

**Department
of Anthropology,
The Chinese
University
of Hong Kong
40th Anniversary
1980 - 2020**

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University
of Hong Kong
40th Anniversary
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學系歷史



History

History 學系歷史

- 1973**
一九七三
Anthropology first taught at The Chinese University of Hong Kong under the Board of Studies in Sociology
香港中文大學開設人類學課程，隸屬於社會學教務委員會
- 1977**
一九七七
Introduction of the Minor in Anthropology Programme by the Anthropology Section of the Department of Sociology
社會學系人類學部提供人類學副修課程
- 1980**
一九八零
Founding of the Department of Anthropology, offering both major and minor undergraduate programmes; Prof. Chien Chiao appointed as Department Chair
人類學系正式成立，提供本科主修及副修課程；喬健教授任系主任
- 1983**
一九八三
First batch of Anthropology major students graduated
首屆人類學主修生畢業
- 1987**
一九八七
Introduction of the M.Phil. in Anthropology Programme
開設人類學哲學碩士課程
- 1992**
一九九二
Introduction of the Ph.D. in Anthropology Programme
開設人類學哲學博士課程





1 9 9 3

一九九三

Prof. David Y.H. Wu appointed as Department Chair

吳燕和教授任系主任

1 9 9 8

一九九八

Prof. Tan Chee-Beng appointed as Department Chair;

Introduction of the M.A. in Anthropology Programme

陳志明教授任系主任；

開設人類學文學碩士課程

2 0 0 3

- 2 0 0 4

二零零三

至二零零四

In response to government budget cuts, the University

adopted a restructuring plan in which the Anthropol-

ogy Department was expected to face a significant cut in

student quota. This was not imposed in the end, after the

Department's negotiation with the university authorities.

為應對政府預算削減，大學啟動學系及課程重組方案，計劃

顯著調低人類學系之學生人數。通過與校方協商，本系成功

說服大學免除削減人類學系招生人數一案。

2 0 0 4

二零零四

Introduction of the Minor in Cultural Heritage Studies

Programme

開設文化承傳學副修課程

2 0 0 5

二零零五

The Department moved from the Faculty of Social Science

to the Faculty of Arts;

Prof. Siumi Maria Tam appointed as Department Chair

人類學系由社會科學院改屬文學院；

譚少薇教授任系主任

- 2007** Prof. Tan Chee-Beng appointed as Department Chair
二零零七 陳志明教授任系主任
- 2008** Prof. Sidney C.H. Cheung appointed as Department Chair
二零零八 張展鴻教授任系主任
- 2014** Prof. Gordon Mathews appointed as Department Chair
二零一四 麥高登教授任系主任
- 2016** Introduction of the Minor in Archaeology Programme
二零一六 開設考古學副修課程
- 2020** Prof. Andrew Kipnis appointed as Department Chair
二零二零 任柯安教授任系主任

On CUHK Anthropology Department 40th Anniversary

陳志明教授
Prof. Tan Chee-Beng



Prof. Tan Chee-Beng
陳志明教授

I remember fondly the time I spent at CUHK Anthropology Department (1996–2012). Teachers cooperated very well and were all committed to making the Department an excellent centre of learning. Students and teachers interacted closely, and this was especially so during the summer field trips. Often I reminisce about the teaching of food and culture and of religion and culture, the lively class participation of both undergraduate and graduate students. The Department has continued to be an important Anthropology Department in Asia, and it has trained many anthropology students from different countries, especially those from Hong Kong and Mainland China. Many have served in the public and private sectors in Hong Kong, while others have pursued further studies in prestigious universities in Europe and USA. A number of our students from Mainland China are now associate professors and professors in different universities in China and the few who ventured into business have done well too. In the midst of such joyful thoughts, let us remember those

who had left us. Prof. Tracey Lu (呂烈丹) passed away at the peak of her career in 2016, while our first department head Prof. Qiao Jian (喬健) passed away in 2018. This small department has survived and thrived in a society that too often neglects its contribution, so this fortieth anniversary is really worth celebrating. Let's look forward to even more resilience and success in ten years' time, when we'll celebrate our Golden Anniversary.



Prof. Tan Chee-Beng (left), teaching in a Food and Culture class, 2012
陳志明教授（左）於「食物與文化」課堂上，2012年

What we need is
your support.

What we want is
your involvement.

What we promise is
our achievement!

To our dept. with love!

- The Anthropology
Student Society

P1



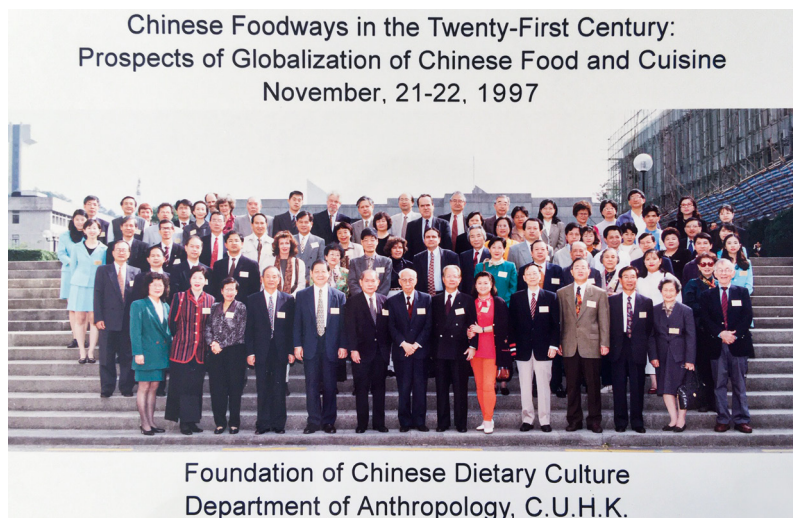
祝賀香港中文大學 人類學系四十週年 系慶

Prof. David Y. H. Wu
吳燕和教授

中大人類學系創系四十周年，今天已經發展成為在全世界頗有名氣，而在亞洲排行數一數二的人類學教學與科研重點，可歌可慶。我今年也托大家的福氣，度過八十高齡。回想 1993 年，我決定離開工作 20 年的夏威夷大學和東西中心，接受中大聘請，來人類學系教書，直到 2000 年，因為愛妻王維蘭重病而提早辭離。

我在中大人類學系和研究所前後執教七年間，不但經歷香港政治、社會、文化環境百餘年來劇變，也是我的人類學生涯中最愉快有趣的日子；好比，貢獻系裡許多新的課程和研究計劃；例如，亞洲大學首次開課的「飲食人類學」，吸引中大許多外系同學也來選修。我申請得到香港政府「大學資助委員會」經費，糾集本系師生以及香港大學老師合作三年，研究香港傳統飲食文化，名稱為「Cooking Up Hong Kong Identities」。同學們到處去研究「涼茶鋪」、「香港飲茶」、「客家菜歷史」、「公屋燒臘店」等，我也經常帶著學生出去吃喝，號稱「飲食人類學」田野調查，聽說我在中大博得了「茶餐廳教授」的「花名」（參看明報月刊 2003 年 5 月，特別報導本系研究的「香港飲食文化大觀」）。

附上珍貴影像一張，是 1997 年中大首次由本系主辦「21 世紀中華飲食文化全球化國際會議」紀念照，本人站在前排，從右至左第五人。



趁此機會，想跟衆多尚未見面的本系同學老師談談，當初我被吸引來中大的原因。我辭去在夏威夷工作多年的職務，而人到中年之際，為甚麼做出如此重大決定而來到香港執教呢，原因有三；(1) 我從 1976 年開始，每年從夏威夷回亞洲講學或主持學術交流，路過香港至少一、兩次，必定小停兩天。香港是世界上非常特殊的，全球化的國際大都市，而我自己是一輩子從小就跨越國境、海洋、文化、語言的「世界人類」（出生北京的臺灣人，六歲回到臺灣，從頭學講臺語，才能跟親戚和小學同學溝通）。每次進入香港，由於我會說奇怪口音的廣東話（見注一），常被假設為（從美國）回鄉的「香港人」（或「上海人」，或北角出身的

「福建人」)，發現香港人習慣的日常生活，無時無刻都在跨越界綫——無論政治體系之認同（或被認同），族群或團體之（被）歸屬，多種語言文字之運用，天天在想象美好將來的宇宙之中。

(2) 再加我們在南太平洋新幾內亞三年田野工作（1970-1973），認識千百海外廣東移民朋友和他們、她們的「廣東生活文化」，因此很想繼續體驗與瞭解香港的「廣東人」。

(3) 我來到香港中大，就像回家一樣熟習，之前早就交接了許多中大社會科學、人文歷史學界的老師們，而且當時中大人類學系裡的老師，有我從前在臺灣大學「考古系」讀書時代的前後輩同學，以及夏威夷大學學生。碰巧八十年代，維蘭的二哥從中國被派到香港，主持跨國公司，我們去香港感覺還有親人照顧。沒想到侄女王菲（Faye Wong）愛好唱歌，成為聞名世界的亞洲巨星，經常帶我們去參加各種歌唱表演會，而我也就多了一項「王菲的三姑父」有趣頭銜。

雖然二十年前，因我多年人類學工作夥伴的妻子重病，而提早痛心告別人類學系，但是之後到最近，慶幸仍舊不斷能回到系裡大家庭，跟師友老同學們見面。只可惜今年碰到全球空前病疫大災難，無法親身回港參加系慶歡聚。遙祝本系及系友們對世界人類貢獻更上一層樓，系友晚輩後會有期，出席將來百年之慶。

（注一）請參考本人 2012 年在日本出版的「自傳」，由內人日野綠教授（中大人類系研究所 MA，大阪外國語大學 Ph. D.）翻譯成日文：吳燕和

著，日野みどり譯 2012 《ふるさと・フィールド・列車：臺灣人類學者の半生記》。東京：風響社。（原中文版 2006 《故・田野・火車：人類學家三部曲》・臺北・時報文化出版社）。



吳燕和教授近照

Prof. David. Y. H. Wu, photo taken in January 2020



吳燕和教授（前排左四）與學系師生合影・1996 年
Prof. David. Y. H. Wu (fourth from the left of the front row) with teachers and students, 1996

人類學系成立 四十週年賀詞

謝劍教授
Prof. Hsieh Jian

我在中文大學服務將近二十年之久，是我人生最有意義的時光之一，先後出版了三本專著：《香港的惠州社團：從人類學看客家文化的持續》、《昆明東郊的撒梅族》、《連南排瑤的社會組織》。我現時退休後定居台北，在此祝賀人類學系成立四十週年之喜。





謝劍教授於人類學週演講・1982 年
Prof. Hsieh Jian giving a talk during the Anthropology Week, 1982



謝劍教授與太太謝顯惠珍女士（前排右二與右一）訪問川西深山中的客家移民聚落・1996 年
Prof. Hsieh Jian and Mrs. Hsieh visiting a Hakka community in western Sichuan, 1996

譚少薇教授訪問



問：人類學系的早期發展與香港社會有著怎樣的關係呢？

最早期，主要是來自台灣的老師，開始到香港進行人類學的教學。未有人類學系之前，人類學課程隸屬社會學系。前輩們常常回憶，好得意的，「一條走廊分兩邊，一邊是社會學、一邊是人類學。」他們很有遠見，因為人類學在香港是很新的科目，一定要推動大眾對人類學的認識，於是在 1978 年創辦了香港人類學會，比人類學系的成立還早。香港人類學會面向社會舉辦講座，那時是在舊的歷史博物館，都幾旺場、常常滿座的。講座結束之後，聽眾就和講者一起去吃晚飯，這個模式延續了幾十年。來聽講座的人來自不同背景，律師、公務員、做地產的都有，很多一來就是很多年，有的還會加入執行委員會幫手。這也顯示，對跨文化知識的渴求，在大眾中是存在的。當年我跟著前輩教授們做這些工作，希望令社會認識人類學；這也關乎人類學的本質，我們的 second nature 就是想在社區裡做點事，很難離地的。

研究方面，一開始，學系老師們做的比較多是有關中國大陸、台灣的研



究，例如家族研究、少數民族（如瑤族、苗族和彝族）研究，關於香港的則有語言學、民俗學（民間宗教和習俗）、移民研究（客家、同鄉會）等，可以見到，核心仍然是中國研究。學系成立不久，中英就有關香港1997主權開始談判；到了九十年代初，一批接手的教授覺得，需要了解在這麼大的轉變之下，香港的社會和文化會有怎樣的變化，要作記錄和研究；於是有香港文化和香港人身份認同研究，我也開展了香港移民潮與回流的研究。其實不只是人類學，當時所有社會科學的研究者都在做香港研究；去外國開會，所有人都想知道香港究竟在發生什麼事。

問：可以分享一個有關當時轉變中的香港社會的研究課題嗎？

我在博士時期研究的是中國的「四個現代化」，論文的田野是深圳經濟特區的蛇口工業區。我和工廠女工們一起勞動和生活，直面性別作為社會結構的核心這個問題。1989年加入人類學系之後，我也一直關注中港社會之間千絲萬縷的關係。改革開放政策出臺後，香港男人北上「包二奶」是全社會的一個 moral panic。當時如果一位太太知道她的老公要回大陸工作，真是會崩潰的。我的看法是，不是說一個男人有錢就會去包二奶，而一定是有一些深層的社會文化因素，導致這個行為出現以及被接受。那時為了找受訪者，我和公共衛生學院的同事到邊境附近的油站給中港貨車司機派問卷，先詢問司機有沒有哪些病徵，然後問他們怎樣理解包二奶的問題、邀請他們接受訪問等。我們發現，中港兩邊跑的從業員工作很辛苦，不只身體上出現各種職業病，精神壓力也很大；個人的焦慮程度、身體的各種病症、中港經濟差距、父權意識型態與包二奶作為一個文化選擇，都是有關聯的。記得當時有一位受訪者說：「回

到大陸，那些女孩子很崇拜我，簡直當我是皇帝一樣！」另一方面，從各省到深圳「搵生活」的很年輕的女生，一開始在工廠工作；幾年之後，身體很難再承受高強度的勞動。沒有其他技能，加上戶口制度與人口流動限制，他們為了留在特區，就去從事服務業，先是餐廳、KTV，然後是髮廊、按摩院等。「現代化」對低學歷的女性移工來說，是一個高度性別化的下向社會流動的過程。可以說，在中港兩地的父權文化價值環境和父權家庭結構中，香港男性與大陸的勞工階層女性兩者之間的經濟和身份差距，以「包二奶」的關係表現出來。

問：近年你為何轉向關注少數族裔議題？

其實人類學的「本行」，就是關於不同族群的關係。我對少數族群議題的關注，其實與對性別議題的關注，都是對平權的關注。族裔和性別身份一樣，對個人的生命影響實在太深，因而平等權利與平等機會都非常關鍵。在香港，少數族裔有的從 19 世紀已經開始在香港居住，視香港為家，但不管他們自己怎樣想、或是對香港有什麼貢獻，仍然被視為移民或外來者——這就是我們的社會現實。我心裡面就覺得，這不公平喔。學者在社會上有一個位置，大眾對你是有一份尊重和信任的。既然有這些 privileges，應該好好使用，令社會有點改變。

這幾年來，我通過「多元文化行動計劃」(Multiculturalism in Action) 這個知識轉移項目，推動正面族群關係。透過社區與學校的跨文化教育，令大眾明白多元文化的重要性；我們以好玩又有益的活動，建立族群之間的連結。無論影響多細微，如果能推動多一些人去接觸不同的文化，

大家親身去跟不同族裔的人交流，社會就會提高一些文化敏感度、少一些誤解和歧視。事實是，華裔社群有多複雜，少數族裔社群內部就有多複雜，不同的族群其實是有很多共同點的。



譚少薇教授
Prof. Maria Tam

對世界的理解不要停留在自己的想象，給自己一個空間去認識他人，了解社會過去與現在的走向，從而給將來的抉擇提供更大的自由。我想這是人類學不斷推動著我們去實踐的，亦是人類學教育中最重要的事。



譚少薇教授（前排右一）與訪問人類學系的費孝通教授（前排左四）及教師、研究生合影，1998年
Prof. Maria Tam (first from the right of the front row), with teachers and postgraduate students, taking photo with Prof. Fei Xiaotong (fourth from the left of the front row) who was visiting the Anthropology Department, 1998.



1984 年人類學週特刊
《香港的民間文化》
1984 Anthropology Week
Publication
"Hong Kong's Folk Culture"



1985 年人類學週特刊
《田野研究在中國》
1985 Anthropology Week
Publication
"Filed Research in China"

Thoughts on the 40th anniversary of the Department of Anthropology

林舟教授
Prof. Joseph Bosco



I had the privilege of teaching in the Department from 1992 until 2016. That period spans some major social, political and technological changes.

When I accepted the job, I was living in New York City and had never been on the campus of The Chinese University of Hong Kong. I had visited Hong Kong a number of times while doing fieldwork in Taiwan in the mid-1980s, because my wife had uncles in Hong Kong. But I had no idea what it would be like to live and teach at CUHK. Email was brand new at the time, and I had had almost no contact with the department. My appointment letter simply said I would teach four courses: Religion and Culture, Culture and Management, Seminars in Research Methods, and Seminars in Ethnography. The latter two were for postgraduate students, and I was also made “Graduate Division Head,” a title and position that I did not understand. I was told that I could teach whatever I wanted under those titles, which was both liberating and nerve-wracking.

When I arrived on campus August 17, it was beautiful, but hot, humid, and it rained every afternoon. I remember vividly my wife and me pushing our three-year-old daughter in a stroller and carrying our 10-month old son up and down the mountain in the heat. Though we had not intended to own a car, we quickly decided we needed one after getting stuck on campus on a Sunday, when the bus service was not frequent, and then struggling in the rain to get a taxi outside of Ikea trying to get back home. I bought a used Volvo 240, and I can proudly say that I once gave Fei Xiaotong a ride in my car when he visited the campus.

Teaching was difficult at first because students were very passive and quiet. I had no idea whether students even understood what I was saying, though they sat and paid attention very respectfully. One time, a student finally asked me in the Culture & Management class (which we later converted to Culture and Business), “What is this ‘jaab’ you keep talking about?” I was saying ‘job’ with an American accent, not more like British pronunciation of ‘jobe’, which confused many students. In those days, students on applications still listed their nationality as “British”, which surprised me, but made sense since they held British BNO passports. And the English they had learned in school was, of course, British English.

In 1992, the university did not have teaching evaluations, but I distributed one at the end of the semester anyway, because I wanted the feedback, and was quite relieved (and a bit surprised) to find that the scores were very good. I should note that when the university intro-

duced mandatory teaching evaluations a few years later, the administration promised they would only be used to help teachers improve and would not be used for hiring and promotion, but within two years, the evaluation scores were a standard part of ad hoc committee meetings. This is a classic example of what anthropologists have called “audit culture,” in which metrics take on increasing importance, and in fact create a new reality.

One of the surprises when I arrived (aside from the fact that the president of the Anthropology Student Society had blue eyes – I learned later they were contact lenses) was the number of students who asked me why I had decided to come to Hong Kong. They seemed surprised, not hostile, but the question seemed to express a sense of inferiority. In my mind, this was a great job: Hong Kong was a major global city, and I could live in a Chinese society and continue learning about China. I was close to potential fieldsites, and while at Columbia University we had at most 20 professors who studied various aspects of Chinese culture, here nearly the whole university focused on China. It was a great adventure, and I hoped to improve my Mandarin and to perhaps even learn Cantonese. For many reasons, and despite taking two semesters of Cantonese classes at the CUHK language centre, my Cantonese never developed much more than enough to do basic shopping. Perhaps I was too old to learn another language. Certainly my Mandarin and basic Taiwanese Hokkien interfered with my learning Cantonese. Be that as it may, I regret not having learned more.

As Graduate Division Head, I was responsible for implementing the

new PhD programme which had just been approved by the administration. My predecessor, Nicholas Tapp, had shepherded the application through the administration, but there were few details on how the programme would run. As a junior, non-tenured, member of the department, I made some proposals, drew up the “rules of the PhD Programme” and got feedback and approval from senior colleagues. I was fortunate that all the colleagues were very helpful and cooperative with me.

At the time, CUHK was still heavily influenced by the British system for postgraduate studies, in which students work closely with a supervisor on their thesis. My colleagues, who all had PhDs from US universities, felt strongly that students should be more broadly trained, and wanted our programme to require more courses. We therefore had more required courses and involved more teachers in coursework than would be typical of UK programmes.

One of the courses that was in the approved curriculum was Seminars in Field Research that was taught in both the fall and spring semesters. But we had no idea what it should be. In brainstorming with Maria Tam, we came up with the idea of having it be a seminar at which teachers and guest speakers could give presentations to the department. Making it a required course for MPhil students would guarantee there was an audience; they had to write reports on some of the talks. PhD students were strongly encouraged to attend, as were teachers. It was scheduled for Friday at lunch, when the colleges held their assemblies for undergraduates, so all teachers and postgraduate students

would be free at that time. Thus was born the Friday Seminar. Many colleagues from other departments complemented us on the good attendance and interesting speakers at the seminar. Initially, students had to present their research in a Friday Seminar, but once students became too many, we created a Postgraduate Student Forum in 2009, which had the additional advantage of bringing graduate students from all of Asia to the campus to exchange ideas.

When I joined the department and heard about the undergraduate Summer Field Trip, I thought it was a silly idea. I did not see much educational benefit from a two-week trip to Sichuan or Yunnan. Nevertheless, in May of 1998, I dutifully took my turn and led students on a fieldtrip to Taiwan. Students picked four topics to focus on: 1) museum fever (博物館熱), 2) the Dragon Boat Festival, 3) religious revitalization, and 4) nostalgia. I realized I had been wrong, and that students learned a lot from the trips. I remember a student who had already been to Taipei before commenting in amazement that there were so many things she had not been aware of on her previous shopping trips. Another student was quite shaken after a ceremony in which a man dressed up as a woman, “Venerable Mother” (老母), went into trance to advise clients. We saw her tell a mother-in-law that the reason her daughter-in-law could not bear a child was because of the pressure she was under, and that the mother-in-law needed to be kinder. The student learned how to use methodological relativism. We spent four days in Lukang over the dragon boat festival, and students had a chance to use participant observation by going out on their own in small groups (each with a Mandarin speaker) to try to learn about local customs. I

saw that concepts and theories that students had read about in class only came alive once they had the chance to use them in practice. And Taiwanese culture was similar enough, and yet different enough, that they could engage and practice their skills on a short trip. Many of our students at that time had limited experience of foreign travel, so the field trip was a very useful introduction to field work.

Over the years, students changed gradually. We started to attract more students who knew what anthropology was when they chose their major, and students who had more travel experience and knowledge of the outside world. We started having students from the Mainland (some of whom had their own culture shock upon moving to Hong Kong) and from Europe who majored in anthropology, thus further diversifying the department.

The biggest change came in the postgraduate programmes. We began with one PhD student and about 5 MPhil students in 1992 and grew to a program with around 30 postgraduate students, with eight to ten new research postgraduate students per year by 2016. In 1999, we created the Taught MA programme. In the first few years, most courses were taught in conjunction with undergrad or MPhil courses, with additional MA tutorials. The programme grew organically, and by 2007, with an increase in full-time students (many from the Mainland) and two new teachers, most MA courses were offered specifically for MA students and the programme grew to around 40 students per year. The MA Programme became a valuable component to the department, allowing students who had not previously studied anthropology to

re-tool and continue for advanced degrees in anthropology either at CUHK or elsewhere, or to switch careers for work in museums, NGOs, journalism and business.

In my first years, some students still submitted handwritten papers if they were in Chinese. Pagers were common, and email was still new, so we relied more on faxes. Lectures were accompanied by transparencies; PPTs, for better or worse, were a later invention. The University has gone through several different online platforms for supporting courses, each supposedly better. But in the end, students learn best from contact with teachers and fellow-students, deepening their understanding of new ideas, and challenging their taken-for-granted ideas and opinions. I have learned a great deal from students' research projects, and have especially valued being able to visit postgraduate students at their field sites, taking advantage of students' long-term fieldwork to learn a great deal in a short visit. Hong Kong's multi-cultural environment naturally opens peoples' minds, and helps us see things from multiple perspectives. I have learned a lot from living and teaching at CUHK, and am grateful for the experience and knowledge it has provided.





Prof. Joseph Bosco
林舟教授



Summer Field Trip to Taiwan, 1998
台灣暑期田野考察・1998 年



Friday Seminar, late 1990s
星期五研討會，九十年代後期



Lunch with Faculty & Office Staff, late 2000s
與學系教員及辦公室職員共進午餐，2000年代後期

The Department of Anthropology, CUHK: Some Thoughts

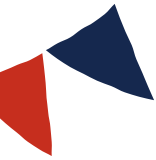
麥高登教授
Prof. Gordon Mathews



Prof. Gordon Mathews
麥高登教授

The Dept. of Anthropology at CUHK was founded in 1980; I myself began teaching in the Department in 1994. Thus I have been in this Department for 26 years, well over half the Department's 40 years of existence. How has it changed in this period? It has grown —when I came, there were six anthropology professors and now there are twelve. And just as the discipline of anthropology has changed, so too has the Department's classes in their focus. When I first came, the Department taught classes on structuralism and on urban anthropology, along with a particular focus on Chinese ethnic minorities. Today, there is a focus on globalization, gender and sexuality, heritage, and contemporary societal problems, along with China, and now South Asia, and a large component of archaeology. It is a very different Department as compared to when I first came: bigger, more diverse, and more dynamic.

Students have changed too. The first year I taught in the Department, I vividly remember a postgraduate student becoming angry because



she felt I was asking her to read too many books; that would definitely not happen today. And I remember a class of thirty female anthropology students all nervously bursting into giggles and pointing at a single student in a corner of the room when asked in a language class about the style of language students used in conversing with their boyfriends, so scandalous was having a boyfriend in that era. That too would definitely not happen today. Students are more aware of the world, and more knowledgeable and sophisticated, both because of the internet and because Hong Kong itself has changed, becoming a less working-class and more middle-class society than it was back then. Students today are professionally oriented in their studies and more concerned with understanding the world. This has made anthropology more fun to teach – although it was fun back then, too!



When I first arrived in the Department in 1994, it was chaired by David Y. H. Wu, who had recently taken over as Chair from Chiao Chien. In the 2000s Tan Chee-Beng was Chair of the Department for many years; he was perhaps most essential in leading the Department from its past to its present in his many decisions in shaping the Department. Another key person was Tracey Lu, the Department's first archaeologist, who played an essential role for fifteen years, and died tragically young in 2016, bravely and diligently writing two books in her final years. There has been Joseph Bosco, my colleague and mentor for twenty years until retiring, with whom I now co-edit the journal *Asian Anthropology*, and Maria Tam, who taught in the Department for thirty years until 2019. At this point, Sidney Cheung and I are the only old hands remaining – I will be retiring before long, and Sidney not too many years

after me – along with Ju-chen Chen, who has played an invaluable role in the Department since 2009. Sidney and I have served as Chairs of the Department for the past twelve years, and now the Department is chaired by Andrew Kipnis; the Department consists of the more senior professors Sealing Cheng and Teresa Kuan, coming to CUHK in the last decade, and our upcoming junior professors, Sharon Wong, Huang Hsuan-ying, Lam Wengcheong, and Leilah Vevaina, as well as Wyman Tang and Venera Khalikova. As long as I am listing names, I should mention the essential role played by the office staff in the Department at present. Ming Wah Leung and Grace Tsang are old hands (Grace has been ill, and we all wish her a speedy recovery); and now the essential Kathy Wong, Lynn Huang, Irene Chan, and Ellen Lee.

As an “old guy” in the Department, I am thrilled to see all this vital new energy in the Department. There were times in the first years of my career when the survival of Anthropology as a discipline at CUHK seemed in doubt, with higher-ups wondering “who needs anthropology?” Those days seem long gone. When I think about my decades in the Department, it is hard not to feel a tinge of melancholy at my own eventual departure – but of course all things in life pass, as the future becomes the present becomes the past, and as we all live and age. But in any case, anthropology in recent years at CUHK has been doing very well indeed! We have very good cause to celebrate!

And what of the future? Hong Kong anthropology has established itself as a world voice in recent years, with its members playing important international roles in anthropology around the world. This has not

been the case for anthropology in mainland China, which is less internationally visible, and much more linked to government policies. Can Hong Kong anthropology continue to be free and flourishing in the future? This question obviously applies not just to anthropology but to Hong Kong at large – what kind of place, between China and the world, is Hong Kong becoming? But at this time of celebration, let us remain optimistic – Hong Kong anthropology has come a very long way in its first forty years, and let it develop a long way further in its next forty years!



From left to right: Prof. Siimi Maria Tam, Prof. Sidney Chin Hung Cheung, Prof. Tan Chee-Beng, Prof. Sidney Mintz, Prof. Gordon Mathews, Prof. Josephine Smart, Prof. Joseph Bosco and Prof. Tracey Lie-dan Lu, 1999

左至右：譚少薇教授、張展鴻教授、陳志明教授、文思理教授、麥高登教授、邱寶玲教授、林舟教授與呂烈丹教授，1999年

香港中文大學人類學系四十週年

張展鴻教授
Prof. Sidney Chin Hung Cheung



張展鴻教授
Prof. Sidney Chin Hung
Cheung

用「光陰似箭，日月如梭」來形容回望香港中文大學人類學系的發展，相信一點兒也不誇張；當我們仔細回味其四十個寒暑，雖不是甚麼艱難歲月，但到今天仍然是點滴在心頭。

1980 年，香港中文大學人類學開系，香港社會普遍對這門學科還是非常陌生，當年中學生的我，在旺角的中文書店能找到的也只是個別零散的專書，例如潘乃德的「菊花與劍」，李維斯陀的神話學相關著作，還有台大杜而未教授的中國古代文化和宗教叢書。當然這都有別於中大人類學系的研究和教授方面，我所了解，學系早年以國內和香港課題為主，不但是教員的研究，甚至是同學的田野考察都踏足國內，更和兩岸保持緊密的交流。試想當日同學們見到和探討過的課題，相比在過去三、四十年發展迅速的兩岸經濟和社會文化，他／她們的體驗是何等的珍貴。

1994 年，我來到人類學系任教時，因為我沒有在這裡學習人類學，也不知道任何人在該系的工作，我感到自己的局外人身份。但同時地，我也得到重新學習人類學的機會，過去沒有注意的中國氏族傳統、地方宗教、城市發展、飲食文化、特別是新界原居民權益等都成為日後的研究課題。

話說回來，說我完全不認識當時系內的老師，其實也不很正確。因為當我還在日本大阪大學唸研究院，我的指導老師主辦了一個有關身份認同與族群關係的國際研討會，需要分派學生到機場接待外國來的學者，因為我的香港背景，順應地被指派去接從美國遠道而來的吳燕和教授。在日本見到的中國學者不多，有機會和知名的學者作近距離的接觸，我對這工作也就當仁不讓。研究會過後，我的論文老師忽發奇想，說我可以和吳教授聯絡一下，試試可否申請獎學金到夏威夷大學的東西中心完成我的博士論文。可以到美國的高等研究機關整理手頭上的資料，以及看看美國在文化人類學方面的最新發展，倒是一個有意思的念頭。雖然最後夏威夷去不成，博士論文的最後整理和修改工作反而變成了在香港進行，但這很大程度上也是和吳教授再遇的緣故，也就是這樣開始了我在中大的教學和研究生涯。

在系內工作的初期，正值 1997 年回歸在即，曾經在香港作研究的學者，都紛紛到港見證這一歷史時刻。把握那千載難逢的機會，系內安排了不同的研討會，而我也從中學習到不單是安排研討會的技巧；加上學系通過邀請海外訪問學人來系授課和交流，例如 Sidney Mintz，Edward Bruner，James Watson，Rubie Watson，蕭鳳霞等著名學者都

分別到訪，為學系的發展帶來肯定的影響。一方面要關注 97 回歸對香港的影響，另一方面，系內也不斷提升和兩岸的往來。努力不會是白費的，大家懷著互相學習和交流的希望，中大人類學系在中國高等教育的相關院校保持良好的溝通而且在中國問題的研究也起了重要的影響。回想當時要邀請國內學者來港，不但是人脈，還有經濟上的問題需要解決。相對今天國內的經濟起飛，學者要到國外交流，何其容易。



日本北海道暑期田野考察，1996 年
1996 Summer Fieldtrip to Hokkaido, Japan

滄海桑田，物換星移，中大人類學系也不例外。學者的抱負和早年有很大分別，但願穹蒼下人類學能依舊對「田野」抱狂熱，對「交流」帶

著赤子之心，對「未來」懷著希望，繼續其追尋之旅。而這份尋找的心，正如「巴黎德州」(Paris, Texas) 這部愛情電影裏面，男主角 Travis 在尋找母親的地方之餘，其實正在尋找自由內心深處永遠無法填補的一份空白。在 Travis 回首前塵之際，彷彿自問那份瘋狂的愛是德州南方文法的執著，或是高貴巴黎的浪漫情懷，真是要局中人才能拆解。



人類學系 四十週年



Dr. Ju-chen Chen
陳如珍博士



大學剛畢業時，我在一個大醫院一角的精神科工作。辦公室在二樓，一樓是住院病房。在簡樸的年代蓋起來的兩層樓建築，有一種被時光努力打掃過的滄桑，隨著精神科病人空洞的眼神望去，常常讓我覺得荒涼過頭，想逃。

年輕不懂事的我，立志以後找工作一定要找個俐落、光鮮、時髦的地方。

當我終於拿到博士學位後，香港中文大學人類學系是我找工作的第一個地方，也是唯一的一個。第一次看到人文館樸素而雋永的清水外牆時，我已經被深深地吸引。走進轉角的樓梯間，我暗暗嘆服清水牆設計竟然延伸進了室內。我摸著粗糙的清水牆面，慢慢往上爬。面對人生第一個教職面談的呼吸漸漸地平穩。沿著樓梯間垂直的牆面線條一階一階往上望去，接近四樓頂時，心裡忍不住發出一陣驚呼：「不會吧！」中英文的人類學系幾個字，竟然是木頭製的。而且是老舊木頭書桌磨損的色調。

精神科病房特有的氣味、聲響與舊木頭傢俱的觸感，忽然活靈活現地再次來到面前。

那幾個字寫在真正拉開門、走進人類學系之前的樓梯間、靠近屋頂的地方。不特意抬頭的話，很容易就錯過了。我站在那裏仰望了一陣子：「學」字和「O」字，都有斷裂的痕跡，「A」和「n」的小洞裡塞著看似蜘蛛網、枯葉或蟲菌混合的遺跡。木頭的表面看起來像是被風雨反覆打磨過，顯露出了斑駁。還有許多在不同年代粉刷牆壁時，不經意沾上的漆料。

我開始揣想著門後的世界，各種面對人生轉折的掛心再次充斥在心裡：是不是我會走向逃離的空寂荒涼？在這幾個完全不張揚、近乎是過度樸素的字背後的人和故事會是什麼？

然後，我注意到這些字靠著背後的螺絲釘，鎖在陰陽凹凸的清水牆面上，卻維持住了上下左右的工整，以及表面的齊平舒展。掛字人的細心，透露了一種認真在意；不起眼但是安定可靠。樸素的字也因此有了耐看的美好。

我想了一下我那個想要離開老舊房子的心願，感受到一種命定的召喚。緊張的心情，不知為何，似乎完完全全地放下了。

拉開門之後，印入眼簾是一條長長的走廊。左手邊的牆上是一排典型的人類學照片：凝視著鏡頭的人們還有因為被定格放大而顯得意味深遠的日常。右手邊則是一整排老派的木頭藏品展示櫃，櫃子裡的少數民族服飾，不同飲食文化的介紹，一套一套誇張的木雕動物面具，還有一種因為燈光不足造成的幽遠感，讓人毫不懷疑自己身處於人類學的殿堂。

在照片裡的人物與木雕面具的交互凝視之下，抓緊了我的目光的卻是走廊另一頭，端掛著的一對黃色燈籠。

是台灣宮廟最常見的那種燈籠。在燈籠的面上，通常用硃砂的大紅色寫著「天上聖母」或是「關聖帝君」等神明的稱號。因為宮廟和燈籠都太常見，在台灣時很容易就忽視了他們的存在。但放在這條也許即將成為我的日常的廊道上，那種又滿懷異國情調，又充斥家鄉平凡日常的混合視覺，就像任何「被領養」的人類學家走進他們的「村子」時的心情。

我走近一看，標準的矮胖大紅字體，端正的寫著：「香港中文大學」和「人類學系」。我有一種隨著愛麗絲跳進樹洞裡，卻意外回到家的感覺。

我承認其實從那一刻開始，我已經被收服，頑固地認為我應該是這個地方的一部份。

在最意想不到的地方，找到歸屬。也許這就是人類學家的宿命。

那一天是 2009 年的春天。十一年來，系上的老師有了不少的變化。學生更是來來去去。但那份最初的歸屬感始終踏實地在心裡。像那個簡單樸素的木製人類學系「招牌」，這個系的人和故事，始終不張揚但是由衷而溫暖。同事們說起自己的研究時，總有著孩子般的好奇和眼睛發亮的熱忱。雖然我們私下也會抱怨學生的各種「毛病」和「不成熟」，但是一年又一年，我也看見師生間在教學之外的關懷與信任，看見學生和老師如何默默地成了互相扶持的好友。在學術的成就之外，我更珍惜的是這個系的人情。珍惜這是一個家一樣的地方。

今年因為疫情的關係，在開學整整七週之後，新入學的學生才終於有機會來學校上課。我希望他們和當年的我一樣，看見到在那有著歷史痕跡的簡單樸素背後，有著一代又一代的學生、職員和老師們溫暖的回憶。





1985 年三月號《人類學系訊》封面

Cover of the *Student Society Newsletter*, issue 3, 1985



Life in the Department of Anthropology, CUHK

關宜馨教授
Prof. Teresa Kuan

I joined the Department of Anthropology in 2012 but my relationship to CUHK goes back much further. I learned how to ride a bike in the parking lot of Residence 10, where my family lived. Back then, the water was a stone's throw away. I still remember the thick scab that had formed on my kneecap from a fall off my bike. Doing away with training wheels meant getting to know what the body could do.

Fast-forward to November 2011, Montréal, Canada. I am hurriedly leaving the convention center where a major anthropology conference had taken place, hoping to pick up my belongings at a friend's apartment quick enough to make my flight back to Los Angeles. I run into Gordon Mathews, who tells me his department has an opening. He encouraged me to apply. I said, "Are you sure? I failed the other year." He insisted that I try, and the rest is history. What a serendipitous encounter, to be sure!

It is hard to pick a memory from my years here so far. Much of life in the department is quite routine. In my first few years, I could always count on having a quick chat with Professor Lu after I finished teaching an evening class for MA students. She was always still in her office, at her desk. Thanks to Sidney Cheung, the hallway of the 4th floor smells nice. And if I ever want a little snack, I know I could count on Ju-Chen or Sealing. Annual events like the FYP Forum and Photo Day mark the passage of time just as the rituals we study as anthropologists do for communities large and small. You would think that us teachers would get better at popping open a bottle of fizzy peach juice after years of practice, and yet, we do not.

So many faces, names, and people have passed through this department. Some of them keep in touch, some are etched in memory. When I think about all the students who were adventurous enough to devote their studies to learning anthropology, my heart fills with the wish that they are happy and flourishing in life. I hope the memories they have of us are sweet!





From right to left: Prof. Teresa Kuan, Prof. Huang Yu, Prof. Sealing Cheng, 2012
 右起：關宜馨教授、黃瑜教授、鄭詩靈教授，2012 年



From left to right: Maria Tam, Sealing Cheng, Huang yu, Sharon Wong, Teresa Kuan, Ju-chen Chen, celebrating Sealing's substantiation, 2015
 左起：譚少薇、鄭詩靈、黃瑜、黃慧怡、關宜馨、陳如珍，2015 年

CUHK Anthropology 40th Anniversary Reflections

任柯安教授
Prof. Andrew Kipnis

As a relative newcomer to the department, I don't have a firm grasp on all of the changes and accomplishments of the past 40 years. But I did spend a year here as a visitor here in 1997-98, and have fond memories of meeting Joe Bosco, Gordon Matthews, Sidney Cheung and Tan Chee-Beng, as well as of living in a tiny apartment in Shatin with my wife and five-year old son. When I returned to the department in 2017, the offices in the New Asia Humanities Building looked just like I remembered them. I had the feeling that perhaps not much had changed at all. But after meeting a group of postgraduate students, I saw that the department's PhD program had really grown and improved. After teaching some classes, I also felt that the undergraduates had become much more confident and articulate.

My own career in anthropology has often spiraled in directions opposite to that of the discipline at large. As an undergraduate I majored in political science and environmental policy. The first time I heard of anthropology was when a fellow first year student showed me a textbook with a picture of exotic looking Papua New Guinea natives on the cover. "Who would want to study something as weird as that?"



I thought. But in my third year, I took a course about independence movements in Africa that was taught by an anthropologist and loved it. The next semester I took a course in linguistic anthropology with the same professor and was again swept off my feet. Thinking about language as both the very medium in which my thought took place and as something that varied wildly from place to place was mesmerizing. How could one discipline cover such a diverse array of important subjects?

After working for a couple of years, I began a PhD program in anthropology. When I arrived at graduate school, I was told that I would need to prepare to do a research project in a particular part of the world and I picked China. Like many young radicals, I was interested in Maoism; this interest was fed, in part, by my undergraduate majors in policy and political science. Maoism was a political direction that seemed as extreme as one could imagine. I began studying Chinese and lived in China for two and half years between 1987 and 1990 (a period that included the massive protests of 1989) to complete my dissertation research.

My interests in politics shaped the type of anthropology I did. I wrote about the anthropology of the state, the anthropology of governing, the anthropology of policy and the inter-relations between culture and politics. China, of course, is a place with both a very strong authoritarian state and a long history of state governing. You could say that I both picked China as a place of research because of my interest in politics and that my interest in politics was reinforced by conducting re-

search in China. My interests in globalization were not so strong. Part of me thought that anthropology had started off as the study of people who lived in tribes rather than states. Now it is trying to shift to the study of globalization as something that is above the level of national politics. All along it has consciously rejected studying the politics of nations, states, and bureaucracy. For me, studying globalization was not a mode of decolonizing anthropology, but one of continuing its colonial legacy of studying anything but nation-states.

But though I was and am interested in political anthropology, I have also gradually realized the importance of more traditional anthropological concerns. Part of my shift in interests also results from my fieldwork in China. My first stint of field research took place in a rural village and that experience really showed me the importance of old-fashion anthropological ideas about patrilineal kinship, agricultural societies, and gift-giving. I did my second major research project in small-town schools, and that experience made me think that there were certainly cultural dimensions to education in China. Between 1998 and 2017, I lived in Australia and taught at the Australian National University. Anthropology in Australia in many ways is more “old-fashion” than anthropology in the United States. Aboriginal groups in Australia are often more separated from “mainstream society” than Native Americans in the United States and a significant portion of Australian anthropology focuses on Aboriginal Australia. Australia’s proximity to Papua New Guinea also means that many Australian anthropologists have done research there, so the textbook images that turned me off as an undergraduate became much more

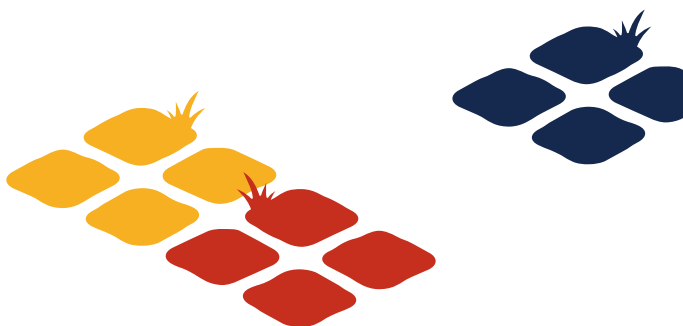
familiar to me. As nearly half of my colleagues did research with people from Aboriginal Australia or New Guinea, I developed a healthy respect for the type of anthropology that stems from more traditional forms of anthropological research.



Prof. Andrew Kipnis (second from the right) visiting Hong Kong, 1998
任柯安教授（右二）於 1998 年訪問香港時留影

Now I have arrived at The Chinese University of Hong Kong and find myself living in one of the most globalized cities in the world. The local students and staff are mostly tri-lingual, while a large number of foreign students make the campus feel as global as any university in New York City, London, Paris, or Tokyo. Goods, internet memes, and people seem to arrive from almost any corner of the earth. While I

may not want to do research on globalization, I can hardly avoid it. My anthropological journey has thus been full of spirals, reverse spins, and sometimes idiosyncratic turns. Wherever the past forty years of anthropology at Chinese University has gone, I am sure it will have an interesting future. I am grateful to be part of it.





同學於田野考察中挖掘陶片（約 90 年代）
Students' Pottery Excavation Exercise (around the 1990s)

人類學系的老師

鄧偉文博士
本科、哲學碩士及博士畢業生

98 年進到人類學系，第一年的時候，實在不知道自己在學甚麼，記得那年其中一個學科安排我們到大坑看舞火龍，看完之後，覺得甚為精彩，然後同組同學問我寫下甚麼田野記錄，我說：「要做筆記的嗎？」結果那次我做了 free rider，要同學幫忙完成功課。

第二年的時候，我決定認真起來，細心聽老師講課，真正去了解一下人類學是一個怎樣的學科，那時聽 Joseph Bosco 講課，聽得頭頭是道，但下課後，再細心想，他剛才說的東西，跟 Gordon Mathews 在另一課堂講的內容不同，那時感到十分疑惑，於是鼓起勇氣，走到 Gordon 的辦公室，跟他說從 Joe 課堂學到的東西，跟他說的不同，然後 Gordon 跟我說：「Joe is wrong. I'll give you three reasons...」聽完 Gordon 說後，於是我又鼓起勇氣，走到 Joe 的辦公室，跟他說：「Gordon said you're wrong because 1, 2, 3, 4...」Joe 跟我說：「No... no... no... Gordon is wrong...」左轉右轉，結果是更加 confused，於是我決定去問第三個教授，問究竟是 Joe 正確，還是 Gordon 正確，結果第三位教授跟我說：「Both of them are wrong! I think...」



認真讀書後，結果是得到更多問號，那時會問師兄師姐，究竟人類學是讀乜，他們很多時都會說：「我都唔知讀乜呀……」當然，細心聽的時候，就會發現這個答案可以有兩種演繹，一是因為三年來從沒有上課，所以真的不知道人類學在讀甚麼，而另一種演繹，就是發現人類學這個學科又深又廣，三年的學習只能接觸到皮毛……那時我相信我是後者，於是決定報讀 postgrad，計劃進一步了解人類學是甚麼。

進到研究院，發現程度加深了 10 倍，過去一星期只需要看 10-20 頁的 readings，但研究院就是需要我們一星期看 100-200 頁的 readings，尤其記得一次 Friday seminar 請了一位外國教授來做分享，由於我的研究題目跟這位外國教授所研究的相近，於是 seminar 完了後，叫我一一起去吃午飯，那餐飯跟一班教授同桌，那位外國教授問我香港的官方語言是甚麼，我說 biliterate and trilingual，三語包括 Cantonese, English, and Mandarin，當我說到 Mandarin 一字，其他教授隨即討論 Mandarin 是甚麼意思，它的字根是甚麼，然後其意思如何隨著時間改變，就是簡單 Mandarin 一個字，他們討論了一餐飯……那餐飯，自己既沒有吃甚麼，也沒有說甚麼，前者是因為怕掛著吃飯錯過他們的討論，後者是因為……實在插不上咀，他們的思想列車如子彈火車般，一卡接一卡，無縫接軌，無從搭嘴……那餐飯過後，跟自己說，如無必要也不要跟一班教授一起吃飯，會對身體不好。



由 undergrad 到 postgrad，都在問自己那班教授腦袋裡究竟裝著甚麼，為何他們可以知道這麼多事情，並對很多事情都可以有獨特理解，但他們 critical 只是其中一面，課堂後跟他們接觸，又是另一面，記得那

時當 “Magic, Myth, and the Supernatural” 的 TA，每次上課的時候，都會跟 Joe 從新亞書院走到聯合書院，並途經「情人路」，情人路外面靠山一旁種滿竹樹，當風吹過的時候，會發出吱吱聲，有一次風吹過，Joe 停了下來，閉上雙目，深呼吸，然後跟我們說這感覺很浪漫，我和另外一位 TA 也恍了一下，然後說：「不呢，在中國文化，這種吱吱聲給人很陰森恐怖的感覺呢！」Joe 聽到我們這樣說後，即刻回到教授 mode，分享他在台灣竹林的經歷，並分析竹林為何會有招陰之說。

現在自己畢業了，也在這 department 教書，有時也會想想，自己給學生一個怎樣的印象呢？一直以來在這 department 遇過不同的老師，有老師講書生動活潑，不斷跟同學有交流，有老師喜歡講故事，把自己研究的經歷娓娓跟學生分享，也有老師著重課堂架構，每堂也縝密地推演觀點，我自己很喜歡這種多元的教學模式，覺得他們各具特色，而喜歡的同時，現在自己教書，更會明白無論是用任何方式傳遞知識，每位老師其實也是窮上畢生之力來預備那 12 星期、每星期 1.5 小時的課堂，期望課堂能啟發學生，鼓勵他們思考更多問題，明白這些問題原來可以有許多答案，並懂得綜合這些答案得出自己的一個想法，即：「All of them are wrong. I think...」



鄧偉文博士（後排右二）於 2000 年雲南暑期田野考察中，
學跳彝族撒尼人集體舞

新生選修人類學與地理

對文化感興趣，但似乎不太喜歡歷史科，因
不看重資料的背誦，而人類學與地理文化有一
定的介紹，又能藉題及介紹反思考到很多
意見與有趣東西。

性別、有種族瞭解及各有關人類的事物，
而論點及，你的文化，語言及態度等。

新生年齡統計

年齡	(17)	: 6	個
	(18)	: 6	個
	(19)	: 2	個
	(20)	: 1	個
	(21)	: 1	個
	(22)	: 1	個

宗教信仰方面：

沒有宗教信仰佔：10
信天主教佔：1
信基督教佔：6

新生自畫像



中大人類學系是 人生志業的啓蒙

蕭潔樺
本科及哲學碩士畢業生

感謝生命裡有人類學。當年中學選課時，其實很想要去港大（虛榮）；進中大，僅僅是為了這個中大才有的學科。然後，有了人類學、新亞、中大，人生就不同了。我必須承認，以研究為職業，這個發展跟中大人類學系密不可分。

我是 2002 年入學的，當年暑假我祖母去世了，就沒有參加迎新營，結果就是傻傻的在第一學期就選了 Prof. Gordon Mathews 的人類學理論，第二學期就選了一個 3000 字頭的學科（三年制，3000 字頭基本就是畢業班課；上的是 Globalization and Cultural Identity，也是 Prof. Gordon Mathews 教授的）。於是，我沒有由淺入深慢慢學習的階段，而是不知不覺就快速進入了和畢業班（和研究生）共同上課共同拼表現甚至拼 grade 的修業模式。然後，在第一年暑假我就開始跟 Prof. Mathews 做些兼職研究，第二年也有替 Prof. Bosco 工作賺點外快，以研究作為職業的想像應該是那時就開始了。

人類學的功課很多都是論文，很多時候題目都以該科的理論為基礎，你可以用任何你有興趣的題目發揮。我很怕悶，所以每一科我都挑不同的研究範圍，從來沒有重複的（其實也是笨，根本沒有想過可以用一個範圍做兩科的功課）。我享受這樣的節奏，現在市場調查的工作也是這樣，用很短的時間並同時進行不同範圍的調研。



當時人類學最火的學科應該是 Prof. Joseph Bosco 的超魔神（魔法神話與超自然），我本科唸一次，碩士時做了 TA，題目有趣又有用；在美國做交換生還刻意上了一個 Folklore 的課，storytelling 的理論現在每天都在用。

但我最深刻的課必定是人類學理論，本科一次，碩士再上一次，然後再 TA 一次，筆記上連 Gordon 在什麼地方會講什麼笑話都有標記，最後也沒帶走，不知道最後流到誰的手裡了。理論科的參考書是以歷史角度來編輯整理人類學理論的發展，是我一輩子都忘不了的課本。

最難過的課肯定是 ANTH0220 —— 每一堂 lecture 和 tutorial 的開始都是測驗，每週兩測，完完整整地看三本民族誌。但是，這一課熬過去後就是美好回憶了。當年身為窮苦學生，不願意用幾百塊買正版英文書（要測驗還要做筆記啊，誰願意在幾百塊的課本上塗塗畫畫的）。想不到的是，我們好幾個學生在這課完結後反而去書店把原裝書抬回家了。沒有 0220，我在交換生的時候絕對不敢上心理人類學的選修（是一門 14 周看 11 本完整的書的課）。感恩學系拿出一門課讓我們學會如何慢慢看，完整地讀，深入地看每一頁。

畢業了十多年，工作前半段是在發展中國家遊走，當時一直都覺得自己會唸博，想在投身象牙塔前找一個工作，到世界各地走走，並體會一下正常上班人士的生活。然後，進入了市場調查，發現了學術以外的研究道路，就（暫時）回不去了。

工作上每天進行不同行業和社會議題的研究，看著人類學從剛畢業時一個前途未卜的學科，變成商界的一個小眾但又頗有市場的奇葩學科，除了前人的努力，更重要的是人類學「不離地」的本質。

「不離地」其實好難。在一般的專業裡，傾向都是越走越深越窄。在今日社交媒體主導資訊的大環境下，同溫層效應讓大家更難聽見別的聲音。人類學創始就定位在了解跟自己不同的人群，這樣的訓練逼使你面對自身的框架限制，並用跳進對方的世界的研究方法，找不一樣的角度去了解現實的不同可能。

對我影響最深的，我想是人類學對 holistic understanding 的堅持。在人類學中，你必須考慮其他學科的理論，比較近的例如心理學、社會學、經濟學，比較遠的包括生物學、化學、物理（考古應該會用到），反正正是能幫助理解研究對象的所有分析方法，都應該好好思考。全面的好奇和跨學科的思考模式，帶來的是眼界和包容性，對我以後每一個工作都有幫助。

現在社會很多的 buzzwords 都很人類學。市場調查行業開始重視 ethnography；地區發展的都在說 community；文化發展的都在說

cultural diversity；疫情期間聽到很多商界人在說 empathy，這是人類學的一個根本價值；大概是人類學在海納百川的時間，也在各界留下了一點影響力。

未來嘛，估計也離不開人類學。人類學的另一個特性在於自我批判，因為我們很了解每個現象以及理論其實都建立在特定 time and space 的框架裡，會有自身的側重點和盲點。當我

們脫離了該時間空間去檢視別人的文化以及前人的理論，會發現很多看起來很荒謬的事。我們學會在理論上作出調整，但也不需要去否定別人的貢獻。我很喜歡這種 progressive 的態度：特別是在今日這個充滿荒謬的社會，這種進步的思考方式應該是我還沒有瘋掉的重要原因。

把人類學變成志業，維持全面的好奇、跨專業的包容、文化差異的尊重、不同可能性的想象、自我批判並改進的思維，對以研究為職業的我，這樣的人生哲學很不錯。



My Classmates at CUHK Anthropology

Edwin Schmitt
PhD Graduate

Beginning in 2011, my profound experience at CUHK was entirely a product of interacting with my classmates. To this day, I have not found a more intellectually challenging and inspiring group of individuals. Frankly, they ruined academia for me, because everything else in comparison is disappointing. When it came to understanding China, Hong Kong and Anthropology, we struggled together, we helped each other and, when the faculty wasn't looking, we even had fun. This picture comes from an evening on Lamma Island, when we found an apartment with enough beds and couches for all ten of us to crash for an evening. Our MPhil classmates, Yang Daguo, Calvin Xue, Fu Jing, Candy Hiu, and Gloria Tsang were deeply stressed with their thesis writing and the four Ph.D.s, Yu Xin, Yuan Changgeng, Lin Dan and I, had just passed our Comps. We all needed a night to relax. After BBQing for a few hours, we went for a midnight walk on the beach. Daguo and Calvin were playing us some music, when suddenly out of the darkness emerged Mick Atha, who lived just down the street from the beach, another long-term friend and part-time teacher at CUHK Anthropology. A week or two later, each of us received a package from Candy. It was a printed and framed copy of this picture, a rare physical



memory in this digital age, from a friend who somehow always remembered to celebrate each of our birthdays. I feel truly fortunate to have had insight, support and friendship from these friends while in Hong Kong, which is why this picture stays with me wherever I travel to remind me where I come from. I am not just a rural kid from the mountains of Montana, or a Chinese language student wandering the streets of Chengdu looking for the best shaokao, I am also an anthropologist from CUHK and the people in this picture made me who I am today. Sending many wishes as the Department celebrates its 40th Anniversary.



念Tracey

陳秀華
文學碩士畢業生



不知不覺已經畢業了六年，然而讀人類學時的快樂片段仍歷歷在目。

短短一年的碩士課程，除了認識到一群志同道合的同學。更寶貴的是，曾經上過 Tracey（呂烈丹教授）的課。

雖然只上過她兩門課（很可惜不是考古學），但上課時的片段及跟老師的一些對答，至今依然難忘。記得有次傻傻地，於上 China's Cultural Heritage 時問了 Tracey 一條問題：「其實人類學家做的很多事，不會太理想化嗎？因為現實實在有很多限制。」當時老師沒有正面回答我，只是說有些事應該要堅持。現在回想，也覺得當時的自己坦白得有點傻氣，但亦明白了老師當時這樣回答的原因。

我有不少尊敬的老師，Tracey 是其中一位。她治學態度極為認真嚴謹，富人文精神之餘亦積極參與社區運動，不是離地學者。她是一個很堅強、很有毅力的人，做事亦很幹練及條理分明。她學識淵博，也善於反問學生，引導其思考而不是直斥其非。當她不同意某些觀點時，她會帶著慧

點的眼神冷笑；談起心愛的熊貓時，她亦會眯眯嘴笑。

談起文物保育，雖然 Tracey 是一個考古學家，但她絕對不會一面倒地支持保留考古遺址和歷史建築，而是強調從不同持份者的角度思考，也很著重社區的參與。

她的著作甚豐，亦曾遊歷世界各地的文化遺產。雖然斯人已歿，但翻開其遺作《從迦太基到邁錫尼：世界文化遺產旅行筆記》，年輕的 Tracey 獨個兒騎著單車，迎著清風，穿過風景優美的河谷地帶，在一個個舊石器文化洞穴遺址內，仔細欣賞彩色壁畫時巧笑倩兮的神情，仍然躍然現於眼前，令人久久不能忘懷。



2014 年攝於中國的文化遺產 (China's Cultural Heritage) 一課



吕烈丹教授
Prof. Tracey Lie-dan Lu

Some memories about the Department of Anthropology

Chan Hing Yuen (Brevi)
UG & MPhil Graduate



When I knew I was enrolled in the Anthropology Department after the release of JUPAS result 17 years ago, my feeling was mixed – I did very good in geography during my secondary school years and dreamt to be a geography major at CUHK, as a result of an impact on me from my geography teacher as well as a sense of security with my then academic performance. I chose anthropology out of my curiosity about archaeology, courses of which were only offered by the Anthropology Department during my time (I think it is still true today). While I was a little bit disappointed when I realized that I wasn't enrolled as a geography major, I was equally, though superficially, thrilled to study in CUHK as a student from a Band 5 secondary school – I was one of the two students enrolled in CUHK that year (2003, well it was some time ago). Anthropology was still a mystery to me at that time.

In the first semester (fall 2003), I enrolled in the elementary course of Archaeology (Understanding Archaeology by my favorite professor Tracy Lu) along with two other core courses (Understanding Anthropology and Humans and Culture), plus I took a course in gender

(Gender and Culture). The first year of study was hectic to me; with the limited knowledge in what I was taking as well as my mediocre skills in English writing, I did poorly. Frankly, I was thinking of transferring to the Department of Geography during that time.

During my time, the good thing about the Department of Anthropology was it being small. It was a small department with less than half a dozen of teachers and no more than 20 students per cohort, and I quickly got along very well with students of my year as well as those my senior; and teachers were so devoted to their teaching with intense interaction. And soon I forgot about the idea of transferring to Geography and actively involved in the student life of the Department by being one of the members in the Student Society of Anthropology.

All my teachers of anthropology were so unique, and above all, adorable. Among them I would like to address three most important teachers I encountered in the Department of Anthropology.

Prof. Tracey Lu was my teacher of Archaeology. She was a lovely lady who truly poured every bit of her efforts into her classes to make us understand what archaeology was about. I remember when I lived in Chi Man Dorm at NA College during Year 2 and walked on the path next to the Humanities Building to my dorm every time after some fancy midnight gathering with friends, the light was on from the windows of Tracey's office – She was hardworking like that. And I remember the moment she gave me her masterpiece on rice cultivation in prehistory before she left for Australia, where she spent her last moments in life

with her family. I deeply miss her as my teacher and a sincere friend in my life.

Prof. Gordon Mathews was my teacher of anthropological theories. He was (and still is!) an interesting guy who made his classes full of fun and stress at the same time. His interpretation and teaching on anthropological theories, language and culture as well as globalization are still vivid in my mind. He also gave me thrills — whenever he asked students taking his class “what’s interesting” about their learning about the readings he gave, those were the moment that I learnt I couldn’t be lazy, at least in his classes. Gordon then became my supervisor for my MPhil. research. When I was still a student, I sometimes got mad when he didn’t tell me directly the answers to his questions. But now I understand that it was his urge for me to think and write with depth and subtlety, and this intent is still profound today when I work somewhat outside of anthropology academically – his critical inquiry into knowledge is what I always hope to keep up with.

Prof. Tan Chee-Beng was like a light house to me during my academic years. He was the head of the Department at that time. When I was in my second year, he offered me a place to do an internship in a human right organization in Malaysia, in which I learnt how human rights should be sought and upheld in the real world. Before I headed to Malaysia, he already helped arrange everything necessary there for me through his own network. He was like a father figure in the Department. I took all the courses he taught in the Department. Although he wasn’t my MPhil supervisor (he was my co-supervisor and Chairman

of my panel anyway), he from time to time enlightened me with his advice and wisdom. When I submitted the first draft of my MPhil thesis, Gordon wasn't happy about what I wrote and asked me to think things over. I went to Prof. Tan and asked him for opinion, he advised me not to look just onto the facts I collected but into the process beyond what I saw from the materials. Finally, I reorganized my thesis upon Prof. Tan's advice, and he was equally supportive during my oral defense that put me at ease.

The course work for my MPhil. officially came to an end in 2008, and I couldn't wait until the completion of my thesis to start another chapter of my life outside the university. The shock at the beginning was profound – being too critically analytical could be a problem in the work place. And I got some troubles in the first year of working due to that. I am not going into details, but after these years I can only tell that the sharp edges in me (which I think are essential for the academic career) have been long gone. Yet, the training of anthropology remains – just as when I think of the hard work of Dr. Lu, the subtlety of Dr. Mathews and the deep thoughts of Dr. Tan. Above all, I am always proud of being an anthro. graduate.

Update

After a short stint in the media industry as an assistant editor, Brevis has since then started his career in the field of museum. He first worked as an assistant curator at the Collection Management Unit in the Hong Kong Museum of History to oversee the registration and

management of museum artefacts, and then the Archaeology Unit in the same museum to help deliver exhibitions related to archaeology in Hong Kong and elsewhere. After spending 7 years in the Museum of History, he was involved in a short-term project at the Head Quarters of Leisure and Cultural Services Department and was posted to the Antiquities and Monuments Office, where he worked as an assistant curator in the Archaeology Unit responsible for developmental issues related to archaeology. And now he is working for the Intangible Cultural Heritage Office. As an anthropology graduate, he is more than happy to offer advice to anthro. students on career in the museum field. Please feel free to contact him. (Please let the Department know, I guess they don't mind referring your questions to me via my personal email :D)



From right to left: Prof. Gordon Mathews, Prof. Joseph Bosco and Prof. Tracey Lie-dan Lu, 2004
右至左：麥高登教授、林舟教授、呂烈丹教授，2004 年

一段回憶

Kevin Mok
本科畢業生



關於人類學的回憶有太多，有限篇幅關係，只能夠觸及一兩件。

記得第一年進中大的時候，由於自己是以副學士身份入讀 Year 3（雖然名義上被稱為 Year 1）、也礙於時間限制，有一些兩年才開一次班的 2 或 3 字頭 Course 必須要於第一年修讀，偶爾也會有一點吃不消。其中一個印象最深刻的 Course 莫過於 ANTH 2200 的 World Ethnography，除我以外全是 Final Year 學生。當時仍然由在任的 Prof. Huang Yu 教授，上第一課時已經滿口 "Fordism", "Commodity Value" 和 "Deregulation and structural adjustment program"，聽得我腦脹昏花。自此我便開始放棄自己，課偶爾仍會上，但要不是遲到數十分鐘，便是直接在課堂上睡覺。

但逃避不了的始終要來。到了學期中，要交期中論文時，看著連題目都不明白的文章，很記得當時慌得頭皮發麻。最後我終於忍不住，惟有硬著頭皮到教授房門前敲門，然後直截了當地坦白自己完全沒有留心上課，希望教授不計前嫌，能再指導我一次。意料不及地，Prof. Huang



最後真的花了兩個多小時，困在她小小的辦公室裡，一五一十地把我不明白之處說明一遍。自此我便對 Prof. Huang 抱著極大的感激之心，每逢上課都不再遲到早退、有 readings 便馬上閱讀，也真的讀得有趣味來。也因為如此，這科目最後也竟成了我於中大第一個奪 A 的科。



雖然事隔數年，到現在的我對課堂理論只剩下十分籠統的印象，依稀只記住了某幾個學術 jargon、以及「咖啡豆」「第三世界」等等的課題，而 Prof. Huang 也一早於數年前離開了中大，但她的善良與這段荒誕的回憶，卻是我一直牢記住的事。

動向

畢業後加入日資公司，於東京工作一年半後回流香港，現職數據分析。



臨別贈言



老



老



老



胡韻珊 Pat.

Year 1 的我..... Year 2 的我..... Year 3 的我..... Year 4 的我.....
轉眼四年,由freshman變了「老鬼」,回味這幾年,變得讀
人類學系真係好開心!各位師弟师妹,珍重!千祈
唔好浪費大學生活嘅光陰呀!

馮小芳

勿姑息自己!



在陌生與熟悉的 場景間



莊國棟 James Chong
文學碩士畢業生

（許許多多年前）我就讀中學時，一直覺得自己會入中大，還要是新亞，最後連會考也沒有經歷，在外地讀了一個計算機學位回來。工作多年後，突然想回到大學再進修，以興趣排序排除了工商管理、文化研究、哲學及社會工作課程等之後，我留意到「人類學」：只要與人類有關的，人類學什麼都是，又卻什麼都不是。反而是這樣的模糊及迷離，讓我倍感興趣。加上當時在 NGO 工作看到世界制度的扭曲，更加懷疑一直學習的管理、效率、發展與高科技，都像把人類文明開倒車。人類學，似乎會為那些不平等現象提供一些參考答案，所以便鎖定了，兩年的兼讀時間，順道圓自己一個入中大的夢。

在開學前兩個月，突然知道自己在參與的社會創新項目比賽中，得到了起動資金。若果要起動我的初創計劃又同時讀人類學，似乎不可能再兼顧日間的 NGO 工作了。所以，我這個 mature student 的半工讀生活，就是左腳上課，右腿創業，一拐一拐的走下來。

要說重點了吧：到底人類學課程對我的社會企業工作，有沒有幫助？

——近年的社會創新圈子，都在說什麼設計思維方法，怎樣的以人為本出發，切身了解目標受惠者的需要，再審視資源及關係，設計方案滿足受惠群體的需要；而不是坐在冷氣房間內的扶手椅上，單從統計報表的資料離地創作一個創新方案出來。甫進入人類學課程就認識了，什麼是田野考

察，什麼是參與觀察。喂呀！田野考察不就是最貼地的方式去認識你的受眾嗎？人類學家飄洋落村去踏上三五七年，我們做社會创新的工作，沒有落社區踏上三五七個月，也不好意思推出什麼服務項目吧。所以說，NGO 或發展機構中，潛伏了不少人類學畢業生，大概就是這個原因吧。



後來的課程日子，我更認識了應用人類學 (applied anthropology) 這個範疇，雖然自己只是修畢一個人類學文學碩士，我期望，仍可以在未來的社會服務工作上，帶著人類學的眼光，持續地觀察，反覆地記錄，擁擠著人文的關懷，在陌生與熟悉的場景間，隱形，穿梭，連繫。



學系辦公室（約 90 年代）
Department Office (around the 1990s)



學系同事與同學在 412 房午餐 · 2019 年
Lunch at 412, 2019

How Anthropology Influences Me

Liu Yuling
MA Graduate



After finishing all courses, I began to miss my teachers, and I am also looking forward to being awarded an MA degree in Anthropology!

On the one hand, Anthropology is a vast concept that relates to all things about human beings. It gives me a lot of different lenses to see life and to explore the world. I feel that the world we are living in is filled up with many tensions, like the rich versus the poor, the black versus the white, the West versus the East, etc. They surround us, and anxieties grow. In the past one or two years, we witnessed the Brexit, the trade war between the USA and China, the HK march, the pandemic, which caused political and economic tensions. Many friends cannot get visas due to these complicated situations. With ANTH knowledge, I got more tolerance to accept all these things. I am not acknowledging these tensions with a sad attitude, instead, with a tolerant attitude. "Knowledge about the world should be oriented towards greater empathy, solidarity, and equality." I think you are showing not just knowledge but also the attitudes to me.



On the other hand, Anthropology is very small. I got a feeling that everything means something after I learned ANTH. Then, ANTH can be a very little thread. I feel like it inspired me to listen, to observe, to capture, and to enjoy. Take cooking for example, I never found it so exciting and unusual to cook. But now, I find some funny points in cooking. Take the wheat as an example; wheat is widely planted in the world, covering 2.2 million square kilometers. It can be used to make noodles, cake, bread, beer... we say water has different shapes, and so has wheat. It can be shaped into many various forms and mixed with other ingredients, and give me different tastes. I mean, I have never thought of these. It is the training I got that makes me think of these small things, and I feel like my life is full of surprises, waiting for me to open. I never feel like this. I love this feeling. When my friend asked what I wanted for my 30th birthday, I think I have received my best gift - a one-year MA study of Anthropology.



For the 40th anniversary of our department's founding, I am so honored to be one to witness it. Members of different ages will come together for its 40th, 50th ... 100th anniversary, which is exciting.

人類學，在巨流中 掀起溫柔革命

林嘉曦
文學碩士畢業生

或許是人文學科學生易犯的毛病吧，以往讀書時，總是很執著理論的對錯。尤其是接觸批判理論時，那時誤以為理論必然是尚方寶劍，總之可以切割就盡力切割，可以批判就不留餘地批判，但切出來的東西其實見樹不見林。站在太過抽離的角度，以理論鞭撻問題，很容易過份簡化人類真實的生存處境。

後來上人類學的課，彷彿把以前的東西砍掉重練。記得初上人類學導論的頭幾課，講師談生物人類學時用了一套記錄片介紹人類與其他靈長類動物的差別與優勢，當下令我很訝異的是，這種說法似乎在當下生態主義的思潮下顯得既人類中心又「政治不正確」。抱住「人類學好落伍」的懷疑，我又選了人類學熱門課 Meanings of life，當時覺得，這樣單純地描述不同人的人生意義但不去歸納分析、甚至沒有用很大篇幅的理論支持，會不會有點太空泛？

直到把幾科斷斷續續地上完，我開始明白理論並不是重心，如何連結他人、走進他人的生命，是需要放下個人的 ego，不帶預設並真誠地聆聽他人是一門艱鉅的學問。人類學家走進陌生地，如何書寫、如何批判，



既是倫理，也是一種個人修行。

Lila Abu-Lughod 的 “Do Muslim Women Really Need Saving?” 非常震撼我，當中提到近年在西方世界掀起一股風潮，無論在保守派和自由派之間，還是在性別主義和女權主義者之間，都嘗試透過道德討伐，將那些「受壓迫」的穆斯林女性從她們的宗教和文化當中「拯救」出來。他們認為，無論是採取法律、軍事，還是人道主義的手段進行干預都合情合理。但是作者認為，這場道德討伐運動同時又將穆斯林婦女簡化成為一種刻板、奇異的形象，在繁雜的歷史和文化變遷脈絡中，將穆斯林女性塑造成為一個他們用起來很順手的文化圖標。

文中說到，“What does freedom mean if we accept the fundamental premise that humans are social beings, always raised in certain social and historical contexts and belonging to particular communities that shape their desires and understandings of the world?” 這使我重新反思所謂「進步」的思想，真的是唯一正論嗎？如若不然，我們該做的不是捧起檜械炮轟、並宛如英雄般向我們認定的「受害人」發表解放宣言，而是從他們的脈絡梳理出他們自身的生存境況與獨特意義。

我很喜歡哲學家 Emmanuel Levinas 的說法，生存總是在迎接他人的來臨，敞開自我、不以同化他者為目的展開對話，這種以肉身面對面的交往，而非規條，才是我們實踐倫理的地方。人類学的核心關懷也是如此，面對差異 (alterity) 時仍要保持敏感與謙卑，也許就是人類學在族群衝突干戈不息的暴烈時代中的獨有意涵。

望後石越南 難民營隨筆

陳偉光
哲學碩士畢業生

1996 年，國際社會服務社幹事 Chris 告訴我，望後石越南難民營學校需要提供實用的創作技能，同時可舒緩情緒的課程。剛好我的理想和訓練適合而擔任了營裡的應用藝術老師，事實上我從學生身上學得的比教他們更多。

國雄

國雄在辦公室旁開墾了一小塊地種向日葵，帮大家舒緩了高大灰色鐵絲網的壓迫感，它們強壯安靜地長在圍欄旁。國雄也像向日葵一樣，每天積極上課和踢足球，照顧同學和弟妹，洗衣做飯，溫文有禮，暖暖的像陽光呵護身邊的人。有一天我和兒子去探望他，可他已被關回禁閉營。那天向日葵枯萎了大半。後來他從越南回港，我們和他在營裡的同學再畫大畫，他畫的就是那些向日葵，畫的時候還散發著當年暖暖的溫度…他現在已是地盤管工，成家後生了兩個女兒，都起了有關於海的名字。

阿山

阿山聰明而冷靜，十八歲那年因想賺錢給媽媽看病，冒險幫同鄉走粉，被判入獄3年。我去壁屋監獄探望他的時候，帶了些零食和幾本漫畫，過了五重冷冷的鐵閘後，我們隔著鐵窗對談，他看來比在營裡更精神，那對淺棕色的眼睛注視著我「老師，謝謝你探我，別擔心，我這有朋友，有工作培訓，我可選做木工，洗衣服，可惜畫畫機會沒在營時那麼多，生活很有規律，運動和休息定時，加上我的球踢得不錯，很受歡迎呢…」出獄後阿山成為了地盤釘板師傅。

勤仔

七歲的勤仔，頑皮又可愛，滿面稚氣又大膽，學校裡的老師對他又愛又恨。有一天炎熱的下午，從澳洲過來義教的 Anna 在課室尖叫並跑來求救。我趕緊從教員室下去看看，原來勤仔拿著一條被他拔掉毒牙，大概一尺長的紅色大蜈蚣，追著嚇她。我制止了他，並把他帶到美術室打算好好教訓他一頓，他洋洋得意地展示他的新玩意問：「老師，你知不知道怎樣拔大蜈蚣的毒牙……」難民營關閉兩年後，我去屯門探望學生，他悠然自得地放開雙手騎著成人單車帶我去他家，後來我也學會放開兩手踏單車。

阿寶

阿寶是個由謙厚的難民年輕人成為充滿愛和創意的金牌大廚。從前我們到西貢露營，他能把同學的就地取材變成美味的食物，如辣椒炒蜆，清水煮

苦螺，薑蔥炒螃蟹，大家收拾柴枝，扎營起火，他總是專注地煮菜熬湯。後來他常婉拒我邀請他去露營，「謝謝老師，我很喜歡露營，就怕玩散心了，將來會不夠穩重，不顧家……」他僅於 1997 年在望後石學校開始正規學習，並努力完成了中六課程。當時他也和同學積極參與社區音樂表演，老人院和弱能人士社區中心壁畫製作。阿寶最終於 2003 年以最傑出學生成績畢業於中華廚藝學院，開始了他在廚藝領域的事業。在 2003 年至 2017 年期間，他多次在烹飪比賽中獲得大獎，在他有股份的尖沙咀著名餐廳擔任總廚，並在著名傳媒分享廚藝。我還記得他拿手菜式石斑蒸水蛋的美味。



Boat trip to Sai Kung, 2013 (photo courtesy of Dr. Gil Hizi)
師生西貢遊船河・2013 年（照片由 Gil Hizi 博士提供）

CUHK Anthropology: Founding of a Dream

M. Saiful Islam
MPhil Graduate

Among all the passengers of the Airbus-310, which took-off from Dhaka in the afternoon on July 20, 2002 to Hong Kong, was a young dream-aspirant who envisioned to be an anthropologist and admitted himself in the MPhil program at CUHK anthropology. The next noon Grace smilingly welcomed me when I first stepped in the department and Professor Tan Chee-Beng was in his office to cordially invite me to join for a lunch in the nearby restaurant. With the first Chinese food on my table, experiences in the foreign land for the first time began to bloom since then. Anthropology at CUHK impacted on me so profoundly that I completely devoted myself to be an anthropologist later on. The journey with anthropology at CUHK started with so many new learnings that laid the foundation of my anthropological knowledge. It was just amazing being with such distinguished anthropologists in the department such as Tan Chee-Beng, Gordon Mathews, Joseph Bosco, Sidney Cheung, Maria Tam, Tracey Lie-dan Lu. Writing MPhil thesis under the guidance of Prof. Tan, Prof. Mathews and Prof. Bosco was such a rewarding experience that I continued working on the manuscript and later on published my first book *Pursuing Alternative Development: Indigenous People, Ethnic Organization and Agency* (Lon-

don: Palgrave MacMillan 2015). Although it was initially challenging to adapt to the fast pace of learning at CUHK, faculty members in the department were so supportive and considerate that I soon overcame the constraints. I came across with such wonderful friends and classmates as Duan Ying from China, Akiyo from Japan, and Eric, Phoebe, Heidi, Alice, Wyman, Teresa from Hong Kong. Visiting Sha Tin, Fo Tan and Tsim Sha Tsui for lunch or dinner was a routine. Thanks to Facebook for still allowing us to be in touch. My two years of learning at CUHK anthropology ended in 2004 when I graduated with an MPhil degree and got immediately rewarded with a PhD admission at the National University of Singapore (NUS) with Research Scholarship and a prestigious President's Graduate Fellowship. Having awarded a PhD in anthropology in 2010, I immediately got a job offer from University Brunei Darussalam where I taught for 4 years and headed the Department of Sociology and Anthropology. In 2015 I decided to go back to Bangladesh to serve my country and since then I have been continuing as an Associate Professor of Anthropology in the Department of Development Studies, University of Dhaka. I still miss my room 201 in the department. It was the Anthropology Department at CUHK that laid the founda-



On the way to Fo Tan for dinner

tion of my dream in anthropology that later on continued to flourish as prop roots of a banyan tree. I specially thank Prof. Tan Chee-Beng for accepting me as his MPhil student that allowed me to be in CUHK to enrich my insights in anthropology which continues till now.

I wholeheartedly congratulate CUHK anthropology on the 40th anniversary of its founding and for continuing to be a catalyst to impact so profoundly on the society in Asia and globally.



Dinner with faculty and friends



From left to right: Me and my wife, Prof. Tan Chee-Beng and his wife



人類學於我之 過去、現在和未來

王冠
本科及哲學碩士畢業生

過去

光陰荏苒，與人類學結緣始於十七年前。當時是高考前夕，同學們會在中央圖書館瘋狂操 past paper。我和同學一起來圖圖書館，卻不小心被參考圖書館的「課外書」吸引了。你可以想像，當你埋首於一堆物理公式和化學反應，頭暈腦脹時，突然有人對你說世界另一端，一個小部落發生的奇聞，那種感覺，就像《食神》電影中的瀨尿牛丸一樣，那麼清新脫俗。

當然，你也可以想像，當一眾「學霸」同窗努力備戰時，我去看民族誌是多麼格格不入。是的，中學生涯我總有一種格格不入的感覺。幾個月後我進了人類學。每每向別人介紹自己學系，總能從對方臉上讀出「嘩，神科」的表情。人類學在香港是比較冷門的選擇，大概能選人類學的同學都是非主流吧，人類學的朋友們對我還是非常包容的。在這裡我終於沒有了格格不入的感覺，也是在這種環境下，我越來越喜歡這個科目，這兒的教授和同學。

現在

有人說讀人類學是浪漫的，可現實是殘酷的。相信一眾學弟學妹最擔心的其中一個問題除了能否出 pool 外，可能就是就業問題了。大概是人類學讓我們比較有包容的胸懷和開放視野，更容易接受並適應轉變吧，我認識的人類學畢業生都有不錯的發展。我自己則是一位中學老師，入行的第一所學校是一所以南亞裔學生為主的學校，相信學校當年的錄用我某程度上和我對少數族裔的看法不無關係。而我對少數族裔的看法則源於人類學常常接觸非主流的薰陶。

如果現在有人問我人類學學到了什麼，我會講講當初在 ANT0120 第一篇 reading 中看到的那個關於「Nacirema」的故事。我們往往有自己信奉的一套理念，習慣的行為，「正確／正常」的選擇，因此容易看不慣他者。當今社會，不同年紀、不同性別、不同職業、不同政見的群體中似乎隔著一條無法跨越的鴻溝，我們有時戲稱別人和自己活在「平行世界」，卻忘了自己也是別人眼中的他者。我相信人類學的價值就在於不用自己的角度去批判別人，嘗試對他者更多理解、包容，嘗試代入別人的角度審視自身的不合理之處。

未來

說起未來，怎能不介紹一下名副其實的「新人類」呢，不少人類學好友都在近年榮升了爸爸／媽媽。附上數張可愛新人類的照片。展望未來很多工作或許可以被科技取代，但是我相信人文精神和人文關懷是無法被取代的。願世界因為有人類學變得更美好！



系友 Funny So 與仔仔



系友 Angus Chan 與仔仔

My Anthropological Pursuit

Lu Ming
MA & MPhil Graduate



I am now a doctoral candidate at the Department of Social and Cultural anthropology, University of Cologne, Germany. It has been one and a half years since I came to Germany for my doctoral study. Travelling between Germany, Hong Kong and Shanghai during this period of time, I felt turbulent yet safe, tired but fulfilled. Echoing with Cultural Relativism and the Holistic approach initiated by Franz Boas, I decided to shift my major to anthropology many years ago. Now I am lucky to study in the home country of Franz Boas and study with a supervisor holding similar views, and I am able to pursue the value, knowledge, and methodology which I want to adhere to.

A peaceful life in memory is a treasure during the time of chaos. I miss the days when I was a student at the Department of Anthropology in Hong Kong. With open discussions every day, teachers knowledgeable and warm, and schoolmates smart and friendly, I was able to swim in the sea of knowledge, new and tired, but unprecedentedly happy. I have left the department physically, but I never left intellectually.

Every tiny progress now I have is built on the knowledge and experience I obtained from Hong Kong. I still remember when Prof. Gordon Mathews asked us in the theory class: Is anthropology art or science? I never give up seeking for the answer since this question carries my value, beliefs, and vision on anthropology as a discipline. Now continuing my pursuit in German academia, I find a small tree has grown up from the seed planted into soil in Hong Kong. Why cannot anthropology be an art and a science at the same time? I hope my ethnography can describe the richness of people's everyday life. Through systematic analysis, I hope my ethnography can present the most realistic human experience and explore a fundamental question of human existence when we live in a society as individuals. I am reading philosophy. I hope it can inspire me to write an artistic ethnography based on scientific analysis.

Now it is the 40th birthday of the Department of Anthropology in The Chinese University of Hong Kong. No matter if we are in Hong Kong or not, we are willing to be with it together. May its tress of wisdom be evergreen, nourishing more students, and producing more fruitful fruits in the future.



MA graduation party, 2009
文學碩士畢業派對 · 2009 年

時光飛逝，自 2019 年來德國科隆大學人類學系攻讀博士，轉眼已一年半。期間因田野需要而輾轉於德國、香港和上海，波折卻平安，疲憊但充實。當初決定轉讀人類學，皆因認同弗朗茨·博厄斯 (Franz Boas) 的文化相對主義理念和整體觀的研究方法。如今來到 Boas 的故鄉並幸運跟從志趣相投的導師，得以繼續追尋自己認同的價值、知識和方法論，深感慶幸。

在這動盪時期，更感平淡生活的可貴。懷念舊日在香港讀碩士時度過的愉快時光，開放的課堂討論、博學而溫暖的師長、聰慧的同學，我得以在人類學知識的海洋馳騁，稚嫩、疲憊，但無比快樂。身已離開，心從未離開。

如今每日的點滴進步，無不建立在當年的學識和經驗之上。仍記得麥高登教授在人類學理論課追問我們：人類學到底是藝術還是科學？這個承載著我對這一學科的價值、理念和願景的問題，我一直沒有停止追尋。如今在德國學術這片土壤繼續耕耘，我看到當年埋下的種子，已經發出新鮮又茁壯的嫩芽。人類學為什麼不能既是藝術又是科學？希望我書寫的民族誌能夠豐富地描述人們日常生活的體驗，呈現人們真實的生活狀態，通過系統的分析，探尋社羣中的個體賴以存在的根本問題。為此我閱讀哲學，希冀其為我的民族誌書寫打開新的視野。

如今香港中文大學人類學系四十歲華誕。無論我們身在香港，或是不在，都願與之同行。願它的智慧之樹長青，在未來滋養更多求知的學子，結出更加豐碩的果實。

讀人類學的 深刻感受

Teresa Chan
文學碩士畢業生



作為一個自然科學本科畢業的理科人，修讀文化人類學為我帶來極大思想衝擊，尤其是研究方法的差別。以前讀本科所做的田野調查，主要是紀錄不同生態環境裏動物、植物的物種和數目，比較不同時節的變化，再設計實驗找出變化原因，亦即是大自然定律，並以量化數據作為證據說明因果關係。

而文化人類學的田野調查，研究過程充滿變數和疑問：會遇到怎樣的報導人？研究對象願意展示多少真實狀況？甚麼才是真實狀況？主觀敘事如何成為客觀佐證？該如何解讀民族誌作為學術研究成果？人類社會是否有定律？

每週的理論課，學習人類學一百多年來發展出來的學說，我都感到困惑非常，只有讀到 Marvin Harris 提倡的文化唯物主義 (cultural materialism) 才稍有熟悉感。課堂討論到人類學算不算是科學、人類學的學術價值在充斥科學主義的世界下是否被貶低等，至今仍然令我反思。

*“Anthropology is
not a science!”*



讀完一年碩士課程最大感想是，我相信人類學不是用來說服人，而是用來啟發人。

當我接觸人類學後，開始留意到每個群體都有專屬的打招呼方式。

外國人學廣東話，多數打招呼會講「您好」，但我覺得另一句更代表華人文化，更值得學習。每當去廁所遇到清潔姐姐，不論是早上 11 點或是下午 4 點，總會互相問候：「食咗飯未呀？」「未呀，你呢？」其實我們絕少想知道別人吃飽了沒，但短短兩句問答，既親切又不尷尬，瞬間打破了陌生人之間的第一道牆。



在非洲喀麥隆，有一個叫做「多瓦悠」的部落，他們見面打招呼會問候對方：「你的天空可清朗？」（出自 Nigel Barley 的《The Innocent Anthropologist》）一個群體擁有自己的文化，就會漸漸產生獨特用語，只有自己人才懂，亦可以識別一個外來人的融入程度。

自開學後，我漸漸發現同學間新的打招呼用語。為了應付每週 tutorials 課堂討論和功課，我們都成為了追 readings 的孩子。每當回校上課見到同學，不論早午晚，我們都習慣第一句問：

「睇咗 readings 未呀？」

Sweet Memories of CUHK Anthropology

Soisci Porchetta
UG Graduate

Anthropology has always played a part in my adult life, both professionally as well as personally.

I have very fond memories of my time at the Anthropology Department. I always looked forward to the lectures and even enjoyed writing papers very much! Growing up in an ethnically diverse household and moving across eight different countries meant that anthropology felt like the most natural field I could choose to study. I really love how it is both an art as well as a science, much like life is! Although I was often away from the campus as I was practicing martial arts outside (HK/ KLN side) I loved the nature that surrounded the university and frequently went for silent walks in it. I loved being able to see the stars and the moon at night as there was less light pollution on campus.

Cooking with my roommate, best friend and classmate Ayumi was always a special treat as it was a way to have fun, nourish each other and have little cultural exchanges through food. All the dinners we enjoyed with the department were also a wonderful way to spend quality time with my classmates and professors.

Although I sometimes found the university administration harsh and bureaucratic, I always had a very warm and friendly experience within the Anthropology Department. It was intimate and supportive and felt like a safe haven. Writing assessments in the computer room next to other classmates was always fun and stimulating.



Lunch with Ayumi

I particularly loved field trips we took (like visiting Chungking Mansions with Gordon) and doing field work for my papers (my favourite ones being one on "Thai ladyboys" and understanding how the church helps many Indonesian domestic workers in Hong Kong.) I tended to lean towards gender or globalisation in many of my research papers and found a lot of passion writing my thesis on female fighters renegotiating gender boundaries in Hong Kong; I interviewed many of my peers and it was my first and only time researching from a truly emic perspective.

I intend to visit the CUHK Anthropology Department whenever I come back to Hong Kong for a visit, as I have incredibly fond memories there that have shaped much of my adult life for the best.

Update

After graduating from the CUHK Anthropology Department, I moved to Bangkok for 6 months to train and fight professionally in Muay Thai. I won a world title belt in Jan, 2011, just before moving back to Hong Kong.

I worked in Hong Kong in the fitness industry for a couple of years, then I started studying and teaching general movement practices. I moved to Sydney in 2015 where I set up my own business teaching movement, and I also started teaching workshops internationally.

In 2018, I started learning meditation from my guru who lives in Hyderabad, India, and I have been visiting him a few times a year to keep studying.

In 2020, I moved to Canberra to work with a friend at a larger facility. My work now incorporates movement for longevity and athleticism, meditation, spiritual practices, and establishing a holistic lifestyle that includes creativity, nutrition and social plus environmental awareness.



Graduation



2017 年暑期柬埔寨田野考察，師生參訪吳哥塔普瑞寺，前排右一藍色外套者為黃慧怡教授
Visiting the Ta Prohm temple during the 2017 Summer Fieldtrip to Cambodia;
Prof. Sharon Wong is the first from the right in the front row (in blue coat).

終生受用的禮物

李月裳
本科畢業生

我在 1982 年入讀人類學系，全系不過二、三十人，是一個活潑快樂的小家庭。我對語言學特別有興趣，為能夠在暑期跟隨老師到連南瑤族作田野工作感到異常興奮。我記得當時與數位同學跟隨謝劍老師和徐雲揚老師、經過一整天沒有冷氣的公車的行程，大家都「香汗淋漓」；到達時，入住當地的「招待所」，當時空調還未普及，但總算有自來水可以「沖個靚涼」；數天以來，聽著瑤族人用自身母語交談，添加我在語言學上的知識；另一方面，看到兒童興高采烈地推著以樹枝竹篾自製的輪子玩具，體驗到當地人在物質匱乏中仍樂天知命。

我在度過四年愉快的人類學生涯後，便進了一間聾童學校擔任老師，協助言語治療教學，當中認識到自己的不足，並在 1988 年入讀香港大學開辦的首屆言語及聽覺科學學士課程，畢業後成為言語治療師，先後在兒童評估中心及威爾斯親王醫院工作，至 2003 年在中大取得博士學位，2005 年便回到母校醫學院耳鼻咽喉頭頸外科學系開展了作為全職教學人員的生涯。

多年來，人類學一直伴著我工作和生活，作為一個言語治療師和老師，面對每一個人，無論是前來接受治療的對象（包括他們的親人）、學生、同事、家人和朋友們，各有不同的特質、價值觀和想法，當中未必全都是我認同的，但人類學讓我知道，我們要以一個包容和非批評性（non-ethnocentric）的心態去理解和分析別人，這是人類學給我終生受用的禮物。





廣東連南瑤族暑期田野考察・1980年代

Summer Field Research of Yao Nationality in Liannan, Guangdong, the 1980s

誠明之家： 中大人類學系回憶



一九九二年，我進入人類學系讀研究生，當時的香港在大陸人的心中有幾分神秘性和神聖性，香港的現代化更是一個世界的神話。來到中大，校園依山傍海，令我有幾分震撼。吐露港的寧靜海灣，坐落在山頂的半圓形天文臺，讓新亞書院的人類學系有一種置身中大「最高端」的感覺。記得當時同屆的研究生同學有十人，可謂是一屆密集的招生。後來才知道，我們趕上了人類學系剛剛開始的研究生課程，當時的系主任陳其南要在香港創立一個中大學派，希望比肩臺灣大學人類學系，超過歷史上的燕京和清華。

人類學系於一九八零年由喬健先生創建，當時已是亞洲著名的人類學系之一，尤以中國研究見長。系上的老師不多，但都是中國研究領域頗具影響的學者。喬健先生是我的碩士導師，以人類學的本土化研究著稱；謝劍先生的傳奇是曾在臺灣坐牢多年；還有到系不久的林舟和譚少薇，都在中國研究領域有所貢獻。隨後幾年，先後有吳燕和、王鵬林、張展鴻、閻雲翔、麥固敦、陳志明以及呂烈丹等教授入職人類學系，他們都是中國和亞洲研究的著名學者。一九九四年，吳燕和先生擔任系主任，

並成為我的博士導師，他的研究享譽心理人類學、飲食人類學和華人族群等領域，我的合作博士導師陳志明也是上述領域的著名學者。在中大讀書和工作的那些年（先後跟隨林舟和陳志明老師做博士後研究員、副研究員），人類學系一直是亞洲最好的人類學系之一，保持著旺盛的學術活力。我特別感謝系裡各位老師帶給我的終生教誨！

人類學系在當時享有盛名，還因為有一批世界著名的學者來中大授課。耶魯大學的蕭鳳霞教授（Helen Siu）不僅是我從社會學轉向人類學的恩師，還以其領軍的華南研究對我的學術道路產生了重要影響。此外，哈佛大學的華琛和華若壁夫婦（J. Watson & R. Watson）以及文思理（Sidney Mintz）等著名學者來系裡訪學，再加上一批中國研究的著名人類學家來系裡舉辦講座，讓我們得以領略人類學中國研究的學術精髓。四十年來，人類學系雖然飽經艱難，卻仍然是聳立在新亞山巔的璀璨明珠。離開人類學系已經二十多年，我依然懷念在山巔遙望海灣夜景時的靜思、淚水和憧憬；懷念人類學系帶給我的自由獨立的學術精神；懷念系裡老師們（包括行政老師們）的關愛、同學們的友誼……人類學系，永遠是我們的愛，是我們的「誠明」之家，她將不斷將新亞精神代代傳遞：

山巖巖，海深深。地博厚，天高明。人之尊，心之靈。路遙遙，無止境。廣大出胸襟，悠久見生成。艱險我奮進，困乏我多情。千斤擔子兩肩挑，趁青春，結隊向前行。



於 1994 年「多姿多彩的中華文化」展覽與師生合影（本人為二排右二）



與教授及畢業生合影，1995 年（本人為前排左一）

「螞蟻系」裡的美好時光

段穎
哲學碩士及博士畢業生

不知不覺，離開香港中文大學，已過十年。畢業後，從中大人類學系轉到另一個中大人類學系。雖然現在說起中大，更多指的是廣州康樂園，但心中的「中大」，依舊只有一個。中文大學地處新界，依山而建，遠離鬧市，清幽靜謐，中大師生常常自嘲為「鄉下人」。不過，常居山野，人也變得簡單，人生中能靜下心來做自己想做的事的時候並不多，我的中大歲月，就是如此。

將近二十年前，第一次離開故鄉，赴港求學，從昆明到深圳，離境出關，港鐵東鐵綫，羅湖—上水—粉嶺—太和—大埔墟—大學，變換的站名，變化的風景，來來往往之間，感受著不同的人間世情。於我而言，中文大學的八年時光，也是一段安住的歲月，心無旁騖，一心向學，寧靜充實。如果說，我的人類學啟蒙於雲南大學，那麼，我的人類學之旅，則是從這裏真正開始……

至今依然記得，第一次上理論課時的忐忑，還被 Gordon 直問什麼是馬克思所言之異化，之後漸漸融入學系，認識諸位老師，Maria 優雅，



Sidney 和藹，Joe 嚴謹，Tracey 認真，當然，還有我的導師、我的學業與人生引路人，陳志明先生。如今，當年教我的先生們大多退休，而 Tracey 與世長辭，更讓人無限感傷。伴隨我成長的中文大學人類學系，其情其景，那人那事，漸成回憶。

當年的人類學系，不止學習，更有生活，陳老師時常帶我們四處覓食，笑言此乃現代社會的 Hunting and Gathering；還有每日自帶三明治便當，不時跑來和我們神侃哈利波特的 Joe，以及熟悉香港大街小巷，遍訪各類食肆的 Sidney，當然，還有理論課上咄咄逼人，結課時把大家都請到家中吃披薩玩樂器的 Gordon。老師對我們都很好，一次颱風天，Joe 專門開車送我回宿舍，還有一波戲稱人類學系為「螞蟻系」（學系縮寫「ANT」）的可愛同學，至今憶起，歷歷如昨。

或許是個人情感使然，我一直以為，我求學時的中文大學人類學系，是我心目中的「黃金時代」，我們的老師畢業於美國、澳洲及日本名校，雖各有專攻，却配合默契，我們的課程設置不輸於美國大學，記得學系要求博士生不單專擅某一領域，還要建立與之相對的參照系，比如我主修東南亞人類學，但同時也選修了大部分中國研究課程。這些基礎訓練，對我之後的教學和科研，大有裨益。

另一個緣由，則來自當時人類學系堅持的教學與研究理念，以香港為樞紐，發揮其特殊的人文與地理優勢，聯接東亞與東南亞，同時與中國大陸密切聯繫，在區域乃至全球視野之下，通過各地文化的比較研究，探討當今人類生活的流動性、複雜性與多樣性。畢業之後，我也將這樣開

放、多元的理念帶入我的教學與科研中，並期待與母系的老師與同仁有更進一步的交流與合作。

對學系的感情，也源於我們曾與學系「同甘共苦」。在香港，因為社會與經濟環境等因素，人類學的發展，並不樂觀。在我讀博期間，人類學系就曾面臨因財政撥款削減而可能被裁撤的危機。後來在陳老師的努力斡旋以及全系師生的鼎力支持、配合下，才使學系得以保全。當時，作為學生，感觸未必很深，但如今細想，倘若學系被撤，對於我們而言，失去的，不僅是情感歸屬，更是精神家園。

畢業之後，仍不時回去，探望老師，拜訪故友，也會去看看「天人合一」，那是屬於新亞人，屬於中大人類學學子的風景。而今雖已離開，但却常常憶及，虛實之間，總會存有很多的顧盼、懷念與溫情。年年歲歲花相似，歲歲年年人不同。如今的人類學系，新的老師，新的學生，已不熟識，可一旦想起，依然親切，當然，也有理由相信，新的「黃金時代」，屬於他們，就在眼前。

成人類學者，注定一生行走，徘徊於田野與象牙塔之間。但無論如何，香港中文大學人類學系，始終是我漂泊旅程中，有所眷戀的地方。
謹此恭祝香港中文大學人類學系建系四十周年。



與博士同學合照（左起：蘇敏、段穎、文華、羅攀），2007 年於昆明



1981 年，人類學系同學參加新亞書院系際歌唱比賽。「我們在學系成立初期，往往會贏得『最佳精神獎』；該獎是以系內參加人數比率而定，由於我們同學人數少，而差不多所有同學都會出席，所以比率勝過其他學系」（照片由系友劉炳倫先生提供）。

1981 New Asia College Singing Competition, photo courtesy of Mr. Andy Lau.

人類學系所 給予我的



張劭穎
博士畢業生

2010 年至 2015 年，我在中大人類學系接受博士訓練。對於校園，乃至標誌性的新亞美景，記憶都不甚深刻。大多數時間都在讀書、寫論文、追趕一個又一個的 deadline、準備下一次的考核，伴隨著對自己無法畢業的擔心。我記得常常在十五分鐘內做好然後吃完一頓飯，每一個週末都在工作。

然而我非常感謝這段經歷，這構成了我學術職業的基礎。到今天，我或許不是最優秀的年輕學者，但是，對於研究工作，有了一種基於堅實積累的信心。我知道怎樣規範地做一個研究，知道什麼是好的作品，理解一個研究難在何處，也可以看到美妙的地方。我了解自己的方式，也可以欣賞多元的風格。我知道努力的方向。這都得益於人類學系的訓練。特別感謝的是我的導師 Dr. Bosco。他的指導令我獲益太多。他嚴格，但又十分親善。他極其認真，他眼裡的人類社會和文化又是那樣的有趣。最初我害怕他。每一次去他的辦公室，都很緊張，就像踏入考場。到後來我開始享受和他的交流、也會和他展開辯論。他的訓練成為了我最平常、最細微的習慣。每一個文稿的格式、每一頁 PPT 的時長、每一個

研究的步驟，到論文每一句話的寫作。有時我會變成他，一邊審視自己寫的東西，一邊搖頭說，「not clear」。我認為一個理想的導師，應該是像 Dr. Bosco 這樣的。

其他的老師，Maria，丹凝，也給了我很多的指導和關懷。而更年輕的老師們，科萍、黃瑜、如珍，則是亦師亦友，學術上的幫助之外，一起吃飯、聊天、看音樂會的愉快經歷，令人難忘。畢業後，還有機會跟著張展鴻老師做田野，被他帶入香道的世界，看他如何理解不同的文化，製造對話，也是十分有趣又難得的經驗。

和人類學系本科學生的互動也是彌足珍貴的。我記得每個學期末會收到一個個人表現的評估，我的評估上總是寫著「上課參與不夠積極」，「不能夠遵守 deadline」等等。但是也有「你是一個很好的 TA」，「學生們愛你」。這給了我莫大的鼓勵和安慰。學生們會在課後和我持續地交談，還會來到我的辦公室，找我聊學業甚至是個人的痛苦和困惑。他們的信任令我感動。雖然，到今天，新自由主義化的學術體制下，學者被迫變成發表機器，教學顯得不夠重要。但我仍然覺得，人類學系本科學生給了我作為一個研究者的最初的動力。

人類學系還令我收穫了諸多好友，甚至人生摯友。實際上，這並不容易，因為課業緊張，我們沒有什麼時間社交。因為大家的真誠、互助，共同經歷一次又一次的挑戰，才建立了深厚的情誼。我們今天仍然在持續地、密切地交流，探討學術研究，或是分享生活，相互鼓勵，有機會就會見面。

已經從人類學系畢業 5 年。常懷感激，但至今並沒有太常想念，我想這是因為，它給了我很多，已經是我的一部分。





一題兩寫

之一：黃藝蓓

「眾里尋它千百度，暮然回首，那人卻在燈火闌珊處。」——這是我與人類學的緣。

典型的愛情故事是這樣開始的：

自小腦袋裡便充滿了疑問，對一切事物皆充滿了好奇，尤其是關於自己、國土、民族的
問題皆令我思慮不休，我不願意不明不白地來到這世上，數十年後這又不明不白地離去，而
更重要的是我找到那一切智慧的根源——謙卑的心。家長說：「努力讀書吧，上了大學在
知識的寶藏裡自可找到你要的一切。」然而我應該讀些什麼呢？地理學？心理學？還是神學？

眼看許多個尋尋覓覓的學頭過去了，我始終找不到一門真正能讓我寄托理想，滿足我需
要的學問。我焦急了，但又不敢輕易屈就於次一等，二等，三等的選擇，一顆心七上八落。

終於，在兩年前，不知是巧合還是注定地得到了一本書——魔鬼的律師（為迷信辯護
），即被人類學家們對人類文化的深入調查和剖析及其獨特的田野研究方法深深吸引。當時
心裡便有一把聲音叫了出來：「我找到了，終於找到了！」感覺像已等了半生也不枉了。

我一定要珍惜我們（我與人類學）在宇宙間電光火石交錯中刹那相遇的緣！

但親友們的諸般關懷亦隨之而來，他們告訴我工商管理的路有多廣，律師們薪金起
薪點有多優厚，攪翻譯的前途有多明朗。……愛，旁觀者卿卿鼻切地了解當事人的心
情和感受呢？港大，科大等學院的取錄亦未敢令我動搖過。因為我清楚地知道當我臨死在病
榻上我可以無愧地說：「我活過了，為自己而不為別人。」

於是我捧著洶湧的心，
有點畏無反顧地將之文給了
中大，並由那一刻起開始了
我與人類學的緣。

我選擇了人類學

My Seven Years in the Anthropology Department, CUHK

Grazia Deng Ting
PhD Graduate

The seven years I had spent at CUHK were some of the most formative years of my life. Through new and oftentimes challenging experiences as first a Ph.D. student, then in the course of fieldwork and dissertation writing, and finally as an adjunct lecturer, our department was a constant source of support for me. The life of a young academic can be quite precarious and full of uncertainty. Yet even in my most trying times, our department was like a safe harbour in a storm, a constant rock during some of the most uncertain periods of my life.

After I quit my job in Shanghai and knew I would be going to CUHK for my doctoral studies, I had imagined many scenes of what my new life in Hong Kong would be like. But the reality of entering a Ph.D. programme in anthropology was far beyond anything I could have imagined at that time. From intensive course-work to my first teaching experience at CUHK, to the seemingly (at the time) endless readings in preparation for qualifying exams, and ultimately on towards fieldwork and dissertation writing, my time at CUHK was a long period of challenges. Those challenges and pressures for me were akin to a difficult role-play video game where each stage overcome led to new and even

more challenging experiences. But in hindsight, those seven years prepared me to become the anthropologist I am today.

As much as training me to become a scholar of human societies, our department has also profoundly shaped me to become a better human and deeply influenced how I interact with others in the academic community today. From my mentors in the department, I learned the importance of academic diversity, professionalism, and mutual respect. In my time at CUHK, my own worldview had been broadened and I had come to greatly appreciate the value of differing perspectives while also developing my own skills in discussion and debate with those who hold divergent opinions. In the end, the relationships built with the professors and my fellow students at our department held the most meaning for me. In the oftentimes solitary world of academic research, this lifelong community is the most cherished reward from my seven years at CUHK.

After completing my Ph.D. studies in 2018, I briefly served as an adjunct assistant professor in our department and also a lecturer in Italian Studies at the Shanghai International Studies University. Then I moved to the United States as I was awarded a two-year postdoc fellowship at the Population Studies and Training Centre of Brown University. I am currently revising my Ph.D. dissertation about Chinese-owned coffee bars in Italy into a book manuscript.



After my Friday Seminar, 2017
(From left to right: Elena Nichini, Prof. Joseph Bosco, me, and Edwin Schmitt)



Surprise party for Prof. Teresa Kuan's substantiation with fellow postgraduate students, 2018

永遠的作業



1988 年，西方在香港為訪港的中國研究學者提供服務的機構「大學服務中心」併入香港中文大學，我受聘為中心的助理主任，負責中心的業務。彼時，我算是大學的「永久僱員」，學位對我來說，不是職務的需要。我覺得自己必須學習社會科學的理論和研究方法。唸學位，好像出錢讓人逼自己讀書。我來自雲南，那裡為人類學提供了至佳的研究環境，我於是申請進入了中大人類學系碩士班，做了四年的兼職學生。

我最感興趣也獲益最大的科目是人類學研究方法，授課的老師 Nicolas Tapp 博學而謙和。他指定的某些讀物，例如 Levi Strass 的理論，我簡直看不懂。對他直說，沒料到他回答道：沒關係，我當初也看不懂，現在也沒有完全看懂。他推薦我看這位大師的民俗記述《憂鬱的熱帶》，此書令我著迷，並影響了我後來閱讀和寫作的興趣。

當我的導師喬健教授知道我不打算接著念博士，非常失望。而今先生已經作古，我後悔沒有告訴他，我的決定出於無奈。當時我利用大學每年兩個月的研究假期，參加新西蘭等國家對大陸的扶貧計劃，那其實是

一種「雙向扶貧」。意想不到的，我在人類學系學到的理念和方法，在大陸的農村發展項目中現蒸熱賣，我們開創了參與式扶貧的先河。2000年世界銀行和聯合國發展署評估中國十年來的國際扶貧項目，我有幸參與的貴州省項目獲得一致好評。我們無非就是放棄外國專家的方案，根據農民的需求，另外設計項目，令之切實可行。

2007年臨近退休時，我想到一件自己感興趣，且可以一直做到老死的事，那就是家族歷史的寫作及倡導。十多年來，我主持中國研究服務中心的「民間歷史」項目，樂此不疲。我們辦了「民間歷史網」，收集回憶錄、口述史、人物傳記。無論自己的寫作，還是參與的寫作培訓，我都受到人類學潛移默化的影響，從多個視角，多種層次看待事物。當年課堂上蕭鳳霞老師一邊比手勢，一邊說：要將我們觀察的對象放在歷史和地域的時空中審視，成了我對書寫民間歷史的座右銘。今年疫情中，整理存在電腦中的舊作，彙集成四本書稿。突然發現，全都可以看成我的人類學作業。



人類學系十週年系慶・1990 年
Anthropology Department 10th Anniversary Celebration, 1990

喬健教授十週年致辭

在 10 月 11 日為了慶祝人類學成立十週年，在宴起軒舉行了聚餐，當晚出席的同學包括四級班代表及系會代表，而出席的嘉賓包括高錕校長，張光直教授，系教授及一部份校友。當晚程序，首先是由高錕校長致辭，再由本系的系主任喬先生及考古學張光直教授致詞，然後才進行聚餐，聚餐完畢，各位也藉着這個聚餐一堂的難得機會，勸物相聞留念。總括而言，整個過程在融洽及開心的氣氛下順利進行。

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以下是喬健教授在當晚的致辭：
Professor Chang, Professor Rao, Professor Lin, Honorable Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen:

We gather here to celebrate the 10th anniversary of the Department of Anthropology. The Chinese University of Hong Kong and to welcome Professor K.C. Chang, the external examiner of this department and the latest honorary graduate of the CUHK. On behalf of the Department of Anthropology, I would like to welcome all of you and thank you for your presence. We would also like to thank New Asia College for generously agreeing to jointly sponsor this party.

The Department of Anthropology was founded in 1980 as the first such department in Hong Kong and the Chinese Mainland and so far still is the only one in Hong Kong. Among the four subfields of anthropology, this department has decisively chosen social-cultural anthropology as the focus of its curriculum with only a limited number of courses in the other three subfields: Linguistics, Archaeology and Physical Anthropology. Social-Archaeology and Physical Anthropology is a core subject in our cultural and humanities. We have done our best to provide our students with the basic concepts and information of this subject and relate them to the reality both in Hong Kong and China. As we enter our second ten years, we are examining closely our curriculum and planning the best way to strengthen courses offered in this subject and gradually expand to the other three fields. Professor Chang's visit is most timely. We will give us invaluable guidance for our future development.

Anthropology is a new and relatively unknown subject in Hong Kong. In the first few years, after the establishment of this department, it only had a small number of applicants. However, through the vigorous, collective efforts by our faculty and students in promoting anthropological knowledge, it is slowly becoming popular and the number of applicants has increased substantially in recent year. In the last five years, all the students that we have admitted have chosen anthropology as their first choices.

Members of this department participate in a number of important professional associations, including the Hong Kong Anthropological Society, Hong Kong Linguistics Society and International Association for Two Studies, and have served as founding chairpersons or chairpersons of these organizations. We have also held many scholarly conferences in Hong Kong, China, Canada, Yugoslavia, via and France. Through these academic activities, we have gained wide recognition in the anthropological circles both in Hong Kong and overseas. In planning our future, we would be very grateful, if all the leaders of this University who have kindly come to this party would give us their guidance and help.

Since the founding year, Professor K.C. Chang has been the external examiner of this department periodically for ten years. The growth of this department has been closely accompanied by the mellowing of his wisdom. On behalf of my colleagues and students I would like to thank him for his guidance and help for those years and invite him to speak at this rare occasion. Professor Chang.

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與人類學交織 的歲月



盛洋
文學碩士畢業生

疫情襲來的這一年，旅行計劃夭折，工作需求減少，許多事件被迫停滯。長時間的居家隔離讓我拾起一再擱置的閱讀計劃，其中就包括《從迦太基到邁錫尼》。作者是高山雲，對於香港中文大學人類學系的師生來說，更為人熟知的名字，當是呂烈丹，Dr. Tracey Lu。我跟著這部旅行筆記，神游了 50 個具有代表性的世界文化遺產，也從她對遺產修復、保育的批判性評述中收穫頗豐。而手捧恩師著作，更是仿佛回到了吐露港旁新亞書院人文館的課室。

回首當初，大約好奇心作祟，在中文系浸淫四年後，我竟毅然跳進了人類學的「大坑」。入學時的我並未料到，僅僅一年的基礎學習，自己積累二十多年的「三觀」就會被解構乃至顛覆。人類學的整體視角大大啟發了我：我透過「禮物」重新審視親屬關係的本質，在旅遊人類學的案例中反思當代背包客的身份，嘗試辨別博物館背後的政治與權力，諸如此類。與此同時，我也得益於諸位可親可敬的傳道授業者及其各具特色的教學方式：Sidney 領我們親訪上環海味街；Sealing 邀請性少數者講述個人經歷；Teresa 活潑有趣，總能將理論講得深入淺出；Tracey 堅持讓學生自行尋閱佈置的 Reading，由書架直觀感受課題間

的關聯；至於被我們私下喚作「如珍姐姐」的 Dr. Chen，面對我們不夠成熟的田野調查項目，始終給予了莫大的鼓勵……

我也十分懷念彼時的同窗。正如 Teresa 在第一節人類學導論上指出的，四、五十個人類學愛好者齊聚一堂多麼難得。我們的背景（年齡、國籍、學術累積、實踐經歷等）各不相同，却能夠秉承文化相對主義，展開極具包容力的對話。作為求學香港的大陸學生，尤其令我感慨的是，儘管陸港關係矛盾重重，本系的兩地同學却能不執偏見，積極瞭解對方，交流過程本身便形成了一場特殊的田野調查，也愈發讓我意識到，生活即田野。

畢業之後，我沒有延續學術道路，但人類學的思考方式已然產生了極其深遠的影響。「參與式觀察」融入我的工作和生活，我儘量避免習以為常的預設，傾向用他者的視角理解行為動機。我依舊常常被問及「什麼是人類學」、「學人類學有什麼用」——這些問題確實也曾在接觸之初困擾著自己；然而學習至今，我從未有過半分懷疑與後悔，反而無比珍視那段與人類學晝夜交織的歲月。正是人類學，讓我看到一個更加真實完整、更值得熱愛和探索的人類世界，它為我的人生不時帶來新的樂趣，將我塑造為更自由、更有用的人。

最後，願我的啓明燈——香港中文大學人類學系在下一個四十年、百年，在人類前行的長遠未來，繼續照亮莘莘學子，把人類學的光芒撒向更廣闊的世界。

（借此向敬愛的 Tracey 獻上深深的哀思）

My Sweet Memory

Veronica Mak, Sau-wa
M.A. and Ph.D. Graduate

A decade ago, when I was still working as a marketing consultant for a food company, I was always puzzled by why many Chinese chefs refused to use Japanese soy sauce in cooking Chinese food. What is the meaning of taste, food and identity? Why do some people eat pig but some are prohibited to do so? Why did our diet change? So, I was chilled to find out these answers after studying the course “Food and Culture” with Professor Tan Chee-Beng during my taught Master’s studies. Without his support, I would never have imagined going on to complete a PhD degree under his supervision, becoming a medical anthropologist, and completing my first monograph—Milk Craze in China (forthcoming in Feb. 2021).

Sidney Cheung is another professor showing me the possibility to research on food. He inspired me to start my first project in local “tea cafés” and he is most directly responsible for my book. Blending his historical rigor and anthropological wit, he showed me the possibility of bridging anthropology and the culinary world. In addition to being one of the most popular professors teaching “magic”, Joseph Bosco provided me with manuscript feedback that was full of his characteristic

warmth and sharpness. I can still remember how he has helped me to correct all the mistakes on spelling and punctuation marks!

In addition to Dr. Tan, my supervisor and my two PhD. thesis committee members, Sidney and Joseph, I am indebted to many other teachers and colleagues who have been helping and encouraging me all the way. Gordon Mathews' low-end globalization theory and writings on well-being also stimulate my writings on bottom-up heritagization of milk tea in Hong Kong (published in *Asian Anthropology*) and my research on anti-aging function food. Tracey Lu, the best archeologist I have ever met, was in fact my first informant on the indigenous water buffalo milk of China. Born in Shunde, Tracey kindly shared her own experience of homemade stir-fried buffalo milk with me. She was an incredible teacher beloved by students and colleagues alike and is deeply missed. Maria Tam's research, writings and teaching on food and gender continue to inspire me, and I frequently use and quote her works in my teaching and publications. I also love the class of Saroja Dorairajoo and I hope that I can teach as good as her. Her works on food, power and violence are brilliant and her confidence in my teaching and research always lit me up. I am grateful to all my past colleagues in the Anthropology Department for their goodwill and encouragement, and especially to Teresa Kuan, Ju-chen Chen and Sealing Cheng, for broadening my thinking, offering me teaching advice and answering questions on publication. My teaching experience in CUHK will never be so pleasant if not well-supported by Grace Tsang, Florence Lam, Kathy Wong, Irene Chan, Wah and Ping. Their efficiency and unfailing good spirit are so heartening.

Last, but not the least, in trying to learn about the food culture and dietary health of Shunde, I have been assisted by many people. First and foremost are the water buffalo cheesemakers of Jinbang village and my friends in Daliang. Over the many

years that I made visits to the village and the town of Daliang to conduct research for this book, I was warmly welcomed by them, and they always answered my questions on the complexities and nuances of the milk culture with great patience. So, I especially wish to thank Yuk, who does the cleaning job of our apartment building. Her sister's family members have become my host and also my best friends in Daliang. They introduced me to Jinbang village and have never stopped sharing knowledge with me about the past and present of the milk culture in Daliang.

I would say that my study and teaching in the CUHK Anthropology Department has totally transformed my life!



Hand-made indigenous water buffalo cheese
floating on salty water



人類學週展板 (80 年代初)
Display Board of the Anthropology Week (early 1980s)

On Anthropology and Industrial Design

Luisa Mok
M.A. Graduate



My background is industrial design. In the mid of my industrial design career, I took MA in Anthropology at CUHK in 2009. Afterwards, my career was shifted to the academic world beginning by teaching design in the National University of Singapore (NUS), Singapore.

Later, I pursued my doctoral study in design in Helsinki, Finland. Given the opportunity, I was recruited by the Hong Kong University of Science and Technology (HKUST) in 2017 to join the task force to establish a new design division. Now, I am residing well in a science and technology university to nurture students a design approach for elegant human-centric innovations.

Till now, I still remember the impact made on me when I was reading my first anthropology book, *The Ethnography of Malinowski: The Trobriand Islands 1915-18*. The impact was about the power of an anthropologist to see the complexity behind the Kula ring and to later explain the concepts of reciprocity and exchange. Afterwards, I discovered the joy of reading every anthropological story.

Still, I was at a time struggling between the more analytical field of anthropology and the more pragmatic field of industrial design, which is my profession. There is always a design solution after analysing a problem but is there a solution after studying people? This took me quite some time to realise how applicable anthropology is to design and how close the two fields could be indeed. Anthropology is about studying people and industrial design is about designing solutions for people. The study target – people – is the same despite their study results.



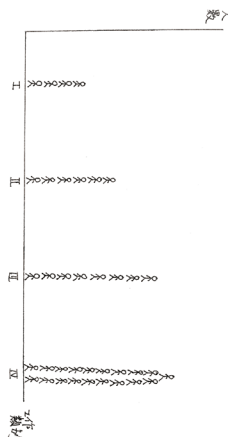
Having grasped the concept of “reasoning people’s behaviours,” I began to observe and started to see things hidden in plain sight. I brought this observant eye to my profession. Industrial Design is a problem-solving process for new and creative solutions to solve problems. Without realizing the underlying root of people’s needs, a wrong solution would be produced to solve the wrong problem. The observant eye always helped me create good product design that are pleasant to use by users. When I joined academic design in universities, I further formulated the integrated knowledge of design and anthropology into principles to guide students to observe people’s behaviours in a systematic manner for elegant human-centric innovations.

To look back, I am glad that I took my anthropology study. I never forget reading articles and books day and night, and I never regret travelling far to listen to lectures conducted by respectful professors. The knowledge is lifelong.



歷屆畢業同學之就業情況

根據資料顯示，所有畢業了的師兄姐們都找到良好的工作。現以圖表形式表示如下：



註：

(I)：教師(包括中大助教)

(II)：深造、繼續修讀

(III)：資料不詳(因未能與之聯絡)

(IV)：其他，包括：

- (i) 博物館助理館長、助理社工主任
- (ii) 私人機構、內地貿易(Overseas)
- (iii) 法庭傳譯、新聞記者等



人類學之用



我在阿里巴巴集團公共事務部工作。從人類學系 M.Phil. 畢業之後，我從事了幾種不同的工作，然後在這個全球商業巨頭從事戰略發展工作。回想人類學系的學習時光，雖然並不特別長，但帶給我彌足珍貴的記憶，比如熱忱而專業的教授們，Dr. TAN（陳志明教授）、Dr. Bosco（我的導師林舟教授）。雖然很多教授都慢慢離開，但難忘有意思而碰撞思維的課程，以及天馬行空沒什麼拘束的 seminar，以及各有神通的學長學姐。如果有機會能夠穿越時空回到當初，抱著熱情和理想的年輕學生來到人文館安靜而神奇的 4 樓，我很想對幫助過我的所有人都道一聲謝謝。

雖然在系裡的時光常常因為課程內容非常豐富而壓力挺大，然而不得不說也是難忘的自我挑戰的歷程。這些知識並非高貴而無用，在我不斷挑戰自己，嘗試不同的工作場域，以及在快速疊代的頭部科技公司努力前行的時候，人類學系那些高能知識（而不是什麼具體技能）派上了用場，在這裡的學習和思維碰撞讓我深知，尊重不同文化，尊重與自己不同的群體，學會傾聽與瞭解，實現跨越文化、跨越種類、跨越領域的交流。

在一個深受全球化影響的商業巨頭工作，好像進入了複雜的蜂巢迷宮，我每天都必須跟不同工作背景的同事打交道，以及還需要跟外部不同渠道的客戶進行對接。如何高效處理，分析信息，做好內外協同是我工作最重要的一部分內容。程序員是高冷而思維單綫條的，很多人技術很厲害，但却並不擅長與人溝通；產品經理通常會設計非常理想化的方案，但却並不擅長落地執行……很多時候，為了達到共同的目標，必須要進行有效率的跨場域交流。



我想這些能力跟在這裡的學習密不可分，很多時候我幸運地踏著科技公司的浪尖感受見證新的產業發展征程，那種切近時代發展脈搏的感受讓人歡欣雀躍，那一刻我總會想起來無數個在吐露港邊看各種晦澀的理論的不眠之夜。

堅持世上有彩虹是痛苦還是快樂呢？



人類學是學文化的，而文化這個詞怎定義是眾說紛紜。不過，怎樣紛紜，也脫不了人、時間、空間、物質、規矩（明文與不明文）。這些，就為人群的生活、習慣、信仰、情感、價值觀、等級觀，劃下了基本的背景和框架。

說兩個故事，問一些問題……

(1) 在露天市集裡，仔細一點的人會看到，每個排檔的綠箱子周邊地上有黃線。那是食環署規管小販空間使用的方式。但現實上，那空間太過小，讓人在這麼小的空間做生意根本不可能，於是人人都各出奇謀。故，若要欣賞盡用空間展示和收納的技藝，最好去露天市集裡仔細琢磨一番，定能大有所獲。那食環署管不管呢？嗯，據小販的說法，就是大概每隔一段時間要「交數」時，看誰「唔好彩」吧。深水埗還有夜墟，擺明就是無牌小販在售賣極便宜的二手貨，非常適合一個基層社區的需要，亦符合循環再用的環保原則。這些，不合乎明面上的規矩，卻因人們的不聽話，主動去與那些由上而下的規矩進行較量，而慢慢磨出了另一套不明文的「規矩」，可以定義為某種基層自主營生和使用

公共空間的嘗試。不過，如果你跑去跟小販們說：「不如我們爭取一個合理的小販政策」，要改變他們和政府間的明文與不明文規則的話，恐怕許多人不願意。很多人傾向認為權力是不能去直接挑戰，挑戰了會更麻煩，但你可以上有政策下有對策。那麼，如果你很想組織一群小販去爭取合理權益的話，你要怎樣面對他們這一套既與體制較量（頑皮、不聽話），但又不會直接挑戰體制的文化？又或者，在怎樣的條件改變之後，小販們會改而認同「徹底來一次改變」會比他們一向「行之有效」的方法「更好」？而如果你自己認為「徹底來一次改變」比他們一向「行之有效」的方法「更好」，那你與小販之間的「更好」是基於什麼人生條件的不同之下作出的判斷？

(2) 假如你在一個為在港移民家務工提供服務的機構工作，而你面對的好多個案是這樣的：一位姐姐近乎把她所有的錢都寄回去印尼給丈夫、孩子、兄弟，夢想著他們會拿去建房子／讀書，日後自己回鄉就可以安享晚年。可是，你又從同不同個案的經驗知道，很多這些什麼錢都不留給自己的婦女，相信著一套從小被教育的「婦德」，多年後回鄉，很可能老公養小三，孩子長年不見根本沒感情，兄弟拿了錢去哪裡都不知道……當然，真的種瓜得瓜的人是有，但種瓜得泥的也大有人在。每個人都認為自己是特別的，所以總心存僥幸，認為自己不會發生「別人那種不幸」。那麼，如果你想勸說這位婦女為自己存些錢，照顧別人以外也學懂照顧自己，怎樣的勸說方法較有效的呢？是直接指出好多人都有不幸下場去嚇她？還是先了解她的個性和從小習得那套「女人美德」的文化是怎樣「教導」她的，然後找出這套論述裡她較容易接受的部份，去演繹「為何為自己存錢是對家人更好的做法」？當然，如果你還想進一步「推翻」她

心目中的「婦德」，想讓她真的學會為自己著想多些，那麼，你認為，你需要改變她生活中的什麼條件你才做得到？你有能力改變那些條件嗎？還是你認為，可以簡單說一遍你自己習得的那一套，便可「說服」、「改變」別人？如果無法「改變」她，你會評價她是「頑固」、「落後」？還是放棄地安慰自己「算啦那是她們的文化」？

近年由於各種政治風向，大家都喜歡講「文化」。「保衛XX文化」這句話，說出來好像「一定會正確」。可是「文化」這東西嘛，本就是兩面，一方面是大家穩固自我認同、安身立命的安心劑；另一方面，也是主流欺壓邊緣，無視弱勢，「行之有效」壓抑創新的憑藉。

真正明白人類學的人也許是愉快的，因為凡事不只一、兩條路；但真正明白人類學的人也許也是痛苦的，因為大部份人都喜歡非黑即白，二元對立，「我是對的你錯的」，這時，堅持世界有彩虹的人，也許，是痛苦的。

人生的苦樂大半糾纏難清，想做個什麼人而已。共勉之。

自我介紹：大概可以說我是個社區藝術工作者、影行者 (v-artist) 的「總監」，也參與許多基層平權運動的組織工作。與一眾街坊一起創作的紀錄片有：關於舊區文化和面臨重建的《黃幡翻飛處》、《順寧道，走下去》、《街·道——給「我們」的情書》；有關於邊境、資本流動和底層移民的《未存在的故鄉》三部曲等等。小說及詩歌的結集有《行路難》、《短衣夜行紀》，還有嘗試中的《無何有城紀》…… 作品散見《字花》、《虛詞》等雜誌。



本科生論壇・1994 年
Undergraduate Student Forum, 1994

我們的四十

蘇敏
博士畢業生



憶香江歲月，吐露港畔燈火延綿，思緒熒熒。

猛然間，人將不惑，與人類學系共同出生於 1980。

畢業十年，再無學生時代的專心經營，撫兒養女、教書育人、科研瓶頸、人生突變，諸如此類，一一登堂。中年就這樣不期而至，不惑就這樣悄然而來。

我喜歡人類學。但，老師不易做。讀書的時候，努力學習如何做一名好學生，步入工作崗位後，却很想返回去跟他們請教如何做好老師。我希望像陳志明老師那樣，既能識花斷草，登山行禪，擁抱對生活的熱愛，又有極好的 discipline，在繁雜的事務外，堅持閱讀與寫作；既能尊重學生的研究興趣和天馬行空，又能令我們在妥當的軌道上不會偏離。更重要的是，永葆一顆年輕的心。

我希望像林舟老師那樣，科學而嚴謹，還能把一門 magic 的課上到通識教育大獎的水平。如果可以重來，我定要衝破怯懦，多與林老師探

討，透過學術火花的幻象，達成必需的邏輯訓練。

我希望像譚少薇老師那樣，優雅知性，不嚴而威。她向我傳授的育兒秘法，我仍常常用到；她給我展示的學術窗口，仍有待我進一步去打開。如果可以像她那樣青春永駐，就更美了。

不記得是博士學業末尾的哪個日子，Prof. Gordon Mathews 帶著同學文華、羅攀和我一起到重慶大廈吃晚餐。那時，他一邊給自己注射胰島素，一邊談起自己正在撰寫的有關重慶大廈的新書，要點大概如下：land, people, things。之後，當陷入一個研究議題而不知所謂時，這一收穫總會浮上心頭，它讓我從高大上的人類學理論鏡像中落地，真實地去關懷人的生活。

做博士論文的時候，執著於寫一篇「好論文」，常與同樣做宗教人類學議題的吳科萍老師討論。她像知心姐姐，給我許多鼓勵，有時也提醒我博士學位是個敲門磚、學術之路的起點。那時我還不服氣，頗有些心高氣傲要如何有貢獻。十年過去，我細細品味這敲門磚的比喻，追尋迷茫已逝的學術青春期，自己偽裝的盔甲早已破敗，心氣為能力、精力所困，我在學術的旅途上，不是停滯，而是可見的退步。

然而，即便自我感覺並不良好，但我又時時感受到來自香江的接納。

前年歲末，我與女兒在雲南大學東陸校園餵松鼠，巧遇在春城開會的張展鴻老師。儘管時間緊湊，張老師仍與我另約在蘭白紅咖啡館相談。

在得知我的科研狀態後，他以自身經歷給我出謀劃策，勸我多與學友交流，將會議論文修改發表。他所分享的食品研究田野細節啓發了我基於不同的 sense 去思考正在進行的課題。我在香港中文大學期間不曾修讀 Sidney 的課程，但這一對一的「講座」打開了新的一扇門。

2019 年上半年，因緣際會邀請到林舟老師在雲南大學開設了「民族學人類學研究方法」系列講座，總計八次課。這回，我終於弄懂了學子時代囫圇吞下的概念，並暗暗偷師 Joe 的課堂表演。安排他去機場之後，我通過微信一再囑咐他抵達機場和前方目的地之後給我消息，最後他忍不住笑說我的風格極像他的臺灣丈母娘。

今年九月，我在馬來亞大學的一年學術訪問到期，離開吉隆坡之前，又到恩師陳志明教授家中拜訪。這一年，我重新做回學生，多了機會聽老師授業解惑，學著觀察自然，看香蕉葉次第舒展、榴蓮種子反向扎根、螞蟻們如何利用工具採糖，品味生命的多元。抓住機會，我再次跟他請教如何做一名老師。陳老師從客廳的書架上抽出一本書，是勞思光的《大學中庸譯注新編》，翻開其中一頁，指給我看他的育人原則，「載者培之，傾者覆之。」與文中注解略有不同的是，老師強調，傾者，他也會給三次機會。至於具體如何指導學生，陳教授說，老師自己要有系統的訓練，扎實的本領，要懂得指導學生去看什麼書。看來，我要修煉的還有很多。

香港中文大學人類學系的好，我是離開香江之後才去慢慢體味的。我的老師們，給我學業指導的各位（包括與世長辭的 Tracey），給我生活

幫助的各位（如已返回新加坡的 Saroja 教授），傳遞給了我一種友善的「加法」，讓我沉下心來，去「挑」別人的好。他（她）們的智慧，如涓涓細流，無為滋養。即使我很平庸，依然被接納。人生的旅程上，不再畏懼。願我能像老師們那樣真實、善良，以 education 的本意為人師表，去啓發、引出與喚醒另一個人的內在。

未來，我與香江記憶可能會越來越遠，而我們曾經是一個共同體的心，必越來越近。



2019 年於馬來西亞檳城



Christopher Cheng (MPhil Graduate) & Kiko Ko (UG Graduate)

After completing his MPhil in 2012, Christopher Cheng continued doing what he most enjoyed: ethnographic fieldwork on Cantonese-speaking societies. Chris studied the post-fishing livelihoods of Sai Kung fisher-folk before embarking upon his own research on migrant heritage. After multiple expeditions to the qiaoxiang (emigrant towns and villages of South China), Christopher took up a PhD position at the Institute for Culture and Society in Australia in 2017 as part of the China-Australia Heritage Corridor research team. His doctorate research seeks to preserve the living memories of significant places to Chinese Australians, including those beyond Australian shores. His thesis specifically deals with the history and heritage of Australian Chinese funded modern schools in Zhongshan, Guangdong, the ancestral hometown of many Chinese Australians including his own. He feels grateful that he found the ultimate research topic, combining his university education in architecture and anthropology and interests on Chinese migrant lives in Australia and the Pearl River Delta.

Kiko Ko completed her BA in 2011. Beyond the walls of NAH, she has been applying her anthropological skills at various tertiary institutional settings in Hong Kong: she taught methods courses and moderated numerous focus-group discussions before migrating overseas. Despite some initial culture shocks as a new migrant, she remains invested in making a positive difference in every way possible in her new

home: When not involved in advocating climate justice (a global issue), Kiko is locally active in promoting greater awareness of cultural and linguistic diversity in Sydney. In 2019, in the presence of family and friends, including a small cohort of Hong Kong anthropologists, Kiko and Christopher were married. Since then, they have made a home for themselves in “the land down under”. Digging through their photo albums, in preparation for this write-up, they were delighted to rekindle themselves with many familiar faces including CUHK classmates, friends and teachers.



Chris and Kiko meeting Prof. Tan at a conference on Overseas Chinese in Nagasaki in 2017.



Chris with Lu Ming, Jiting Luo, Ju-chen Chen and Saroja Dorairajoo catching up in 2018.



Chris and Kiko's 'simply perfect' wedding in Sydney in 2019 attended by Chiu-fai Chow, Ka-lok Lam, Heidi Wan and Panda Lau.

Eric Li

MA Graduate

Since I completed my MA in Anthropology at CUHK, I joined the Ph.D. in Marketing program at the Schulich School of Business at York University. I am currently an Associate Professor at the Faculty of Management of the University of British Columbia (Okanagan campus). To me, academic is not just limited to writing papers. It is important to connect our research with teaching and help our students learn how to think critically and solve problems creatively.



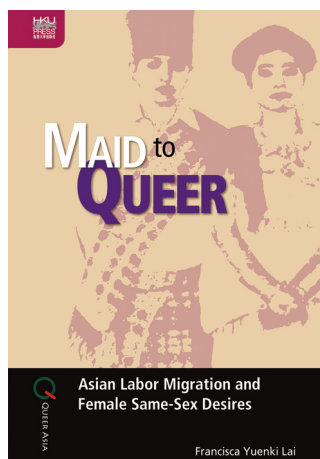
Learning is a lifelong commitment and students should see themselves as part of the knowledge community and take an active role in building that community. While my job is all about researching and teaching, I am seeking every opportunity to help students become a whole person.

I missed my time at the New Asia College. I am glad that I am still able to connect with many of my Anthropology classmates these days.

Francisca Lai 賴婉琪

MPhil Graduate

Francisca Lai is an assistant professor in the Center for General Education at National Tsing Hua University, Taiwan. Prof. Maria Tam was Lai's advisor when Lai was pursuing her MPhil degree in the Department. Lai is very grateful to Prof. Tam for not only opening a window of gender studies and anthropological research but also her constant support and encouragement. Lai received her PhD in cultural anthropology from Purdue University, USA.



Lai's new book, entitled *Maid to Queer: Asian Labor Migration and Female Same-Sex Desires*, published by Hong Kong University Press (Queer Asia series) will be available in December 2020. For those interested in lesbian studies, Asian labor migration, sexual citizenship, and queer migration, this ethnography fills an important gap in explaining how the feminization of international migration and the constraints imposed on live-in domestic workers unintentionally become productive possibilities of queerness and normativity.



Yang Yang

MPhil Graduate

Nicole YANG, Yang is Assistant Manager (Quality Assurance) at Lingnan Institute of Further Education, Lingnan University. She is currently writing a book with Prof. Gordon Mathews and Allie Kwong on perception of life after death



in the U.S., Japan and China. She has previously worked with Prof. Mathews on the book *The World in Guangzhou*, and translated his book *Ghetto at the Center of the World*. She also translated *Hong Kong Internment, 1942-1945* by Geoff Emerson. She is married to Alan Tse (MPhil 2014') and they have two daughters.



Huwy-min Lucia Liu 劉慧敏

MA & MPhil Graduate 文學碩士及哲學碩士畢業生

I have been working as a tenure track assistant professor in the Sociology and Anthropology Department at George Mason University (GMU) in the United States since Fall 2019. GMU is located just outside of Washington, DC and it is the largest state university in Virginia. Prior to working at GMU, I was a tenure track assistant professor at the Hong Kong University of Science and Technology between 2015 and 2019. I pursued my doctoral degree in the Anthropology Department at Boston University between 2007 and 2015. My three years in the Anthropology Department at the Chinese University of Hong Kong have become a solid foundation for my lifelong career. Although the Hong Kong I knew as a student in early 2000s had begun to feel it may be gone forever by the time I left Hong Kong as a professor in 2019, as one of the few Taiwanese who studied and worked in Hong Kong at two different times, CUHK Anthropology has left a permanent mark on me at both a professional and personal level.

自 2019 年秋季以來，我在美國的喬治梅森大學社會學與人類學系擔任助理教授。喬治梅森大學位於美國首府華盛頓的近郊，是維吉尼亞州最大的州立大學。赴美任職之前，我於 2015 至 2019 年間在香港科技大學擔任助理教授，更早之前我於 2007 至 2015 年間在美國波士頓大學人類學攻讀博士。我在香港中文大學作為授課式與研究式碩士學習的三年為我日後作為人類學者的生涯立下扎實的基礎。身



為一名少數曾在香港讀書與工作的台灣人，雖然 2000 年初我學生時期的香港在我於 2019 年作為教授離開時已經不復存在，香港中文大學人類系在我專業與個人生涯中都留下永久不可抹滅的痕跡。

我選擇了人類學

我選擇了人類學。

「什麼？你選擇了人類學？」這是我遇到的第一個反應。

「你甘心讀人類學？」同學向我放射著同情的眼光。

「你對人類學是真有興趣？」老師問。

「讀人類學，很難找工作呀。」父親目暮哀情地說。

聽了他們的話，我有什麼可以說呢？沒有。低頭看著結果，我還祈禱希望自己在做夢。那樣，我就不用再承受壓力了；不用被人當怪胎般看；更不用被人說我快將垮了。不過，現實始終是現實，我總要面對它，總不成每天在做夢吧。

歸根就底，煩惱都源於決心不夠。能夠斷和下定決心，非讀此系不可時，就不會出現這煩惱了。雖然如此，情況也並非太壞，因為我始終喜歡研究社會文化等東西。人類學就正好符合了我的渴求。

另外，人類學也是非常有趣的。每當我發現其它民族的風土人情時，都會覺得很新奇。其中最令我印象難忘的，就是西西里島那里可以清楚地瞭解新穎的風俗。猶如此類的風俗習慣，無法吸引著我的注意力，引發我的好奇心，引發我的興趣。

外出做調查也是令我繼續讀下去的因索。外出做調查時，接觸到很多人，遇到許多在象牙塔里想像不到的事情。透過搜集第一手資料，我可以學到很多書本上學不到的東西。總之，做調查使我喜歡這一科目。

人類學人數少，但氣氛好。各同學比較熟絡，活像一個小家庭一樣。這種氣氛，在其它系就不一定找到了。我喜歡這種氣氛。

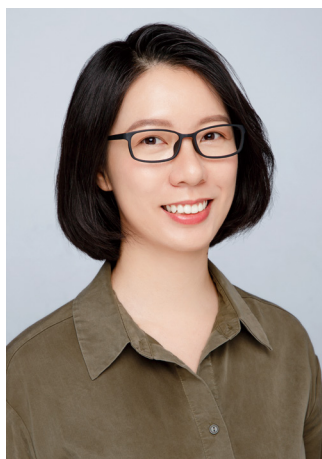
因此，選擇了人類學是正確的。

一題兩寫 之二：溫國偉

馮卓敏

文學碩士畢業生

碩士畢業之後就回廣州發展，一直從事商業領域的市場研究，不知不覺已過 10 個年頭。最近幾年因項目需要不停與同樣有著人類學學術背景各類研究人員合作，深感人類學在商業研究領域的應用和發展越來越好，特別慶幸自己能身為其中一員。另外，最近一年開始有想法再回爐深造，繼續提升自己的綜合實力，尤其想嘗試數據科學方面。因為有了人類學訓練出來的定性研究基礎，若能在數據處理和解讀等定量研究方面再進一步，定能相得益彰。



薛誠

哲學碩士畢業生

我目前在馬雲基金會（JACK MA FOUNDATION）從事鄉村教育類的公益項目。一年有半年時間在全國各地的農村跑，所以 Margaret Mead 說世界是我的田野，我說田野就是我的世界。我時常懷念在中大的那幾年時光，也期待能和當年的小夥伴們再聚。我平時 Base 在杭州，歡迎老師、同學們有空來，我一定好酒款待！



陳雅詠 Joyce Chan

本科及哲學碩士畢業生

2009 年移居日本關西地區，目前於日本旅行社從事訪日旅客諮詢及旅遊策畫工作。京都市認定翻譯導遊。



照片攝於京都龜岡七谷川安らぎの道



同學於人文館前合照・1991年

Students taking photo at the Humanities Building, 1991

社會影響

Social Impact

社會影響

Social Impact

CUHK Anthropology and its Social Impact: Retrospect and Prospect

Tung-Yi Kho
(Impact Postdoctoral Fellow)



Introduction

This brief essay examines the ‘social impact’ of the department’s role promoting anthropological knowledge in Hong Kong over the past forty years. The first part of the essay offers an overview of the history of anthropology in Hong Kong, which precedes the development of professional, academic anthropology in the city and that began with the establishment of the Anthropology department at The Chinese University of Hong Kong in 1980.

I track the changing concerns of Hong Kong anthropology over time, from roughly 1950 until the present. When China was shut off from the West during the Cold War, Hong Kong was widely regarded as a substitute field-location by those doing anthropological research into Chinese culture and society. Hong Kong was, after all, considered peripheral: it was not ‘real China’. But when the Cold War ended and China was re-integrated with the capitalist world-system in a world political-economic climate leaning towards globalization, Hong Kong took on a unique role as a site of anthropological knowledge-making.



It was under such circumstances that anthropology at CUHK became an important node not only of Chinese, but East and Southeast Asian anthropology as well. This expansion of research and teaching interests at CUHK's department of anthropology has continued until today.

It seems reasonable to say that the changing research concerns of CUHK anthropology testify to the city's historically unique place in the world: first, as an erstwhile British colony, then, as a Special Administrative Region of the People's Republic of China. Indeed, the developments witnessed in CUHK anthropology can be said to reflect the city's evolving but unique place in the global world-system.

The essay concludes with comments about the prospects of CUHK anthropology going forward, especially with a view of anthropology's 'social impact' on Hong Kong society.

Hong Kong and CUHK Anthropology: a brief history

The growth of anthropology in Hong Kong as a knowledge discipline may have been somewhat inadvertent. Baker (2007: 22-27) lists some 62 fieldworkers conducting research in Hong Kong between 1950 and 1995, beginning with Barbara Ward, the first professional anthropologist who arrived in 1950 to conduct research in a fishing community in the New Territories. Nonetheless, this flurry of research activity in Hong Kong may have occurred only because many anthropologists wanting to conduct research in China were unable to do so between 1949 and 1978 due to the Cold War.

Hong Kong had always been considered a substitute for the 'real' China. As Jack Potter (cited in Baker 2007: 4-5) has noted, "One of the main objections... to all such studies of Chinese society in Taiwan or in Hong Kong will be that these places are not China and have little relevance for the understanding of either traditional or modern Chinese society. I am fully aware... that the New Territories are not China." Echoing this sentiment were Jarvie and Agassi (cited in Baker 2007: 5) who noted, "Students of China would always prefer to get on into China proper than to study Hong Kong."

Given this context of anthropology being undertaken primarily by foreign researchers wishing to learn about life and culture in mainland China (and not even Hong Kong!), it is only to be expected that the discipline's growth in Hong Kong would be slow. Accordingly, it was not until 1973 that the study of anthropology was first introduced through the Sociology department at CUHK, and 1980 when an Anthropology department was formed. CUHK's anthropology department remains the only anthropology department within Hong Kong's university system, even as anthropologists can be found distributed across a myriad of departments practising their craft.

Perhaps it was in keeping with its intellectual genealogy that the teaching of anthropology at CUHK at the beginning would focus on ethnic minorities in China. This persisted until the 1990s when faculty retirements and a new generation of teachers shifted the focus of the department's research and teaching. The research focus moved towards the lifeworld of the Han Chinese, urban anthropology, South

China, and East Asia. No doubt this shift from a narrow ethnology to a broader Chinese and East Asian anthropology would have also been spurred by world events that had been unfolding throughout the 1980s and which culminated by the early 1990s. This would have included Japan's development 'miracle', the emergence of the four East Asian 'tigers' (with Hong Kong counting among them), the collapse of Soviet socialism, the end of the Cold War, and China's post-Mao reform and opening up, all of which were significant in contributing to what we have come to know as 'globalization'.

The fact that the world-system had been geo-politically downsized from 'Three worlds'¹ to just the one characterized by a globalized liberal capitalism from the early 1990s, gave rise to a reconstituted anthropology in Hong Kong. This saw anthropology *in* the city gradually morphing into an anthropology *of* the city, and, importantly, contributing to a *world* anthropology, the latter owing to Hong Kong's uniquely historical positioning as a global city – 'Asia's world city'.

It was in these historical circumstances that the Anthropology Department's longest-standing members of faculty, Sidney Cheung, Gordon Mathews, as well as recently-retired Maria Tam, began their careers as the department's second-generation faculty. Their careers for the ensuing two and a half decades would reflect some of the changing

1. The term 'Three-worlds' refers to the ostensibly capitalist 'First-world', the supposedly socialist 'Second-world', and the 'Third-world' constituted by countries of the non-aligned movement.

world dynamics mentioned. Important in this regard is the fact that the sustained high-growth of the East Asian ‘tiger’ economies elevated Hong Kong’s profile and rendered it an object of increasing international interest. This saw Hong Kong becoming a legitimate field-site and topic of inquiry, which was a contrast from its previous status as a substitute and secondary field-location for China anthropologists.

As a reflection of these changes in the world, both Sidney and Gordon, who had completed their doctorates with Japan-based studies, began to conduct research on life in Hong Kong (Baker 2007). Meanwhile, Maria, whose doctoral research was based on fieldwork in Shekou, the erstwhile industrial zone of the Shenzhen Special Economic Zone, and then studied mistressing across the Hong Kong-Shenzhen border, turned her attention to the topic of migration and began researching the different ethnic minority communities in the city. Globalization was transforming the world and opening up new lines of anthropological inquiry.

In the wake of such world developments, anthropology in Hong Kong and at CUHK has today developed into a thoroughly diverse field that reflects the city’s implication in globalization and its resulting cosmopolitanism. As Bosco (2017:199) has reported, “Hong Kong anthropology is very diverse and does not have its own anthropological ‘school’ or approach; Hong Kong anthropology is really just the sum of the work done by anthropologists based there.”

CUHK anthropology and its social impact

This diversity of research is notable among CUHK's full-time anthropology faculty, the size of which has grown from six in 1996 to twelve today. The department continues in its traditional areas of strength, particularly in the anthropology of East Asia encompassing China, Hong Kong, Japan and other areas, and their myriad connections to the rest of the world – as represented by the works of Sidney Cheung, Andrew Kipnis, Gordon Mathews, Sealing Cheng, Teresa Kuan, Sharon Wong, Huang Hsuan-Ying, Lam Weng Cheong, Ju-chen Chen, and Tang Wai-man. Also, expertise has now expanded to include South Asia. The recent hiring of Leilah Vevaina and Venera Khalikova, both anthropologists of South Asia, underline this latest development.

What is as striking as the twofold expansion of full-time CUHK anthropology faculty over the past twenty-five years is the social impact of their research projects. As the brief account above has revealed, the history of Hong Kong anthropology has been one of intellectual and practical engagement in the life-worlds of Hong Kong and China. Faculty members of the department have continued this practice of deep public and social engagement as they have expanded their research to include the globally-inflected issues that accompany Hong Kong's more recently established status as a cosmopolitan city.

By way of illustration, one specific research theme that has preoccupied several faculty members simultaneously since the early 2000s has been that concerning migrants, asylum-seekers, and ethnic minorities

in Hong Kong. Faculty who have worked on this theme include Maria, Gordon, Sealing, Ju-chen, and Wai-man.

Maria's 'Multiculturalism-In-Action' project has sought to document the lives of South Asian communities in Hong Kong; in the process, deepening local awareness of South Asian life and culture. Gordon's investigation of low-end globalization at Chungking Mansions threw light on the experiences of African and South Asian traders, migrants, and asylum-seekers. Sealing's research has highlighted the 'in-limbo' status of refugees and asylum-seekers in Hong Kong, informing policy-makers and the broader public as to their most fundamental needs. Ju-chen's research among Filipina domestic workers in Hong Kong has helped appreciate their taken-for-granted contributions to Hong Kong society, and the often neglected life they have built up in the city. Finally, Wai-man's research has involved coaching the South Asian sport of Kabbadi to Hong Kong youth as a means of improving their cultural competencies.

Taken together, these projects have contributed towards inter-cultural education and understanding, helping to cultivate a population that is more appreciative of cultural and ethnic differences in the city, as befitting its cosmopolitanism today. Such faculty research on migrant and ethnic issues in Hong Kong suitably exemplifies anthropology as a mode of knowing whose innate strength is conducive towards making contributions beyond the academy, bringing positive change to the lives of the people with whom we work.

As university administrators increasingly require that departments demonstrate their social impact – broadly understood as a contribution to the life of larger Hong Kong society beyond the university – we should only expect these social and public engagements to continue among the faculty at CUHK anthropology. Based on current faculty interests and expertise, one can certainly foresee the following research clusters taking shape, going into the future.

Tangible and Intangible Hong Kong and Chinese Cultural Heritage: Sidney Cheung, Sharon Wong, Lam Weng Cheong

Anthropology of China and Psychological Anthropology: Andrew Kipnis, Teresa Kuan, Huang Hsuan-ying

Anthropology of South Asia: Leilah Vevaina, Venera Khalikova

Onward and upward!

References

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中大人類學及其 社會影響： 回顧與展望

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緒論

這篇短文主要探討人類學系於過去四十年間在香港推廣人類學知識所帶來的「社會影響」。香港之專業、學術性人類學的發展，始於1980年香港中文大學人類學系的成立。然而，香港人類學的起源可追溯至更早的時間點；本文第一部分概述此段歷史。

本文追蹤香港人類學由1950年至今的不同關注點。冷戰期間，中國與西方隔絕，中國文化和社會的人類學研究者普遍視香港為一個替代的田野地點。香港被認為是中國的邊緣，不是「真正的中國」。但是，當冷戰結束，中國在全球化的政治經濟環境中與資本主義世界體系重新融合時，香港成為了人類學知識生產的獨特場所。在此背景下，中大人類學亦成為了中國人類學，乃至東亞和東南亞人類學的重要節點。時至今日，中大人類學系的研究和教學興趣仍在持續拓展當中。

而中大人類學的研究關注點之所以不斷變化，正正是與這座城市歷史上在世界中的獨特位置息息相關：先是英國的殖民地，然後是中華人



民共和國的特別行政區。事實上，中大人類學的發展可說是反映了這座城市在全球世界體系中不斷演變而又獨特的地位。

本文最後展望中大人類學的未來發展，尤其是人類學能給香港社會帶來的「社會影響」。

香港與中大人類學：歷史簡述

人類學作為一門知識學科在香港的發展可謂充滿偶然。根據裴達禮 (Baker 2007 : 22-27) 的紀錄，自 1950 年首名專業人類學家華德英 (Barbara Ward) 來到新界一個蛋民社區進行研究起，直至 1995 年間共約 62 位田野工作者在香港進行研究。然而，香港的研究活動蓬勃，可能只是由於冷戰使得許多人類學家於 1949 至 78 年間無法在中國進行研究。

香港一直被當作「真正」的中國的替代品。正如 Jack Potter (轉引自 Baker 2007 : 4-5) 所指出：「反對在台灣或香港進行華人社會研究的主要意見之一……是這些地方不是中國，對理解傳統或現代華人社會相關甚少。我清楚意識到……新界不是中國。」Jarvie 和 Agassi (轉引自 Baker 2007 : 5) 也有同感，他們提到：「中國之研究者總是希望能進入中國本土，而不是研究香港。」

由於香港的人類學研究主要由關注中國大陸（甚至不是香港！）之生活與文化的海外研究者進行，這門學科在香港的發展自然舉步維艱。直

到 1973 年，香港中文大學的社會學系才首次引入人類學研究；至 1980 年，人類學系成立。時至今日，香港高等教育系統內僅中大設有人類學系，儘管亦有不少人類學家於其他學系任職。

也許是為了符合其知識譜系，中大人類學在剛開始時，將其教學重點放在中國的少數民族上。這種情況一直持續到 90 年代，一批教師退休，新一代教師的加入改變了學系的研究和教學重點，使之轉向漢族華人的生活世界、城市人類學、華南和東亞。毫無疑問，這種從較狹窄的民族學轉向更廣泛的中國和東亞人類學的轉變，也是一系列由 80 年代展開、至 90 年代初達至高潮的世界性事件影響下的產物。這其中包括：日本之發展「奇跡」、亞洲四小龍之出現（香港也在其中）、蘇聯社會主義之崩潰、冷戰結束以及中國後毛澤東時代之改革開放，以上種種都構成我們現今所熟知的「全球化」。

自 1990 年代初起，世界體系在地緣政治的層面上，從「三個世界」¹縮小到只有一個以全球化自由資本主義邏輯運行的世界。這一事實亦重構了香港人類學，使得這座城市**中**的人類學逐漸蛻變為這座城市**的人**人類學。更重要的是，基於香港作為一個全球性城市——「亞洲國際都會」的獨特歷史定位，香港**的人**人類學亦為**世界**人類學作出貢獻。

人類學系最資深的教員——張展鴻、麥高登，以及剛退休的譚少

1. 「三個世界」指的是表面上是資本主義的「第一世界」，所謂社會主義的「第二世界」，以及由不結盟運動國家構成的「第三世界」。

薇——正是在這樣的歷史環境下開始了他們的學術事業，成為系所的第二代教師。他們隨後二十五年的職業生涯亦反映出上述環球動態的一些變化。尤其值得注意的是，東亞「四小龍」經濟體的持續高速增長提升了香港之形象，此城市日益成為國際社會關注的對象。這使香港成為一個正當的田野及研究課題，與以前僅作為中國人類學的替代和次要研究地點的地位形成了鮮明的對比。

作為這些世界性變化的反映，於日本完成博士論文研究的張展鴻和麥高登都開展了對香港的研究（Baker 2007）。同時，譚少薇的博士課題為深圳經濟特區蛇口工業區，其後研究跨越港深邊界的「包二奶」現象，近年則轉向移民及香港的少數族裔社群。全球化正在改變世界，同時亦開闢了人類學研究的新途徑。

在上述世界進程下，香港和中大的人類學至今已經發展為一個完全多元化的領域，反映了這座城市在全球化中所承載的意義以及由此產生的世界主義。正如林舟（Bosco 2017：199）所言：「香港人類學非常多樣化，並沒有自己的人類學『學派』或方法；香港人類學就是以香港為基地的人類學家所做工作的總和。」

中大人類學及其社會影響

中大人類學系的全職教員規模已從1996年的6人增加到今天的12人，研究課題的多樣性亦愈見顯著。學系繼續發展其傳統優勢領域，特別是東亞人類學，覆蓋中國、香港、日本及其他地區，以及它們與世界

各地的無數聯繫——代表人物包括張展鴻、任柯安、麥高登、鄭詩靈、關宜馨、黃慧怡、黃宣穎、林永昌、陳如珍和鄧偉文——同時，亦將其專長擴展至南亞，新近聘請的南亞人類學家 Leilah Vevaina 和 Venera Khalikova 便是例證。

與過去廿五年的人事擴張同樣引人注目的，是人類學系教師的研究項目之社會影響力。正如上文所述，香港人類學的歷史，是在知識和實踐上參與香港與中國的生活世界的歷史。人類學系的教師一直秉持這重視深入的公共及社會參與的傳統，擴大他們的研究範圍，以涵蓋與香港晚近確立的國際大都市地位相伴隨的全球性問題。

舉例而言，自 2000 年代初以來，譚少薇、麥高登、鄭詩靈、陳如珍和鄧偉文都不約而同地以香港的移民、尋求庇護者和少數族裔作為研究主題。

譚少薇的「多元文化行動」項目試圖記錄香港南亞裔社區的生活，在這個過程中，加深了本地居民對南亞族裔生活和文化的認識。麥高登在重慶大廈對低端全球化的調查，揭示了非洲和南亞商人、移民和尋求庇護者的經歷。鄭詩靈的研究凸顯了香港難民和尋求庇護者的「未明」狀態，讓政策制定者乃至公眾瞭解他們的基本需求。陳如珍對香港菲律賓家庭傭工的研究，讓人們不再只以理所當然的目光看待她們對香港社會的貢獻，亦不再忽視她們在此城市中所建立起來的生活。最後，鄧偉文研究南亞卡巴迪運動的同時亦充當香港青少年的教練，協助他們提高文化能力。



總的來說，這些項目有助促進跨文化教育和理解，培養市民欣賞香港的文化和族群差異，適應當今這座更具有「世界主義」特色的都市。這些學系成員對香港的移民和族裔問題的研究，充分體現了人類學作為一種致知模式，其內在的長處有助於在學術界之外作出貢獻，為與我們一同工作的人的生活帶來積極的改變。

由於大學管理層愈來愈要求學系展示其對社會的影響力——廣義上理解為對大學以外的香港社會生活的貢獻——我們能夠預期，中大人類學的社會和公共參與將會延續。以目前教師的興趣和專長看，我們可以預見，以下的研究叢集將在未來成形：

- 有形及無形的香港與中國文化遺產：張展鴻、黃慧怡、林永昌
- 中國人類學及心理人類學：任柯安、關宜馨、黃宣穎
- 南亞人類學：Leilah Vevaina、Venera Khalikova.

共勉！

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Maria Tam dancing with Nepalese youth in Hong Kong
譚少薇與香港的尼泊爾裔青年一同舞蹈與交流



Gordon Mathews walking in Chungking Mansions
麥高登在重慶大廈進行研究



Sealing Cheng promoting African cultures in Hong Kong
鄭詩靈在社區中推廣非洲文化





Ju-chen Chen participating in beauty pageants organized by Filipino domestic workers
陳如珍參與菲律賓籍家務傭工之選美活動



Wyman Tang bringing kabaddi to local secondary schools
鄧偉文將南亞傳統運動卡巴迪介紹給本地中學生



1990 年第四期《系會通訊》

Student Society Newsletter, issue 4, 1990





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