

國泰故事



The Cathay Story

「男子氣，你知道 什麼叫男子氣？…… 肌肉不等於男子氣！」 從《遊戲人間》 看電懣電影的男性情結

- 游靜 -

起步點

本文企圖借《遊戲人間》(王天林, 1961) 的電影文本分析來探討1950年代末1960年代初電懣浪漫肥皂劇中的性別身份, 尤其是男性/陽性的身份, 並從而探討這複雜的性別身份情結與流徙中的文化身份之間的關係。我特別選擇了《遊戲人間》中丁皓演的羅亞男為出發點, 正是為這角色身份的多重曖昧性, 及其所揭示的男創作者透過女演員的表演/喬裝「陽性」, 對「理想男性」的一些共同幻想及呈現。丁皓所演的男性及陽性, 我以為與電懣當時其他男明星如雷震、喬宏、張揚等在本片及其他電影中再現出來的「男性特質」, 有可供對比以及相互參照的地方。所以本文的重點是性別身份(陽性)在電影中作為一種論述的呈現, 而不是在(男/女)生理身份上。

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“Masculinity... What Do You Know About Masculinity? Muscle Does Not Equal Masculinity!” A Study of Genderisation and the Representation of Masculinity in *You were Meant for Me*

-Yau Ching-

This article is an attempt to use a textual study of *You were Meant for Me* (1961) to examine the representation of gender construction, masculinity in particular, produced by the MP & GI Studio in its films of the late 1950s and early 1960s. It contextualizes the film within its specific studio culture, which specializes in romantic melodramas and musicals supported by a star system and the production of media trivia, magazines, handbills and other publicity materials. The possibilities and limitations of gender and sexual identities offered by this “temporary transvestite film”, according to Straayer’s definition of the genre,¹ foregrounds, among other things, a certain “crisis” in an evolving notion of masculinity. I shall examine the ways this film, as a Hong Kong variation of this primarily Hollywood-defined genre, departs from the characteristics as generalized by Straayer, and the ways it also departs from traditional Chinese narratives of female cross-dressing. In the final part of this essay, I ask how this “crisis” of masculinity could be read as an integral part of a cultural identity in flux and in formation related to a specific experience of

《遊戲人間》的羅亞男，與電懣電影中的其他男性形象呈現了對性別，尤其是對陽性的一些共同期望及憂慮。這些憂慮與冀盼，我以為，與南來影人的文化背景，及其面對新鮮及多元的文化身份上的衝擊不無關係。從性別身份到文化身份，需要更多的篇幅及更廣泛細緻的研讀，本文只是一個起步點。

喬裝男女

梁愛倫：「你以為你穿了一身男人衣服，就是男人？女人是女人，男人是男人，天生不一樣的。你知不知道，你這樣的做法，損害了別人？」

羅亞男：「損害了你是不是？你爭不過我是你自己沒用。」

《遊戲人間》中丁皓飾的富家小姐羅亞男喬裝男生，對白露明飾的護士高式文展開追求。她們首次約會時，式文取笑亞男的名字，說這真像女生。亞男連忙更正說，

其實她叫「亞南」才對，父親在「亞洲南面」做生意，她是在那裡出生的。式文笑「亞男」這名字，因為它具體呈現了在重男輕女的家庭體制中女性的弱勢位置，與眼前這斯文有禮的小男生毫不相襯。式文不知道的是，正正是這種體制，孕育了電影中「亞男」這角色，亞男扮演的亞南愈是否認「亞男」的存在，「亞男」便愈是無處不在。

誰是亞男呢？亞男似乎是中國嚴父慈母、中央專權、物質富裕的封建家庭制度的產品。是在這樣的一種制度下，性別不一定是求生的策略，而可（暫時）變成一種遊戲，提供超越自身及環境限制的快感。「亞男」這符號在電影中凸現了制度的無處不在，又揭示了顛覆制度的可能。亞男在生理本質上雖為女性，但這角色最誘人處，是她陽化自身的諸種方式，及其於陽化與陰化之間拉扯，時男性時女性的一種夾雜與不定。亞男這「角

《遊戲人間》中的小男生丁皓
"What do you know about
masculinity?" Kitty Ting Hao in
You were Meant for Me.



migration among the Studio's production staff. Due to the limited scope of this article, the development of the argument from gender and sexual identity to cultural identity is inevitably simplified. An examination of more films and stars is called for in the future in order to provide a more comprehensive study on this issue.

Performativity of Gender

Liang Ai-lun: "You see yourself as a man now that you have men's clothes on? Women are women, men are men, they're not born the same. Do you know what you've done will hurt people?"

Lo Ya-nan: "It hurt you, right? It's your fault you can't beat me."

Tomboy Lo Ya-nan (Kitty Ting Hao / Ding Hao) cross-dresses as a young man in *You were Meant for Me* to court the nurse Kao Shih-wen (Christine Pai Lu-ming/ Bai Luming). During their first date, Shih-wen laughs at the stigmatic girlishness of Ya-nan's name as

"girlish". Ya-nan (a not uncommon name for women that translates as "second to male") thus changes "his" name on the spot to Ya-nan – South of Asia, where "his" father had business and where "he" was born. (Note: In Chinese, the "nan" that means "male" uses a different character from the "nan" that means "south", although they are pronounced the same. In the rest of this essay, Ya-nan in male attire is referred to as "the male Ya-nan" while Ya-nan in female attire is either "the female Ya-nan" or simply "Ya-nan".) Cross-dressing gives Ya-nan the opportunity not only to date the same sex, but to reinvent herself, her history and her position within the patriarchal Chinese family system, in which she is now suddenly directly related to her father's "business", and no longer the inferior daughter stuck with a name which only expresses the parents' wish for a son.

Now that Ya-nan has changed her gender through changing her name and her outfit, she is never the same again, even when she *plays* a girl. The male Ya-nan, according to the female Ya-nan's invention, has a twin sister called Ya-lan ("Orchid"). In the film Ya-nan

色」在電影中出現的時間其實不多，因為她一開始跟雷震演的醫生愛倫打賭，說要跟他公平競爭來追求高式文，以顯示她的男子氣後，她便變成男版的亞男，可以換一種聲線，跟式文約會。首次在餐廳約會，她／他更突然把自己的名字也改了，變成「亞南」，而且引出「做生意」的父親這父子的承傳脈絡及地域淵源來把她／他的名字正名化。亞男自此在電影中消失，她的身體一分为二，成為追求式文的「亞南」與被高卓然（式文兄，喬宏飾）追求的「亞蘭」。直至電影結尾時，亞南錯穿了女裝鞋趕去醫院被式文識破，亞南與亞蘭才再次結合，回到「亞男」這夾雜男女的身體／身份內。

亞男雖然被亞南及亞蘭暫時遮蓋，她卻無處不在。觀眾由始至終都知道亞南與亞蘭都是亞男，皆由丁皓這女生來扮演的小姐來扮演，不論這些暫時性的角色是小姐是先生抑或是（在化裝舞會上）先生扮的小姐。焦雄屏認

為這種「女扮男裝的愛情遊戲」，襲自三十年代造成評論「軟硬電影」之爭的《化身姑娘》（方沛霖，1936），也承襲中國戲曲投合觀眾逃避現實的心理，由電懋開發，再被邵氏發揚光大。¹ Chris Straayer 論這「暫時易服」的電影類型時，卻以為這種電影的歷久不衰與流行，叫我們必須正視它對普羅大眾帶來的觀賞樂趣。她相信，這種樂趣正正來自大眾共有的顛覆性別構成的幻想，但這類型並沒有真正挑戰到性別差異，所以觀眾一面投射幻想，一面也安心於性別構成的基本矛盾，並沒有被激化。²

故此，與其說這類型電影逃避現實，不如說它向我們本來便可笑及可塑的性別現實，再現及凸顯它可笑及可塑的本質。亞男變成亞南後，她穿着深色的西裝，結着領帶，開一輛敞篷跑車，替女友拉椅子開車門付賬，等女友時架着手屁股挨在跑車上。亞男演亞南時有一系列的

switches between *playing* the male Ya-nan and Ya-lan in order to court both Shih-wen and her mucho macho brother Cho-jan (Roy Chiao / Qiao Hong). Through Ya-nan's determination, playfulness and skill, the two genders are translated into a clear set of codes to be performed consistently and repetitively, both in terms of costumes and behaviour. When Ya-nan as a young man is being played out, he has a dark suit on, drives a convertible, opens doors for Shih-wen, orders and pays for their meals. He leans on the front of his car with arms and legs crossed while waiting for Shih-wen. All of this body language constructs Ya-nan's identity as a well-mannered, independent (thus dependable) and educated young man, in contrast to the body language of Ya-lan, which also constructs her femininity. While women need to *appear* to depend on men, men need to *appear* dependable, not to make physical moves unless signalled. In a scene when Ya-nan has to suddenly brake the car in front of a careless pedestrian, Ya-nan shys away when Shih-wen's body bumps into his. Shih-wen is immediately impressed with Ya-nan's manners. From Ya-nan to Ya-lan, s/he

moves from a suit to a dress and also puts on a long-haired wig, emphasizing how her womanhood *also* needs to be performed. In a contrasting scene, when the desirable man (in this case Cho-jan) is speeding a vehicle (in this case a jetboat), the female Ya-lan leans her body on the man to complement his dependability.

But in the film, the fact that the male Ya-nan expresses embarrassment when Shih-wen's body leans on his is not so much a result of "his wanting to be gentlemanly" but more of "remembering herself", that fact that she is the same sex as Shih-wen. Ironically, that is what catches Shih-wen's eye the most and becomes most important to her, the sign of "a good man". So, is the best man in a woman's eyes one played by a woman after all? How do I read a film as such which seems to be addressing and foregrounding the crisis of genderization, and one of masculinity in particular?

The more Ya-nan (the girlish boy) refuses to be Ya-nan (the boyish girl), the more Ya-nan asserts her (hybridized) presence. Like other films with cross-

身體語言，表現他是一名斯文有禮不輕佻的男性，跟亞蘭的整個身子像貓咪一樣挨在駕着遊艇的卓然身上那樣子迥然不同。譬如，亞南與式文首次約會後，亞南開車送式文回家，車子突然煞掣，式文撞在亞南身上，亞南趕快避開；亞男不懂得跳舞，老是踩到式文的腳上……這些都大大增強了式文對亞南的好感。觀眾當然知道，這些身體表現，正因亞南始終是亞男，但在式文眼中，這些卻成了「好男人」的符徵。難道女人眼中最理想的男人原來是扮男人的女人？

「暫時易服」電影類型

Straayer 界定「暫時易服」這電影類型的特色包括：劇情需要喬裝；角色摘取象徵異性的服裝及言行舉止；喬裝足以使電影中其他人物信以為「真」，但觀眾卻一直知道「底蘊」；電影不時提供指向角色「真」性別的符號；喬裝者對自己「假扮」的性別的苦與樂日益敏感；電影



女人眼中的好男人 —— 白露明和丁皓
Too close for comfort?
Kitty Ting Hao and Christine Pai Lu-ming
in *You were Meant for Me*.

dressing as theme, the majority of the drama and the comedy in *You were Meant for Me* comes from the awareness of the audience that both “South of Asia” and “The Orchid” are manifestations of the games of the boyish girl. Peggy Chiao Hsiung-ping has criticized this kind of “love games of women cross-dressing” in MP & GI films, which appropriates similar plots from traditional operas and from *The Transforming Lady* (1936) in the 30s, as catering to “the escapist psyche” in the audience.² Chris Straayer, however, reminds us to take seriously the temporary transvestite film as a genre exactly due to its continuing popularity and its capacity to sustain mass-audience pleasure,³ and I would add, cross-culturally. This pleasure, argues Straayer, is “grounded in the appeasement of basic contradictions through a common fantasy of overthrowing gender constructions without challenging sexual difference.”⁴

The Temporary Transvestite Film

Such genre foregrounds the mutability and laughability of sexual realities but would not propose to change them. Straayer further examines several generic

conventions, including the narrative necessity for disguise, adoption by a character of the opposite sex’s gender-specific costumes, the believability of this character’s disguise to the film’s other characters together with its unbelievability to the film’s audience, the character’s increasing awareness of pleasures and plight of the opposite sex, references to biological sex differences, accusations and “misinterpretations” of homosexuality, the disguise becoming an obstacle in realizing heterosexual desire, and last but not least, the unmasking of the disguise resulting in heterosexual coupling.

You were Meant for Me conforms largely to these characteristics, but departs in several significant ways. First, there is no necessity for disguise in the narrative. Unlike plots in *Some Like it Hot* (1959), *Victor/Victoria* (1982), *The Ballad of Little Jo* (1993) and so on, and also unlike Chinese legends like *Liang Zhu* (sometimes translated as *The Butterfly Lovers*) or *Hua Mulan*, Ya-nan in *You Were Meant for Me* cross-dresses purely out of whim or a competitive drive to show off to her buddy, or simply

需不時援引生理上的性差異；喜劇成份隨着身體接觸增多而強化；角色的「假扮」使異性戀的慾望觸礁；角色假扮被指為同性戀；喬裝卸下，最後異性戀人結合。

觀乎國際的主流電影歷史，這類型電影實在歷久不衰。由嘉寶演得風靡一時的《克莉絲汀女王》(Queen Christina, Rouben Mamoulian, 1933)，至嘉芙蓮協賓英姿颯颯的《Sylvia Scarlett》(George Cukor, 1935)，加利格蘭在《I Was A Male Bride》(Howard Hawks, 1949)中男扮女裝成過埠新娘，東尼寇蒂斯與積林蒙為求生計扮成樂師的《熱情如火》(Some Like it Hot, Billy Wilder, 1959)，當然還有無數八九十年代的例子，如茱莉安德絲同時是Victor，又是Victoria的《雌雄莫辨》(Victor/Victoria, Blake Edwards, 1982)，芭芭拉史翠珊自導自演矢志作男生來向上爬的《恩桃》(Yentl, 1983)，及香港觀眾熟悉的《杜絲先生》(Tootsie,

Sydney Pollack, 1982)及《肥媽先生》(Mrs. Doubtfire, Chris Columbus, 1993)。

這些例子大致上都符合Straayer概括的類型特色，最大的偏離可能是恩桃最終並沒有與異性戀人結合，史翠珊始終堅持她的獨立。這也是此類型電影中罕有的女導演作品。《遊戲人間》或多或少引證了Straayer分析的論述。但最不同的卻有幾點。首先，跟《梁山伯與祝英台》或《花木蘭》這些傳統敘事不一樣，亞男於劇情上並沒有「必要」喬裝，她扮男裝完全是個人選擇與喜好，出於一種可能是嫉妒(焦雄屏)也可能是淘氣或逞英雄的複雜心理情結。丁皓(飾亞男)演來也很自然，除了與舉重選手喬宏握手時被握痛了以外，他/她甚至很快便掌握了作為式文男舞伴的技巧。電影中完全沒有提示亞男扮男裝的「苦」，她/他看來興奮極了，即使周旋在式文與卓然之間忽男忽女忙得不可開交，又被父

喬宏眼中的「亞南」
到底是男是女？
Ya-nan, Ya-nan or Ya-lan?
Kitty Ting Hao playing the
gender game.



out of personal preference. It is also unexplained in the film why Ya-nan has to keep such disguise for so long, while she is seen rather hectically switching between genders and differently genderized situations, despite her parents' complaints and later orders of grounding. This is further accentuated by the fact that s/he does not show an awareness of the "plight" of the opposite sex; in fact, she seems rather pleased with her (changeable) outfits, and her/his increasing desirability to both Shih-wen and Cho-jan. I would argue that most of the visual pleasure in watching this film comes from the enjoyment of watching Ya-nan enjoying her/himself as both genders and the satisfaction s/he gets from her mutable genderized appearance, than from the awareness of Ya-nan's biological sex. In contrast, it is the biological male, Ai-lun, who shows the most discomfort of his being male, which in this case also means having the responsibility (and burden) to seem always mature, reliable and considerate but also cowardly.

The other major difference is the suppression of homosexuality as a discourse. The Hollywood

transvestite films as discussed by Straayer often produce an opportunity to be read as queer subtexts, especially when images which suggest same-sex desire contradict with heterosexual plots and the tension between the images and the diegesis often produces extra room for imagination and identification in the audience, however otherized. These contradictions are most foregrounded when the disguise causes the characters' desires to be "misread" in the narratives as homosexual. In *You were Meant for Me*, however, heterosexual coupling is never problematized by any implications of homosexuality. The emotional and erotic possibilities which might have motivated Ya-nan to continue playing the young man as desired by Shih-wen are never questioned within the diegesis, not even by the I-know-it-all Ai-lun who would have done anything to spoil the arrangement. The compulsory heterosexual paradigm in the film is so hegemonic that Ya-nan's biological sex is enough to completely rule out the possibility of any erotic authenticity she could have shared with Shih-wen. It is only in the spectatorship that such desires become possible; I, for

辱責罵甚至下禁令，她／他也毫無悔意。由於劇情上沒有提供他／她「必須」扮下去的動機，作為觀眾，我們在觀賞他／她易服的姿勢而得到樂趣以外，也可分享這角色在易服時自己得到的樂趣。這易服的樂趣顧名思義來自更換衣服；性別於此名副其實是一套衣飾，可以穿上脫下。不論男裝需要「易」，女裝也要，亞男變亞蘭時要戴上長而鬆的假髮。明顯地（即使在外表上），亞南與亞蘭都不是亞男的樣子，但重要的是兩者皆為亞男所設計及享受的角色。

《遊戲人間》與 Straayer 所論的「暫時易服」電影類型另一最大的歧異，是易服與同性／異性戀之間的關係。Straayer 剖析的荷里活電影中，角色的易服經常與他／她的異性戀情慾相矛盾，也提供了被「誤」讀為同性情慾的可能。亞男扮亞南追求式文，卻似乎與亞蘭接受及享受卓然的追求並無矛盾，反而是正正因為與

式文的關係，亞蘭得以接觸卓然，而且形成佻皮又和諧、互相扶持的兩對兄妹之間的愛情關係（其中「四」個愛人互通求婚消息一場最見兩對兄妹之間的團結互助）。最後亞男決定放棄亞南的身份，回復女兒身，並不是為了她個人的異性戀情，而是不忍傷害善良的式文。式文發現了亞男的「真正」身份後把感情迅即轉移到病榻中的愛倫，也不過是亞南消失後的副作用，在電影中這兩人的結合最為牽強，有點吃不到好橙爛橙也撿一個的況味。

這樣看來，電影中並沒有任何關於同性戀的提示，因為它根本不構成一個問題，即使對整件事由頭到尾都清楚卻有苦難言的愛倫也沒有片刻懷疑過式文與亞南在搞甚麼。對於愛倫，式文與亞男的性別身份完全主宰了她們可享有的性身份。因為亞男是女子，她便一定是在玩弄式文。只有甚麼都看在眼裡的觀眾，會對瀟灑俊俏、

one, have no problem believing that Shih-wen is truly falling for Ya-nan the baby butch, thus could not care less about the "truth" of her/his biological sex. After all, as revealed in the scene of the dance party, it is as clear as day that Shih-wen is more than ready to also temporarily change her own gender identity to comply with Ya-nan's always changing roles. It takes more than one to pull a drag.

Androgyny, Hybridity and Mutability

Stella Bruzzi particularly distinguishes cinematic representations of androgyny from generic cross-dressing comedies through interrogating the expression of desire in the androgynous image.⁵ The androgyne, Marlene Dietrich in *Morocco* (1930) for example, is of blurred sex as well as of blurred sexuality, Bruzzi argues, and could be located at the intersection of multiple (at times contradictory) erotic identifications. Through coalescing the real and the imaginary, the figure of the androgyne generates an eroticism which suggests danger and slipperiness. Through *You were Meant for Me* and its publicity materials, Kitty Ting Hao the teenage idol is being

manufactured and marketed as an androgynous image marked by its mutability. As seen in the various issues of *International Screen* published during the film's release, Ya-nan's multiple images and seemingly self-determined and switchable genders also become the selling point of the movie.⁶ It is worth noting that the flexibility and hybridity of Ting Hao's identity does not begin with her gender but in fact begins with the exact moment she joined International Film Distribution Agency (which later became MP & GI) at the age of 16. An understanding of her cultural background might help to shed new lights on the (re)construction of gender identity in her star persona.

Born in Macau, studied for two years in Shanghai and moved to Hong Kong at the age of 10, Ting Hao became a Mandarin-speaking actress only because she was too late for the interviews at the Cantonese Production Unit. While she took crash courses in Mandarin from a private tutor after she had joined, she managed to "pass" as a "Northerner" – a non-Cantonese – in more than 20 Mandarin movies. Ironically, these include the North vs. South series,

baby butch 一樣的亞南動心，懷疑式文即使早知道亞南是男是女，也寧願不知道；懷疑如果沒有愛倫的恐嚇，亞南是否會繼續維持與享受她與式文的愛戀，直至永遠。尤其化裝舞會一場揭示，式文享受的，不單是亞南的易服，她也享受用自己的易服來配合對方。喬裝從來便不是單方面的遊戲。

電懣出品：丁皓的中性及身份喬裝

Stella Bruzzi 特別把電影視象構策中的中性策略 (androgyny)，與一般的易服喜劇類型片分開來。³瑪蓮德烈治的女裝襯衣上加男裝踢死兔兼抽煙明顯地並不是要扮男人，而是把一種要變成「其他」的慾望穿在身上。她象徵危險與越界，因為她表示她不滿足於一般女性所得到的。而在電影中，這種危險加強了她的性感，加強了她對男主角及（男女）觀眾的吸引。亞男形象的多樣及自主也加強了觀眾對她的好感，也是電影的賣

點，更是丁皓在她事業的高峰期被電懣捧出來作為新派青春偶像的個人風格。1955年，十六歲的丁皓欲考國際影片公司（電懣前身）的粵語組，但名額已滿，改考國語組被取錄，同期考入的還有蘇鳳、雷震、田青、楊群等。⁴丁皓生於澳門，七歲到十歲在上海唸書，十歲到香港。所以她雖懂幾句上海話，母語卻是粵語，國語則是考進電懣後才聘請陳又新老師專門教授。換句話說，丁皓這澳門廣東人，在她主演的廿多部國語電影中一直喬裝「外省人」，其中還包括在《南北和》系列中，演京菜館老闆劉恩甲的女兒，教分不清「舌頭」與「石頭」的張清講國語，來討好地域分明的父親。

丁皓的「語言天才」、⁵年輕活潑（丁皓出道數年一直被稱為「小丁皓」，其吮食奶瓶盛載的牛奶方能入睡的習慣也被廣泛報導）⁶使她的女扮男裝也成了她的多變身份、佻皮不定的多種變數之一，減低了她這形象對性別

such as *The Greatest Civil War on Earth* (1961), in which she plays a Northerner who teaches her Cantonese boyfriend to speak Mandarin to please her ethnocentric father.

The subtext of the production of Ting Hao the star speaks to a specific history of Hong Kong culture in the 1950s based on migration, hybridity and in many ways, self-transformation and disguise. The film industry of the 1950s was dominated by Mandarin cinema, much of it produced by personnel from Shanghai. Ting Hao's hybrid background of speaking three dialects boosted her survival skills tremendously in such a society of migrants. And in order to have any significance in the Mandarin and Shanghai-dominated MP & GI, Ting Hao needed her Shanghaiese to socialize and her Mandarin to act, thus upholding a relative cultural homogeneity for the image of the Studio. The irony of Ting Hao playing the Northerner's daughter in the North vs. South series speaks further to the demand for binary oppositions (North versus South; Cantonese versus all others lumped into one) in the popular imaginary of this temporarily stable



society. While Ting Hao's cultural hybridity needed to be suppressed, her readiness and skills for self-transformation and disguise translated into her star image in terms of gender. Her cultural mutability provided a pretext for her gender mutability and I would argue, rendered it more convenient and less dangerous. The (necessary and always ready) mutability of her ethnic identity, her widely marketed youth bordering on babyishness⁷ created an image of a more predictable instability, all of which help to tone down the potential subversiveness and multiple eroticism of her androgyny. The immaturity and adolescence emphasised in both the star image of Ting Hao and the character image of Ya-nan contrasts significantly, for example, with the maturity and self-consciousness embodied by Dietrich.

This is not to say that *You were Meant for Me* does not provide opportunities for problematizing conventions of gender construction. In fact, as seen in MP & GI productions, the room the Studio allowed to experiment with gender, specifically with masculinity, was definitely more flexible than that it gave to

意識的挑戰。在《遊戲人間》的宣傳刊物上，丁皓被兜售的形象主要是一名乖巧的小男生，並沒有瑪蓮德烈治的形象強調的自覺與夾雜一般危險。⁷這不是說《遊戲人間》的電影文本沒有提供顛覆的可能，而是說，把文本放回電影片場制度及市場策略的脈絡中看，可以更明白文本互涉所構成的張力，電懣作為一種工業模式，如何成功地同時造就、裝載也壓抑着顛覆性別構築，或異性戀模式的論述。而且這種對身份危機的探索、思考與重新肯定，不單是在（男性）性別上，更是在文化身份上。（男性）性別身份危機，可看成是文化身份危機的一種呈現，亦是在市場機制中較為隱晦，輕省又無關痛癢的一種。

焦雄屏認為電懣創作班底從上海逃難到香港，「原是小資產階級的文人嚐盡了求生的尷尬及挫折，對自己的處境充滿了自憐與委屈」，而把這種心理投射在女

性角色上。⁸這點出性別身份的再現可以是集體文化身份的一種想象與構成，在父權至上的電影片場制度中，女性角色與女明星的製造自然經常是男創作者的慾望反映。但如果只建立電懣的電影中「女星多是尤物，男星多是失敗者」這種二元對立，又實在簡化了電影中呈現出來的更複雜的男性情結。丁皓在《母與女》（唐煌，1960）中身心受創，絕望地等待出了國的富家少爺張揚回來救她，在《喜相逢》（卜萬蒼，1960）中又演無父無母，被後父母刻薄、被黑社會流氓逼迫，又怕被警察追趕的賣花女，似乎都可看成是劫難中男性自憐心理的投射。同時，這些女性苦難的唯一解藥，則是等待敢於向封建家庭反抗的少爺，帶她們逃出生天。這大概也是電懣的才子們對自身及對社會的冀望。表面上看來，電懣的電影好像都是陰盛陽衰，女明星的風采大大超越男演員。但細心看，



《母與女》：女兒變成了媽媽，洋娃娃卻永遠是囡囡。

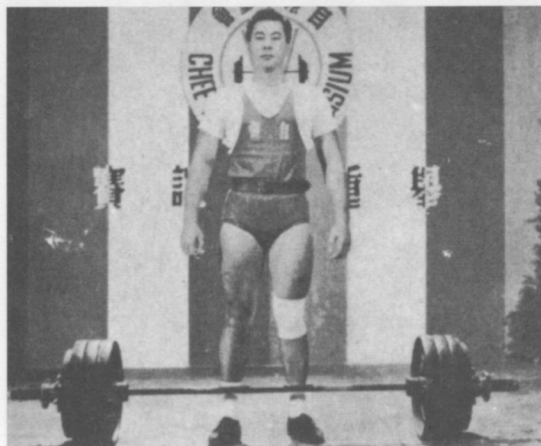
Ting Hao with mother and doll (on facing page) and with friend and doll (above) in *Devotion*.

電懣營造出來的男性都是一些極其有趣的形象，而且各具特色。

理想男性

舊的價值觀念跟封建的父權一樣不合理，理應被推翻，新的兩性關係五花八門，如何在多元的文化衝擊下，成為一名「新男人」？如果女性可以暫時成為「新男人」，那男人自己也不得不自我翻新一下。翻新一下則還有希望可爭回天下，只是也許不能再依附舊日的標準。《遊戲人間》揭示了在這瞬息萬變的性別萬花筒中，男性拋棄了固有的部份父權模式，又未找到可以倚傍的新標準來重新鞏固自己的特權之前的徬徨與無奈。電影企圖透過女性的陽性對比男性的缺點來尋找男性自我更新的方向。《遊戲人間》中的雷震（愛倫）是一名大輸家，「你爭不過我是你自己沒用」，最後他雖然贏得白露明（式文），但也不過是丁皓（亞男）讓給他的，他對劇情的

進展一些主宰權也沒有，並不是 Laura Mulvey 指的那種推展及掌握故事發展的男主角。⁹但雷震的「憂鬱小生」型與喬宏的「雄獅」型，¹⁰正正形成強烈對比，成為男性的兩極，一個溫文儒雅，一個強健穩重。式文有這樣的哥哥便應該找愛倫這樣的情人，兩個合起來剛好是一名「理想男性」。這樣看來，亞南這名也會打籃球但依然孱弱（一開始便佯病）的小男生畢竟是多餘的。更有趣的，電影選擇了把這些特性放在兩名男性身上，也揭示了文武的不全。¹¹電懣的男性角色雖然有自憐，但未嘗沒有自省。實際上，很多電影中的男性也千瘡百孔，雖然犯錯的是男人，受苦的確實是女人居多，但男性的錯仍然是電影所鞭撻的。《母與女》中的林家和（張揚飾）基於無知與懦弱害死了玲玲（丁皓飾），一生負疚。志堂（喬宏飾）從家和的錯中汲取教訓，選擇愛情而放棄名利，在觀眾心理上補贖了家和的罪。這也是懦弱男人經過反省自責後在堅強男人身上得到重生的例證。



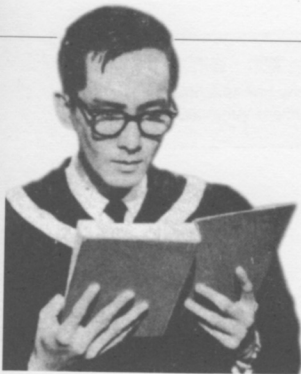
discussions of cultural ethnicity. Using *You were Meant for Me* as a case in point, while intertextual tension and contradiction among various textual elements carve out many discursive spaces around the issue of “what a man could be”, it is also quite spectacular to witness the powerful operations of MP & GI during its golden age, being able to simultaneously contain, employ, manipulate and suppress any discourse that might potentially challenge the heterosexually-biased genderization. In comparison, the class and ethnic specificity of the text remain much more stable; all the characters in *You were Meant for Me* are affluent, educated, Mandarin-speaking upper middle class professionals or their dependents.

Male Psyche in Flux

Peggy Chiao Hsiung-ping has argued that the MP & GI creative personnel, many of whom petty bourgeois intellectuals, were full of self-pity and frustrations when they fled to Hong Kong from Shanghai, and therefore needed to project their conflicted psyche

舊社會新世界

如果修身是治國平天下的必經階段，那麼懦弱男人也大概可以透過成為新男人而建立新世界。如果性別不是非男則女的二元，而是可變可塑，隨着角色脈絡、個人樂趣與消費規律而調整更易的話，那樣文化身份也不是非南則北，非南來則本地這樣可以明確劃分。這轉變中的新世界是否可容納到更開放多元的性別，更開放多元的中國文化？電懣高峰期的一群編導演員集合了上海、廣州、香港、澳門的人才，雖然一方面流露出了南來的流亡情結，但他們對流氓地痞橫行、貧富懸殊、多文化並存的香港未嘗沒審視。電影中也再現及構築了各種各樣的香港文化符號，不能單單以「過渡」一言蔽之（香港幾時不是在過渡？）。這些夾雜的文化符號，夾雜不定的性別身份，可能便是香港文化身份必然的一部份，從而見證了一個永遠都有危機，又永遠都有可能的香港。大



家來到新鮮的香港，協助其經濟起飛的同時，企圖尋找一種共同的關注及跨越文化隔膜、鼓勵消費的創作語言，於是深思熟慮地製作了大量愛情通俗劇及歌舞片。透過這種語言，一個理想世界逐漸成形，在這世界裡，女生可以暫時試享男性的特權，男子可以透過反省及努力，自力更新，成為更好的男人。但一如所有理想世界，這黃金時間並不持久，很快，香港電影便被單向的陽剛及更迎合草根的搞笑所壟斷。

onto the female characters in their productions.⁸ This points to an argument that representation and construction of sexual and gender identities are inevitably part of a collective cultural imaginary. In the male-dominated film studio system, the manufacturing of female characters and stars are of course, in many ways, the representation of desire and fantasy of their male producers. While I agree with Chiao that the stardom of the MP & GI culture is one dominated by female sexuality, it is also important to note that the male characters and stars in these films are often representations of a masculinity in crisis, one in flux but yet to be “reformed” and refined.

In *You were Meant for Me*, for example, although much of the focus of the diegesis is on Ya-nan the mischievous young woman and the focus of the image is on Ting Hao the young female star, the desirability of such a focus is however, on her adoption, embodiment and reform of masculinity. Leaving the old society behind, the feudalistic father who did not have a sense of humour and failed to communicate with the youth

was outdated and too needed to be left behind. In this new refugee society called Hong Kong, Westernized, temporarily stable and intrinsically hybrid, a new kind of male authority was called for. Ai-lun, with much baggage of traditional Chinese intellectuals, is weak and indecisive, therefore does not seem to fit the bill. What makes a “good man” in this new world? Using her class privileges, Ya-nan is able to transform herself into a gentle, sensitive, strong and decisive young man. Cho-jan seems like a role model as well, but his kind of muscular masculinity is relegated in the film to the realm of the spectacle, into a position of an object to be assessed and gazed on. When Ai-lun protests against Ya-nan’s notion of masculinity (“Muscle does not equal masculinity!”), he seems to be protesting more against the popularity of types like Cho-jan, betraying possibly the MP & GI bourgeois intellectuals’ attitudes towards the muscleman. The characterization of Ai-lun and Cho-jan could be read as a critique of conventional and traditional stereotypes of masculinity, the inadequacies of both *wen* (the

1. 見焦雄屏，〈故國北望：中產階級的出埃及記——談電懣片廠家庭通俗劇及歌舞喜劇反映的矛盾與幻想〉，《電影欣賞》，第88期，1997年8月。
2. 見Chris Straayer, "Redressing the 'Natural': The Temporary Transvestite Film" in *Deviant Eyes, Deviant Bodies: Sexual Reorientation in Film and Video*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1996.
3. 見Stella Bruzzi: *Undressing Cinema: Clothing and Identity in the Movies*, London and New York: Routledge, 1977, pp. 173-199.
4. 見〈丁皓之頁〉，《國際電影》，第69期，1961年7月。但《娛樂畫報》，第73期，1967年7月報道丁皓死訊時則記載丁皓十四歲考進電懣。
5. 見《國際電影》，第80期，1962年6月，頁26。
6. 見《國際電影》，第69期，1961年7月，頁36及《國際電影》，第38期，1958年12月，頁8。
7. 見〈丁皓變作男兒身〉，《遊戲人間》特刊，國際電影畫報電影小說叢書。
8. 見焦雄屏，同註1，頁11。
9. 見Laura Mulvey, "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema" in *Screen*, vol. 16, no. 3, 1975.
10. 「憂鬱小生」及「雄獅」都是二人被廣泛報導的稱號，尤見於《國際電影》，也見於〈柔馴的雄獅〉，《香港電影》，第5期，1962年12月。
11. 卓然在《遊戲人間》中的「武」，也不過是參加舉重比賽，是一種純粹裝飾性的，供人觀賞與物化的遊戲。這可看成是文人電影對體力的一種不屑，或小資產階級把男性身體也物化，變成可供消費與觀賞的產品。也可看成是電懣黃金時期的通俗愛情劇中對陽剛的一種呈現及理解。

編按

有趣的是，《遊戲人間》的編劇正正是後來在邵氏揭起「陽剛」之風的張徹，他在電懣還編寫了《無語問蒼天》（1961）、《賊美人》（1961）、《桃李爭春》（1962）等多個出色的劇本。

intellectual) and *wu* (the physical) in themselves. The "ideal" form of masculinity seems to lie somewhere between Ai-lun and Cho-jan, an amalgamation who could very well look like the well-off gentleman-athlete Ya-nan. The film points to the reformability of masculinity, a new form of manhood, ironically through the body of a (class-specific) woman. It is in such irony that marks the instability of identity in these formations, culturally and sexually.

Amidst a generation of artists and intellectuals undergoing voluntary and involuntary exile, the ability and will to reform and transform oneself became key. While other ways of transformation, including socially and/or politically, seemed less feasible and definitely less marketable in a refugee society, forms of self-renewal through unconventional genderization could be seen as simultaneously a desirable and irrelevant outlet. *You were Meant for Me* reveals a sense of loss of traditional standards, a will to challenge conventions and a yearning for the new, in order to reinstate and

perpetuate the privileges under threat among the male elites in migration. In this imaginary new world this collective yearning temporarily creates and sustains, women can get a taste of some of the male privileges, men can become better men through constant self-reflection, suffering and will (Ai-lun has to go through surgery and the threat of losing Shih-wen). But like any other golden age or new world, the spirit of experimentation and self-reflexiveness did not last long. Hong Kong cinema would soon be dominated by a more homogeneous and self-assured type of masculinity once it entered the 1970s.

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- (2) 于毅, 〈電懣公司的崛起變革及沒落〉, 同參考資料(1), 頁7-9。
- (3) 張建德, 〈類型、作者與連結: 從五十年代電懣公司的喜劇看香港電影的作者問題〉, 同參考資料(1), 頁18-25。

游靜, 電影及錄像工作者, 作家。新作有《我餓》(1999), 《好郁》(2002)。現任教於香港理工大學設計學院。

Yau Ching, film/videomaker and writer. Recent film/video works include: *I'm Starving* (1999), *The Impossible Home* (2000) and *Let's Love Hong Kong* (2002). Currently teaching at the School of Design of the Hong Kong Polytechnic University.

Notes

1. See Chris Straayer, "Redressing the 'Natural': The Temporary Transvestite Film" in *Deviant Eyes, Deviant Bodies: Sexual Reorientations in Film and Video*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1996, pp. 42-78.
2. See Peggy Chiao Hsiung-ping (Jiao Xiongping), "Looking North to the Old Country: The Middle Class Exodus" in *Film Appreciation* (in Chinese), no. 88, August 1997.
3. See Chris Straayer, op. cit., p. 42.
4. See Chris Straayer, op. cit., p. 42.
5. See Stella Bruzzi: *Undressing Cinema: Clothing and Identity in the Movies*, London and New York: Routledge, 1977, pp. 173-199.
6. See "Ting Hao Becomes a Man" in *You were Meant for Me* Booklet (in Chinese), International Screen Film Novel Series.
7. Ting Hao (Ding Hao) was often reported as having the habit of carrying a milk bottle with her and drinking milk before she could sleep. For example, see *International Screen* (in Chinese), no. 69, July 1961, p. 36 and *International Screen*, no. 38, December 1958, p. 8.
8. See Peggy Chiao Hsiung-ping, op. cit.

Editor's note

It's worth noting that *You were Meant for Me* was written by none other than Chang Cheh (Zhang Che), who later launched the very masculine martial arts tradition in Shaws. His other scripts for MP & GI include *Song without Words* (1961), *The Girl with the Golden Arm* (1961) and *It's Always Spring* (1962).

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香港電影資料館 Hong Kong Film Archive

香港西灣河鯉景道50號

50 Lei King Road, Sai Wan Ho, Hong Kong

電話 Tel: (852) 2739 2139

傳真 Fax: (852) 2311 5229

電郵 E-mail: hkfa@lcsd.gov.hk

網址 Website: <http://www.filmarchive.gov.hk>