed that the rate had increased by three-folds

in elderly women to reach a rate of 10 per 1,000 in women who were 70 years or above (Lau & Donnan, 1987).

Osteoporosis and Reproductive History

The rate of bone loss in women accelerates after menopause (Conference Report: Consensus Development Conference, 1987; Aitken, 1984:70-94; Melton & Riggs, 1985). In the past, it was believed that multiparity and breast-feeding may predispose women to osteoporosis. However, recent evidence suggested that multiparity and breast-feeding were in fact beneficial to bone density. Hence as families become smaller and the role of women extends outside the family, osteoporosis may become more common.

Contraception is commonly practised by the modern women who have to space or plan their families because of employment or other changing social reasons. Many women take oral contraceptives. There are evidence that oral estrogen may increase bone density. Hence while having less children may predispose to osteoporosis, certain contraceptive methods are protective.

One of the most effective therapies available to the modern women is oestrogen replacement therapies after the menopause (Lindsay, et al., 1976; Nachtingall, et al., 1979; Ettinger, Genant & Cann, 1985). One other merit of giving oestrogen after the menopause is that this may prevent ischaemic heart disease — another disease affecting modern women (Colditz, Willett, Stampfer, et al., 1987).

The Consequence of a Sedentary Life-style

In the last 30 years, Hong Kong underwent dramatic urbanization. While in the past many women helped in such manual work as farming and fishing, most took to the light productive industries. In addition, with the availability of modern products and electric appliances, housewives perform much less load-bearing activities. The results of a recent survey in Hong Kong did in fact showed that lack of loading-bearing exercise is a

risk factor of hip fracture and osteoporosis (Lau & Donnan, 1987).

There are adequate scientific evidence to support the relationship between activity and osteoporosis. For example, astronauts exposed to weightlessness lose as much as 1% of their bone per week (Mazess, 1982; Whedon, 1984). Exercise programmes are effective in preventing bone loss in women (Chow, Harrison & Notarius, 1987; Council on Scientific Affairs, 1984). Hence adequate exercise is an important component of health maintenance for modern women.

Dietary Factors

The Chinese diet is deficient in calcium, which is an important component of bone. There are reasons to believe that calcium intake was low among Chinese women in the past, for they have to look after large families and many offered the richer food to the male members of the families.

Moreover, inadequate intake during pregnancies and lactation may accentuate the already low intake and cause osteoporosis. In the past, the low calcium intake among Chinese women might have been offset by adequate activity. With urbanization, the ill effects of calcium deficiency emerge.

The results of calcium supplementation in Caucasians are controversial (Riggs, Kelly, Kinney, Shelz & Bianco, 1976; Nordin, Horseman, Marshall, Simpson & Waterhouse, 1979; Horseman, Gallagher, Simpson & Nordin, 1977; Nilas, Christiansen & Redbrg, 1984), but maintenance of an adequate calcium intake should be important in women in Hong Kong.

Other Life-style Factors

Cigarette smoking is known to cause osteoporosis (Kaufman, Rosenberg, et al., 1980; Willet, Stampfer, Bain, et al., 1983). Excessive alcohol consumption may also accelerate bone loss (Seeman, Melton, O'Eallon & Riggs, 1983). As the role of women changes and communities become

in general more permissive, more young women may smoke and drink. Hence this is a two-way sword, westernization has its detrimental effects.

Conclusion

Health maintenance is certainly important for the modern women. The essence of such programmes lies in preserving certain healthy health habits such as adequate activity and refraining from potentially harmful habits, Osteoporosis is not a necessary consequence of a changing gender role and can be prevented.

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Conference Programme 研討會程序

November 9, 1989

一九八九年十一月九日

OPENING CEREMONY

開幕禮

08 : 30 Registration
報到

09 : 00 Welcoming Remarks
致開幕辭

Lady AKERS-JONES, Chief Commissioner,
The Hong Kong Girl Guides Association
鍾逸傑爵士夫人，香港女童軍總監

Dr. Fanny M. CHEUNG, Associate Director,
Centre for Hong Kong Studies
張妙清博士，香港研究中心副主任

09 : 20 Tea Break 茶聚

* * * * *

SESSION 1: HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES (in Mandarin)

第一節 : 從歷史觀點看性別研究 (普通話)

Chairperson: Dr. YIP Hon-ming, Lecturer, Dept. of History,
The Chinese University of Hong Kong

主席 : 葉漢明博士，香港中文大學歷史系講師

- 09 : 35 On the Political Role of Royal Women in Ancient China
中國宮廷婦女政治角色研究
Ms. DU Fang-qin, Lecturer, Tianjin Normal University,
China
杜芳琴女士，中國天津師範大學古籍研究室講師
- Yu Cheng-hsieh on China's Miserable Half
俞正燮論中國女性
Dr. PAO Chia-lin, Associate Professor, Dept. of Oriental
Studies, The University of Arizona, U.S.A.
鮑家麟博士，美國亞利桑那大學東方系副教授
- University Students' Perception of Women in Contemporary
China
淺議當代中國大學生的女性觀
Ms. MIN Dong-chao, Lecturer, Dept. of History, Tian-
jin Normal University, China
閔冬潮女士，中國天津師範大學歷史系講師
- Social History and Studies of Chinese Women
社會史與中國婦女研究
Dr. YIP Hon-ming
葉漢明博士

10 : 55 Floor Discussion 討論

SESSION 2: GENDER AND HEALTH

第二節 : 性別與健康

- Chairperson: Dr. Edith LAU, Lecturer, Dept. of Community Medicine,
The Chinese University of Hong Kong
主席 : 劉明珠醫生，香港中文大學社區醫學系講師
- 11 : 25 (in English 英語)

- Changing Patterns of Contraceptive Practice and Gender
Role in Hong Kong
避孕模式的轉變與香港的性別角色
Dr. Margaret Shuk-wa KWAN, Executive Director,
The Family Planning Association of Hong Kong
關淑華醫生，香港家庭計劃指導會執行總監
- Smoking and Women
婦女與吸煙
Dr Judith Mackay, Executive Director, The Hong Kong
Council of Smoking and Health (September 1987-
August 1989)
麥龍詩迪醫生，香港吸煙與健康委員會行政總監（一九八
七年九月—一九八九年八月）
- Osteoporosis: A Women's Plague
骨質疏鬆：婦女的噩夢
Dr. Edith LAU
劉明珠醫生
- 12 : 25 Lunch Break 午餐
- 13 : 25 (in Mandarin 普通話)
- Relationship between Marital Violence Characteristics and
Family Dynamics in Taiwan: A Study of 25 Cases
台灣婚姻暴力特質與家庭動態關係：25名個案研究
Dr. Roda CHEN, Associate Professor, National Tsing-
hua University, Taiwan
陳若璋博士，台灣國立清華大學共同科副教授
- Gender and Coping: A Study of Adolescents in Taiwan
性別差異與心理調適：台灣地區青少年研究
Dr. CHANG Chueh, Associate Professor, Institute of
Public Health, National Taiwan University,
Taiwan
張珏博士，台灣國立台灣大學醫學院公共衛生研究所副教授
- 14 : 05 Floor Discussion 討論

SESSION 3: CAREER AND WORK (in English/Mandarin)**第三節：事業與工作（英語/普通話）**

Chairperson: Mrs. Grace CHOW, Administrative Director, Office of Student Affairs, The Chinese University of Hong Kong

主席：周陳文琬女士，香港中文大學學生事務處主任

14:35 Daily Life Demands, Stress, Social Support, and Life Satisfaction: A Comparative Study of Working Women and Housewives in Taiwan

日常生活需求、社會支持、與生活滿意：台灣地區職業婦女與家庭主婦之比較

Prof. CHEN Jeaw-mei, Professor, Graduate School of Psychology, National Chengchi University, Taiwan
陳皎眉教授，台灣政治大學心理研究所教授

Gender Differences in Career Preference and Achievement Aspiration: A Case Study of Chinese University and Shenzhen University Graduates

性別與擇業態度：以中大及深圳大學學生為例

Mrs. Grace CHOW
周陳文琬女士

Familial Change and Women's Employment in Hong Kong
香港家庭變遷與婦女就業

Mr. NG Chun-hung, Assistant Lecturer, Dept. of Sociology, University of Hong Kong

吳俊雄先生，香港大學社會學系副講師

Waged Work at Home: Women Industrial Outworkers in Hong Kong

站在家庭與勞動市場的交匯點：香港女性外發工的處境

Mr. LUI Tai-lok, Lecturer, Dept. of Sociology, The Chinese University of Hong Kong

呂大樂先生，香港中文大學社會學系講師

15:55 Tea Break 茶聚

16:10 Gender, Career Advancement and Job Opportunities

性別與事業發展及就業機會

Ms. TAO Chun-fang, Associate Professor, Institute of Women's Studies, All-China Women's Federation, China

陶春芳女士，中國中華全國婦女聯合會婦女研究所副教授

Gender Differences in the Labour Market: Some Evidence from Taiwan

性別與勞動市場：台灣之實證研究

Prof. TSAI Shu-ling and Prof. CHOU Bih-er, Research Fellows, Academia Sinica, Taiwan

蔡淑鈴教授及周碧娥教授，台灣中央研究院研究員

An Investigation into the Employment of Women in Hong Kong

探討香港婦女的就業情況

Mr. WONG Yui-tim, Lecturer, Dept. of Human Resources Management, Hong Kong Baptist College, Hong Kong

王銳添先生，香港浸會學院人力資源管理系講師

17:10 Floor Discussion 討論

November 10, 1989

一九八九年十一月十日

SESSION 4: EDUCATION (in Mandarin)**第四節：教育（普通話）**

Chairperson: Dr. CHOI Po-king, Lecturer, School of Education, The Chinese University of Hong Kong

主席：蔡寶瓊博士，香港中文大學教育學院講師

09:00 The Development and Problems of Women's Education in China

中國婦女教育的發展和問題

Prof. TAO Feng-juan, Professor, Institute of Education-
al Science, Beijing Teacher's College, China
陶鳳娟教授，中國北京師範學院教育系教授

The Problems of Women's Education in China
中國大陸女子教育問題

Ms. LIANG Jun, Senior Lecturer, Cadre School for
Women, Henan Province, China
梁軍女士，中國河南省婦女幹部學校婦女業務教研室高級
講師

A Study of Gender Differences in Higher Education in
Hong Kong

香港大專教育的性別差異

Dr. Bernard Hung-kay LUK, Lecturer, School of
Education, The Chinese University of Hong Kong
陸鴻基博士，香港中文大學教育學院高級講師

A Comparative Study of Women and Higher Education in
the PRC and Hong Kong

中港女子高等教育之比較

Ms. Grace MAK, PhD Candidate, State University of
New York at Buffalo, U.S.A.
麥肖玲女士，美國紐約大學（水牛城）博士候選人

10:20 Tea Break 茶聚

10:35 Floor Discussion 討論

SESSION 5: GENDER STEREOTYPES

第五節：性別塑型

Chairperson: Ms. Stella SO, Lecturer, Dept. of Marketing, The Chinese
University of Hong Kong.

主席：蘇麗文女士，香港中文大學市場學系講師

11:05 (in Mandarin 普通話)

Between Tradition and Reality: A Discussion of the
Stereotype of Women in Chinese Society

徘徊在傳統與現實之間：對中國女性塑型的思考

Mr. ZHANG Min-jie, Associate Fellow, Zhejiang
Academy of Social Sciences, China

張敏傑先生，中國浙江省社會科學院助理研究員

An Essay on Gender Prejudice: Gender-related Attitudes of
Chinese Students

論性別偏見：中國大陸各級學生對兩性角色的態度

Mr. ZHANG De, Associate Professor, Dept. of Educa-
tion, Northeast Normal University, China

張德先生，中國東北師範大學教育系副教授

11:45 Lunch Break 午餐

12:45 (in English 英語)

Same Job, Different Perceptions: Men and Women In Life
Insurance Sales

相同工作、不同觀點：男性與女性人壽保險業營業員

Ms. Kitty YOUNG, Lecturer, Dept. of International
Business, The Chinese University of Hong Kong

楊怡凱女士，香港中文大學國際企業學系講師

A Study of Women's Abilities in Managerial Positions:
Male and Female Perceptions

管理階層女性能力之研究：男性與女性之看法

Ms. Stella SO and Ms. Kitty YOUNG

蘇麗文女士及楊怡凱女士

13:25 Floor Discussion 討論

SESSION 6: GENDER STUDIES: ISSUES AND DIRECTIONS

(in Mandarin)

第六節 : 性別研究: 問題與方向 (普通話)

Chairperson: Dr. KWOK Pui-lan, Lecturer, Dept. of Religion,
The Chinese University of Hong Kong

主席 : 郭佩蘭博士, 香港中文大學宗教系講師

Discussant: Dr. Elaine TSUI, Associate Professor, Department of
Anthropology, National Taiwan University

評論員 : 崔伊蘭博士, 台灣國立台灣大學人類學系副教授

13:55 Gender Studies and Chinese Religion

性別研究與中國宗教

Dr. KWOK Pui-lan

郭佩蘭博士

The Status Quo of Women in Different Social Strata in
Mainland China

中國大陸婦女現狀分層研究

Ms. LI Xiao-jiang, Associate Professor, Women's Re-
search Centre, Chengzhou University, China

李小江女士, 中國鄭州大學婦女學研究中心副教授

Research on Women in Taiwan

婦女研究在台灣的發展

Prof. Nora CHIANG, Professor, Dept. of Geography,
National Taiwan University, Taiwan

姜蘭虹教授, 台灣國立台灣大學地理系教授

14:55 Tea Break 茶聚

15:10 A Preliminary Study on Women's Studies in Taiwan:
Theory and Method

對台灣地區婦女學研究的初步探討: 理論與方法

Ms. Yenlin KU, National Chiao Tung University,
Taiwan

顧燕翎副教授, 台灣國立交通大學共同科目

Gender Studies in Hong Kong

性別研究在香港的發展

Dr. Fanny M. CHEUNG, Senior Lecturer, Dept. of
Psychology, The Chinese University of Hong
Kong

張妙清博士, 香港中文大學心理學系高級講師

Rethinking about Gender Studies in Chinese Society

性別研究在中國發展的特質和方向

Prof. Esther Nan-ling CHOW, Professor, Dept. of
Sociology, The American University, U.S.A.

周顏玲教授, 美國美國大學社會學系教授

16:10 Floor Discussion 討論

17:00 CLOSING CEREMONY 閉幕禮

站在家庭與勞動市場的交匯點：香港女性外發工的處境
**Waged Work at Home: Married Women's
Participation in Industrial Outwork in Hong Kong**

呂大樂
Lui Tai-lok

—論文摘要—

根據一九八六年的統計數字，香港有超過百份之九十的外發工乃製造業機構所僱用。而在這些在製造業工作的外發工當中，大概八成為女性。這些在家裏工作的女工，約佔女性工業勞動力的一成。令人感到興趣的問題，是儘管這些女性外發工對香港工業發展有其貢獻，但她們的存在卻鮮為人所認知。

本文嘗試探討女性參與外發工作的背景。討論的焦點集中在家庭與勞動市場的互動，並從此分析已婚女性參與外發工作的成因。憑一些與女性外發工深入訪問所得資料，本文試看她們如何以外發工作作為「家庭工作策略」。

IN 1986, over 90% of the outworkers in Hong Kong were employed in the manufacturing sector. Among these industrial outworkers, about eight out of ten were female. These home-based women workers, in fact, constituted nearly one tenth of the population of women industrial workers. It is, indeed, an intriguing issue why these home-based women industrial workers have remained invisible in the public domain despite their contributions to industrial development.

This paper is an attempt to look into the social processes which structure the supply of women labour to the industrial outworking labour market. The emphasis is on the interaction between family and the labour market through which married women take up their home-based jobs. Based upon ethnographic interviews with women industrial outworkers, the paper explores how the respondents make sense of industrial outworking as their 'family work strategy'.

香港家庭變遷與婦女就業
**Familial Change and Women's Employment
 in Hong Kong**

吳俊雄
 Ng Chun-hung

—論文摘要—

現今有關香港婦女就業的研究，一般都集中看婦女參與受薪勞動的比例、其轉變、與及影響這個轉變的一些因素。它們大都忽略了婦女在家庭的角色與其就業模式其實是一脈相承、不可分割的。婦女對就業作出某種選擇，其實也就對家庭模式、分工和成員的職份作選擇。這個選擇牽涉其所屬的家庭作為一個整體的考慮。不同的家庭，會因應社會經濟的考慮，調配資源，採長補短，在家庭內男女長幼各成員的升學、就業、遷徙、組織新家庭等方面作一系列相關的決定。婦女就業其實就是在這一連串所謂「家庭策略」的一部份。要瞭解香港婦女在不同時間裏就某行業的取向的轉變，就得要同時瞭解其背後相屬的「家庭策略」。

本文報告一個正在進行的研究。它的目標是引用「家庭策略」這個概念，探討戰後香港婦女就業轉變與及家庭形式、觀念和行為方面的複雜關係。

CURRENT studies on women and employment in Hong Kong often exhibit the following characteristics:

(1) Much attention is paid to the changing rate of female participation in employment and the possible factors that might influence that pattern, e.g. educational attainment, decline in fertility, general economic growth, changing labour legislation.

(2) Another focus is on how female participation in employment affects the division of labour and power at home. Very often the findings point to the continued triple burden shouldered by women.

While these studies provide invaluable insights into many issues concerned, there are still gaps in the literature. In particular, most current studies posit a rather static and general picture concerning the relations between women's employment and their activities in the family. Questions are often asked about how women's work role affects their family role or vice versa. However, rarely are the two seen as an integral

and complex experience. In fact, it can be argued that common patterns of resources and ideological outlook underpin both spheres of life for women (and men). Work and family considerations intertwine and change through different stages of the family life cycle. Often they change also in reaction to the changing possibilities and constraints for familial advance posed by the socio-economic environment.

Recent studies in sociology utilising the concept of 'family strategy' point precisely to the importance of analysing how different families deploy different sets of familial and extra-familial resources to make decisions concerning the economic and social placement of their members. Seen in this light, each individual woman's decision to participate in employment and to continue in it is often part of a package of familial decision-making. Studying the dynamics and considerations involved in the process will shed much light on many important issues: gender ideology, the calculation of individual and collective interests, distribution and deployment of intellectual and material resources, perceived economic opportunities, and the actual outcome in terms of the patterns of economic life of women of different classes.

This paper reports an ongoing research conducted in this light. It relies on indepth interviews with a number of female and male members of families with different trajectories of social and economic advance since the post-war years in Hong Kong. It shows how the concept of family strategy can be used to further our understanding of the complex experiences behind the increasing number of females participating in employment.

探討香港婦女的就業情況
**An Investigation into the Employment of
 Women in Hong Kong**

王銳添
Wong Yui-tim

— 論文摘要 —

從統計數字看，本港現時的勞動人口約為二百八十萬。其中男性的參與率約為80%，女性則為48%。整體來看，大致維持在64%與65%之間。這顯示出本港婦女的勞動參與率遠較男性為低；但在另一方面看，婦女在本港的經濟及勞動生產中卻仍佔一很重要的角色。

綜觀男性的勞動參與率，幾乎達到充份就業。反觀女性的勞動參與率，則隨著年齡及婚姻狀況的轉變而有很大的差異。本港婦女的就業情況，可透過統計數字的分析與比較顯出其特點。例如，受僱人士的性別與年齡、婦女勞工的婚姻狀況、婦女從事行業的情況、男性與女性工資的比較等。

事實上，在過去十年間，本港婦女的就業情況已有明顯的轉變，婦女就業的機會亦相應增加。但面對嚴重的勞工短缺，本港可從那些方面著手鼓勵婦女就業？本文對此作一初步的探討。

ACCORDING to statistics, the existing labour force in Hong Kong is around 2,800,000 of which the labour force participation rate for males is about 80%, while the female participation rate is only 48%. As a whole, the labour force participation rate is maintained between 64% and 65%. This shows that the labour force participation rate for females is much lower than for males, but the employment of women still plays a crucial role in the contribution of GDP in our society.

The high labour force participation rate for males reveals that the working power of male workers is nearly fully utilized. On the other hand, the participation rate of female labour varies greatly according to their age and marital status. The characteristics of women employment in Hong Kong can be further observed by analyzing statistical data such as the employed persons by age and sex, female labour force by age and marital status, employed persons by occupation and industry, the comparison of wages between males and females, etc.

In fact, the trend in women employment in Hong Kong has changed during the past ten years and the working opportunities for women are increasing. But as Hong Kong now is facing a serious problem of labour shortage, more female labour must be encouraged to participate in our labour force. Some suggestions and relevant problems will also be discussed in this paper.

性別與擇業態度：以中大及深圳大學學生為例
**Gender Differences in Career Preference and
 Achievement Aspiration — a Case Study of Chinese
 University and Shenzhen University Graduands**

周陳文琬
 Grace Chow

— 論文摘要 —

本調查旨在研究大學生擇業態度之性別異同。調查對象為一九八八年度香港中文大學及深圳大學應屆畢業生各約六百名。他們被問及選擇行業及選擇僱用機構時所考慮的各項因素優先次序。他們現在及五年後對薪酬的期望，升學意願及自我能力評估等都在調查範圍之內。調查顯示大部份男同學較喜歡加入工商界，而女同學的選擇範圍較廣，對加入工商界，教育界，公共服務及當公務員都同樣熱衷。男女同學擇業時考慮的因素亦有不同之處。男同學一般對晉升機會及能發揮才幹比較重視，而女的則對個人就業興趣及僱用機構的管理方式較為重視。男同學對未來薪酬期望比女同學為高。又男同學一般比女同學自信，在評估個人一般常識，分析能力及創新能力方面，男同學對自己的評價顯著地比女同學為高。惟本調查只限於指出男女同學擇業態度異同的現象，而並未能提出有系統的解釋，故有需要在這方面繼續研究。

THIS is an attempt to find out if there are any gender differences in career aspiration and career preference among graduating students of two universities — Chinese University in Hong Kong and Shenzhen University in China. Shenzhen University graduands were chosen as Shenzhen University is the first of a few universities in China that allow its graduates to seek their own employment after graduation. Traditionally, university graduates in China have been allocated jobs through the joint monitoring of the Federal Government and the University Authority. Recently, a free labour market has been gradually evolving in Shenzhen and it is therefore possible for Shenzhen University graduates to enjoy a certain degree of freedom in job choice. This renders the present study meaningful.

In this study, respondents were asked to indicate their prioritized considerations when selecting their preferred career fields and types of employers. They were also asked if they would pursue further studies in the future and their expectation of the salary they would receive five years after graduation. All respondents were also requested to conduct a self-assessment of abilities. The findings suggest that there are gender differences in career preference and also in factors governing career choice: there are also discrepancies between men and women graduands in both career and educational aspirations. Men graduands predominantly prefer to join the industrial and business sector whereas women graduands' preferences appear to be more diversified. While choosing career and employer, men would place more emphasis on promotion prospects and opportunities to deploy one's abilities and talents, women would attach greater importance to personal interest and management style of the employer. Findings suggest that men have higher expectations on future earnings and are also found to be invariably more confident in their self-assessment of abilities.

性別與事業發展及就業機會：對中國婦女就業狀況的探討 Gender, Career Advancement and Job Opportunities

陶春芳

Tao Chun-fang

—論文摘要—

一、中華人民共和國成立以後，政府制定了法律，保障女性有與男子平等的參與社會生活與就業的權利，因此女性就業率是比較高的。

二、由於女性廣泛參與社會生活而獲得新的社會形象，女性以自己的成就打破了傳統的婦女觀。

三、女性為實現自身的價值，為不失去就業機會，必須放棄自己的性別要求，而婦女客觀地身負著兩種生產（社會物質生產、人口生產）、兩種勞動（社會勞動、家務勞動）的困擾。女性不得不在“事業型”、“生活型”兩種形象的矛盾和輿論壓力下塑造自己恰當的形象。

四、女性就業是社會發展的歷史必然，社會應當為女性創造平等的參與社會競爭的條件。婦女要求社會承認“人口生產”、“家務勞動”是女性對社會的特殊貢獻，要求社會給予補償。對此，中華人民共和國不少城市試行生育補償，為婦女參與競爭創造條件。

五、對女性發展的展望。

SINCE the founding of the People's Republic of China, the government has formulated laws to safeguard women's equal rights with men to participate in social life and in employment; hence the relatively high employment rate for women in China.

A new social image has emerged out of women's extensive participation in social life. Women have broken the conventional concept of their sex through their own achievements.

To realise their value, to maintain their access to employment, women have to abandon the needs inherent in their sex; they have to shoulder the double burden of two types of production (i.e. social material production and population reproduction) on the one hand, and two types of work (i.e. social work and housework on the other. Women have to shape a proper image under the pressures of public opinion and the conflicting images of 'career women' and 'family women'.

The employment of women is an inevitable outcome of social evolution. Therefore, the society should provide women with possibilities of participation in social competition on an equal footing. Women argue that the society should acknowledge that 'population reproduction' and 'housework' have been the unique contributions of women to the society and deserve compensation from the society. As a result, a number of cities in China have tried out 'birth compensation' measures, preparing the ground for women to participate in competition.

The prospects of women's career advancement and employment will also be discussed.

日常生活需求、社會支持與生活滿意：
台灣地區職業婦女與家庭主婦之比較

Daily Life Demands, Stress, Social Support and Life Satisfaction: A Comparative Study of Working Women and Housewives in Taiwan

陳皎眉
Chen Jeaw-mei

— 論文摘要 —

本研究包含的目的有五：(1)了解婦女的日常生活需求、(2)了解社會支持與日常生活需求所導致的壓力之間的關係、(3)了解婦女的工具性社會支持系統、(4)了解婦女們面對日常生活需求時，知覺/歸因方式與壓力的關係、以及(5)探討壓力與生活滿意之間的關係。

為達上述目的，本研究編製了四份量表，採問卷調查法進行。本文係此研究的部份結果，皆在比較職業婦女與家庭主婦在日常生活需求、壓力、社會支持與生活滿意上的差異。

結果顯示：(1)職業婦女的生活壓力高於家庭主婦，但其擁有的社會支持亦較高。(2)家庭主婦之“期望”與“實際”工作小時高於職業婦女，但此差異未達顯著水準。(3)職業婦女與家庭主婦所擁有的社會支持有別。就兩組而言丈夫都是最常提供支持的人，但職業婦女的丈夫提供了更多的協助。此外，研究還發現：(4)兩組婦女在對是否能完成某些日常生活需求的歸因上有顯著差異。職業婦女較家庭主婦認為個人努力因素與能力因素更重要。(5)兩組婦女的生活滿意程度均是偏向滿意的，但在其中，家庭主婦在生活滿意量表中的生活滿意、家庭滿意、與親戚和睦三向度上，顯著高於職業婦女。(6)整體而言，日常生活需求、社會支持、知覺/歸因和生活滿意之間有顯著關係。

從本研究所列出的五十五項日常生活需求來看，台灣的家庭主婦與職業婦女均面臨非常沉重的負擔。然而，兩組婦女均能善用其社會支持系統，因而擁有很高的家庭及婚姻滿足。

THE purpose of this study is fivefold: (1) to identify women's daily life demands; (2) to investigate the level of stress from these daily life demands when social supports intervene; (3) to identify the instrumental support system available to them; (4) to understand women's cognition/attribution of the accomplishment or the failure to accomplish daily

life demands; and (5) to analyse the correlations among stress levels and life satisfaction. Four scales were used in the present study. The study was carried out in 1987–1988 with 444 women completing the personal interview. This paper is derived from a major study by the present author and focuses on the comparisons of working women's and housewives' daily life demands, stress, coping, and life satisfaction.

Although working women showed a higher stress level than housewives, working women had more than an adequate amount of social support to help them deal with daily life demands. Housewives demonstrated a greater difference between expected and actual hours spent on daily life demands than did working women, though the difference between the two groups was not significant. However, data showed that there was a significant difference between the two groups in regard to the social support received by them. For both groups, the women's husbands gave them the most frequent support, although working women's husbands appeared to be more responsive to their wives.

According to the findings, a significant difference existed between the two groups on the individual effort factor, individual ability factor and other factors in regard to their attributions of the importance of the accomplishment of daily life demands.

Although the housewives showed a higher level of life satisfaction, both groups tended to be satisfied overall with life. Three areas of satisfaction demonstrated a significant difference between the two groups: (1) family; (2) relations with relatives, and (3) the well-being scale.

Overall, the data indicated significant correlations among daily life demands, social support, cognition/attribution, and life satisfaction.

From the 55 daily life demands listed in the study, it seems as though women in Taiwan, both working and housewives, are carrying a very heavy load in their daily lives. Nevertheless, the present study concluded that both groups are, in general, making good use of their social support network and have high degrees of family and marital satisfaction, al-

though the discussion of the direct causal relations between and among these variables are beyond the scope of the present paper. Interpretations and discussions of the research findings are presented in the paper.

性別與勞動市場：台灣之實證研究
**Gender Differences in the Labour Market:
 Some Evidence from Taiwan**

蔡淑鈴及周碧娥
 Tsai Shu-ling
 Chou Bih-er

— 論文摘要 —

本文擬從社會學的觀點，探討台灣社會兩性在勞動市場上的成就差異。詳而言之，本研究將以勞動市場參與者為分析對象，比較男性與女性在：(1) 薪資報酬；(2) 教育成就；及 (3) 職業分佈等三方面的差異現象。我們認為，教育資歷是一項主要的人力資本，與勞動者之生產力密切相關。然而，男女兩性在勞動市場上的成就差異，並非單純僅是兩性在人力資本累積方面有所差別而已，還有其他更重要的結構性因素，譬如說，家庭內之傳統性別分工方式限制了女性參與勞動市場的機會與供給量，勞動市場上之性別隔離現象導致女性之職業地位與薪資皆不如同等教育資歷的男性。基於此，本文除了回顧一些有關的理論與文獻外，並將實證分析最新的台灣勞動力調查資料，比較兩性在勞動市場成就方面的差異現象，並將討論都市化與工業化對此一性別差異的影響。

FROM the perspective of sociology, this paper explores gender differences in the labor market in Taiwan. More specifically, it examines differences between working men and women in the following respects: (1) earnings; (2) educational attainment; and (3) occupational distribution. Education is considered an important human capital which is closely related to productivity. Nevertheless, gender differences in labour market achievements cannot be explained by sex differentials in educational attainments alone. A wide variety of factors combine to create an earnings discrepancy between the sexes. For instance, women's secondary economic status has been attributed to their shorter supply of labour to the market, their intermittent pattern of labor force participation, sex segregation in occupational distribution, and discriminatory hiring practices in the labour market. Each aspect of women's labour market behaviour is determined by the traditional and institutional constraints on their labor supply to the market within the family context — primarily marriage, childbearing, and childrearing.

相同工作、不同觀點：男性與女性人壽保險業營業員
**Same Job, Different Perceptions:
 Men and Women In Life Insurance Sales**

楊怡凱
 Kitty Young

—論文摘要—

人壽保險業乃香港發展迅速的行業之一。不少青年男女已投身其中。此研究著意調查有潛質的保險業顧客對男女性營業員的評價。調查對象為曾經與人壽保險營業員接觸之在職成年人。綜合一百六十九份街頭訪問之調查問卷，發現被訪者對男性及女性營業員存有不同的觀感。特別在溝通技巧及運用壓力方面，女性營業員被認為遜色。故此，管理階層在招募及訓練員工時，須因應不同性別而作出適當的安排。並應予以女性特別訓練以彌補顧客存有之負面觀點。

THE life insurance industry is a fast-growing industry in Hong Kong. It attracts many young men and women into the trade. This study attempts to investigate the prospects' perception of salesmen and saleswomen in the industry. The study is a survey of economically active adults who had been previously approached by insurance salespeople. A total of 169 responses were collected. Upon analyzing the data, it was found that there is a perceived difference between men and women salespersons. Female salespersons are considered to possess fewer sales communication skills and to see less sensitive in the use of pressure. The implications for management are that recruitment and training must be gender specific and women need to receive special training to compensate for the negative perceptions that clients have.

管理階層女性能力之研究：男性與女性之看法
**A Study of Women's Abilities in Managerial Positions:
 Male and Female Perceptions**

蘇麗文及楊怡凱
 Stella So
 Kitty Young

—論文摘要—

傳統上，高級管理階層向為男性所佔據。身居高級管理職位之女性皆被報以懷疑及不服從的態度。近年來，香港女性在各類機構之參與程度日益增加。女性行政人員的數目亦有所增長，並普遍被接納為能幹的一羣。此研究之目的是要剖析對女性行政人員之各樣看法，特別是找出男性和女性在觀點上的異同。根據此項研究結果，相信可以對管理階層之更佳人力資源調配有所貢獻。

MANAGEMENT has traditionally been deemed to be a male-dominant occupation. Women have been viewed with suspicion and skepticism when they have acquired managerial positions. In the recent decade, Hong Kong has witnessed an increase in women's participation at all levels in organizations. There has been a growth in the number of women executives are generally perceived to be competent executives. The purpose of the study is to give a picture of how people view women executives in Hong Kong, especially to see if there is any difference between male and female perceptions. With the research findings, managerial implications can be drawn regarding better utilization of human resources.

徘徊在傳統與現實之間：對中國女性塑型的思考
**Between Tradition and Reality: A Discussion of the
 Stereotype of Women in Chinese Society**

張敏傑
 Zhang Min-jie

—論文摘要—

女性塑型，在不同時代、不同社會，有不同規範、不同要求。

中國的社會革命使廣大婦女獲得了空前解放，她們的形象也由原先比較封閉狀態向比較開放狀態轉化。但是，傳統女性觀、家庭觀、審美觀等歷史積淀使婦女面臨一系列的矛盾，導致女性塑型徘徊在傳統與現實之間，處於一種兩難境地。於是，就在社會改革造就了一大批女中英杰的同時，也迎來了部分女性的失落。

對此，本文提出要通過更新婦女觀念、揚棄傳統女性意識、調整價值目標、開發女性潛力、提高角色轉換能力等途徑，塑造出具有時代特色的新型婦女形象。

THE social revolution in China has emancipated Chinese women from the old traditions and has permitted them to become more open-minded. However, the existence of traditional expectations for women regarding marriage, family and aesthetics create contradictions for women in China. Thus, while a lot of women excel in society, many of them are at a lost.

In this presentation, suggestions are made for re-evaluating the old traditional viewpoints on women; re-adjusting the value systems for women; and developing and exploiting the potentials of women so that their latent ability can be fully utilised.

關於性別偏見的調查報告：中國大陸各級學生對兩性角色的態度
**An Essay on Gender Prejudice:
 Gender-related Attitudes of Chinese Students**

張德
 Zhang De

—論文摘要—

就先後兩次的調查來說，我們的幹部班和大中小學各組被試，都有誇大男女兩性的心理差異的傾向。他們低估女性的人格特質並且相應地給女性較低層次的社會職業。性別偏見在我國是相當普遍地存在著的。

性別偏見是個體性別角色社會化的結果。我們的語文教材無論從插圖、故事性課文的主角或從人物個性的塑造方面來看，都是高估男性而低估女性的，語文教材的性別偏見是我國青少年性別偏見形成的一個重要根源。

RESEARCH data gathered recently in Changchun, China, show that students of primary schools, middle schools, universities and cadres' colleges are inclined to overstate the differences between the two sexes, and to assign lower occupational positions for women. Gender prejudice is thus widespread in China.

Gender prejudice results from the socialization of individuals into their gender roles. The attitudes of youths towards the sexes are seen to be consistent with those expressed in the books used as Chinese readers in primary schools. These readers are thus one main source of gender prejudice held by youths.

淺議當代中國大學生的女性觀

University Students' Perception of Women
in Contemporary China

閔冬潮

Min Dong-chao

—論文摘要—

當代大學生屬於在文化大革命後成長起來的第四代人。這一代人在進入青春時期時，正值國家實施改革開放政策之季，由於時代節奏的急劇加快以及與世界交往的日益擴大，他們所經歷的時間的社會容量空前地加大了。於是在他們的行動策略與生活模式方面也呈現出與上一代人明顯的區別。本文所要論述的，是第四代人中的精英——當代大學生在性別觀念上的一些問題，包括以下幾個方面：

- 一、對最敏感的婦女解放問題的看法。
- 二、對最關心的婚戀問題的看法。
- 三、當代大學生性別觀念形成的歷史、社會原因。

CHINESE university students of the present era belong to the generation who grew up after the Cultural Revolution. They reached the age of puberty when the Reform and Open policies were being put into effect. As the rhythms of time speed up and China's contacts with other countries increase, these students' experiences, ideas, and ways of life differ distinctly from the generations before them.

In this presentation, several aspects of the gender idea of Chinese students will be characterized.

1. Their view of women's liberation.
2. Their view of marriage and family.
3. The historical and social origins of the gender idea of Chinese Students.

中港女子高等教育之比較

Development and Women's Higher Education:
A Comparative Study of China & Hong Kong

麥肖玲

Grace Mak

—論文摘要—

本文探討女子高等教育與社會模式的關係。

中國及香港文化背景相近，但政治及經濟循不同模式發展。自四九年以來兩地政經對比益加明顯。兩地高等教育發展是否因此產生異同？對於婦女的影響又有何異同？本文主要資料來自作者對北京及香港共四十位女大學畢業生的訪問，分析兩地高等教育發展對婦女的實際影響。這項研究不單比較兩個社會，同時也比較兩個年代。作者訪問中、青年兩組婦女，試圖比較上述的影響是否隨年代而相異。文章只討論婦女入讀高校機會及選科情況，受教過程及畢業後發展不在討論範圍。

THE paper investigates the relationship between women's higher education and societal models. The People's Republic of China and Hong Kong share a common cultural background but each has developed along lines of different political and economic systems. The contrast has been increasingly sharp since the founding of the PRC in 1949. How does the difference in social, political and economic development relate to reforms in higher education in the two societies and why? How does it in turn affect women and higher education? This paper studies the impact of educational reforms on women in the PRC and Hong Kong with data from interviews with 40 female university graduates. It compares the educational patterns of women across the two societies as well as across two generations. The researcher interviewed two cohorts of women, aged 45-50 and 30-35 respectively, to see if the impact of educational reforms on women varied over time. The paper studies women's access to higher education and their distribution across academic discipline. Processes and outcomes of education are not dealt with here.

中國婦女教育問題
The Problems of Women's Education in China

梁軍
Liang Jun

—論文摘要—

本文將從兩個方面介紹大陸女子教育現狀。

一、大陸女子接受文化、職業教育的狀況。

本文將從女性就學機會、女性普通教育及高等教育、女性職業教育、女性成人教育、農村婦女教育等幾個方面進行介紹、分析，並提出目前大陸女性文盲比例過高問題及女童失學問題。

二、大陸發展“女性教育”的狀況。

由於女性生活道路的特點，及1949年來大陸婦女、尤其是職業知識婦女的特殊發展經歷，使得廣泛發展“女性教育”十分必要。本文將介紹大陸近年來“女性教育”的進展情況以及存在的問題。

最後，將根據國情提出發展女子教育的設想。

THIS paper introduces present conditions in women's education in Mainland China from two basic perspectives:

(1) It describes the present realities of the cultural and professional education of women in China and discusses their opportunity to enter school and to receive general, higher and adult education. The paper looks also at the education of women in the countryside and raises questions about why a higher proportion of females is illiterate and why a female child may miss out an opportunity for education.

(2) The paper looks at the issues from a more developmental perspective and describes achievements and problems in the area of female education in recent years. Because there are specific features of female life and because there has been since 1949 specific progress for Chinese women (especially for professional/intellectual women), it is necessary to spread even more widely the concept and practice of education for women.

中國婦女教育的發展和問題
The Development and Problems of
Women's Education in China

陶鳳娟
Tao Feng-juan

—論文摘要—

在我國憲法上規定男女是平等的。男女是否真正平等，要看其在受教育上是否平等，還要看其在就業上是否平等。這二者又是相互影響的。

從新中國建立以來，婦女的地位有了很大的提高。其原因主要有四，即(1)社會制度的改變，(2)生產力的發展，(3)教育的普及，(4)婦女運動的影響。但真正的男女平等還有待於進一步爭取，特別要爭取教育上的平等。

一、我們要進一步為婦女爭取在中小學教育及高等教育中的受教育的機會。

1986年中國實施了九年制義務教育。但還有很多困難。不同的家庭對於女孩子的看法、期待是有差別的，在就業競爭中女大學生可能遇到不平等的待遇。

二、針對未來社會對婦女的要求和當前婦女遇到的問題來進行教育。

要在教育中掃除人們思想意識中的舊傳統對於女孩子的錯誤看法。

THE People's Republic of China has recognized with a constitutional clause that women should enjoy exactly the same rights as men. True equality depends on two things: equal access to education and equal employment opportunities. Each of these things influences the other.

Since the founding of the new China, the status of women has improved greatly. There are several reasons for this: (1) the Chinese system; (2) development in industry and agriculture; (3) a system of universal education; (4) the women's movement. However, women are still struggling through a difficult transition period and in most areas they are still fighting for equality, especially in education.

1. We must therefore work to increase the chances for women to receive elementary, secondary, and higher education. This effort is still needed despite the nine year system of compulsory education which was put in force in 1986. It is needed because in some families the attitudes towards and expectations of girls are still different and because, when

competing for employment, women graduates may still meet unequal treatment.

2. We must also work to educate everyone to be more aware of the society's demands on women in the future and of the problems which women are facing today. Schools should work through the education of all to wipe out the traditional wrong ideas about the education of girls.

香港大專教育中婦女的機會

Opportunities for Women in Higher Education in Hong Kong

陸鴻基

Bernard Luk

— 論文摘要 —

中國傳統社會重男輕女，女子鮮有受教育的機會。但在香港，隨著戰後的社會變遷和經濟發展，女子就學一級一級地增長。這趨勢在統計數字中是顯而易見的。

香港男女兒童和少年進小學和中學的機會，既漸趨於均等，女生升讀大專的人數，自然也就日漸增多。但兩所大學的男女生人數，歷年來還是頗有差距。

如果放眼看全港各主要公費大專院校，則男女生總數的差距，卻沒有大學的差距那麼大。

大專男學生和女學生的總數雖然是逐漸接近，但在各類院校之間、和同一院校之內的各種科系之間，仍是有著很大的差異。

這些現象，顯示社會上的人（包括教師、家長、僱主、學生本人和友儕等）對男子和女子的升學、就業，和社會經濟的角色，仍是有著十分不同的看法。大抵傳統的「男尊女卑」，「男主外、女主內」，「男動女靜」等觀念，在今日的香港仍是有相當的影響力。婦女雖然是踏出家門，在外就業了，但她在社會上的角色，仍往往被區限於近似「賢妻良母」職守的工作崗位（如護士、小學教師、私人秘書等）。如有突破這種種框框的，就很容易被人冠以「女強人」的「雅號」。某些較多女性工作者加入的行業，男性工作者往往也就逐漸退出。過去二三十年來屢見這個現象，而大專教育的發展，也反映出這種變化。

女子就業和升學途徑的界定，跟女學生選修科目的抉擇，互為因果，這不單是指大專女學生的選擇主修科，而更是指初中學生升上高中時的選文或理科。

男女學生除了在中學傾向於選修不同的科目，以致影響到日後升學和就業的選擇，同時對於升學的成敗，往往也有不同的態度，家庭的期望和支持，是中學生努力謀求升學的一個極重要的因素。很多家庭對於兒子的升學，期望和支持都很熱切；但對於女兒卻沒有那麼熱心。一般來說，年紀較輕的考生，以女生為多，男生為較少。

THIS paper examines the statistical profile of women as students and as teachers in the institutions of higher education in Hong Kong. The reasons for certain characteristics as well as brief comparisons with other Chinese-speaking societies, will also be attempted.

台灣婚姻暴力特質與家庭動態關係：25名個案研究
**Relationship between Marital Violence Characteristics
 and Family Dynamics in Taiwan: A Study of 25 Cases**

陳若璋
 Roda Chen

— 論文摘要 —

本文旨在探討台灣婚姻暴力的現況、引發因素，並以被毆婦女在深度訪談過程及治療性團體中所呈現之主題與困難，來反映台灣目前在變遷社會中的家庭婚姻結構特質及中國婦女角色的定位困境，並檢討心理衛生人員未來對此問題的處理，治療策略與趨向。

本文首先陳列國外有關毆打者、被毆者之特質研究及治療策略文獻，並輔以國內之警政及一般剪報資料，來反映國內的婚姻暴力之現況，並與國外資料作一對比。文中接著說「家庭角色爭端處理問卷」之資料分析，來呈現台灣婚姻暴力的面貌，如被虐者及毆打者在基本資料、工作經驗、出生家庭、家庭結構、婚姻過程、自我概念、毆打的過程、方式、致因等變項所呈現的分配狀態，來探討其促發因素為何。並就二十一名接受深度訪談的被虐者資料來瞭解婚姻暴力的系統如何建立？如何穩固？其組型的變化及如何突破等問題。最後就第一個被毆婦女治療性團體，其成員組成、主訴、團體過程、目標及顯現之主題與尚未解決的困難，以及數對接受婚姻治療的夫婦來探討未來的治療策略、步驟及過程。

本文最後就此問題所涉及的法律、社會問題提供具體建議與檢討。

THE purpose of this paper is to investigate the issues of marital violence in Taiwan — its nature, frequency contributing factors and violent process — and to suggest treatment for its victims.

The paper first reviews the literature and the data on marital violence released by the police department. It then analyses the data obtained from a questionnaire survey of battered women, including demographic background, working history, family structure, the nature, frequency, and process of marital violence and the battered women's perceptions of violence. Next, it presents the first battered women's group in Taiwan, the group process and the issues in which the members are interested. In addition, the data of 21 women who accepted intensive interview illustrates how the violence began, how it was established in

the past and what possible ways there might be of breaking through it in the future. Finally, the difficulties of treatment are discussed and suggestions are made regarding effective strategies for counseling battered women in the future.

性別差異與心理調適：台灣地區青少年研究

**Gender and Coping:
A Study of Adolescents in Taiwan**

張珏
Chang Chueh

— 論文摘要 —

爲了打破過去在探討心理調適時，往往只將性別做爲諸多影響變項之一分析，而爲探討性別差異真正影響來源，因此特進行本研究，以明瞭男女性別在對不如意或壓力情形時所採用的調適策略，並更進一步分析影響不同調適行爲的相關原因。在1988年對台灣地區十一個五專學校學生進行調查：共3,681位（其中男性2,056人，女性1,625人）以團體施測方式進行問卷調查。問卷內容除基本資料外，尚有Jalowiec (1981)的調適量表，亦有來自Framingham (1978)研究的社會心理量表。

結果在調適量表四十個單項題上男女即呈現一些差距，經因素分析後，共分成四個因素：一爲主動問題解決，二爲逃避式情緒處理，三爲主動行動趨向，四爲順自然逃避傾向。男女在第一項上無差別，但第二項則女性較高，第三項則男性較高。在社會心理指標上，男性較女性偏高於：有野心傾向，自在性格，生氣內控，競爭傾向，而女性則較男性偏高於：情緒化分數，A型性格，緊張反應，學業壓力，焦慮反應，生氣反應，生氣外責，生氣問題解決與社會支持方向。

文中以複相關迴歸方式找出不同社會心理因素，對男女性別不同的影響程度。最後討論來自其他研究對男女在不同年齡調適的反應，並期探討有關兩性社會化刻板印象是否來自過於專斷二分法研究結果的誤導。

THE objective of this study is to explore the various factors affecting gender and coping and to analyse different adaptive patterns. Eleven higher institutions were surveyed in Taiwan in 1988 (2,056 men and 1,625 women). The questionnaires used included Jalowiec's adaptation chart and the psycho-social chart from the Framingham Study. The results show that there was a difference between men and women in their responses to 40 questions. Factor analysis shows the following results. There was no difference between two sexes in a positive approach to problem solving. Men had a higher psycho-social index than women: they had more ambitions, freedom of character, internal control

of anger and were more competitive. Women were more temperamental, type A, nervous, under more pressure and were more angry. Multiple regression was used to study the various psycho-social factors affecting two genders and the problems of stereotyping are explored.

避孕模式的轉變與香港的性別角色

Changing Patterns of Contraceptive Practice and Gender Role in Hong Kong

關淑華

Margaret Kwan

— 論文摘要 —

香港家庭計劃指導會自一九五零年成立以來，一直致力向市民推廣家庭計劃，並於一九六七至八七年間進行每隔五年一次的家庭計劃認識、態度及實行調查、收集有關育齡夫婦的詳盡資料。

本港在該二十年間經歷社會及經濟上的急劇轉變，對性別角色具重大意義。在該期間進行的五次家庭計劃調查的結果亦反映出有關的轉變，包括夫婦對生育的態度、實行家計的原因，選擇避孕方法的趨勢、及對丈夫在家庭計劃的責任的看法等。

六十年代流行希望有三、四子女及渴望「弄璋」的觀念，到了八十年代已為「兩個夠晒數」及同樣希望「弄瓦」的態度所取代，這時期正值本港工商業發展及婦女加入勞工行列。

同時，對丈夫在家計責任及避孕套日漸受歡迎的情況，亦可見傳統「生育是婦女事」觀念減弱及家計會宣傳分擔責任的成功。

SINCE its founding in 1950, the Family Planning Association of Hong Kong has been promoting the concept of planned parenthood among the local population. In order to better understand the changing needs of its target population, the Association conducted quinquennial Knowledge, Attitude and Practice Surveys (KAP) from 1967 to 1987, collecting detailed information on married couples in the reproductive age group.

The two decades have been a period of rapid social and economic changes which have important ramifications for gender roles. It is of interest to note that findings of the five KAP surveys have also reflected such changes in the attitudes of couples towards childbearing, their reasons for practising family planning, the trend in choice of contraceptive methods, and the attitudes towards husband's role in family planning.

It can be seen that while couples in the 1960s wanted to have three to four children and showed a strong preference for sons, couples in the 1980s have in general accepted the 'Two is Enough' ideal and were equally eager to have daughters as well as sons. The trend towards small families coincided with industrial and commercial development of Hong Kong and the increased participation of women in the labour force.

The change in attitude towards husband's responsibility in family planning and the increasing popularity of the condom, a male method, can be taken as an indication of the weakening of traditional ideas that 'childbearing is a woman's business' and of the success of the Association's promotion of the concept of shared responsibility.

婦女與吸煙 Smoking and Women

麥龍詩迪
Judith Mackay

—論文摘要—

在一九八三年的「吸煙與健康世界會議」中，顯示女性吸煙是一個日益嚴重的問題。

在大部份的工業國家中，男性吸煙的流行程度，比女性減少得多，特別引起關注的是少女吸煙的程度。

在發展中國家，女性普遍都很少吸煙，但是煙草商瞭解女性的市場，甚有發展機會，因此開始一連串針對女性的宣傳活動，這個情形在亞洲已出現了。

吸煙對女性的健康是十分有害的，因為它會引致肺癌及其他的癌症，慢性支氣管炎及心肌血脈的問題。另外，吸煙影響生育能力，使妊娠期間出現問題，因而影響母親及胎兒。那些口服避孕藥的吸煙婦女會面臨更多的危險。吸煙又影響更年期。

有證據顯示女性吸煙的原因與男性有別。她們發現，當開始吸煙的習慣後，便不能戒除。一直以來，健康專家比較注重男性吸煙者，但現時很迫切要減低或甚至避免增加女性吸煙者的機會。

IN 1983 the Fifth World Conference on Smoking and Health highlighted the emerging problem of smoking among women. In most industrialised nations, the prevalence of cigarette smoking among men is declining more rapidly than among women. Of particular concern is the level of smoking among teenage girls.

In developing countries the prevalence of female smoking is generally lower, but the tobacco industry has recognised the market potential of women, and is beginning to introduce promotional campaigns directed specifically towards women, as witnessed in Asia.

Smoking is dangerous to women's health, causing lung and other cancers, chronic obstructive lung disease and cardiac and circulatory disorders. In addition, smoking adversely affects the reproductive function, causing complications in pregnancy that affect both mother and

foetus. Women who smoke and take the oral contraceptive pill face an increased mortality. Smoking also has an effect upon the menopause.

There is some evidence that women may smoke for different reasons than do men. Women find it especially difficult to give up smoking once they have begun the habit. Health professionals have traditionally placed greater emphasis on male smokers, but there is an urgent need to address the issues of reducing, or preventing the increase of, smoking among women.

骨質疏鬆：婦女的噩夢
Osteoporosis: A Women's Plague

劉明珠
Edith Lau

—論文摘要—

在香港，骨質疏鬆是一個重要的公共健康問題，骨質疏鬆的成因包括缺乏鈣質、缺乏運動、更年期早、從未生育、吸煙、喝酒等。這些成因與現代婦女角色及責任有密切的關係。對居住都市而社會責任越來越重要的婦女來說，骨質疏鬆的預防及治療是很重要的，這也反映出性別角色的轉變與健康有密切的關係。

OSTEOPOROSIS is a major cause of mortality and morbidity in aging Chinese and Caucasian women. Hip fracture is an important complication of osteoporosis. The etiological factor of osteoporosis include a low calcium intake, lack of exercise, smoking and drinking, nulliparity, and an early menopause. All these factors are related to an increasingly urbanized life-style among Hong Kong women. A changing gender role which may cause women to have fewer children and more exposure to westernized habits such as smoking and drinking may be complicating factors in the increasing prevalence of osteoporosis. Screening and primary prevention for osteoporosis are important in the face of the changing gender role in Hong Kong.