研究報告——王菲和一位華語音樂天后的歌迷圈子

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「她的歌曲不單要高踞音樂排行榜首，也有話要說。是所有女人的故事……許多人說他們堅強、固執……但很少人能像王菲一樣待人處世……所有成功女人的言行舉止都應該像王菲一樣。」說話的人是受過良好教育的女性，她在思索她的偶像王菲的歌曲《執迷不悔》的意義。

本項研究為期六年，訪問的歌迷多達 20 名，大都是職業女性，年齡在 18 歲到四十多歲之間，在香港和大陸各地居住。訪問的內容是關於她們對她們的偶像——紅遍華人社會的歌星王菲——的情感和喜愛。結合各種方法，包括對王菲的歌詞、人格面貌和形象的分析，以研究她的女性形象如何被歌迷據為己有，以及他們與王菲的形象接觸，如何與他們在現實環境的文化規範和男女有別的家庭角色中面對的兩難發生關係。

王菲在北京土生土長，1987 年移居香港後，開始粵語流行曲的歌唱事業。1991 年前往美國，事業中斷，引起爭議。回港後音樂風格一新，包括 R&B 和靈魂樂成分，成為新的前衛巨星。專輯《十萬個為甚麼》和《執迷不悔》（1993）在香港銷量達到 30 萬，打破記錄，確立了她的天后地位。1996 年，她登上《時代》雜誌封面，獲得天后、女神和東方巨星的稱譽，此後多年依然是全球華人社會的音樂天后。

她在華語流行音樂中獨特的地位，來自商業影響和我行我素的形象之間的微妙平衡。她以商業歌手的身份表演，卻拒絕遵從華人娛樂圈的市場俗套。因此建立了獨立於行業之外的形象，同時保持對廣告商、媒體和市場的吸引。這種態度在她的歌曲《討好自己》（1994）中可以見到，其中宣示她只討好自己，對市場視而不見。正是特立獨行的形象為歌迷展現了完美自主的生活方式，樹立了模範，而歌迷在生活中抗拒社會規範的慾望與她一樣強烈。一名大陸女性歌迷說：

> 「你知道，女人對甚麼都抱怨，家庭啊、工作量啊、男朋友啊等等。其實我們只在乎滿足別人，不是滿足自己。王菲就不同了……她不必滿足別人……她始終如一，堅定不移。」

王菲成為受歡迎的歌手，是各地華人社會中女性地位上升，抗拒男性權勢的象徵。歌迷，尤其是香港中產階級女性，逐漸把她的風格和形象據為己有，崇拜她為英雄偶像，她的行為和態度成為中國女性仿效的對象。對於女性歌迷，王菲具有深遠的意義，因為她能引起共鳴，然後提供答案。這些女性被困在一個資本主義社會中的愛情、工作、家庭關係中，總在等待變化和出路，以擺脫單調的生活節奏。王菲的歌曲《出路》（1994）

描寫這些矛盾，形容一般女性如何沒有直截了當的出路，在社會上尋求較美好的未來。一個二十多歲的香港歌迷說：

「我看不到自己有出路。《出路》表達真正的問題和現實。我對婚姻和家庭沒信心，對男人沒信心。但我能做甚麼呢？.....我寧可行為像王菲一樣，愛幹甚麼就幹甚麼.....也許去美國是我的出路。」

一個來自香港中產階級家庭的二十歲女性這樣談對王菲的歌曲《棋子》的感想：

「我喜歡這首歌曲，因為它反映了今天女性面對的困難。我們往往是別人的棋子，尤其是男人的棋子。我們——我母親和我——被別人控制着。我在家裡沒有發言權。對於男朋友，我也是棋子。我想王菲確實很棒。她挑戰常規，真勇敢.....她唱出了女性的真正問題。」

像王菲的其他歌曲一樣，《棋子》捕捉了許多當代女性的困境。實際上，中產階級女性往往要兼顧職業女性和傳統妻子或女兒的角色。許多成功的女性依舊被傳統家庭主婦的責任束縛，在社會上則因女性的身份而吃虧。王菲的歌迷把她當作勇於揭露現實矛盾的人。顯然，對她們中許多人，追隨王菲的榜樣，過自主的生活，挑戰父權制，在資本主義工作場所中毫不妥協等是不實際的；大多數女性沒有必要的經濟資源來走上這個極端。然而她們能詮釋王菲的形象，把它作為豐富的資源，幫助她們面對在工作場所和其他社會領域中遇到的挑戰和鬥爭。一名受王菲啟迪的歌迷說：「要勇於嘗試任何事物，無怨無悔。要獨立、能幹，性格要像王菲一樣。」

本文是以下文章的節錄本，已獲得作者授權：
Fung, Anthony (2009). “Faye and the fandom of a Chinese diva,” Popular Communication, 7(2): 252-266.

上一篇文章的英文版：

Faye Wong and the fandom of a Chinese diva

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"Her song not only aims at topping the music charts, but also aims at making a point. It is a story of all women … Many people say they are strong, stubborn … However, few of them can act like Faye…. Any successful woman should behave like Faye." This is said by a well-educated lady reflecting on the song "Stubbornness and Regretless" of her idol Faye Wong.

In this study that stretched over six years, up to 20 fans, mainly professional women aged between 18 to the 40s, were interviewed throughout Hong Kong and China about their feelings and affection towards their idol Faye Wong – a singer popular among Chinese communities. Combined with ethnographic research methods, including textual analysis of Faye's lyrics, persona and image, the study examines how Faye's images of femininity are being appropriated by her fans, and how their engagement with Faye's persona relates to the dilemmas they face against a background of existing cultural norms and gendered family values.

A Beijingese and an immigrant to Hong Kong since 1987, Faye started her career in Hong Kong as a Cantopop star. After a controversial hiatus in the USA in 1991, she returned with a new music style that incorporated R&B and American soul music and transformed into a new avant-garde superstar. Her status of diva was confirmed when her albums "100,000 Whys" and "No regrets" (1993) achieved record-breaking total sales of 300,000 in Hong Kong. In 1996 she was featured on the cover of *Time* magazine and was honoured as diva, goddess and prima donna of the Orient she remains so until now, queen of female singers among the global Chinese communities.

Her unique position in Chinese pop lies in her delicate balance between commercial influence and her culturally uncompromising image. While performing as a commercial singer, she refuses to comply with conventional market practices in the Chinese entertainment circles. By doing so, she constructs an image independent of the industry, while still retaining the appeal to advertisers, media and the market. Such an attitude can be seen in her song "Please Myself" (1994), in which she publicly declares that she only pleases herself and not the market. It is precisely her independent and non-conforming persona that portrays a perfect autonomous lifestyle for her fans who equally desire to resist social norms. A Chinese female fan said:

"Women, you know, always grouse about something, family, work-load, and

boyfriends. It turns out that we try to satisfy others, not ourselves. Faye is different … she doesn't have to satisfy others … She is very consistent and determined."

The popularity of Faye as a female singer itself is a symbol of rising power of women against the male dominance in various Chinese communities. Gradually fans, in particular middle class Hong Kong women, start to appropriate her style and persona, and idolize her as a controversial heroine figure whose acts and attitudes are seen as desirable for Chinese women. The relevance of Faye's to her fandom stems from her ability to touch a chord with middle class women and then provide them with answers. While entrapped in a relationship of love, work and family in a capitalist society, these middle class women is always waiting for changes and exits out of the monotonous rhythm of their lives. Faye's song "Exit" (1994) speaks about these dilemmas, describing how women in general have no direct and perfect way out for a better future in society. A Hong Kong fan in her 20s said:

"I don't see myself having an exit. "Exit" expresses real problems. I have no confidence in marriage and family. I have no confidence in a man. But what can I do? … I would rather behave like Faye who did what she wanted to do… Maybe going to America is my exit."

A 20-year-old woman from a middle class Hong Kong family talked about her feeling towards Faye's song, "Chess":

"I like this song because it reflects the difficulties of women nowadays. We are often others' pawns, mainly males' pawns. We, my mother and I, are controlled by others. I don't have any voice in family. With my boyfriend, I am also his pawn. I think Faye is really great. She is brave to challenge the situation… and addresses the real problems of women."

Like many Faye's songs, "Chess" captures the dilemmas of many contemporary women in Hong Kong. Practically, middle class women always have to juggle between the role of professional women and their role as traditional wives or daughters. Very often successful married women are still fettered in their family as traditional housewives and in society as disadvantaged individuals. Faye's fans see her as an individual who is bold enough to expose the contradictory nature of reality, and Faye's stardom may provide a direct and immediate way out for them. Clearly, it would be unrealistic for many of them to follow Faye's example in leading a self-directed lifestyle, challenging patriarchy and being non-compromising within the capitalist workplace; most women do not possess the necessary economic resources for this radical move. Yet, they are able to openly interpret Faye's persona as rich

symbolic and cultural resources to help them face the challenges and struggles in their workplaces and other social realms. A Faye-inspired fan said: “Be brave to try anything without regret. Be independent, competent and have a character like Faye’s.”

Extracted and rewritten with permission from: Fung, Anthony (2009). “Faye and the fandom of a Chinese diva,” *Popular Communication*, 7(2): 252-266.

研究材料——王菲歌迷的意見調查

你好，我正進行一項有關王菲歌迷如何理解女性形象的研究，所有討論內容絕對保密，下列問題沒有正確或錯誤的答案，我只想知道你個人的看法，多謝合作。

請告訴我你的年齡。（不要記錄受訪者姓名。）

1. 你從哪個時候開始喜歡王菲呢？
2. 你喜歡王菲的甚麼特質（例如性格、形象、唱歌風格等等）？
3. 這些特質有沒有跟你相似或不同的地方呢？
4. 你對她的那些歌曲作品最有共鳴？可否引述一些例子來加以說明？
5. 這些作品如何道出你的心事、情感和疑問？
6. 王菲這位偶像令你對現實生活有甚麼啓發？
7. 王菲這位偶像如何令你重新理解女性的形象？