

女青與香港婦女發展
A HUNDRED YEARS OF GOOD DEEDS

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導言

Introduction



百年以來女青在香港從事「女子」事工的發展，對香港婦女發展的貢獻，標示着其同工、委員、董事、會員、義工一起推動的女青運動，如何致力改善婦女地位，推動社會改變。

「你們必曉得真理，真理必叫你們得以自由。」約翰福音八：32

YWCA

1920年在英屬殖民地的香港，有四位基督徒婦女攜手創立了香港基督教女青年會 (Hong Kong Young Women's Christian Association, Y. W. C. A.，以下簡稱「女青」)，這是華人婦女的歷史性時刻。二十世紀初的香港社會，兩性地位極不平等，婦女在社會的底層，男性中心、父權主義都在支配和壓制女性的生活和命運。因此女青的成立具有十分重要的意義，因為女青以促進婦女自強，維護婦女尊嚴，提升婦女能力及社會地位為目標。也就是說，為女性爭取被社會看見，要她們的聲音被聽見，在公共空間佔有位置；同時鼓勵婦女關注自己，肯定自己有獨立和值得被尊重的形象和尊嚴。

女青是香港第一個華人婦女團體，創辦全港第一間華人女子宿舍，其後也創辦了全港首份婦女刊物《香港女聲》。在推動革新社會法制方面的貢獻，女青和同行的婦女組織合作無間，使女性的社會地位顯著提升，扣在婦女身上的建制枷鎖，例如蓄婢制、納妾風氣、公務員男女同工不同酬等，逐一被粉碎。

香港女青是本土的，同時是國際的。在女青成立之初，有土生土長的華人女性擔當幹事和董事會成員，也有東來的女西幹事。西幹事是指來自海外的女青同工，她們分享西方女青的經驗，協助香港女青的工作更快走上軌道，同時為香港女青與國際的結連搭建橋樑。香港女青是獨立運作的組織，是1894年已成立的「基督教女青年會世界協會」(簡稱「世界協會」)的成員之一，1979年更躍升為世界協會的甲級會員，可出席每四年舉行的世界協會會議，並有投票及選舉權。世界協會作為普世教會運動的一環，全體成員關注的是合一的見證(unity)，所以不同地區的女青會互相緊密合作，更與聯合國的婦女議題扣連。

2020年標誌着女青關注婦女發展的道路已走了一百年，其中最顯著的變化之一是機構的規模。創會時女青只有數名受薪職員、12名董事、81名創會會員，此刻已躍進為擁有超過1,500位全職員工、100個服務單位、超過3萬會員、每年服務超過300萬人次的龐大社會福利機構。這是積極和正面的轉變，說明女青百年來一直秉持

的創會使命——培育婦女，服務社群，並提供「婦女為本」的社會服務。其服務不但得到社會各界別的認同，以至在服務人數上有驕人的增長，更見證了一切都得到上帝的祝福。

檢視女青在香港的發展進程，除了發現機構的規模擴大了，更讓人注目的，是女青從創會開始就擁有一種特色，那就是女青運動(YWCA Movement)，由同工、委員、董事、會員、義工一起推動的運動，致力改善婦女地位，推動社會改變。

女青運動的意義

香港女青視「女青運動」為重要的基石和體制，女青的年報和網站都開宗明義地介紹女青運動的定義：

所謂「運動」是指一種動態，與時並進，不斷向前，而且不會停滯，尤如一系列列車般，車卡為不同服務單位，單位互相緊扣着，而女青運動就如車輪一樣，推動列車前進。由於女青運動為國際性的運動，本會與世界其他女青年會一同努力，將基督教事工、會員事工及婦女事工帶到全球。¹

女青運動的意義是多面向的，女青名譽董事孔楊邦鏘博士在追溯女青上世紀的事工時說的一段話，帶出了女青運動的精粹：

其實三、四十年代，香港社會還是很封閉，沒有太多女性出來做義工，但我們當年好前衛，反[納]妾，還搞抗日救亡運動，不是只有男人才會關心國家大事，我們一班女性同樣都好愛國。²



女青2016年出版的《女青運動工作指引》，旨在向女青同工介紹女青運動的介入和實踐。

由此看來，「女青作為一個運動」至少涵括了三大「推動力」：推動會員（女性）參與社會服務（做義工）；推動及參與整體社會關注的集體行動（如抗日救亡運動）；推動政策改革來爭取婦女權益（如反納妾、反蓄婢等）。

女青的內部文件指「女青運動」的目標是建基於基督教信仰，透過婦女作領導與伙伴共同合作，致力推動及維護公義、和平及人類之尊嚴。「女青運動」的工作有三大範疇：以婦女為本的工作（婦女事工）、基督精神的實踐（基督教事工），以及會員及義工生命的栽培（會員事工）。³

女青是一個運動，也是一所服務機構。機構一般都會有它的限制，例如較強調「服務」，使服務對象與機構的關係囿限於「服務使用者」和「服務提供者」；但是運動所看重的是「共同使命」，視服務對象為伙伴，鼓勵他們一同參與，推動社會改變。

女青既是機構，又是運動，既務實地為社會各階層提供多元的社會服務，同時組織架構歡迎每位接觸對象加入成為女青運動的伙伴，積極組織會員網絡、培育義工，更鼓勵合適的會員成為女青委員、董事，一同策劃及推動女青的發展。



女青運動總綱，摘自 2016 年出版的《女青運動工作指引》。

女青與很多有基督教信仰的社會福利服務機構的共通點，是以基督精神為本，並為不同年齡、不同國籍的社會大眾提供社會服務；但女青的獨特之處是更注重「帶動其他婦女去關心婦女的地位問題、女性的需要，以及女性在社會上、家庭上的定位……使婦女有團結表達及行動的機會，以喚醒社會人士關心女性的需要及注意女性面對的問題，讓女性以團結一致的力量去推動女性的工作，達致拉近兩性的差異，建立兩性平等共融的公義和諧社會。」⁴

在幫助女性充權的工作上，女青做過不少，不但在早年為婦女舉辦識字班、夜校，也提供母嬰健康服務，組織學生少女、勞工婦女、家庭主婦和職業婦女等自務小組。1935 年出版的《香港女聲》月刊，是香港第一份女性刊物，也是當時婦女鮮有的發言渠道。女青透過出版提出婚姻自由、教育平等、同工同酬、一夫一妻制等不同倡議，並聯同其他團體一起爭取有關婦女權益的眾多政策改革。至今，女青仍在社會服務中推動「性別意識教育」，支援婦女的需要，幫助她們提升能力，參與社會，就婦女議題發聲。

女青是一個「運動」，同樣重要的是，女青同時是一個體制龐大的組織，一個有不同類型社會服務單位的「社福機構」。兩者之間如何同步，仍是一項挑戰。作為運動，女青需要培育運動參與者具備對社會現況的批判意識，令參與者能夠建立清晰的行動目標。運動使命的承傳，需要參與者的自覺與委身，可是最終能回應運動使命的往往只是少數。社會運動團體多以使命、遠象來招聚參與者就共同關注的議題尋求社會改



《香港女聲》月刊，以基督教立場正視社會問題。

變，然而社會服務機構的本職是照顧普羅大眾的需要，服務使用者是否認同機構願景並非他們接受服務的前提。雖然女青一直關注婦女在社會上受到的壓迫，但女青的眾多服務使用者不一定覺察社會上的性別不平等，他們當中對婦女在社會上的定位、家庭角色的理解可能有分歧。女青運動如何兼顧使命的聚焦與理念深化，同時照顧眾多參與者的不同取態與步伐差異，是影響女青運動發展的關鍵。

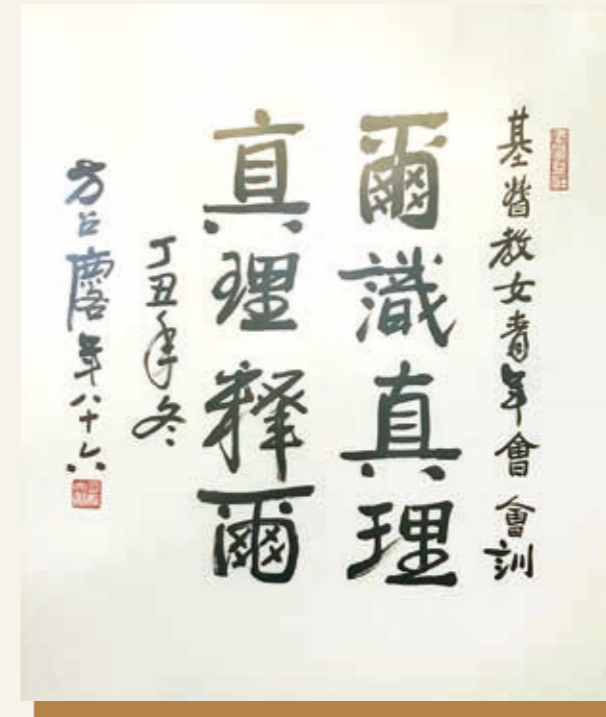
本書題旨

本書命名為《百年好事 —— 女青與香港婦女發展》，闡釋百年以來女青在香港從事「女子」事工的發展，以及其對香港婦女發展的貢獻。最後以女青歷史中積累的經驗和挑戰，如何成為女青繼續前行的資源和力量作為總結。

本書第一至二章將介紹女青年會運動的源起，以及香港女青的成立背景。第三至八章，將分別從婦孺權益、婚姻法例、婦女家庭地位、婦女經濟參與、婦女教育與職業培訓、婦女領袖培育等六個範疇，闡述女青在不同時期，如何對應當時的社會需要，參與推動香港婦女發展。婦女發展牽涉婦女的家庭角色、教育機會、婚姻制度、經濟地位、社會參與等眾多範疇，而女青在香港社會發展的不同階段，皆在不同範疇參與推動香港婦女發展。一如女青前執行幹事李婉芬強調，女青是個不斷向前發展的運動；因為運動是「活」的，所以女青的工作都隨時代需要而不斷改進，但目標始終如一。⁵

至第九章，筆者將嘗試把女青置於香港婦女團體及婦女服務的發展脈絡中，探討女青婦女工作的特色，以及本地婦女服務發展曾經探討（或正在探討）的課題。總結也是本書最後一章，筆者提出女青運動的特色是編織婦女網絡和推動民主化會員運動，並探討未來女青運動延續的挑戰。

女青的先賢將女青運動比喻作一列列車，是動態的，永遠向前的。筆者認為，女青運動也可看成是流動的水，隨着環境地勢而改變形態，是河，是湖，是海，是洋，也可以是人手中的一杯涼水。無論如何，水的本質不會變。百年來女青在香港實行了無



著名畫家方召磨為女青的會訓題字。會訓取自新約聖經《約翰福音》8章32節。

數「潔淨再生」的工作，為眾多婦女充權。而這道水並不自限，它在世界各地奔流，匯聚眾水之力，為地球村婦女的共同福祉工作。

本書記載女青百年多來水滴石穿的動人歷史，願我們從歷史建設未來，期待女青第二個「百年好事」。

章節附註

1. 香港基督教女青年會：《女青運動工作指引》（香港：香港基督教女青年會，2016），5。
2. 〈香港基督教女青年會薪火相傳推動婦女運動〉，《大公報》，2003年3月8日。
3. 香港基督教女青年會：《女青運動工作指引》，2-3。
4. 〈香港基督教女青年會薪火相傳推動婦女運動〉。
5. 同上。



A Hundred Years of Good Deeds: The YWCA and Women's Development in Hong Kong (Chapters Summary)

Introduction

A Centennial History of the Hong Kong YWCA

In 2020, the Hong Kong Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) celebrates its centennial anniversary. It was founded by four Chinese Christian women in 1920 while Hong Kong (HK) was still a British colony, and gender equality was unheard of. In the Chinese patriarchal culture, Chinese women were at the bottom of the society. The YWCA was not only the first Chinese women's organisation in HK, it also opened the first Chinese women's hostel and founded the first women's magazine, *Women's Voice*, in HK. In collaboration with other women's organisations, it advocated legal reforms for women's rights, like the anti-Mui Tsai (i.e. female bondservants) movement in the 1920s–1930s, the abolishment of concubinage, and ending gender pay gaps in the civil services in the 1960s–1970s. To date, the YWCA commits to leadership training and women-centred social services.

The YWCA is a local independent non-governmental organisation (NGO) with an international ecumenical communion, i.e. the World YWCA. It was originally a city association under the YWCA of China. However, this connection was broken when the churches (and organisations) in China had to cut ties with their respective global Christian networks in 1951. Years later in 1979, the YWCA obtained a "Category A" membership from the World YWCA, which granted the Hong Kong YWCA full participation in the World YWCA's communion, including voting rights on par with other national YWCAs.

Currently, the YWCA is well-established with more than 1,500 full-time staff, 100 social service centres, more than 30,000 members, and serves 3 million service recipients annually. It provides a wide range of social services, as well as other non-governmental subvented projects, like hostels and social enterprises. In addition to being a well-established NGO, the YWCA is known for its emphasis on political advocacy and social movement. All of the stakeholders involved – from board of directors, committee members, members, staff, and volunteers – are actively engaged in the YWCA movement. The aim of YWCA movement is to strive for a just, peaceful, and healthy society with human dignity through women's empowerment and leadership, following the edicts of Christian faith. The momentum of the movement testifies to their concerted effort, and contributes to the fruition of the YWCA's vision and mission. As a large NGO in HK and the first dedicated to women's welfare, the YWCA continually adapts

its practices to meet current needs, and strives to inspire and collaborate with other allies and stakeholders.

The Organisation of the Book

In this book, we review the work of the YWCA to see how it contributed to the development of women welfare and social status in the last hundred years. Chapters 1 to 2 will introduce the origin of the YWCA movement and the background of the establishment of the YWCA. Chapters 3 to 8 will detail the YWCA's responses to women's different needs in an ever-changing society. Women's development inevitably involves women's family roles, educational opportunities, marriage systems, economic status, and social participation among others. These chapters will look into the dynamics between the different stages of HK's social development and the YWCA's involvement in promoting women's development. Each chapter will address one of the six key categories of the YWCA's work, namely, the protection of women and children, marriage law, women's family status, women's economic participation, women's education and vocational training, and women's leadership development.

In Chapter 9, the authors will discuss the development of the YWCA in the context of HK women's groups and women's services. We will also analyze the characteristics unique to the YWCA's women work in HK. In the last chapter (Conclusion), the authors evaluate the YWCA's success in achieving "Building Local Women's Network" and "Movement for Promoting Democratization among Members", and foreseeable challenges.



On 24 November 2009, Ms. Nyaradzayi Gumbonzanda, the General Secretary of the World YWCA (fifth from the left) shared her insight on the global development of the YWCA and the women leadership training at a seminar on "YWCA Movement and Women Leadership".



Chapter 1 The YWCA Movement and Hong Kong

At the heart of Young Women's Christian Association is its concern for the welfare of young women. Two women pioneers from the Great Britain initiated two separate ministries in 1855: first, Emma Robarts and her companions started regular activities and prayer unions for young women; and second, Mrs Arthur Kinnaird founded a hostel for young women who worked in London and for nurses who returned from the Crimean War. In addition to a youth hostel, Mrs Kinnaird's ministry expanded to include bible studies, education programmes, social activities, and career consultation. These ministries soon caught momentum and spread to other communities, where they eventually united. The British YWCA was founded in 1884. Coincidentally, similar movements were also founded in other countries around the same time. The World YWCA was founded in 1894. The spirit of interdenominational cooperation of the YWCA soon extended to non-Western countries, in an effort to promote a worldwide holistic development for women in moral, intellectual, spiritual, physical and social aspects. To enhance the YWCA movement in the world, as early as 1906, the World YWCA sent 13 Western secretaries to non-Western countries. By 1926, the YWCA movement spread to more than 50 countries. Now the work of YWCA covers more than 120 countries with 20,000 local associations in the world.

The origin of the Chinese YWCA can be traced back to the first student association that was founded by an American Presbyterian missionary, Mrs Mary Louisa Stuart, the mother of the American Ambassador John Leighton Stuart, in 1890 in Hangzhou. In the years that followed, supported by the Young Men's Christian Association's (YMCA) network, several Western women and the wives of the YMCA's executives got together and established the Chinese YWCA in Shanghai in 1899. This eventually led to the establishment of the first official city association in Shanghai in 1908. By 1920 when the Hong Kong YWCA was founded, there were altogether 12 city associations of the Chinese YWCA (including those in their preparatory stages), and 89 school associations. The total membership at that time was 6,414. The General Secretary of the World YWCA, Ruth Frances Woodsmall recalled that the development of the Chinese YWCA was rapid and was recognised as the third most well-established YWCA in the world before the Second World War. The work of the Chinese YWCA was temporarily halted during the war but continued afterwards. Unfortunately, after the People's Republic of China came to power, the Chinese YWCA was split into three: China (mainland), HK and Taiwan. This measure is still in effect today. These three YWCAs go on their separate development after the 1950s.

The characteristics of YWCA movement are: firstly, leadership movement; secondly, a space and network for the cooperation of women from different ethnic groups, classes, ages and Christian denominations; thirdly, local adaptation and global praxis from the vision of the World YWCA; and lastly, practical works based on local needs. These key characteristics also form the core value and guiding principles of the YWCA, as manifested in its century-long history.



Chapter 2 Women in Colonial Hong Kong and the First Generation of Chinese Women Leaders

This chapter begins with a depiction of the subordinate status of Chinese women under patriarchal colonial HK, and the events leading up to the emergence of the first generation Chinese women leaders. Following Elliot's proclamations in 1841, the Chinese patriarchal customs were kept intact. This allowed the legal purchase of women. It led to rampant kidnapping of Chinese women, concubinage, child-slavery (i.e. Mui Tsai) of young girls who served as female bondservants in the family, as well as prostitution in the early colonial era. Women's rights and welfare was simply not on the colonial government's agenda. With regard to women, the colonial government was only concerned with the prohibition of illegal purchase of women, and public health issues relating to the regulation of prostitution. Because of the particularity of colonial politics, few British expatriates in HK advocated the protection of women and girls. Among these brave pioneers, Chief Justice John Smale declared that Mui Tsai was a form of slavery (domestic slave) in 1879. English Anglican missionary Ada M. Pitts called for the protection of child labour in 1918. By 1919, the superintendent of the Naval Chart Depot's wife, Clara Haselwood, challenged the domestic Mui-tsai practice, stating that it violated the humanitarian principle of the British Empire. And lastly, two feminists, Gladys Forster and Stella Benson, petitioned to the Travelling Commission of League of Nations to ban the registration of prostitutes in HK, to ward off the ludicrous business and abusive control of prostitutes by pimps in the 1930s.

Against this background, Western and Eurasian women gained visibility in leadership in the early colonial period. It was also against such a background that the HK branch of the YWCA (the predecessor of the YWCA) was founded. In 1897, 9 years prior to the setup of the first city association of the Chinese YWCA (i.e. Shanghai YWCA) in 1908, the HK branch was founded by two British women missionaries, Lucy Agnes Eyre and Agnes Kate Hamper. They came from two British mission boards, i.e., the Society for Promoting Female Education in the East and the Church Missionary Society respectively. This branch organised separate regular meetings for Chinese and Western women. Later on, chaired by HK Governor's wife Helena May, it was then merged with the Hong Kong Benevolent Society in 1913 to raise funds for the women's hostel. The first women's hostel (for Western women) was founded in 1916, and at the donor's request, named after the first chairperson Helena May, i.e. the Helena May Institute. Having accomplished a major milestone, the HK branch was then dissolved.

Concurrent with the closing of the HK branch in the mid-1910s, two movements started to gain traction which saw a new page of the YWCA. On the one hand, we see the budding stages of student movement by the setting up of the first student association at Ying Wa Girls' School in 1915. On the other, we see dedicated effort to establish the YWCA. A preparatory meeting was held between the four founders of the HK city association, led by Mrs Ma Fok Hing Tong, and the General Secretary of the National Committee, Grace Coppock. In 1920, their effort came to fruition with the founding of the YWCA. Canadian Nell E. Elliott was appointed as the General Secretary. The YWCA's founders, the board of directors, and Chinese secretaries in the 1920s were the first generation of HK Chinese (local) women leaders. These leaders received their education at mission schools, as their families had strong connections with the mission boards. Apart from having a leadership comprising local women, another characteristics pertinent to the early stage of the YWCA was its transnational nature, i.e. the recruitment of Western secretaries to strengthen its work and the adoption of western concepts such as "social motherhood" to further their charitable work for the betterment of local women and girls.