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**A Report on the E-C Translation Practice of
Gender, Agency and Change (Chapters 8)**

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摘要

本英译汉翻译实践报告源文来自《性别，能动与变革》的第八章，作者是布里特·玛丽·图伦。本章讲述了西班牙女性通过参加邻里运动来提升自身社会地位，同时改变了社会上固有的性别秩序，获得了在男女平等上的部分成功。

作为社科信息文本，本章语言论述性强，段落衔接紧密，对译文的准确性与专业性要求较高，因此文化负载词的准确含义、语句形式的隐藏含义、篇章结构的规划处理等就成为本次翻译实践的难点。在翻译过程中，译者主要从词汇、句法和语篇三个方面来解决翻译难点。在词汇方面主要是特定语域下语义的确定，对抽象名词进行词性转换，对文化负载词进行译入语的归化处理。句法层面，分析理清长句的结构以落实译句句型，对复杂长句进行拆分和重组，对不同涵义的被动句采用以无主句为主的方法以及对带有贬义的词保留被动的翻译方法。在语篇层面，采取增加合适的连接词进行前后衔接以及翻译指代来照应前文的翻译方法，使得译文更符合汉语表达习惯。如此，解决了翻译的难点，实现了源文和译文在词法、句法和篇章层次的对等。

通过运用不同的翻译策略解决所遇到的翻译难点，译者的翻译技能和文本分析能力得到了提升，同时意识到了知识储备和译稿润色的重要性，对于社会人类学中的社会结构方面也有了更进一步的了解。这篇报告总结了本次翻译实践的经验、收获和不足之处，期

望为其他社会人类学文本的翻译实践提供借鉴与参考。

关键词：《性别，能动与变革》；文化负载词；复杂长句；衔接；指代

Abstract

The source text for this English to Chinese translation practice report is from Chapter 8 of *Gender, Agency, and Change*, authored by Britt-Marie Thurén. This chapter discusses how Spanish women have improved their social status by participating in neighborhood movements, simultaneously challenging the entrenched gender hierarchy in the society, and achieving partial success in gender equality.

As a text in the social sciences, this chapter exhibits strong discursiveness with closely connected paragraphs, demanding higher requirements for accuracy and professionalism in translation. This makes a challenge for translation in the accurate expressions of cultural-loaded terms, the explicit hidden meaning in sentence structures, and the planning and handling of discourse structures. During the translation process, the translator mainly addressed translation difficulties from three aspects: lexical, syntax, and discourse. In terms of vocabulary, the focus is on determining the semantics in specific linguistic domains, transforming abstract noun phrases into appropriate parts of speech, and naturalizing cultural-loaded terms into the target language. At the syntactic level, the structure of long sentences is analyzed and clarified to establish proper sentence patterns. And complex long sentences are broken down and restructured. The method of using non-subject sentences is adopted for

passive constructions with different meanings, as well as retaining passive translation for terms with derogatory connotations. At the discourse level, appropriate conjunctions are added for coherence between sentences, and translation references are employed to refer to previous text, making the translation more consistent with Chinese expression habits. Through these means, the translation difficulties are addressed, achieving equivalence between the source text and the translated text in terms of lexicology, syntax, and discourse.

By applying different translation strategies to tackle encountered translation difficulties, the translator improved her translation skills and text analysis abilities, while also realizing the importance of knowledge reserves and polishing translations. She has also gained a deeper understanding of social structures in anthropology. This report summarizes the experiences and shortcomings of this translation practice and hopes to provide insights and references for the translation practice of other social anthropology texts.

Key Words: *Gender, Agency, and Change*; cultural-loaded words; complex sentences; cohesion; reference

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Chapter 1 Task Description

1.1 Project Background

The book *Gender, Agency and Change* was initially published by Routledge in 2000. The author of the book is Victoria Ana Goddard. It was divided into 11 chapters. The translator translated the chapter 8 of the book, which consists of 9,812 English words, is not yet available in Chinese. Therefore, the number of words in the source text meets the requirements of the graduation thesis of the master of translation.

The book belongs to the European Association of Social Anthropology, EASA, a professional association representing social anthropologists to help the renewal of the distinctive European tradition in social anthropology. The author of chapter 8 is *Britt-Marie Thuren* who is a Professor of Gender Studies at the Centre for Women's Studies, Umea University, Sweden. He has devoted himself to women's studies and has published at least one paper on the subject.

1.2 Introduction to the Source Text

In the term of content, the book describes that the democratic elections of 1977 formally put an end to four decades of authoritarian Francoist government rule, Spanish women attempted to change the inherent gender order of men and women through neighbourhood movement, transforming the social fabric. The initial success in several parts of the country has given a hope. Women “stepped out” of their traditional roles in the family through the neighbourhood movement, gradually moving away from the stereotypical model of caring for their husbands and children as a housewife, and becoming involved in activities such as neighbourhood organizations, giving women more freedom. Although they were still politically disparate, they achieved equality in other ways. Although there are difficulties along the way towards the equality, more

and more Spanish women are daring to take the first step. However, the source text is not an entirely feminist article, nor are the women who participate in the neighbourhood movement entirely feminist. The women who participate in this movement are simply trying to live a better life. The source article more graphically compares women and men to a house and a street, calling for women to “get out of the house and into the street.” The author uses Spanish women to show how they found a way of life for themselves that lasted a long time and required a lot of effort. The article is about the gradual disintegration of the previously inherited gender order, women are no longer resigned to taking care of the family and children at home, and the easiest way for women to achieve this is through the street where can be a space for women's political struggles, and the neighborhood movement is an example of this. Interestingly, the article is particularly graphic in dividing men and women into the street and the house and encouraging women to get out of the house and step into the street. In the term of structure, the passage comprises a total of eight sections. They are introduction, background, history of the neighborhood movement, Time, space and gender in the *barrio*, stories about participation, Questions about women in the movement, different ways of participating which describes detailed four examples in Elda, Linares, Cordova and Vigo and Conclusion.

1.3 Significance of the Task

These days, there is a growing focus on gender issues. Dissatisfied with being confined to the role of a housewife, more and more women aspire to establish their own position, whether at home, in the workplace, or even in political organizations. This chapter serves as an inspiration for women from other countries, encouraging them to strive for equality.

The Spanish women depicted in this chapter adopted a unique approach to engage in the neighborhood movement, aiming to assert their own positions. Therefore, it is crucial to translate such texts, as they convey the message that women deserve equal

rights and opportunities as men. Furthermore, this translation endeavor holds significant importance for both the translators themselves and their counterparts. Through this practice, translators can enhance their translation skills, particularly when dealing with Spanish vocabulary. Since they may not be fully proficient in other languages, they rely on online translation tools or Spanish dictionaries during the translation process. Additionally, translating local histories and cultures of Spain requires meticulous attention, leading to improved abilities in conducting literature searches and problem-solving through information gathering.

Then, being an English book on women's sociology, it delves into the topic of feminism, which is highly relevant and widely discussed in today's context. This not only accumulates valuable experience for future translations of similar texts but also contributes to the diversification of sociological translation practices in China. Such translated texts inject new vitality into the research on domestic feminism-related works, providing valuable information for future translators and researchers. In a society where the stereotypes of "male superiority and female inferiority" and "male dominance outside and female dominance inside" are deeply entrenched, this translation offer insights for domestic women to discover their sense of belonging in both life and society, and how to realize their personal worth.

For translators, in the translation process she can further enhance their understanding of translation principles and techniques and employ them in practice, build up their repertoire of professional vocabulary and anthropology-related knowledge. This facilitates the development of her capacity to translate texts of this nature.

Chapter 2 Pre-translation Preparations

Pre-translation preparation is an indispensable part of each translation, the thoroughness of these preparations significantly impacts the smoothness and quality of the translation process. This stage involves several key activities, such as analyzing the writing style of the source text, selecting appropriate translation tools, and establishing a terminology database to formulate an effective translation plan. As the selected text is a highly specialized sociological work, it also requires a certain amount of relevant literature and parallel texts at home and abroad, and the translator is relatively unfamiliar with this kind of text, preliminary preparations is necessary.

2.1 Analysis of Text Types

The source text is about feminist research, and according to the author's introduction in the first chapter, it can be learned that this work belongs to the academic work of anthropology. As a cross-discipline between sociology and feminism, the development of this is still not perfect, and there are only a few related translations in China, so the translator combines the reading of research literature on the same topic with this translation practice report to prepare for reference.

Based on real facts, the source text is to convey information. However, it also integrates the author's thoughts and opinions on the social status of Spain. Therefore, in a comprehensive analysis, the informational function takes precedence, with the expressive function serving a secondary role. Consequently, the source text can be classified as a compound text. As an informative text, it incorporates numerous professional terms such as sociology-specific terminology and place names that require careful handling. Additionally, the text features numerous complex sentences, necessitating the translator to approach them with caution and select the most suitable translation methods. Being an informational text, sociological texts are replete with specialized vocabulary alongside the author's distinct ideas. During the translation

process, repeated readings of the original text are necessary to decipher the author's underlying concepts. The text holds practical significance, characterized by a clear thematic thread, compact content, and varying articulation styles adopted by the author based on the text's stylistic characteristics.

The overall structure of the passage follows a general-division-general pattern, with multiple subheadings preceding the start of each section to achieve aesthetically pleasing and precise translation.

2.2 Glossary Building

In the same book, each chapter appears to be independent, lacking direct connections between them. Therefore, it is crucial to organize related professional terms to ensure accuracy and consistency in the target text. Given the novel and specialized nature of the content, the translator should actively seek out relevant technical vocabulary to develop a comprehensive glossary for this text. Additionally, considering that the source text originates from Spain, it contains some Spanish words. Due to the linguistic similarities between Spanish and English, the translator must accurately differentiate between the two languages.

This chapter contains numerous repetitive words. With the aid of the glossary provided in Appendix, the translator can easily match the appropriate meanings with these recurring terms, thereby enhancing the overall quality and coherence of the translation.

2.3 Tools and Parallel Texts

Since the translator only received the PDF version of the book, she first needed to convert it into an editable format using tools to facilitate the translation process. However, there were some errors during the transformation process. As a result, she had to thoroughly review the entire passage, making consistent revisions to ensure

accuracy. The choice of translation tools matters in this process. Prior to formal translation, the translator utilized online tools such as DeepL and Google Translate to get a general understanding of the text's meaning. Then planned to complete the initial translation in a certain time by dividing the passage into manageable sections. During this initial translation phase, achieving complete accuracy was not the primary goal. Furthermore, employing computer-assisted translation tools like Trados or MemoQ can enhance accuracy and faithfulness to the source text. The translator should also engage in multiple rounds of self-revision to improve the quality of her writing. If necessary, she can seek assistance from teachers or classmates to address any lingering uncertainties or challenges.

Short of anthropology knowledge, we have to read some parallel texts before translation. The translator read some parallel texts like *Gender, Language and Discourse* and *A Preliminary Inquiry into Socio-Cultural Anthropology* (Shao and Ying, 2018). Also, some anthropology dictionaries are used during translation such as *A Chinese-English Dictionary of Social Sciences* and *The Cambridge Dictionary of Sociology*.

Chapter 3 Case Study

3.1 Translation at the Lexical Level

Belonging to the field of social anthropology, the source text undoubtedly contains specialized terminology. Meanwhile, it includes linguistic anthropological terms. Accurate translation of these terms is crucial for effectively conveying the original information. Furthermore, since some words or phrases may not be readily available in the dictionaries, the extended meaning of these abstract words is appropriately introduced. When dealing with static expressions such as noun structures and adjectives, the translator employs part-of-speech conversion for smoother expression.

3.1.1 Determining Anthropology Terms

In some degree, term translation could be regarded as seeking out a way for relevant information or consult professionals to explain terms rather than translate terms. (Kang ,2012:44) Therefore, to ensure the accuracy of terminology translation, the translator should depend on different tools like related anthropological dictionaries and other resources. At the same time, the translation of terms should also be combined with the specific context in which the terms are located, because the terms have no separate existence, they are always associated with a semantic whole (G. Rondeau, 1985:19). Accurate translation of terms is the first step to complete the whole process, and the foundation of successful translation, due to this reason, the loyalty to the source text is the priority. In this part, there are two examples about terms which selected from different sentences of the source text.

Example 1

Source Text (ST): *Gender, Agency and Change*

Target Text (TT): 《性别, 能动与变革》

Analysis: This is the title of the book which is quite important before translating the content of the whole text. Typically, the word “agency” is translated as “机构” which does not fit here. From *the Cambridge Dictionary of Sociology*, the term “Agency” means some segments of social actions are consciously driven by actor’s interests, desires, and attachments to others. Also, this definition was developed in *Pierre Bourdieu* from the rise of structuralist and existentialist arguments in France. Here this can be translated as “能动” or “能动性”- a conscious action of a person in society rather than a reactive move out of instinct or unconsciousness but in feminism theory it has another extended development, “agency” refers to “capability, free willing”. It emphasizes a state in which an individual learns to use his or her capabilities through free will. Meanwhile, “gender” and “change” are both translated into two-word, so “能动” is better.

Example 2

Source Text (ST): There is some playful flirtation, but serious affairs are discouraged as most activists are married and involved in dense local networks that rapidly carry gossip.

Target Text (TT1): 虽然也会嬉戏打闹，但由于大多数积极分子都已婚，并参与了广泛的地方网络，，这些本地关系网会迅速传播流言蜚语，因此不鼓励婚外情。

Target Text (TT2): 虽然也会嬉戏打闹，但由于大多数积极分子都已婚，并有广泛的社会网，而这些社会网会散播流言蜚语，因此不提倡婚外情。

Analysis: In TT1, the translator translates “network” into “关系网” from the context. However, “network” —“社会网” as a sociological perspective originated with the German sociologist Zimmer, and for more than a century social scientists have used the metaphor of “social networks” to denote a variety of complex social relationships at different scales. It was not until the 1950s, however, that they began to systematically and consciously use the term to denote a way of relating that was different from the traditional sense of bounded social groups (e.g., the village and the family) and social

categories (e.g., gender and ethnicity) that viewed people as discrete individuals. From the mid-1960s onwards, an elaborate doctrine began to emerge to help us understand how people are networked. Though it is a common word but given that the source text is a social anthropological text, it is more appropriate to translate this word in this way like TT2 to show its accuracy.

Example 3

Source Text (ST): In any case, it is safe to suggest that these grass-roots characteristics, taken together, create a woman-friendly context, this being one of the things that the women themselves stressed when I questioned them about their reasons for joining.

TT1 : 无论如何，可以肯定地说，这些草根特征加在一起，创造了一个对女性友好的环境，这是当我询问她们加入的原因时，这些女性自己强调的事情之一。

TT2 : 无论如何，可以肯定的是，把这些基本特点结合在一起，构建了一个对妇女友好的环境。在我询问她们为何加入时，妇女们对此很认同。

Analysis: The term “grassroots” was originated in the United States in the 19th century and has been used in the field of sociology to mean “基层” and “大众”. In Chinese, people use “草根” to call somebody from rural areas. But it was better extended to “基本特点” than “基层特点” in the source text. Professional terms are the most specialized terms, so it is necessary to ensure the consistency between the target text and the source text in the translation to be as concise and clear as possible, and to conform to the principle of English expressions. Accuracy is not all of term translation. Seriously, every translation is not accurate. So, there is traduttore traditore in translation. (Jiang, 2005).

3.1.2 Verbalizing Abstract Nouns

Compared to other types of nouns, abstract nouns are those with more abstract

meanings. The semantic ambiguity of abstract nouns is the primary and greatest challenge in translating, stemming from their highly general and abstract nature. The fundamental difficulty in translating abstract nouns is also attributed to their characteristic of being highly generalized and abstract. Because of the differences in thinking and word formation between English and Chinese, so in the process of English-Chinese translation, word by word translation sometimes works, however, sometimes it doesn't. Parts of speech conversion is very common in English-Chinese translation, such as converting English nouns into verbs, adverbs, or other parts of speech, and converting English verbs into adverbs, nouns, prepositions, and other parts of speech. Conversion aims to make the translation smooth without restricting to the original sentence structure (Liu, 2006).

Example 4

Source Text (ST): An invitation to join might come from this person but often the initiative came from the recruit herself.

TT1: 加入的邀请可能来自他人但是通常自主权来自于新加入的自己。

TT2: 有人可能发出了邀请，但通常是新成员自愿加入。

Analysis: Translators should not be confined to the original text but should flexibly convert some word classes in the original text into other word classes in the target language. Translators should convert English nouns into other parts of speech in Chinese because the nouns are usually derivatives of English verbs which indicate sorts of actions, and they can be used either as nouns or as verbs. (Luo,2015) In fact, shifts from nouns to verbs are essentially unconventional and flexible ways of expression that aim to break through the collocation rules of nouns to convey the meaning better and more effectively. A significant difference between Chinese and English is that there is no morphological change in Chinese (Pan,2012). Chinese people usually express chronological order by lexis and order of verbs (Wang,2005). “Initiative” means “自主权”, and if translated to “自主权来自于新加入的自己” directly, which is ambiguous and does not read well, so the way to deal with “initiative” here is to verbalize it, “自愿

加入”，naturally turning a noun into a structure of Adverb + Verb like. By this, the whole sentence is more concise and easier to understand. Also, the word order needs corresponding adjustments to “新成员自愿加入”. English tends to use more nouns, so the narrative is static while Chinese tends to use more verbs, so the narrative is dynamic. In the process of English-Chinese translation, there is a certain difference between English language and Chinese language structure and expression habits. Therefore, the phenomenon of changing the sentence structure and the situation of this kind of conversion will inevitably occur, the main reason is that if only according to the syntactic structure, the English syntax has a certain logic. But Chinese sentences are more complex, with fewer lexical changes and fewer forms. No matter which language you are translating, verbs and nouns are the most important vocabulary. The advantages of different vocabularies and the degree of importance of different languages are also somewhat different, for example, nouns have a greater advantage in the use of English statements, while verbs have a greater advantage in the use of Chinese. Therefore, in the process of English-Chinese translation, the actual situation of differentiated translation should be considered, and effectively do a good job of tonal conversion.

Example 5

ST: The feminist organizers proudly stressed that this brave proposal had come from the women themselves.

TT1: 女权主义者自豪地强调，这一勇敢的提议是“来自妇女自己”。

TT2: 女性主义者骄傲地宣称是女性大胆提出了这个方案。

Analysis: “Propose” is the verb form of “proposal”. Comparing the two translations, TT1 puts emphasis on “proposal” while TT2 on “women”. However, Chinese usually prefers to using the person as the beginning. Facing this, the translator firstly adjusts the sentence pattern, then when dealing with “brave proposal had come from the women themselves”, it is changed from the original noun form to its verb form and use “女性” as the subject, which is more in line with the Chinese idiom. The conversion not only shortens the whole sentence but also meets the Chinese language habit. This transformation fits the structure of Subject+ Verb+ Object and reads more

fluently. In most cases, whether there is a must to change the part of speech often confuses the translators. However, it is not enough only to focus on replicating the part of speech of the original text. Given the disparities between English and Chinese, achieving equivalence in parts of speech during translation is often challenging. English tends to favor nouns, whereas Chinese more frequently utilizes verbs.

Example 6

ST: The main motive was usually expressed in vague terms as ‘doing something for other’, ‘getting out of the house’, ‘knowing what is going on’, or similar phrases, indicating a ‘feminine’ (according to the dominant gender order) concern for the well-being of others in combination with a critical attitude towards the confinement of women to the ‘house’ and their consequent lack of mobility and information.

TT1: 主要用 “为他人做点什么”、“走出家门”、“了解发生了什么” 或类似短语的含糊措辞表达, 表明 “女性”(根据占主导地位的性别秩序) 对他人的关切, 以及对妇女在 “家” 的禁锢由此对外信息了解的匮乏和缺少应有的批判态度。

TT2: 主要用 “为他人着想、走出家门就知道发生了什么” 这样模糊的字眼, 根据占主导地位的性别秩序, 这说明女性对他人的关心, 以及对妇女只能困在家里由此对外信息了解的匮乏和缺少应有的批判态度。

Analysis: Sometimes “consequent” is used as the causal conjunction which means “所以”. However, it is used as an adjective with the meaning of “由此产生的” and “随之而来的” to modify “lack”. The noun phrase “their lack of mobility and information” and “the confinement of women to the ‘house’” are both changed to the verb form. This is a structure of Noun+ of+ Noun. “of” here is translated as “...的”, and the word “lack”, whether used as a verb or a noun, means “缺乏”. And the word “confinement” means “禁锢” as a verb, and according to the original order of the two phrases, it is translated as “对女性的禁锢”, but in this case the choice is to translate it from the noun form to the verb form sharing the same subject with the latter “lack”, which is more appropriate. And to make this expression more adequate, “对女性的禁

锢” is changed into “困在家里”.

3.1.3 Naturalizing Cultural-loaded Words

One of the main tasks of translation is to convey the culture-loaded words of the original text, but the differences between the two cultures and the cultural default often bring great difficulties to the translation. Naturalization means adopting a transparent and fluent style in the translation to minimize the differences between the translation and the source language. In the process of translation, we should try to make the world reflected in the source language closer to the translator's life to realize the “cultural equivalence” between the translated language and the translated text. Cultural loaded words are words within a specific cultural context, reflecting directly and indirectly the national culture in the vocabulary of language. (Hu,1999) Each country is unique in its language, nationality, developmental history, and religious beliefs, collectively contributing to the vibrant tapestry of world culture. Culture-loaded words encompass phrases and idioms that encapsulate the unique aspects of a particular culture, often posing challenges in cross-cultural communication and translation.

Example 7

ST: They too lost out to land speculation and building fraud and needed fora for debate, places to learn about politics.

TT1: 他们还因为土地投机和房屋欺诈蒙受损失，需要进行讨论并学习相关政策。

TT2: 他们还因为炒地皮和豆腐渣工程蒙受损失，需要进行讨论并学习相关政策。

Analysis: TT1 keeps the original term translation while TT2 translates in a more Chinese style which is more vivid and live. “土地投机” is a commonly used term in economics and real estate which originated from America, referring to the behavior of purchasing and investing in land to seek profit. However, it may cause doubt what it

means. So, the introduction of “炒地皮” and “豆腐渣工程” are more down-to-earth. TT2 may reflect the derogatory connotation the author wanted to express. Though the former translation appears more professional, TT2 is easy to understand the meaning of the original text.

Example 8

ST: Another *barrio* in Madrid organized a ‘rat hunt’ modelled on English foxhunts.

TT1: 马德里的另一个街区组织了以英国猎狐场为蓝本的 “捕鼠”。

TT2: 马德里的另一个街区组织了以英国猎狐场为蓝本的 “捕鼠”，类似古时的“田猎”。

Analysis: Amplification, also called addition, means supplying necessary words in our translation based on accurate comprehension of the original (Xu, 2014). Comparing the two translations, the biggest distinction is that TT2 makes a further explanation to the word “foxhunts”, this change will let reader learn more about the information about the certain word. Due to different thinking patterns between English and Chinese, language structure and idiomatic expression methods, some necessary words are sometimes added in the process of translation to connect the semantics, thus, the translator should fill in the possible semantic gaps or omitted expressions, making the semantics of the source text clearer and compliant with Chinese idiomatic expression. There are differences between English and Chinese in thinking patterns, language structures, and so on. So, it is necessary to include additional words during the translation process to bridge semantic gaps or clarify omitted expressions. Thus, translators should strive to enhance the clarity of the source text's semantics and ensure alignment with Chinese idiomatic expressions. TT1 only translates “foxhunts” in the ancient England however in ancient China “田猎” sharing the same meanings with that.

Example 9

ST: The women said this was because the city and its men were ‘still very Moorish’.

TT1: 这位女性称这是因为这个城市还有男人仍然是摩尔人。

TT2: 这位女性称这是因为这个城市还有男人，像列强那样蛮横的侵略者。

Analysis: Without detailed explanation, the word “Moorish” is just someone from Moorish but contextualizing the article, it is a representative of those who invaded Spain and wanted to convert the Spanish’s creed to God. In China, the same title is given to “列强”. The translator also searched some information about Moorish and Spain to show the implicit emotion of this word. From online material, the “Moorish” and men are both unreasonable and authoritarian. The dealing of this gives a vivid description of the women’s impression on the men. The addition of the content implied in the original text, that is, the translator needs to explain the part of the original text, not to meet the grammatical requirements, but to make the translation more authentic and smoother.

3.2 Translation at the Syntactic Level

In this translation practice, the translator encounters many difficulties in the syntactic, which mainly includes attributive clauses and adverbial clauses. Texts are made of different sentences, so the accuracy of the text translation depends on the translation of sentences. In English, sentences are mostly in passive voice whenever there is no need, no desire, or no way to name the implementer, sometimes only to emphasize the passive action. However, Chinese is different, the use of passive voice is relatively narrow, and the English to Chinese translation also needs to pay attention to the retention of emotion in translation.

3.2.1 Splitting Long Sentences

Owing to the different thinking and express patterns of Chinese and English, it is common to restructure the sentence while translating English into Chinese, especially when it comes to the translation of long and complex sentences (Lian,2010). The

translation method of division is to break a long sentence with several modifiers into two or more sense groups and translate them into several short sentences. The division translation method is to divide the original sentence at the connection of sentences or according to the sense groups, and translate it into Chinese as separate sentences (Liu, 1986:162).

Example 10

ST: This chapter discusses the possible reasons why Spanish women who decide to participate in political activities usually prefer a neighbourhood association to a political party or a labor union and how they can act once there and what it means to them and to society.

TT1: 本章讨论了决定参与政治活动的西班牙妇女为何通常更愿意参加邻里协会而不是政党或工会的可能原因，以及她们在参加政治活动后如何行动，这对她们和社会意味着什么。

TT2: 本章就西班牙女性决定参与政治活动的潜在原因讨论。与政党或工会相比，这些女性通常更愿意参与邻里组织。同时还探讨了她们如何快速行动，以及这对她们自己和整个社会意味着什么。

Analysis: In terms of structure, the sentence consists of a main clause overlaid with two attributive clauses, each complementing the other. The translator divided it into three parts and reconstructed the whole sentence: the main clause “this chapter discusses the possible reasons,” the first attributive clause “who decide to participate in political activities,” and the second attributive clause “why Spanish women usually prefer a neighborhood association to a political party or a labor union and how they can act once there and what it means to them and to society.” The difference between the two is TT1 only used one subject while TT2 separate the long sentence and reconstruct them according to the logic. Considering the coherence between sentences and to avoid repetition, “此外” has been added to connect it with the remaining part of the main clause. When dealing with long sentences in translation, it's essential to simplify the structure and divide the sentence into manageable parts. Furthermore, this approach enhances readability and comprehension for the target audience. It allows readers to

grasp the content more easily and follow the logical flow of ideas presented in the text.

Example 11

ST: There is tension within the movement between those who want to use it as a platform for radical social change and those who see it as an instrument to solve everyday problems, and this tension is reflected in debates on women's issues.

TT1: 在运动内部，希望将其作为激进的社会变革平台的人与将其视为解决日常问题的工具的人之间存在紧张关系，这种紧张关系反映在有关妇女问题的辩论中。

TT2: 在这个运动内部存在着一种紧张氛围，一方面是那些希望将其作为实现根本社会变革的平台的人，另一方面是那些将其视为解决日常问题的工具的人，而这种紧张关系在关于女性问题的辩论中得到了体现。

Analysis: Long sentences are very common in this article. So, the way of handling is first sort out the grammatical and semantic structure of the sentence, then just translate it in the changed order. To realize this, the translator should find the backbone of the sentence, split the long sentence, reorder it so that the expression is more in line with the Chinese custom, and add the appropriate relationship between the conjunctions in it, the logical order is disordered. the logical marks are usually covert in Chinese but eye-catching in English, so English is prone to put more important information at the beginning while Chinese is the opposite (Lian, 2010), which indicates that the inner logic of a pre-posed adverbial clause is like Chinese norm and can be processed in accordance with its original order. Though TT1 has split the original text into three sentences but this can make progress. The dealing of two “those” in TT2 is “一方面” and “另一方面” which connects the separate sentences. The refined one makes the translation more complete and logic. One cannot just adhere strictly to the form of the original text, as this will lead to a serious ‘translated’ tone, making the translated sentences cumbersome and the meaning unclear

3.2.2 Converting Passive Voice

Passive voice is often a common focus of English-Chinese translation, characterized by the subject being portrayed as less prominent, delexical verbs often featured in the predicate, and lengthy object components. In the process of translating cultural texts, to highlight the main body of the text, the non-subject statements are often used to highlight the main position of the sentence. In situations where the initiator does not need to be mentioned, is unwilling to be mentioned, cannot be mentioned, or for the sake of maintaining coherence in context, the passive voice is often used. Although Chinese also has a passive voice, its scope of application is much narrower. (Zhang, 2009) When translating sentences containing passive voice, it is advisable to handle them flexibly according to the specific context.

Example 12

ST: A woman town councilor with a feminist programme was an even greater threat. Such women, though few, were sneered at by women and men in the anti-feminist camp.

TT1: 女权主义计划的女性市政议员是一个更大的威胁。这样的女性虽然很少, 但却被反女权主义阵营中男女嘲笑。

TT2: 一个组织女性运动的市政女议员是一个更大的威胁。尽管这样的女性很少, 但她们却在反女权主义阵营中同时遭到了女性和男性的嘲笑。

Analysis: The most common way to translate English passive voice into Chinese passive sentences is to directly translate the word structure of the word “被”, or to use passive sentences with passive markers to express the meaning of passive, like “遭、受、由、为……所等”. In this sentence, “sneer” means “讽刺, 嘲笑”, carrying a negative and passive meaning. In Chinese, passive sentences generally convey negative implications. Therefore, retaining the passive voice here, the translation directly reads as “被嘲笑”, which conforms to Chinese expression habits and accurately conveys the original meaning. But the translator keeps the order of the original sentence too much

in the initial translation, and ignores whether the translation is in line with the expression habits of the target language readers. So TT2 changes “被” into “遭到” and also adjusts the word order without adding any personal subject.

Example 13

ST: Once basic needs like housing and water were largely resolved, there was transportation and health care to consider.

TT : 一旦有效解决了住房和水源这种基本需求, 还要考虑的是交通和医疗保障。

Analysis: In Chinese, if a sentence does not require the subject to be explicitly stated, the subject is often omitted. If a sentence simply states a fact without any emotional color or modal verbs, and includes a phrase without “by”, it can be translated into a Chinese sentence without a subject. This translation method reflects the main points of the original text, highlights the emphasis, and is easy to understand. When dealing with passive sentences like this, adding a subject arbitrarily should be avoided because it's unclear whether it refers to the “government” or the “organization.” In English, there are two instances of structural passive voice. One is “were resolved”, and the other is “there was ... to consider”. But the direct translation of the passive voice might seem awkward, and Chinese rarely employs passive constructions, with most of them conveying negative connotations. The verbs “resolve” and “consider” with the neutral meanings, devoid of emotional tones, the use of “被” is inappropriate. Moreover, Chinese passive constructions generally require an object, while the source text lacks one, evidently not conforming to the compositional elements of Chinese sentences. Therefore, adjustments were made during translation to avoid using the marker “被” and ingeniously utilize Chinese non-subject constructions to convey the original information, achieving an equivalent interlingual translation effect.

3.3 Translation at the Discourse Level

A discourse usually refers to a linguistic whole consisting of a series of consecutive paragraphs or sentences (Huang, 2002). To make the readers of the target language get the same cultural feeling as the readers of the source language, the author should pay attention to the contextualization, the logic and coherence of the language and the cultural context when translating.

3.3.1 Conjunction

It is suggested that conjunction in discourse refers to the connection between adjacent sentences or groups. Using connectives, readers can understand the semantic connection between sentences, and even anticipate the semantics of the following sentence from the logic of the preceding sentence. (Hu,1994) The use of linking words to articulate the discourse is one of the characteristics of the discourse articulation of this type of text, the meaning of the linking components is sometimes not the same as that of the source text, which requires the translator to further analyze and translate according to the context with more appropriate linking words. In terms of the way of the sentence cohesion, English often uses “hypotaxis”, that is, the use of connectives in the syntactic form to connect the clauses, while Chinese often uses “parataxis”, that is, relying on the meaning of the cohesion rather than necessarily relying on the connectives. The abundance of short sentences in the text highlights the need to ensure coherence and integrity in translation. To achieve this, the translator often inserts conjunctions among these short sentences to create logical links in the target text. These conjunctions serve as cohesive devices that improve the coherence and logic of the translation.

Example 14

ST: Elda is an industrial town with a proud working-class history ... The women of the movement in Elda said they felt different from women from other parts of Spain when they met them at congresses and heard their complaints about discrimination. ‘We have evolved beyond all that.’ They claimed they were used to having a say because they had always contributed substantially to the family income. Nevertheless, Elda women complained about husbands who did nothing at home **and** were unhappy when their wives attended meetings.

TT1: 埃尔达是个工业小镇，有着令人骄傲的工人阶级历史...埃尔达的女性说她们感觉自己和西班牙其他地区的女性不同，他们可以参与议会，让其他人听到她们对偏见的抱怨。我们已经超越了其他一切。他们说他们已经习惯于他们总是对于家庭收入做出了贡献。**但是**埃尔达妇女抱怨说，丈夫在家里无所事事，妻子参加聚会时也不高兴。

TT2: 埃尔达是个工业小镇，有着令人骄傲的工人阶级历史...埃尔达的女性说她们感觉自己和西班牙其他地区的女性不同，他们可以参与议会，让其他人听到她们对偏见的抱怨。我们已经超越了其他一切。他们说他们已经习惯于他们总是对于家庭收入做出了贡献。**然而**，埃尔达夫人抱怨她的丈夫在家里闲来无事，**但**当她自己参加聚会时，丈夫却感到不满。

Analysis: The two sentences connected by “and” generally indicate a conjunction, linking two words or two sentences in parallel, or they can indicate the continuation of an action. After the analysis of the whole sentences, the translator found that the two short sentences have a twist relationship between each other. So the translator translates “and” into “但”. The translation of TT2 employs a transitional word to introduce contrast, while also using indirect expression to add a hint of emphasis. The function of articulation is to link one component of the discourse with another, to express the level and organization of the original text clearly, and to make the translation closely connected, coherent and more in line with the linguistic logic of the Chinese language" (Yan,2010)

Example 15

ST: In the Mediterranean area, gender is frequently used as a root metaphor to express other social phenomena. The relationship between women and men is used in proverbs, poetry, song, jokes, drama, gestures, insults and so on, to illustrate political power, religious feelings, philosophical abstractions. Important events inevitably affect the gender order just as the gender order shapes processes of change. And change is culturally perceived in gender terms. During the 1970s and 1980s, discussions regarding ‘change’ often sparked debates about sexual morals or mothers working outside the home. The tendency is weakening now, because gender is retreating from its privileged cultural place. The gender order is really changing.

TT: 在地中海地区，性别作为一种隐喻用于表达其他社会现象，出现在谚语、诗歌、歌曲、笑话、戏剧、手势、辱骂等等，用来说明政治权力、宗教感情、哲学抽象。重要活动不可避免影响着性别秩序，性别秩序也影响着变革。并且在文化上方面来看变革是以性别为基础的。70、80 年代，关于变化的讨论常常引发对于性道德与母亲在外赚钱的讨论。这种趋势现在减弱了，因为性别正从其独有的文化方面上倒退。由此可见这种性别秩序真的在发生变革。

Analysis: The two sentences in the source text are independent sentences connected by “And”. Due to many short sentences after the conjunction, it is difficult to clearly express the relationships between its various components through a direct translation. In such cases, adjusting the sentence structure and adding necessary conjunctions can help clarify the main idea of the article. Although they are separate sentences, the part after “And” is closely connected semantically to the preceding part and corresponds to it in form. The later mention of “change” corresponds to the earlier mention of “process of change,” revealing the progressive relationship between these two sentences. “由此可见” is added here to make a conclusion of the former context which also shows the relationship between different sentences here. If not, this sentence is divided separately from other parts in this paragraph.

3.3.2 Reference

Illustration is a kind of semantic relation, which refers to one component of a discourse as the reference point of another component, that is, the mutual interpretation relation between the referring component and the object in the discourse (Zhu, 2000:14). These include person reference, directional reference, comparative reference, and word reference (Hu, 1994:53-63). The use of reference ensures language conciseness to a certain extent and enhances the coherence between sentences. Translating reference structures requires ensuring logical consistency based on a thorough understanding of the referenced content.

Example 16

ST: As more women enter the movement, it becomes easier for others to join. The style of interaction and the issues become more 'woman friendly' and their participation becomes less controversial, provoking less gossip, suspicion, and resistance. The importance of gender as such also decreases as women move in. When I asked about the division of labor according to gender, it was always vehemently denied; whether or not it existed in practice, it was clearly not acceptable in theory.

TT: 当我问道根据性别分类分工, 这种模式总是遭到矢口否认。无论是否在实践中可行, 在理论上这是绝对不允许的。

Analysis: The formal subject “It” refers to the content before or after that in the context, here “it” refers to “the division of labor by gender” in this case. If only translated as “这” or “它” which leads to misunderstanding and confuse. So, the translator rephrases “it” by duplicating the noun “it” refers to, making the overall translation smoother while ensuring clear reference. However, the latter two “it” refers to the same content of the first one so they can be translated “这” instead of repeated “这种模式”. Pronouns are commonly used in English and less frequently in Chinese, and thus are more often repeated. (Lian, 2010:178).

Example 17

ST: Nevertheless.....there were many active women, but **there** were some with very few and one with none. Of the eighteen representatives in the federation, only one was a woman. Yet the women's commission of the federation was unsure of its purpose: there were no special women's issues to fight for, they felt, except perhaps to get men to 'help more' at home. Their main concern was unemployment, a recent fact of life in Elda. They underlined that **this** was a problem for men, too, but they organized a sewing class for women, seeing it as a reliable skill to earn money or save on the family budget. The commission was also vaguely interested in 'clarifying our own ideas on women's issues'.....how to gain access to it, and seemed unwilling to spend much energy investigating **this**. Like most movement activists, they were more interested in practical struggles than in theoretical issues.

TT: 然而.....女性积极参与其中，但也有一些协会几乎没有女性成员，甚至有些协会完全没有女性参与。联邦中的 18 个代表只有一位是女性。但是联邦中的女性委员会不确定自己的目标，她们认为除了让男人在家里多帮忙，没有其他特别的妇女问题需要争取，他们主要关心的是失业问题，这是埃尔达最近的生活现状。他们强调，对于男性来说这也是一问题，但他们为女性组织了一个缝纫班，认为这是一项可靠的技能，可以赚钱或节省家庭预算。委员会模糊地表达“对拥有女性问题有自己的观点”的兴趣.....但是不知道获取的途径，也不愿意花太多经历去研究这些理论。像大多数运动中的积极分子，他们更多感兴趣的是实践斗争比理论问题。

Analysis: This paragraph contains several demonstrative pronouns such as “this” and “there,” which are typical instances of deixis. Therefore, to accurately translate them, it is crucial to understand the specific referents of these demonstrative pronouns. The first “This” refers back to the “unemployment issue” mentioned in the previous, so it can be directly translated as “这”, linking closely with the preceding content. The second refers back to the preceding content, “这些理论”. In this way, the use of demonstrative pronouns ensures a seamless connection between the paragraphs. Precisely understanding these demonstrative pronouns helps achieve natural and accurate expression in the translation, maintaining content equivalence. This approach

also aligns with the textual style of this translation practice, ensuring logical and coherent discourse that closely mirrors the reactions of the original readers. Therefore, when translating, it is essential to pay attention to cohesive references in the discourse to maintain textual equivalence.

Chapter 4 Conclusion

Translation practice is an enduring process that requires continuous learning and accumulations. After completing this translation practice report, the translator has gained a lot. While overcoming the obstacles encountered in translating an anthropological work, the translator has come to have a deep understanding of the meaning of cross-discipline and the significance of cultural translation. This chapter mainly focuses on the proofreading, gains and the limitations as well as the findings and reflections in the process of translation practice.

4.1 Proofreading

Proofreading translation is the most important part in this translation, and this proofreading of translation is mainly divided into self-proofreading and others' proofreading, so as to improve the quality of translation. In this part, translators should compare the original text with the translation and check whether there exist omissions, mistranslations, Chinese characters with spelling mistakes, punctuation and formatting and other problems in the content. In addition, it is necessary to read through the original text to check whether the articulation is appropriate, and compare it with the original text to check whether the terminology and grammar are used correctly. By proofreading for problems, taking into account the context of the original text, applying translation skills and strategies flexibly, paying attention to the logic of the whole text, translators can ensure that the translation is smooth and fluent. When proofreading by others, request other professional schools to check whether the translation is in line with Chinese expression habits and whether it is smooth and fluent, so as to enhance the readability of the translation. In the meantime, the translations are submitted to the tutor as planned, and the tutor is able to give guidance on the shortcomings of the translations and make final corrections to the translations. The revision by others is the most important part of the revision work which can help the translator improve the quality

of the translation by finding out the problems that have been overlooked in the self-revision.

4.2 Gains and findings

Through this translation practice, the translator has gained valuable experience and encountered numerous challenges, including understanding the original text, applying translation theory, and mastering specialized knowledge in sociological disciplines. This practice serves as a reference for future translations of similar sociological texts.

For the translator, this project was a challenging endeavor as she had limited exposure to sociological texts. However, it provided an opportunity to accumulate experience in translating such materials and identify areas for improvement in translation methodology.

Despite the convenience of online translation tools, the translator acknowledges the risk of overreliance on AI translation. Therefore, she emphasizes the importance of personal translation thinking and suggests using translation tools selectively, particularly for challenging terms.

Furthermore, the translation underwent repeated proofreading and revision to address any deficiencies. Input from peers and instructors was sought to enhance the quality of the translation through additional revisions and refinements based on their feedback.

Sociological texts often contain nuanced meanings and cultural references that require a deep understanding of the subject matter. This practice highlighted the importance of background research and familiarity with sociological concepts to ensure accurate and meaningful translation.

Overall, this translation practice not only enhanced the translator's linguistic and translation skills but also deepened her understanding of sociological concepts and cultural contexts. It reinforced the importance of thorough preparation, critical thinking, and continuous refinement in the translation process to deliver high-quality translations.

4.3 Limitations and Reflections

Although the translator used different translation methods to solve the problems encountered in the process of translation, but there were still some problems encountered in the translation process.

First, the translator needs to develop good reading habits. She should study both English and Chinese continuously to improve language skills. Language is the bearer of culture, translators need to deepen their study and understanding of western culture, and learn the translation strategies of masters in the field of translation on technical terms, long sentences, and passive sentences.

Secondly, the translator has never experienced such a complete translation task before which requires good pre-translation preparation, literature search, selection of tools and translation methods. When translating, it is necessary to make a good plan, never to cope with the completion of the translation, but to treat the translation seriously. In addition, because of the specificity of the type of text, when encountering problems, it is necessary to guard against arrogance and be positive and optimistic in solving the problems encountered.

For the terminology and professional knowledge encountered in the process of translation, it is necessary to consult the relevant information. The content of this translation is related to the Spanish neighborhood movement, which also contains feminist content, such a topic is more sensitive, so it is necessary to pay attention to objectivity in the translation, and do not overly add the translator's personal feelings. In addition, although Chinese is the translator's native language, the expression of English to Chinese is not an easy task, and one should read more to improve one's Chinese expression ability and cultural literacy.

Also, there are many Spanish words in the context that need to be handled carefully. However, this report focuses on English to Chinese translation, so although it is challenging, it is not necessary to mention this aspect.

Translators can also deepen their understanding of the commonly used sentence

structures in the translation of social anthropology texts, further analyze and master the strategies and methods of translating anthropology texts, grasp the translation style of social anthropology, improve their translation ability by dealing with the problems of specialized vocabulary, sentence structure, discourse logic, and so on, so that they can accumulate experience for their future translation practice. After translation, it counts that she should review translation work and whole translation process to analyze gains and disadvantages.

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Appendix

Appendix 1: Glossary

序号	英文/西班牙	中文
1	agency	能动
2	semi-legal	半合法
3	dictatorship	独裁统治
4	urbanish	城市化
5	general election	大选
6	in exile	流亡
7	Spaniarel	西班牙
8	statute	章程
9	inextricably	密不可分
10	shacks	自建房
11	councilor	顾问
12	nuclear families	原生家庭
13	land speculation	炒地皮
14	leftist parties	左翼
15	street vigils	街头守夜
16	demonstrations	街头示威
17	genderneutral	不带性别色彩
18	bulletins	快报
19	<i>barrio</i>	城镇（区）
20	ollas comunes	锅碗瓢盆
21	de facto	事实上
22	anthropological	人类社会学
23	Elda	埃尔达
24	Valencia	瓦伦西亚
25	Linares	利纳雷斯
26	humanist	人文主义
27	Vigo	维戈
28	Gynocentric	以妇女为中心
29	dominant industry	龙头产业
30	PSOE militants	社会工人党激进分子
31	Moorish	摩尔人
32	sexual motives	出轨
33	a pain in the neck	令人头疼
34	gradualist tactics	渐进决策理论
35	Grass root	普遍的
36	Network	社会网

37	Gendered	中性的
38	the Falange	长枪党

Appendix 2: Source Text and Target Text

Source Text	Target Text
Out of the house – to do what?	离开家为了什么？
Women in the Spanish neighbourhood movement	西班牙邻里运动中的女性
Spanish women do not participate in formal politics to any great extent. For example, the number of female parliamentarians hovered around 6 per cent during most of the 1980s. This fact reflects a long history of conditions that have tended to alienate women from the political sphere. However, there is one political context in Spain in which women and men participate in practically equal numbers. This is the so-called neighbourhood movement or citizens' movement (<i>movimiento vecinal or movimiento ciudadano</i>) which was born as a semi-legal resistance movement during the Franco regime. Its express purpose was to improve conditions in the areas of towns and cities (<i>barrios</i>) where poor people lived, but since this entailed a struggle against the dictatorship, 'participatory democracy' became an integral objective. It was around the time of the transition to democracy, in the late 1970s, that women started joining the movement in greater numbers, and they are still increasing. The study of this	西班牙的女性在很大程度上都不会参与到正式政治活动中。例如，在20世纪80年代女性国会议员的占比大约为6%，这反应了女性长期被孤立政治外。不过，在西班牙有一种政治环境——邻里运动，男性和女性在这种环境中以几乎相同的人数参与其中。这种所谓的公民运动（邻里运动或公民运动）是在佛朗哥政权下产生的一种半合法抵制运动，旨在改善贫穷居民居住的城镇（区）环境，使得反抗独裁统治，民主参与必然会成为目标。大约也就是在这个时间，20世纪70年代末，发展成了民主运动，越来越多的女性加入到这项运动，甚至女性参与的数字还在增长。因此对于公民运动的研究就变得十分重要，因为这项运动表明了性别秩序、政治秩序和文化变迁的之间关系。

movement is important because it can elucidate the relationship between the gender order, the political order and cultural change.	
<u>This chapter discusses the possible reasons why Spanish women who decide to participate in political activities usually prefer a neighbourhood association to a political party or a labor union and how they can act once there and what it means to them and to society.</u> The aim is to describe relevant factors of various kinds in such a way as to make the specific Spanish experiences interesting and relevant to broader feminist debates. The examples discussed shed light on processes of redefinition of private and public domains and the location of the separation between them. They also show that the role of gender as a major principle of social organization is being renegotiated. Such negotiation is not unproblematic. Men's resistance to certain gender changes result in conflict but also cultural innovation. So do women's fears, ambivalence, enthusiasm and learning as new stages of activity come within reach. The analysis will show interconnections between the organization of time and space and gender in the <i>barrios</i>, and what they mean for political activities and how	<u>本章就西班牙女性决定参与政治活动的潜在原因讨论。与政党或工会相比，这些女性通常更愿意参与邻里组织。同时还探讨了她们如何快速行动，以及这对她们自己和整个社会意味着什么。这项运动的目标是描述相关因素以这种方式使得具体的西班牙经历变得有趣，与更广的女性辩论息息相关。这些例子关注到对公有和私有地盘和对他们的重新分配的过程。他们同时表明性别作为一个社会组织的主要准则需要重新商定。但是这样的协商是一定存在问题的。男人对这种性别变化持反对意见，进而引发斗争和文化创新。随着活动进入新的阶段，随之而来还有妇女的恐惧、矛盾、热情和学习。研究表明，街区的时间和空间布局与性别关系密切相关，这不仅涉及到政治活动的意义，还包括了女性和男性如何在政治斗争中协商各自的空间，揭示了他们之间的异同。在工人阶级内部，人们对于自己作为变革的推动者存在性别有关差异。跟着运动的历史背景的大纲，本章将从4个小镇展开分析。</u>

women and men negotiate among themselves for space in their partially common, partially different political struggles. There are gender-related differences, within the working class, in people's view of themselves as agents of change.¹Following an outline of the historical background to the movement, the chapter will examine examples from four towns.²	
Background	研究背景
Spain has undergone dramatic economic and social transformation during the last decades. In the 1950s it was predominantly agricultural, with difficulties feeding its population. During the 1960s it was urbanized and industrialized at a rapid pace. Of all OECD countries, only Japan had a faster rate of growth during that decade. This meant that a large proportion of the population moved from villages to cities. Around the largest cities, self-built shacks mushroomed in the 1960s and slowly disappeared during the 1970s.	在过去的几十年里，西班牙经历了猛烈的经济和社会变迁。经济方面，20 世纪 50 年代该地区以农业为主，养活人口变得越来越困难。60 年代快速城镇化和工业化。所有经合组织国家，只有日本在这个年代拥有更快的增长速度，这意味着一个很多人从城镇搬到城市。在最大城市，自建棚屋 60 年代蜂拥出现，到 70 年代逐渐消失。
There was an improvement in average living standards, but it came at a high social cost. Not only was village social life destroyed, workers' health strained by pluri-employment, and so on, but all of these processes of change took place under conditions of dictatorship. But then a political change came too.	虽然在平均生活水准上有着改善，但伴随着很高的社会成本。所有这些变化都是在独裁统治下发生的，导致了社会生活的破坏，同时也给工人健康带来了多元就业的压力。但是是一种政治变化也同时出现，1975 年佛朗哥过世。大大小小的民主大选在

Franco died in 1975. More or less democratic general elections were held in 1977 - for the first time since 1936. A new constitution was approved in 1978, and after new general elections a socialist government took over in late 1982. The degrees of democracy and socialism are certainly issues for debate, but it is a very different country from the one Franco governed. Cultural change was as dramatic as economic and political change, and individual experiences and expectations had to be reinterpreted.	1977 年举办，第一次是在 1936 年。1978 年通过了一项全新的宪法，在 1982 年大选后一种社会主义国家接手。民主和社会主义的程度是讨论的焦点，但是和佛朗哥统治时期相比已是完全不一样的国家了。文化变革和经济、政治变革一样引人瞩目，个人的经历和期望也必须重新解释。
<u>In the Mediterranean area, gender is frequently used as a root metaphor to express other social phenomena. The relationship between women and men is used in proverbs, poetry, song, jokes, drama, gestures, insults and so on, to illustrate political power, religious feelings, philosophical abstractions. Important events inevitably affect the gender order just as the gender order shapes processes of change. And change is culturally perceived in gender terms. During the 1970s and 1980s, discussions regarding 'change' often sparked debates about sexual morals or mothers working outside the home. The tendency is weakening now, because gender is retreating from its privileged cultural place. The gender order is really changing.</u>	<u>在地中海地区，性别作为隐喻用于表达其他社会现象，出现在谚语、诗歌、歌曲、笑话、戏剧、手势、辱骂等等，用来说明政治权力、宗教感情、哲学抽象。重要活动不可避免影响着性别秩序，性别秩序也影响着变化。在文化上方面来看变革是以性别为基础的。70、80 年代，关于变化的讨论常常引发对于性道德与母亲在外赚钱的讨论。这种趋势现在减弱了，因为性别正从其独有的文化方面上倒退。这种性别秩序是真的在经历变革。</u>

History of the neighbourhood movement	邻里运动的历史
After the civil war (1936-9) Spain was exhausted in every way, and the resistance against the dictatorship was largely wiped out during the 1940s. However, after 1956 resistance grew again. A new generation had grown up, and the political parties in exile changed their strategies from confrontation to infiltration. In this way, for example, the Workers' Commissions were organized. They were illegal but powerful enough to organize important strikes already in the early 1960s and they were recognized <i>de facto</i> in many settlements towards the end of the decade. Because they worked through the legal vertical trade unions of the regime, they could reach and recruit more people than the underground parties could. According to the political philosophy of the Franco regime, society rests on three fundamentals: union, family, and locality. The vertical union structure, controlled from the top, constituted the regime's first pillar. As to the second pillar, the regime coincided with the majority view, that the nuclear family is the basic building block of society. More than 90 per cent of all Spaniards live in nuclear families, which are strongly solidary.⁴ The third pillar	内战后西班牙在各方面都有所冲击，40年代反对独裁统治全军覆没，但是1956年又卷土重来。新时代出现，流亡的政党改变他们的策略，由对抗到渗透。例如，由此而出现的职工委员会。这种组织虽然不合法但足够强大来组织重要的罢工早在60年代，在这20年的最后事实上在很多地方都已经重新组织。由于他们通过合法政府渠道进行工作，因此能够接触和招募到比地下党派更多的人员。 根据佛朗哥政权的政治哲学，社会依赖3个基础方面：工会、家庭和地区。工会这个第一支柱，垂直结构，由上掌控。对于第二支柱，政权与绝大多数观点不谋而合，原生家庭是社会基本组成部分。超过90%的所有西班牙人生活在不可分割的原生家庭。第三支柱是地区，法西斯理论和西班牙传统中有联系。除了家庭，村庄或城市街区也是个人的参照系。

was the locality and here too there was correspondence between fascist theory and Spanish tradition. Beyond the family, the village or the urban <i>barrio</i> usually provided the individual's frame of reference.	
Small villages were effectively defined through a local administration and an appointed mayor, but the cities presented a problem. To be sure, the city equivalent of the village was and is the <i>barrio</i>. Spaniards identify with their <i>barrio</i>, just as they identify with their village. It is a place of safety, where one is known, and where one's social networks are based. But the <i>barrios</i> are not administrative units. With the sudden influx of migrants to the cities during the late 1950s, new <i>barrios</i> spread and old ones changed. The local identity of urbanites grew diffuse. Culturally, this was experienced as a loss. Politically, it made the regime nervous.	小村庄通过一个当地的行政管理和任命村长有效分开但是城市出现了一个问题。当然，城市里的村庄都是邻里。西班牙人对自己的社区有认同感，就像他们对自己的村庄一样。这个安全的地方，人在这里相互认识，他们的社会关系网也随之而来。但是邻里不是行政工会。20世纪50年代大量城市移民，新的社区扩张而旧的也发生了变化。由此城市人口的地方认同感日益分散。这是一种文化损失，也加剧了政权的紧张感。
The response of the regime was the 1964 law of neighbourhood associations. This aimed at constructing organizations similar to the unions, but on a territorial basis. The only legal party, the Falange, would act as an umbrella organization and design the statutes. Each association was to have a clearly defined territory. Permitted activities were carefully specified and distinguished from	随之而来的是1964年颁布《社区协会法》，旨在建立类似工会但是因地制宜的组织。唯一非法长枪党会以一种保护伞的身份来组织行动和设计章程。每个组织都有一块明确界定的领地，被允许的活动严格和那些被否定掉的区分开来。或者说，政权的目的是邻里组织的结构效仿工会来控制 and 影响日常生活。不同于工会的是，

forbidden ones. In other words, the regime's intention was that the structure of the neighbourhood associations would emulate the union structure to control and influence everyday life. Unlike the unions, it would reach all, even women, the young and the elderly. But the neighbourhood associations, like the unions, also offered opportunities for infiltration and resistance. The legal purposes of the associations were soon inextricably mixed with illegal ones. To improve conditions in poor neighbourhoods meant, in practice, to protest against land speculation, lack of infrastructure and services, bureaucratic inefficiency and corruption, and so on. The former purpose was legal, the latter illegal, but they were intimately linked.	这种政权会全面覆盖，甚至是女人，年轻人和老人。但是邻里组织也会提供向渗透和抵抗提供机会。这些协会的合法目的很快与非法目的不可分割地交织在一起。事实上，贫困街区为了改善条件做出以下行为：抗议炒地皮、基础设施和服务匮乏、官僚效率低下和腐败等等。合法目的和非法目的的紧密相连。
The first associations emerged on the outskirts of Madrid, Bilbao, and Barcelona, in <i>barrios</i> that lacked such basic services as water and transportation. The inhabitants also demanded schooling for their children, electricity, health care. For many, the hope of such facilities had motivated their move to the city (Molina 1984). There was a need to devise ways of organizing collective action, whether for protest or self-help. A semi-legal resistance movement emerged. The neighbourhood associations were soon	第一批协会出现在像马德里、毕尔巴鄂和巴塞罗那这样缺乏水和交通等基本服务的贫民区。那里的居民要求给他们的孩子提供教育，电力以及医疗保障。对于很多人来说，对这些设施的需要使他们搬到城市来。无论是抗议还是自助都有必要制定组织集体行动的方法，半合法的抵抗运动应运而生。邻里组织迅速被地下政党渗入并且变得越发大胆。他们开始表达个人需求，尤其是住房方面。但也有成功的地方。政府意识到城市需要工

infiltrated by the underground political parties, and became increasingly daring. They began to express their demands, especially for housing. There were a few successes. The regime realized that the cities needed workers, and commercial builders could not build affordable workers' homes so housing schemes were set up and the associations acted as channels for communication between the schemes and the workers, so that their needs and wishes could be taken into account.	人，商业建筑商无法建造负担得起的工人住房，因此设立了住房计划，并由协会充当沟通渠道，将住房计划与工人联系起来，以便考虑他们的需求和愿望。
Having lost the stable social organization of the villages, people found themselves living among strangers in an urban context they were ill equipped to handle. 'Hacer <i>barrio</i> ' - to make the <i>barrio</i> into a living social reality - soon became a central slogan. A yearly fiesta, usually on a saint's day, sports, and games for the young, a place for the elderly to play cards, co-operative food outlets to provide cheap staples, perhaps a literacy course. So the neighbourhood association became a political, cultural and social center, in one <i>barrio</i> after another. The associations spread to older <i>barrios</i>, even to middle-class <i>barrios</i>. It has been suggested that the dictatorship created common interests across class barriers (Castells 1986). The middle class, too, suffered from the lack of	失去了村庄中稳定的社会组织后，人们发现自己生活在他们难以应对的陌生人关系中。“成为邻居”成为一个中心口号，让邻居成为一个灵活的社会现实。每年一次的盛宴常常选在耶稣的诞辰那天，年轻人运动游戏，年纪大的就打牌，合作食品店提供便宜的食物，或许还可以开设扫盲课程。所以邻里组织在一个又一个街区中成为一个社会政治文化的中心，组织向更老的街区扩展甚至是中层阶级的街区。有建议说独裁统治在各个阶级街区产生了共同兴趣。同时中层阶级遭受着缺乏学校教育和不足的医疗保障体系，还有噪音和空气问题。<u>他们还因为炒地皮和豆腐渣工程蒙受损失，需要进行讨论并学习相关政策。</u>政权不时感到紧张闭关锁国起

schools and the deficient health care system, from noise and air pollution. <u>They too lost out to land speculation and building fraud and needed fora for debate, places to learn about politics.</u> Periodically, the regime became nervous and closed them down, but the movement as a whole grew steadily.	来，但整个运动在稳步发展。
In the mid-1970s it seemed that the regime would be transformed once Franco died, and as if that day was not too far off. The neighbourhood associations had by this time federated themselves in the largest cities (which was illegal), and the movement was spreading to smaller cities. For the plethora of small leftist parties that was coming into existence, the movement provided the opportunity to measure their strength and to act semi-openly. The movement became something of a political prize. But most movement activists were not party members. Their aim was to improve their <i>barrio</i> or the living conditions of their families. For many, the neighbourhood associations became a political school, the only legitimate one. The insights gained led many to join a party; others, however, were put off by the party tactics of infiltration and infighting that they observed first hand as, towards 1980, many associations became battle grounds	70 年代中，一旦佛朗哥去世后政权就有了改变，似乎那天已经不远了。邻里协会已经在最大的城市建立了自己的联合会，但是非法的，邻里运动正在向较小的城市蔓延。对于正在崛起的众多左翼来说，这场运动提供一个衡量自身实力和半公开行动的机会。这项运动成为某种政治奖赏。但是大多数运动的活跃派不是政党成员。他们的目标是改善他们的街区或者他们家庭生活环境。对许多人来说，居委会成了政治学校，唯一合法的学校。这个观点赢得了许多人的加入；然而，另一些人却对党派的渗透和内讧策略望而却步，因为他们亲眼所见，接近 1980 年，很多协会成为了不同党派的战场。

between different parties.	
From many perspectives 1977 was a critical year. Political parties were legalized, so party activists who had used the movement as a front could resurface and militate openly. Many of the most active and experienced leaders abandoned the movement. Some thought the end of the regime signaled the end of the struggle and there was work to be done elsewhere. The socialist and communist victories at the first democratic local elections in 1979 confirmed this view, and some ex-leaders of the movement even became town councilors or mayors. But not all the movement's objectives had been achieved. It was still necessary - and fun - to try to 'make <i>barrio</i>'. Someone had to co-ordinate the yearly fiesta, the senior citizens' clubs, photo contests, barrio marathons, film clubs, women's committees, language courses. For some activists, the movement had become a home, a place that had cost years of work, money and sometimes, jail.	从很多方面看来，1977 年是至关重要的一年。政党合法化了，因此利用这项运动作为幌子的党派活动人士也可以公开露面并开展活动。但是很多最活跃和有经验的领导人放弃了这项运动。一些人认为在斗争的最后还有一些其他方面的工作需要完成。1979 年第一次民主地方选举中社会主义和共产主义的胜利证实了这一观点，一些运动的前领导甚至成为了市议员或市长。 但是所有这项运动的目标还没有全部实现。仍有必要而且很有趣来建立社区。必须有人来协调一年一度的庆典、老年人俱乐部、摄影比赛、城区马拉松、电影俱乐部、妇女委员会和语言课程。对于一些积极分子，这项运动成为一个家，一个花费了多年心血、金钱甚至是有牢狱之灾的地方。
Such a hard-won space could not be given up easily. It also became clear that the political fight was not over. There was a need to maintain a check on the fledgling democratic institutions, including the parties themselves. There was still corruption and speculation,	这样一个艰难争取而来的空间不可能轻易放弃。同时，也明确了政治斗争并未结束。有必要对新生的民主机构（包括政党本身）进行监督。腐败和监察仍然存在，城区设施仍有不足但是邻里组织可以做出杰出的贡

<i>barrio</i> facilities were still deficient and the neighbourhood associations could make valuable contributions. <u>Once basic needs like housing and water were largely resolved, there was transportation and health care to consider.</u> Then came schooling, traffic safety, better street lighting, playgrounds and parks. These blended into more general issues, such as local industrial politics, bureaucratic corruption, unemployment, air pollution and noise.	献。 <u>一旦有效解决了住房和水源这种基本需求，还要考虑的是交通和医疗保障。</u>随之而来的还有教育，交通安全，更好的街道照明，操场和公园。这些问题融合了地方工业政治、官僚腐败、失业、空气污染和噪音等更常见问题。
Then in the 1980s there were drugs (working class barrios were hard hit), the 'Gypsy problem' (old ethnic animosities found a new vocabulary, as the Gypsies were thought to be the principal drug dealers) and crime. In the 1990s the movement was still growing but also changing. 'Confrontational' tactics were increasingly considered 'old fashioned' and a shift towards voluntary work was encouraged. Social work, sports and local festivities absorbed ever more of the activists' energies and time. But there were still many burning issues that could bring thousands of <i>barrio</i> inhabitants into the streets at a moment's notice. The movement continued to have <i>poder de convocatoria</i>- the capacity to generate support far beyond its regular membership.	80 年代，各类犯罪问题相继出现——毒品，工人阶级聚集区受到严重打击；吉普赛问题，吉普赛人被认为是主要的毒品贩子，因此旧的种族仇恨找到了新的词汇。 90 年代的时候这项运动仍在不断发展和变化。越来越多人认为对抗策略已经"过时"，人们鼓励向志愿工作转变。社会工作、运动和当地的庆典活动消耗了越来越多积极分子的精力和时间。还有很多棘手的问题一收到通知，成百上千的街区居民就会到街道上。这个运动继续保持了“召集力”——即远远超出正常会员范围的支持能力。

In the early years the focus was on resistance to the destruction of self-built housing. Then came an era of oscillations between cautious negotiations with the authorities and massive illegal protest meetings. Collecting money for fines and bails was important too. During the transition towards democracy, negotiations became friendlier and symbolic actions less violent. Demonstrations, street vigils, occupations of municipal offices, and traffic stoppages were common, as were petitions to local politicians, letters to editors and securing sympathetic press coverage. As democratic institutions stabilized, association work increasingly consisted of visiting municipal offices, meeting with politicians and the press, keeping an eye on official bulletins.

There was also always the creativity of each association. Humor is a congenial weapon. I lived in a *barrio* in Madrid where a beautiful park that used to belong to a duke was now city property. The *barrio* had no green area, so the association claimed the park for public use. Since the city did not respond, we 'opened' it with a mock ceremony and a *barrio* picnic outside its walls every spring (after five years of this the park was opened!). Another *barrio* in Madrid organized a 'rat hunt' modelled on

早些年重心放在反对自建房屋的拆除上。随后，出现了一个在与当局谨慎谈判和大规模非法抗议集会之间动荡时代。还有要攒钱来付罚款和保证金。在向民主的过渡时期，协商变得越发友好，象征性行为减少暴力。示威游行、街头守夜、占领市政办公室，阻碍交通，以及向当地政界人士请愿、致信编辑、争取媒体同情报道等活动屡见不鲜。随着民主体制的稳定，协会的工作越来越多囊括访问市政办公室、会见政治家和新闻界人士、关注官方公告。

各个组织中还是有创意的。幽默是一把有力的武器。我住在马德里的一个街区，那里有一个美丽的公园，之前属于一位公爵现在已经公有化了，没有其他绿色的区域，所以组织称公园是公有的。由于城市没有回应，我们每年春天都会举行一场模拟仪式和在城墙外举行一场城区野餐来对外开放直到五年之后公园终于开放了。马德里的另一个街区组织了以英国猎狐场为蓝本的“捕鼠”，类似古时的“田猎”。讽刺、诗歌、服饰、歌曲和小品这些都是狂欢节的特色。

English foxhunts. Satire, poetry and costumes, songs and sketches were features of the fiestas.	
During the 1980s the neighbourhood associations were recognized by many towns and cities as interlocutors or public interest organizations. In the media and in private conversations, the movement was often mentioned together with other new social movements, especially feminism, pacifism, and environmentalism. It was usually considered more mainstream than these, but less so than political parties or trade unions. Organizationally, the movement had established stable structures. Most associations now have their own premises and many produces regular bulletins. The city-wide federations work on city-wide issues, such as the organization of traffic and public transport, and for the co-ordination of <i>barrio</i> issues. The various federations have formed a countrywide confederation and some experienced activists claim a national role for the movement alongside political parties and trade unions. In 1996 the movement had nearly two million members, of which perhaps one tenth were activists. There were around 2,000 associations, organized in over one hundred	80 年代, 许多城镇将邻里协会视作“对话者”或“公共利益组织”。在媒体和私人谈话中, 人们经常将该运动与其他 “新 ”社会运动联系在一起, 特别是女权主义、和平主义和环保主义。邻里协会通常被认为比这些组织更主流, 但还是不如政党或工会。 组织上, 该运动建立了稳定的结构。大多数组织现在有自己的活动地, 并且许多协会定期发布通报。全市联盟负责处理全市问题, 如组织交通和公共交通, 以及协调街区问题。不同的联邦已经形成一个国家范围的联盟, 一些经验丰富的积极分子声称该运动与政党和工会共同在全国发挥作用。1996 年这项运动已经拥有了近 200 万的会员, 其中十分之一都是活跃分子。当时约有 2000 个协会, 由 100 多个联合会组成。

federations. ⁶	
Time, space, and gender in the <i>barrio</i>	邻里的时间、空间与性别
During the early years the movement was almost exclusively male, with a few exceptional women, but the proportion of women has steadily increased. In fact, most of the newly recruited activists in the 1980s and 1990s seem to be women, and mostly average <i>barrio</i> women. The confederation has set up a 'women's structure' and a few country-wide women's congresses have been held. The relationship between these structures, the confederation, and women themselves is unclear, but what is important is that there is now one political forum in the country where women are present at a level close to the 51 per cent they represent in the population as a whole.	早些年这项运动把女性完全排除在外，除了一些优秀的女性，但是现在女性的比例稳定的上涨。事实上，80和90年代大多数新招募的积极分子都是女性，其中多数是街区的女性。这个联盟建立了女性结构，召开了不少全国的妇女代表大会。这些结构、联合会和妇女之间的关系并不明确，但重要的是，现在本国有一个政治论坛，在这个论坛上，妇女的参与程度接近她们占全体人口的 51%。
The gender order in Spain has traditionally separated women and men into different life styles, domains, and spaces, all marked with contrasting gender symbols. The key metaphor here is that 'women are of the house, men are of the street'. The house stands for family life, maternal duties, privacy, and intimacy. The street stands for everything else: economic activities, friendship and sociability, formal education, and all decision-making that affects units larger than the nuclear family.⁷ The separation	在西班牙，传统上性别秩序将女性和男性分开，各自有不同的生活方式、领域和空间，所有这些都标记有对比鲜明的性别符号。这里关键隐喻是女主内男主外。房子代表家庭生活，生育责任，隐私和亲密关系。与之不同，街道代表其他的一切东西，经济、活动、友谊和社会责任，正式教育以及所有影响原生家庭以外的决策。这种分离正在减弱，而且收到持续的争议，但它仍然是一个结构性和

is decreasing, and is under constant debate, but it is still a structural and cultural fact with clear consequences. Most women's lives are very different from those of most men. Different life experiences produce different subjectivities, so women's political priorities often differ from those of men, as do their styles of interaction and communication. This makes it difficult for women and men to work together, even when goals are shared. Many women undoubtedly see the neighbourhood associations as suitable places for an extension of their duties as mothers and homemakers. In this sense, the movement has played a role for women similar to movements elsewhere that they have been compared to (Castells 1986; Saldaña 1989), such as the <i>ollas comunes</i> in Latin America.⁸	文化性的事实，其后果显而易见。多数女性生活和男性有所不同。不同的生活经历有不同的主体性，因此女性的政治侧重往往与男性不同，互动和交流方式也是。 即使目标一致，男女共同工作还是非常困难的。毫无疑问很多女性认为邻里组织是延伸他们作为妈妈和家庭主妇角色的合适场所。从这个意义上说，该运动为妇女发挥的作用与其他地方的运动相似，如拉丁美洲的“大锅饭”。
Women tend to see political parties as male spaces, whereas the neighbourhood movement is seen as closer to home, easier to understand and an instrument for improving the home surroundings and the life of one's children. It is not seen as 'politics' and women militating in more traditional political organizations may add that therefore it is of little consequence. Political or not, the associations constitute a public space. And unlike	女性常常认为政党是男人的地盘，而邻里运动则和家庭一样紧密，更易于理解，并且是改善家庭环境和子女生活的工具。邻里运动不被认作是“政治”，因此在更传统的政治组中的妇女可能会补充说，这并没有什么影响。不管是否具有政治性质，这些协会构成了一个公共空间。不同于许多妇女参与的其他活动（如家长教师协会或教会团体），邻里运动并不是一个女性占主导地位的空间，因为

other activities where many women participate, such as parent teacher associations or church groups, the neighbourhood movement is not a predominantly female space, since half of the participants are men; it is not quite gender-neutral, but it is more so than almost any other public context in Spain.	一半的参与者是男性；但是它也不是完全没有性别区分，至少它比西班牙其他任何公共环境都好多了。
<u>There is tension within the movement between those who want to use it as a platform for radical social change and those who see it as an instrument to solve everyday problems, and this tension is reflected in debates on women's issues.</u> There are several reasons for women's increasing presence in the movement.⁹ When the leaders left during the early days of the transition, it was men who left, since very few women were party activists.¹⁰ As the proportion of women rose, it became easier for other women to join. There is also the fact that the movement is territorially defined. It is in, of and about the <i>barrio</i>. And this is where women live and work. Women do not stay indoors, even in places like Linares, where they are supposed to remain within the confines of the 'house'. They are on the streets as much as men, or more, because while men are at work, women's family duties take them on errands all around the <i>barrio</i>. It is not	在这个运动内部存在着一种紧张氛围，一方面是那些希望将其作为实现根本社会变革的平台的人，另一方面是那些将其视为解决日常问题的工具的人，而这种紧张关系在关于女性问题的辩论中得到了体现。<u>妇女越来越多地参与运动的原因有几个。过渡初期，离开的领导人都是男性，因为几乎没有女性是组织里的积极分子。由于组织里女性的比例上升，其他女性也越发容易加入。此外，运动还在地域上有明确的界定。它是属于城区的，关于城区的。女性不呆在家里，甚至像利纳雷斯的女性本来只能呆在房子这个空间。她们和男性一样或者更多地出现在街头，因为当男性在工作时，女性的家庭职责使她们四处跑腿，在城区到处晃荡。纯粹为了玩四处走动是非法的，但是白天时典型的街区街道上到处都是妇女，男人却寥寥可数，各种家庭生活的活动也在这</u>

quite legitimate to walk around for pleasure, but during the daytime, typical <i>barrio</i> streets are full of women and only a few men, and full of activities that form part of family life, such as children walking to school and housewives shopping for food. In other words, the <i>barrio</i> is a mediator between 'home' and 'street'. It is outside the home, but it is close to home; and it is a women's space during much of the day.	里展开, 例如孩子走路上学, 家庭主妇买菜。另一方面, 邻里是家庭和街道的调解剂。虽然在外面, 但是离家很近, 那里大多数时间都是女性的地盘。
An association based on the <i>barrio</i> is thus suitable for women interested in public life. The decision to go into the 'street' is not so momentous, since they are still in or near the 'house'. There may be opposition to their presence, but less than in other political contexts. From a practical angle, too, it is easier for a woman to be active in a neighbourhood association than in a party or a union. The premises are close to home, so going to a meeting takes less time, which is important for most women, especially mothers of small children. Proximity is also an advantage for older women and or people who do not read very well, who are not comfortable moving far away from their neighbourhood.¹¹ The timing of meetings suits women and men. They are held early in the evening, when most people are back from work, but before dinner and children's bedtime.	因此, 以城区为基础的协会适合对公共生活感兴趣的女性。走到街道这个决定是伟大的, 因为他们还是在或者离房子不远的地方。他们的出现可能会遭到反对, 但比其他政治环境中的要少。事实上, 妇女在居委会中比在党派或工会中更容易活跃。对大多数妇女尤其是有孩子的母亲来说重要的是这些场所离家很近, 省去了开会的所需时间。对于年纪大的女性或者不识字的人来说, 住得近也是一个优势, 因为他们不愿意搬到离自己社区太远的地方。会议的时间同时适合男女, 时间是晚上早些时候, 因为那个时候大多数人才下班回家, 但又是吃饭之前和孩子睡觉时间之前。

However, women cannot easily socialize after meetings, which places them at a disadvantage. It is not common for husbands to take over home duties, so most women have to hurry home after meetings. Furthermore, women are not comfortable in the bars where the socializing takes place. Downtown cafeterias are gender neutral, but <i>barrio</i> bars continue to be clearly male spaces. But pleasure is a motive, too, especially for women, since they have fewer alternative meeting places. In spite of the serious objectives, frustrations and conflicts, most activists have fun in the movement and many said all their friends were in the movement. (See below, page 176, on stories of participation.) The pleasurable atmosphere of the meetings, at demonstrations, at the bar also influence women's participation.	但是，女性在会议后不会轻易进行社交，这种行为会让他们处于不利位置。丈夫接管家庭责任是不常见的，所以大多数女性不得不在会议后立马冲回家。此外，女性在酒吧里社交也不舒服。市中心的自助餐厅不分性别，但社区酒吧仍然是明显男性的领域。但是为了快乐，特别对女性来说，因为他们没有其他聚会的场所。尽管目标严肃、挫折和冲突，但大多数积极分子在这项运动中获得了乐趣，许多人说他们所有的朋友都参加了运动。会议、示威游行和酒吧的愉悦氛围也影响妇女参与。
Perhaps the main reason for women's presence in the movement is their superior knowledge about the <i>barrio</i>, and this legitimates their participation to some extent even among traditionalists. Only about one-fourth of working-class married women work outside their homes.¹²For the others the <i>barrio</i> is their daily territory. The content of women's family work has much to do with the <i>barrio</i> as a space: they know where the children play and what dangers	也许女性出席运动的主要原因她们对城区的了解更多，这在一定程度上使他们的参与合法化，甚至传统主义者也是如此。大约四分之一的工人阶级娶了在外工作的女性。对于其他人来说，街区是他们日常领地。妇女家庭工作的内容与街区这个空间关系巨大：她们知道孩子在哪里玩耍，那里存在哪种危险，孩子们需要什么才能更快乐、更健康地成长；她们知道食品店还有价格和质量；她们知道毒

there are and what they would need to grow up happier and healthier; they know the food stores, prices, and quality; they know if drug dealers gather on some corner. One aspect of the traditional gender order that remains relevant, though not explicit, is the feeling that women are unable to represent anyone but themselves and possibly their children. This probably lies behind some of the difficulties women encounter in other political contexts or in the movement beyond the <i>barrio</i>. The proportion of women decreases drastically as one moves up the organizational pyramid.	贩会聚集在某个角落。 传统性别秩序的一方面虽然模糊但是仍有联系，那就是人们认为妇女除了代表个人和自己的孩子之外，无法代表其他人。这可能导致妇女在其他政治环境中或在街区以外的运动遇到困难。女性比例随着在组织这个金字塔结构里的位子向上爬而减少。
Already at the level of city federations, there are few women. Activists tend to elect men to represent the <i>barrio</i> and women tend to avoid being elected. I am inclined, however, to see practical reasons as foremost for the absence of women in the federations. Federation premises are farther away and attending meetings is too time-consuming. In the <i>barrio</i> association activists represent only themselves. They are there as individuals. It has been argued that women are less individuated than men in western countries, and this is certainly true for Spain. One major obstacle for women's participation in any aspect of	几乎没有什么女性活跃在城邦联盟这个阶层。积极分子往往选择男性来代表邻里而女性常常避免被选中。但是我更愿意看到实际原因作为优先考虑由于女性在联盟中的缺席。联合会的场所更远，参加会议耗时过长。 邻里组织中的积极分子只代表他们自己。他们在其中充当个人。值得讨论的是在西方女性比男性更不自主，西班牙亦是如此。女性参与公共社会的一个主要障碍是她们与家庭联系紧密，以及她们以个人在家庭背景之外行动的只拥有相对较低的合法性程度。但是一旦他们克服这个障碍，以个人行事要比代表更大的集体容

public life is their dose connection with the family, and the relatively lower degree of legitimacy accorded to their actions as individuals, outside the family context. But if and when they overcome this obstacle, it is still easier to act as individuals than to represent larger collectivities.	易。
<u>As more women enter the movement, it becomes easier for others to join. The style of interaction and the issues become more 'woman friendly' and their participation becomes less controversial, provoking less gossip, suspicion and resistance. The importance of gender as such also decreases as women move in. When I asked about the division of labor according to gender, it was always vehemently denied; whether or not it existed in practice, it was clearly not acceptable in theory.</u>	<u>由于更多女性参与到这项运动, 其他女性也更容易参与其中。互动的方式和议题变得更加 "对女性友好", 她们的参与也变得不那么具有争议性, 引发的流言蜚语、猜疑和抵制也更少。随着女性的加入, 性别的重要性由此降低。当我问道根据以性别分工, 总是得到矢口否认。无论是否在实践中可行, 在理论是绝对不允许的。</u>
Interaction in the association	协会内的互动
The interactional style of the movement is generally relaxed and down-to-earth, humorous, and ironic. Styles of working and talking are becoming more formal as the movement becomes institutionalized but are still looser than in the political parties and labor unions. Many women (and some men) felt out of place in such organizations, because they had to learn pre-established ways of speaking and	这项运动的互动形式总体是很轻松朴实, 幽默讽刺的。随着运动逐渐机构化, 工作方式和交流方式变得更正式, 但与政党和工会相比, 更加灵活。很多女性在这样的组织感到不自在, 因为他们必须以预先设定的方式说话和行动。

acting.	
The movement also lends itself well to innovation, because it is relatively new itself and has always experimented with styles and methods. The friendly style is related to the fact that many of the activists know each other in many roles and most of them have overlapping networks. The style is also compatible with the issues as they are culturally perceived: 'small' 'everyday' thing! like street lights and bread prices; 'family' issues like health care and schooling; even 'dirty' issues like drugs, rats and garbage collection. There is nothing elegant, nothing momentous about them. For all these reasons, meeting procedures have to be informal and the atmosphere is usually friendly. Tasks are assigned pragmatically to whoever has the time or inclination. Most associations have annual meetings that elect a board, but election is not a requirement for being active; usually whoever comes to the meetings with some regularity is considered active and is listened to.	在运动中，自发性更强。该运动也非常适合创新，因为它本身相对较新，一直在尝试各种风格和方法。友好的风格使得很多积极分子在很多角色中相互了解，大多数的交际网也是重叠的。这种风格和文化观念中的问题一致，日常的小问题就像路灯和面包价格；家庭问题如医疗保健和学校教育；甚至肮脏问题，如毒品、老鼠和垃圾收集。基于这些原因，会议的议程必须是非正式的，但是气氛通常是友好的。任务被务实地分配给有时间或有意愿的人。大多数的组织每年都召开会议，选举董事会，但选举不是活跃的必要条件，通常，凡是定期参加的人都被认为是积极的，是值得倾听的。
Voting is extremely rare. Minutes are hardly ever kept. Experience counts, veterans are listened to, but claims to prestige on the grounds of experience, education or income are avoided. Formal signs of hierarchy are scrupulously avoided. Presidents try not to invoke their	投票几乎很少。会议记录几乎也没有。经验很重要，重视老兵的意见，但以经验、教育或收入为理由的声望主张是避免的。严格避免等级制度的正式标志。主席们尽量不使用自己的权威来维持秩序。无论年龄、性

authority to keep order. First names are used, as is the informal pronoun 'tu', irrespective of age, gender, or other statuses.	别或者其他身份，都使用名字，非正式代词“您”也是如此。
Strong undercurrents of tension are frequent because of differences in background and ideology, and sometimes because issues are conflictive. But individual preferences and opinions are well known to all, so conflicts can be averted or joked about, as the situation demands. Much of the joking is sexual but it is seldom denigrating. And women are used to it as a common feature of other gender-mixed contexts. <u>There is some playful flirtation, but serious affairs are discouraged as most activists are married and involved in dense local networks that rapidly carry gossip.</u> All in all, the style of work and interaction is adapted to the cultural and social circumstances so women and men feel relaxed and competent in it. At association meetings, men tend to use more space than women: they speak longer and louder, interrupt more often, and spread arms, legs, jackets and note paper wider. Women's behavior is only relatively deferential and circumspect. But the context is political, therefore the men have preference in defining the terms. Countervailing these tendencies, however, is the fact that	由于背景和意识形态的差异，以及问题的冲突性，强烈的紧张氛围经常存在。但是由于情况所需，让其他人知道个人喜好和意见，从而避免争吵和耻笑。大部分的玩笑都与性别有关，但很少是侮辱性的。女性对此习以为常，因为在其他性别混杂的环境中，<u>虽然也会嬉戏打闹，但由于大多数积极分子都已婚，并有广泛的社会网，而这些社会网会散播流言蜚语，因此不提倡婚外情。</u>总之，工作和互动的方式适应了文化和社会环境，因此男女都能在其中感到轻松和胜任。 在组织会议上，与女性相比，男性拥有更多的空间，他们说话更久，更大声，频繁插话，把胳膊、腿、外套和便条展得更大。相反妇女的行为只是恭顺和谨慎。但这里的语境是政治性的，因此男性在定义条款时享有优先权。然而，与这些趋势相反的是，正如我们所看到的，妇女更了解巴里奥的生活，这使她们在辩论问题时具有权威性。

women know more about <i>barrio</i> life, as we saw, and that gives them authority in debating the issues.	
They do not keep quiet. The men concede authority and space to women. They do so because they recognize women's knowledge and because activists are usually radical enough to question all conventions. When asked, they insist that women should have the same rights to speak and act as men. Such statements and/or convictions do not always translate into actual behavior, but when it comes to <i>barrio</i> issues they often do, because women's knowledge of them is legitimate, even according to the traditional gender order. Political party activists may look down on the informal procedures of the movement. Personally, I believe that the grassroots characteristics of the movement represent its greatest asset. <u>In any case, it is safe to suggest that these grass-roots characteristics, taken together, create a woman-friendly context, this being one of the things that the women themselves stressed when I questioned them about their reasons for joining.</u> However, there are variations according to region and community, as we will see.	他们不愿保持沉默。男人在权威和空间方面对女性让步。之所以这样做，是因为他们认可妇女的学识，也因为积极分子通常足够激进，敢于质疑一切约定俗成的东西。他们坚持本应该和男人一样拥有说话和行动。当被问及时，她们坚持认为女性应该拥有与男性相同的发言和行动权利。这样的言论和/或信念并不总是转化为实际行为，但当涉及到邻里问题时，它们通常会转化为实际行动，因为女性对这些问题的了解是合法的，即使按照传统的性别秩序也是如此。 政党积极分子也许会看不起运动的非正式程序。个人而言我认为运动的基本特征代表了其最大的优势。<u>无论如何，可以肯定的是，把这些基本特点结合在一起，构建了一个对妇女友好的环境。</u>在我询问她们为何加入时，妇女们对此很认同。但是如我们所知区域和社区之间有所不同。
Stories about participation	参与的故事
There are certain regularities that	男性和女性关于他们参与的故事

emerge in the stories that men and women tell concerning their participation. The regularities are all the more striking, given the variation in all other factors. Some people, both women and men, had clear ideological reasons for being active. They were Christian or communist or had a working-class consciousness, implying that this was a more than sufficient explanation. Some admitted they reached their convictions through working in the association, for others the reasons for first joining were the same reasons for continuing. Whatever the details of their stories, they shared the belief that social injustice was prevalent and that it ought to and could be changed. The need to struggle against injustice overrode all other considerations. It even made established gender ideas pale in comparison, although many men and women confessed to contradictions in their mentality when it came to gender.	中有规律可循。规律是更引人瞩目的是考虑到所有其他因素的差异。不论男女积极参与都有明确的意识形态原因，言下之意，这个解释绰绰有余。无论他们是基督教徒还是共产主义者又或是有工人阶级意识的人，有些人承认他们通过在协会工作获得了自己的信念，对于其他人来说，最初加入的原因与继续参与的原因相同。无论他们的故事细节如何，他们都认为社会不公是普遍存在的，应该和可以改变。对抗不公正的需求凌驾于所有其他考虑之上。这甚至使得既定的性别观念相形见绌，尽管许多男性和女性承认在涉及性别问题时存在着他们“心态”上的“矛盾”。
For most active women, however, ideological background was irrelevant. Their reasons for joining were social and personal. No woman said she was tempted into political activity because she wanted to influence important decisions. <u>The main motive was usually expressed in vague terms as ‘doing something for others’, ‘getting out of the</u>	对于大多数活跃的女性，形态意识的背景无关。加入的原因有社会的和个人的。没有一个女性说她之所以参与政治活动是因为她想影响重要决策，<u>主要用“为他人着想、走出家门就知道发生了什么”这样模糊的字眼，根据占主导地位的性别秩序，这说明女性对他人的关心，以及对妇女</u>

<u>house', 'knowing what is going on', or similar phrases, indicating a 'feminine' (according to the dominant gender order) concern for the well-being of others in combination with a critical attitude towards the confinement of women to the 'house' and their consequent lack of mobility and information.</u> The influence of someone known to them and active in the movement was a common factor in explanations of how people joined the movement. Their contact was usually described as someone who did so much for others without thinking of themselves and who could be trusted always to help you if you needed it, gregarious, nice to be with, someone who would always stop to greet you in the street and remember to ask you about your personal problems. <u>An invitation to join might come from this person but often the initiative came from the new recruit herself.</u> This typically took the form of an offer of help. Informants usually explained that owing to their own perception of 'their ignorance' or lack of experience they had needed some persuasion to join.	<u>只能困在家里由此对外信息了解的匮乏和缺少应有的批判态度。</u> 在解释人们如何加入运动时，一个常见的因素是他们认识的、活跃在运动中的人对他们的影响。他们之间的联系常被称为一些没有考虑自己却为别人做了很多事，如果你需要就会有人来帮你，他们热情好客，平易近人，"总是会在街上停下来和你打招呼"，还会记得问你的个人问题。<u>有人可能发出了邀请，但通常是新成员自愿加入。</u>应邀者解释说由于他们认为自已无知或缺乏经验，他们需要一些劝说才能加入。
For men too, personal contacts had influenced their decision to join but they emphasized their own ideological evolution that led them towards the movement. Leaders especially talked in	男人说，亲密接触会影响他们决定参与，但是他们强调自己的意识形态的演变让他们加入这项运动。领导尤其从政治层面谈到了参与式民主的必要性。其他人谈到了他们所注意到

political terms of the need for participatory democracy. Others spoke about the deficiencies of their <i>barrio</i>, which they had noticed and had to struggle to correct out of a sense of justice and responsibility. If a <i>barrio</i> does not struggle, they said, ordinary politicians will do nothing.	的并且不得不努力改正的社区缺陷，这是出于对公正和责任感的理解。他们称一个街区不努力，寻常的政客也就什么事都不干。
The main difference was not the significance of personal contacts but its characteristics. For both men and women, the helping hand almost always belonged to someone of their own gender.¹⁷ For men it was someone with knowledge and preferably a position, someone who explained the theoretical purposes of the movement. For women it was someone who could convince them that they, too, were valuable. Both men and women needed to overcome their lack of information, but women also confronted a lack of self-assurance. This was felt as an individual problem ('I don't think I am good at that kind of thing') and as gender specific ('women are not usually good at that kind of thing') or both ('women are not usually good at that kind of thing, and I don't know if I am an exception, and to act as if I were will make me look ridiculous'). Men, then, stressed the problems and the objectives of the movement, sometimes expressed in highly	主要的不同不在于私下联系而在于其特点。不论男女他们总是希望是和他们同样性别的人伸出援手。对于男人而言，这个人要博学最好有点地位，也可以是那些能解释这项运动的理论用意的人。而女人则需要那些说服她们自己也是珍贵之人。男性和女性都需要克服信息不足的问题，但女性还需要面临自信缺乏的挑战。这被认为属于个人问题（“我觉得我不擅长这种事情”），也被视为性别特定的问题（“女性通常不擅长这种事情”），或者两者兼而有之（“女性通常不擅长这种事情，而且我不知道自己是否是个例外，假装是的话会让我看起来很荒谬”）。 男性通常强调该运动的问题和目标，有时用高度政治化的术语表达。而女性则常常否认自己参与政治。她们最希望的是“做出贡献”。实际上她们的动机与男性相同，都是为了解决自己所在社区的问题。但男性通常

politicized terms. Women commonly denied being involved in politics at all. They wished above all to ‘contribute’. Their motives were actually the same as the men's, to solve the problems of their <i>barrio</i>. But while the men expressed this thought in political terms, referring to power and their own capacity, the women preferred more humble and moral terms.	用政治术语表达这种想法，涉及权力和自身能力，而女性更倾向于使用更加谦逊和道德的词语。
Questions about women in the movement	运动中的女性存在的问题
So far I have offered answers to anthropological or outsider questions. The movement itself had questions about women's participation too. But whereas I wondered why so many women do participate, the emphasis from the inside was on non-participation. Activists wanted to resolve certain gender-related problems for practical reasons, for the good of the movement as a whole. Debates on ‘women’s issues’ were also prompted by the confederation's initiatives. Activists usually assumed that women should participate more in public life, that the neighbourhood movement is a good place to start and that it too would benefit but that most women are 'still' 'limited' to a life centered on the family.	到目前为止，我已经回答了人类学或局外人的问题。运动本身对女性参与也有疑问。但与我想知道为什么有这么多女性参与不同，内部强调的是不参与。 积极分子想要从实际出发，为了运动的整体利益，解决性别相关的问题。联合会的倡议甚至引发了女性问题的辩论。关于“女性问题”的讨论也是由联合会的倡议引发的。活动家们通常认为，女性应该更多地参与公共生活，邻里运动是一个很好的起点，它也会受益，但大多数女性“仍然”“局限”于以家庭为中心的生活。
The men in the movement were often critical of both women’s and men’s non-participation. They thought	运动中的男人批判所有人的缺席。他们认为每个人应该更加团结但是大多数人还是又懒又自私。这样的

everyone ought to be more solidary but that most people were lazy or selfish. The criticism applied equally to women and men, but it was often specified that women can no longer claim discrimination or lack of education as an excuse: Nowadays everything has changed, so what is stopping them? The women in the movement were more understanding. They knew from experience that the obstacles were real. But if they had overcome them others should do the same.

One commonly discussed issue was whether separate women's groups were necessary or desirable or whether the goal should be to overcome whatever it is that makes them necessary. Questions of strategy concerned how the movement could be made attractive to women, how to 'get women out of their homes' and what prevented them from joining. Were women's 'traditional roles' keeping them away or was it men's resistance, and if the latter, why do men resist? Debates also addressed ways of improving women's self-esteem and whether the movement addressed specific female needs. One common opinion was that it is wrong to categorize people as men or women, and that it is preferable to identify as persons, working in the same associations, with the same activities. After all, the common

批评男性女性都适用,但有人明确指出,女性不能再以歧视或缺乏教育为借口:“如今一切都变了,有什么能阻止她们呢”运动中的女性则更加善解人意。他们从经验知道问题是真实存在的。但是如果他们克服了,其他人也应该克服。

一个经常讨论的问题是是否需要或者应该有独立的女性团体,或者目标应该是克服导致这些团体必要性的因素。战略问题包括如何让运动对女性更具吸引力,如何让她们“走出家门”,以及是什么阻碍了她们的加入。是女性的“传统角色”使她们远离了运动,还是男性的阻力?如果是后者,为什么男性会抵制?讨论还涉及如何提升女性的自尊心,以及运动是否满足了特定女性需求。一个常见的观点是将人们分为男性和女性是错误的,最好将自己认定为“人”,在同样的组织中从事同样的活动。毕竟,共同的斗争目标是为每个人创造一个更好的社会!

妇女委员会的作用也是一个问题:它们应该做些什么?它们必须是女权主义者吗?或者说,他们可以是“为普通妇女”服务的,但如果是这样,最终会不会沦为闲聊俱乐部?另一方面,女权主义妇女委员会的存在

objective of struggle was a better society for everyone! The role of women's committees was also an issue: What should they do? Must they be feminist? Or could they be for ordinary women' and if so, would they not end up as just clubs for gossip? On the other hand, the presence of a feminist women's committee could scare away other ordinary <i>barrio</i> men and women.	可能会吓跑其他普通的邻里男女。
Different ways of participating	不同的参与方式
My generalizations so far have been based largely on data from Madrid and Valencia. Since they are large cities, they can be treated as ideal-typical for the movement, which was born in big cities and focuses on urban issues. But what happens in small and medium sized places is also relevant. Four examples will illustrate the range of variation in what women do, can do, are allowed to do and want to do in the movement.¹⁹ The gender order differs throughout Spain.²⁰ Since women need and want different things, the neighbourhood movement comes into their lives in different ways. What the examples taken together show is that the movement can play an emancipatory role in different gender situations and that women in very different circumstances find it useful.	到目前为止，我的总结主要基于马德里和巴伦西亚的数据。由于她们是大城市，可以被视作这次运动的理想典范，出生在大城市，重心也在城区问题上。但是在中小地方发生的是有联系的。以下四个例子会说明女性在运动中做什么、能做什么、被允许做什么以及想做什么的差异范围。性别秩序在西班牙不同的地方也有所不同。由于女性需要和想要的东西不同，她们参与邻里运动的方式也不同。这些例子共同表明，该运动可以在不同的性别环境中发挥解放的作用，处于不同环境中的女性也会发现运动的有用之处。
Elda	埃尔达

Elda is a town of some 55,000 inhabitants in south-eastern Spain, in the region of Valencia. The neighbourhood movement started early here and was well established by 1994; all *barrios* had their own association and all except one had their own premises. Cooperation with the city council was close and friendly (too close for some). Both the city council and the movement were dominated by the socialist party, PSOE.

Elda is an industrial town with a proud working-class history. The shoe industry is the single dominant industry here. Elda women claim they have always worked. Most tasks in shoemaking are considered gender-specific, about half being for women, who could thus count on a job. The women of the movement in Elda said they felt different from women from other parts of Spain when they met them at congresses and heard their complaints about discrimination. 'We have evolved beyond all that.' They claimed they were used to having a say because they had always contributed substantially to the family income.

Nevertheless, Elda women complained about husbands who did nothing at home and were unhappy when their wives attended meetings. In most of the associations, there were many active

埃尔达是西班牙东南部瓦伦西亚地区的一个小镇，约有 5.5 万居民。这里的邻里运动很早就开始了，到 1994 年已经发展得非常成熟，所有社区拥有自己的协会，除了一个社区之外，其他社区都有自己的办公场所。与市议会的合作是友好的（对某些人来说过于亲密）。城市议会和社区运动都被社会党（PSOE）所主导。

埃尔达是个工业小镇，有着令人骄傲的工人阶级历史。鞋子产业也是这边的唯一龙头产业。埃尔达女性称他们总是在做事。大多数制鞋的工作都被认为是有性别区分的，但是其中约有一半是妇女在做的，因此她们可以得到一份工作。埃尔达妇女说她们感觉自己不同于西班牙其他地区的女性，他们可以参与议会，让其他人听到她们对偏见的抱怨。我们已经超越了其他一切，她们已经习惯总是对于家庭收入做出了贡献。

然而，埃尔达夫人抱怨她的丈夫在家里闲来无事，但当她自己参加聚会时，丈夫却感到不满。大多数协会中，女性积极参与其中，但也有一些协会几乎没有女性成员，甚至有些协会完全没有女性参与。联邦中的 18 个代表只有一位是女性。

但是联邦中的女性委员会不确定

women, but there were some with very few and one with none. Of the eighteen representatives in the federation, only one was a woman. Yet the women's commission of the federation was unsure of its purpose: there were no special women's issues to fight for, they felt, except perhaps to get men to help more at home. Their main concern was unemployment, a recent fact of life in Elda. They underlined that this was a problem for men, too, but they organized a sewing class for women, seeing it as a reliable skill to earn money or save on the family budget. The commission was also vaguely interested in clarifying our own ideas on women's issues. They knew there was a body of feminist theory that might be relevant for them, but did not know how to gain access to it, and seemed unwilling to spend much energy investigating this. Like most movement activists, they were more interested in practical struggles than in theoretical issues.	自己的目标，她们认为除了让男人在家里多帮忙，没有其他特别的妇女问题需要争取，她们主要关心的是失业问题，这是埃尔达最近的生活现状。她们强调，对于男性来说这也是一个问题，但他们为女性组织了一个缝纫班，认为这是一项可靠的技能，可以赚钱或节省家庭预算。委员会模糊地表达“澄清我们自己对女性问题的看法”的兴趣。他们知道有一套与她们有关的女性主义理论，但是不知道获取的途径，也不愿意花太多精力去研究。像大多数运动中的积极分子，他们更多感兴趣的是实践斗争比理论问题。
Linares	利纳雷斯
Linares is another industrial town, of similar size and not very far from Elda. But it belongs to another region, Andalusia, and it has a very different history. Mining was once the main activity in Linares; now it is the automobile industry. Both have been	利纳雷斯是另一个工业小镇，和埃尔达规模一样离得也不远。但是它隶属于另一个区域——安达卢西亚拥有着完全不一样的文化，矿采曾是这里主要的活动，现在是汽车产业了。但是这两个活动都被归类于男性。与

defined as masculine activities. So unlike Elda, women here have never participated in the labor market to any extent. The neighbourhood movement was new in the 1990s, and very few women took part in it. A couple of <i>barrio</i> associations dated from the 1970s, but the federation was quite recent and, as far as I could tell, it and many of the associations were being pushed into existence by PSOE militants. One young university-educated PSOE woman was trying to organize women's committees. Middle-aged <i>barrio</i> women who were long-term activists accepted the initiative because they recognized there was a need, though with skepticism about her motives and ability.	埃尔达不同，这里的女性从未参加过任何劳动市场。20 年代的时候邻里运动还是新的内容，很少有女性参与。 有几个街区协会是上世纪 70 年代成立的，但联合会成立不久，据我所知，它和许多协会都是由社会工人党激进分子推动成立的。一位年轻、受过大学教育的 PSOE 女性正在试图组织妇女委员会。作为长期活跃的中年街区女性接受了这一倡议，因为她们认识到这是一种需要，尽管对她的动机和能力持怀疑态度。
Linares women did not go out much. Visiting each other's homes was acceptable, but the women talked about it as a right conquered in their own lifetime. Only recently had it become acceptable for a married woman to have a cup of coffee with a woman friend in a cafeteria. To join an association was construed as the next step on the road towards freedom of movement, and that was where the struggle was in 1994. Many of the associations had no women at all on the board, and in one association there was organized opposition against	利纳雷斯女性很少出门。可取的是串门，但是女性认为这是需要花费她们一生才能获得的权利。直到最近，已婚妇女才能与自己的朋友在自助餐厅喝杯咖啡。加入一个协会被视为通往行动自由的下一步，这也是 1994 年的斗争焦点所在。很多组织里中在董事会完全没有女性的身影，在一个协会中，有组织地反对前两名敢于加入董事会的女性。在其他组织中，一大群女性变得主动，而男性放弃了。但是，大多数反对的声音都是

the first two women who dared to join the board. In another association, a large group of women had become active, whereupon most of the men quit. Most of the resistance, however, seemed to come from husbands. In such a situation, women can do little association work beyond winning the right to join. On the other hand, hundreds of Linares women demonstrated weekly throughout the winter of 1994, as workers' wives when one-quarter of the car industry's workforce was laid off with threats of worse to come. So, Linares women took to the streets in their traditional gender role. The distinction between 'street' and 'house' remained intact. Although physically in the street, they remained socially and culturally within the domestic realm. Defending their families was one thing, joining an association for their own sake was another. That could undermine the genderisation of domains, and that was resisted by many women and most men.	来自丈夫。除了有加入的权利之外，女性几乎不能做其他协会的工作。1994 年的冬天，成百上千的妇女每周以工人的妻子身份示威，时值汽车产业的四分之一劳动力被解雇，伴随着更严重的威胁。所以女性传统的性别秩序上街道和家庭的区别仍然不变。即使他们身体在街上了，但他们还是社会和文化仍在家庭范围内。保卫家人是一回事，为了自己加入协会又是另一回事。这可能会削弱领域的性别化，但也遭到了很多女性和大多数男性的反对。
But activist women responded. In one association the women staged a play about women who become ill when they are deprived of friendship. One such woman persuades her husband to let her join the neighbourhood association, after which her personality changes and her marriage improves. The husband,	但是积极的女性回应。协会中的女性出演了一出关于妇女在失去朋友之后变得疯魔的戏码。这样的女性劝说他们的丈夫让他们加入邻里组织，从而改变她的个性和改善她的婚姻。她们的丈夫深受鼓舞也加入了协会。另一方面，女子合唱团的曲目是关于

impressed, also joins the association. In another case a women's choir had a repertoire of songs about the therapeutic and educational effects of association life on women.	社团生活对女性有着治疗和教育的作 用。
Cordova	科尔多瓦
Cordova, also in Andalusia, is a city of about 300,000 inhabitants. It is a provincial capital, an administrative and commercial center for the surrounding agricultural area. It has some industry and attracts tourism because of its rich cultural heritage, notably the famous mosque-cathedral. It is a beautiful but difficult city. Class is a major factor of life. Incomes, educational levels, life-styles, and opinions are polarized. In the first democratic local elections, in 1979, Cordova elected a communist mayor, and the communists have dominated city politics ever since.	科尔多瓦也位于安达卢西亚，是一座拥有约 30 万居民的城市。还是省会，也是周边农业区的行政和商业中心。这个城市拥有一些工业，并因其丰富的文化遗产，尤其是著名的清真寺-大教堂而吸引着游客。这里美丽但很落后，阶级是生活的一个重要因素，收入、教育水平、生活方式和观点两极分化。在首届民主地区选举，科尔多瓦选出了一位共产党市长，自此共产党开始主导城市政治。
Cordova is one of the places where the neighbourhood movement has attained most recognition and become integrated into formal city politics. It has remained a mostly male movement. <u>The women said this was because the city and its men were still very Moorish.</u> Only two of the fifty or so associations had women's committees. That does not mean that the women of Cordova were not active - perhaps they were the most radical of all. There was a lively feminist	科尔多瓦是邻里运动获得最多认可并融入正式城市政治的地方之一。但它仍然主要是一场男性运动。 <u>这位女性称这是因为这个城市还有男人，像列强那样蛮横的侵略者。</u> 在五十多个协会中，只有两个协会设有妇女委员会。这不意味着不积极不主动，恰恰可能他们是最理性的。在市政府的支持下，女权运动蓬勃发展，而市议会也没有置身于贫民区妇女之外。 ²² 女权主义者和其他女性群体组织成了

movement, supported by the city council, which had not stayed aloof from <i>barrio</i> women.²² Feminist and other women's groups were organized in a federation-like structure, through which they could obtain financial and organizational support for activities such as congresses, women's film clubs or literacy courses. For the immediate future, they planned a series of workshops on sexuality from the perspective of women's pleasure and desires. <u>The feminist organizers proudly stressed that this brave proposal had come 'from the women themselves.</u>	一种类似联盟的结构, 通过这种结构, 她们可以获得大会、妇女电影俱乐部或扫盲课程等活动提供资金和组织支持。 对于即将到来的未来, 她们计划举办一系列关于“从女性快乐和欲望角度看性”的研讨会。<u>女性主义者骄傲地宣称是女性大胆提出了这个方案。</u>
Many of the women's groups were <i>barrio</i> groups. Their area of action coincided with that of the 'men's association', as they usually called the neighbourhood association, and their purpose was the same, to work for the good of the <i>barrio</i>. But they had found it necessary to organize separately from the men. There were tales of women who had tried to work in the men's associations and had resigned because the men did not co-operate, their husbands were suspicious of late evening meetings and neighbors gossiped about their possible sexual motives in being around so many men. In other words, there were actually two neighbourhood associations in many <i>barrios</i>, one for men and one for women,	很多女性的组织都是街区的。他们的活动范围与男子协会一致, 目的相同, 都是为“邻里的利益而工作”。但他们发现有必要与男子分开组织。一些妇女尝试在男子协会工作, 但因为男人的不配合而辞职, 她们丈夫对深夜聚会怀疑, 邻居也会说闲话, 说她们和这么多男人在一起可能会出轨。换句话说, 在许多街区实际上有两个居委会, 一个是男性居委会, 一个是女性居委会, 致力于解决类似的问题。在某些情况下, 他们共用房子, 在不同的时间开会。但是女性群体不会想要重新定义为居委会的妇女委员会。他们害怕自己的行动自由会受到限制, 成为男人的附属。

working on similar issues. In some cases they shared the premises, meeting at different times. But the women's groups did not want to be redefined as women's committees of the neighbourhood associations. They feared that would limit their freedom of action and subordinate them to the men.	
What these three examples show is that, whatever else women were doing in the movement, they were also working at redefining gender. Minimally, these women had refused to stay 'in the house' in order to join the movement. Implicitly, they wanted more equality in the sense of similarity, since they wanted women and men to work in the same spaces. But usually, they postponed this aim to work instead for equality in the sense of justice. The women of these towns differed in what they identified as most urgent, or most easily attainable, and in what tactics to use. In Elda, women felt they were already similar to men in the most decisive domain, the labor market. Their implicit theory was Marxian: if there is equality in the economic sphere, other inequalities will disappear. They were therefore confident that, with or without special efforts on their part, women would increasingly enter the movement and men would welcome them, and that	以上三个例子表明，这三个例子表明，无论女性在运动中做了什么，她们都在努力重新定义性别角色。最起码，这些妇女拒绝呆在家里参加运动。隐含的是她们希望在相似意义上更加平等，希望男女在同样的空间工作。但通常情况下，他们会推迟这一目标的实现，转而致力于公正意义上的平等。 这些小镇上的女性在确定什么是最紧迫、或最容易实现的，以及使用什么策略方面各不相同。在埃尔达，女性感觉在最有决定力的领域——劳动力市场来说，和男性基本一致。他们隐含的理论是马克思主义：如果在经济领域实现了平等，其他不平等就会消失。因此她们相信无论自己是否特别努力，妇女都会越来越多参与到运动中来，男人也欢迎她们，丈夫们也开始在家帮忙。但是失业对这一进程构成了最大的威胁。 因此，他们相信，无论是否有特

husbands would begin helping at home. Unemployment posed the greatest danger to this process.	殊努力，女性都将越来越多地加入运动，而男性将会欢迎她们，并且丈夫们也会开始在家中帮忙。
The women of Linares also wanted to enter men's spaces. Employment was not the means to achieve this given the lack of jobs for women and, increasingly for men too. Most women claimed that women and men were very different deep down, and they wanted to remain 'real women. However, their feminine identity was not under threat - on the contrary, it was being used as a weapon against them, to keep them 'in the house'. So, for them it was important to diminish difference as a way of achieving justice. In Cordova, too, women felt that decreased gender differences were desirable. They had been working on this for some time, but their experience was rather negative. There was resistance from many quarters, centered on the mixing of unrelated women and men, so they pragmatically opted for separate organizations, though they did not relinquish their concern to abolish rigid definitions of what befits each gender. Equality in the sense of similarity had to give way to equality in the sense of justice.	利纳雷斯女性也想要加入男人的空间。鉴于女性缺乏工作，男性也越来越缺乏工作，就业并不是实现这一目标的手段。大多数女性说，女性和男性在内心深处是截然不同的，她们希望继续做“真正的女性”。然而，她们的“女性身份”并没有受到威胁--相反，这种身份被用作对付她们的武器，将她们“关在屋子里”。对于他们而言重要的是缩小差异，这是实现公正的一种方式。女性认为缩减的性别差异是可取的。他们已经为此奋斗了一段时间，但是她们的经历都是非常负面的。来自多方面的阻力，主要集中在没有血缘关系的男女混杂在一起，因此他们务实地选择了单独的组织，尽管他们并没有放弃对废弃僵化性别定义的关注。 许多方面都对不相关的男女混合表示反对，因此他们实际上选择了分开的组织，尽管他们没有放弃废除对每个性别应有的严格定义的关注。公正意义上的平等必须先于相似意义上的平等。
To use the key analogy of women/house and men/street, while women in Elda felt that men ought to	用“女人代表房子”和“男人代表街道”这个关键的比喻来说，埃尔达

start knocking on the kitchen door, wanting to come in, and the women in Linares knocked their knuckles bloody on the inside of their front doors, wanting to get out, the women in Cordova had opened the front doors, kept the kitchen doors closed until further notice, and built new walls in the public arena in order to be able to use at least parts of it for their own purposes. A fourth example shows women who are already outside the ‘house’ calling for other women to come out, and doing it in such a way as to make the walls themselves blur.	的女人认为男人开始因为想进厨房而敲门；利纳雷斯的女人则在前门内侧敲得指关节流血，想要出去；而科尔多瓦的女人则打开了前门，又把厨房门关上直到另行通知，并在公共领域建造了新的墙壁，以便至少可以利用其中的部分来实现自己的目的。 第四个例子表明已经在“房子”外的女性呼吁其他女性走出来，并使墙壁本身变得模糊不清。
Vigo: lace-making or feminism?	维戈：手工艺还是女权？
Vigo, in the north-western region of Galicia, is approximately the same size as Cordova. Its traditional activities are fishing, canning industries, ship building and the port. There is also a large automobile factory. There has been much immigration from the surrounding countryside but links with the land are strong. Most workers choose to live on the outskirts of the city, where they can have a small plot of land where the women grow potatoes and vegetables, keep a few chickens and perhaps a pig.	维戈位于加利西亚西北部地区，面积与科尔多瓦大致相同。这里的传统作业是渔业、罐头产业、造船厂和港口。还有一家大型汽车制造厂。这里有许多来自周边农村的移民，但已经和这块土地有了紧密的关系。大多数工人选择住在城郊，在那里他们可以有一小块地，妇女们可以在上面种植土豆和蔬菜，还可以养几只鸡或许还有一头猪。
Galician women are used to making their own decisions, because their men have often been away for long periods, as fishermen, sailors or emigrants to	加利西亚女性习惯于自己做决定，因为她们的丈夫长期在外，是渔民、水手或移民到美国的人，但他们

America,²³ but they are careful to defer to their husbands' masculinity. In 1994 most working-class women in Vigo took no part in political life. They had a heavy load: the house, the family, the garden plot, and the animals, and many also had jobs outside the household, in the canneries or selling fish or cleaning the homes of the middle class. Middle-class women enjoyed many activities and much freedom of movement. The traditional-minded women of the old part of Vigo were very active in their neighbourhood association, but refused to occupy formal positions, claiming: 'We women just argue with each other. A woman president would try to order everyone around. Things work much more smoothly if men are in command. In 1990 a feminist was elected to the city council. She decided to make a special effort to get women out of their homes, as a strategic move to empower women. She chose the neighbourhood movement as her main instrument and summoned the few women activists, offering special resources to set up women's committees.	小心翼翼地服从她们丈夫的男子气概。1994 年，维戈的大多数工人阶级妇女都没有参与政治生活。他们肩负着沉重的负担：房子、家庭、菜园和牲畜，许多人还在家庭以外的地方工作，如罐头厂、卖鱼或为中场阶级打扫卫生。中层妇女享受了很多活动和运动的自由。思想传统的妇女在她们的邻里协会中非常活跃，但拒绝在其中担任正式职务，她们自称：“我们只是在相互吵架”一个女性的主席尝试呼来喝去，而且男人主导的事情一般进展的相当顺利。 90 年代一名女权主义者被选入市政府。她决定做，让妇女走出家，以此作为赋予妇女权力的战略举措。她选择邻里运动作为主要手段，呼吁为数不多的妇女积极分子，提供特殊资源来建立妇女委员会。
As the women paraphrased the councilor, she told them: Work for getting women out of the house. Don't be	妇女们转述议员的话说，她告诉她们会努力让妇女走出家门。不能满足于就只有你们几个。街区的绝大数

content with being just a few of you. Most women of your <i>barrio</i> probably do not want to be active in the association itself, but let them at least know that it exists and if possible understand what it is about. Make them come to the premises. One way to make them come is to give them things they like.	女性不要在协会里表现活跃，但是至少让她们知道她的存在，尽可能让她们了解内容。让他们来这里。让他们来的方法之一就是给他们喜欢的东西。
Her department offered lists of subsidized courses for the committees to choose from. Unsurprisingly, the women chose activities traditionally defined as female: embroidery, porcelain painting, and lacework. Some committees also organized literacy courses. The courses subsidized by the women's department were not open to men, and this caused some irritation, even though everyone recognized that no man would want to do lacework. Some women protested because they had to sign up as members of the association to take the courses. Some activists also felt hesitant about forced recruitment. But the success of the initiative was enormous and in a few years large numbers of women had joined the movement as the women's networks spread favorable accounts of the programme. By 1994 there were women's committees in practically every <i>barrio</i>.	她的部门列举了一系列资助课程以供委员会选择。不出所料，妇女们选择了传统上被定义为女性的活动：刺绣、瓷器绘画和花边。一些委员会还组织了扫盲课程。由妇女部门资助的课程不对男性开放，这引起了一些不满，尽管所有人都承认没有男性会想要学习做花边工作。一些妇女抗议因为她们必须作为协会会员注册才能参加课程。一些活动人士也对“强制”招募感到犹豫不决。但这一举措取得了巨大成功，几年后，随着妇女社会网传播了该计划正面的信息，大批妇女加入了这一运动。到了94年每个街区都有了女性委员会。
Men felt uncomfortable about this female presence, though they usually	男性对女性的存在感到不自在，尽管他们通常会谨慎地表达这种不自

expressed this cautiously, talking about how women 'need to learn', how the men were 'trying to help' but with care 'not to meddle', and how the women 'should be grateful for everything we are giving them'. They also joked about women's meetings, as 'a pain in the neck', and referred to the chatter, the lack of any clear decisions, and the women's mistakes that the men then had to help clear up. The men denied wanting to restrict women to traditional roles, but they claimed women needed to learn more before they assumed responsibilities in the association, and so far they preferred lacemaking anyway. In fact, most activities in Vigo continued to be run by men.	在，谈论女性如何 "需要学习"，男性如何 "试图帮助 "但又小心翼翼地 "不插手"，以及女性如何 "应该感谢我们给予她们的一切"。他们还开玩笑说女性的会议是 "让人头疼的事"，并提到了闲聊、缺乏明确决策以及女性犯下的错误，这些错误后来需要男性帮忙解决。男人们否认他们想把妇女限制在传统角色中，但他们声称妇女在承担协会的责任之前需要学习更多的知识，但目前她们更喜欢花边制作。事实上，维戈的大多数活动仍由男性负责。
Women in the feminist movement or in political parties and trade unions in Vigo were skeptical about these strategies. So were movement activists, men and women, in other federations where the Vigo experiment was discussed. It was generally agreed that many women had been brought out of their homes, and that these women derived great satisfaction from their new activities. It was evident that they were spreading the word, attracting more women to the associations. But it was also felt that they did not understand the aims of the movement. Nor had their	女权运动或政党和工会中的妇女对维戈这些战略持怀疑态度。运动的积极分子也是这样，不论男女，在讨论实验的其他联合会中大家普遍认为，许多妇女走出了家门，从新的活动中获得了极大的满足感。很明显，这是在传播信息，吸引更多的妇女加入协会。但也有人认为，她们并不了解运动的目的。她们的生活也没有改变：'他们还不如去教堂聚聚呢！这什么也改变不了！"一位怀疑论者如是说。事实上，维戈计划有时被解释为使运动中立化的众多企图之一，它将

lives changed: 'They might as well get together in Church! This changes nothing!', as one sceptic said. In fact, the Vigo programme was sometimes interpreted as one of many attempts to neutralize the movement, diverting its energies away from 'real politics' and undermining its revolutionary potential.	运动的精力从 "真正的政治 "上转移开，削弱了运动的革命潜力。
But there was also support for the experiment and for its gradualist tactics. From this perspective it was not considered democratic to tell women what to do nor could people without any experience of life outside the home be expected to take an interest in formal politics or immediately become feminists. The first and crucial step was to get women out of their homes, to meet and to lose their fear of participation. Already many women dared to insist that they wanted to go out when their husbands wanted to stop them. Their self-esteem was growing and they were building networks. Soon they may start discussing <i>barrio</i> issues while engaged in their handicraft work. The method may be slow, but change will happen gradually.	但也有人支持这一试验及其渐进策略。从这个角度看，对妇女指手画脚是不民主的，也不能期望那些没有家庭外经验的人立刻对正式政治感兴趣或立即成为女权主义者。第一步，也是关键的一步，是让妇女走出家门，参加会议，消除她们对参与的恐惧。 许多妇女已经敢于在丈夫阻拦时坚持要出门。他们的自尊心在增强，他们正在建立社会网。不久之后，他们可能会一边从干着手工艺，一边开始讨论社区问题。方法可能低下，但是慢慢变化。
My opinion is that both sides were correct, but only partially. The women did come out of their houses and joined the associations, and they did have fun, as they themselves stressed. They	我认为两者都是对的，但又只是对了部分。女人们走出房子加入这个组织，就如她们所强调的是她们也拥有了快乐。他们享受有一个地方做她

enjoyed having a place to go to do work they liked. It was work they were familiar with, but they were learning more about it, and they were given space and time of their own to do it. They got out of the house with a legitimate excuse, meeting many other women, forming friendships. Most courses organized lunches or dinners and soon groups of women in bars and restaurants were a common feature of <i>barrio</i> life in a way they had never been before.	们喜欢的事。这是她们熟知的工作但是她们正在进一步学习，她们拥有空间和时间做她们自己想做的。她们有了正当的理由走出家门，认识了许多其他女性和他们成为了朋友。大多数课程都组织午餐或晚餐，很快，成群结队的女性就在酒吧和餐馆里以一种前所未有的方式成为了邻里生活的共同特征。
The women themselves told enthusiastic stories of how they used to be bored, but now had a place to go to and meet friends. It is easier for women to leave the house if they come back with an object they have made, something for the house, because then the husband will not be so suspicious. Such statements describe attitudes beyond the traditional pleasure of women's crafts. They speak of small rebellions, small changes, small but new ideas. Too small to satisfy intellectual feminists or radical politicians, but small enough to be viable in the context of <i>barrio</i> women's lives, and therefore perhaps more effective in the long run.	妇女们自己也热情洋溢地讲述了她们过去是多么的无聊，但现在有了"一个可以和朋友聚会的地方"。如果妇女回来的时候带着自己做的东西、家用的东西，她们会更容易离开家，因为这样丈夫就不会那么多疑了。'这样的说法描述了超越传统的女性手工艺带来的乐趣的态度。他们谈论着小反叛、小变革、小而新的想法。太小满足不了有才能的女权主义者或激进政治家的需求，但在邻里妇女的生活背景下，规模够小，因此从长远来看或许更有效。
The situation in Vigo can be seen as a practical experiment in what Young calls gynocentric feminism, and the debates about it can be seen as local	维戈的情况可被视为 Young 说的“以女性为中心的女权主义”的一次实验，而有关辩论可被视为 "以女性为中心的女权主义 "与 "以人为本的女

expressions of the tensions between gynocentric and humanist feminism (Young 1990: 73-91), or as a practical dimension of feminist debates on essentialism versus constructivism. In Young's terminology, humanist feminism builds on western Enlightenment values. The fundamental idea is that patriarchal society oppresses women and hinders them from developing their potential as human beings. The goal is a society where gender differences are irrelevant. These ideas are reflected in the so-called progressive discourse on gender in Spain. Gynocentric feminism, on the other hand, defines women's oppression as the devaluation and repression of women's experience by a masculinist culture that exalts violence and individualism. Women should not be seen as passive or weak since they have contributed to civilization, resisted oppression, enjoyed their bodies and cultivated the values of care and nurture and communication. This position, called 'the feminism of difference in Spain, is usually criticized as essentialist.	权主义 "之间紧张关系在当地的体现, 或者是女权主义关于本质主义与建构主义辩论的一个实际层面。用 young 的术语来说, 人本主义女权主义是建立在西方启蒙价值观的基础之上, 基本思想是, 父权社会压迫妇女, 阻碍她们发挥作为人的潜能。目标是建立一个性别差异无关紧要的社会, 而这些想法体现在西班牙所谓的性别进步论述中。另一方面, 以女性为中心的女权主义将妇女受压迫定义为崇尚暴力和个人主义的大男子主义文化对妇女经验的贬低和压制。女性不应是被动, 因为她们对文明有所贡献, 反对压迫, 满意自己的躯体, 培养关爱、养育和沟通的价值观。这种立场在西班牙被称为“差异女权主义”, 通常被批评为本质主义。 女性不应被视为被动或脆弱, 因为她们为文明做出了贡献, 抵制了压迫, 享受着她们的身体, 并培养了关怀、nurturing 和沟通的价值观。这种立场在西班牙被称为差异主义女性主义, 通常被批评为本质主义。
A gynocentric feminist would approve of the Vigo experiment. Here was an ambitious political programme with evident practical results based on the idea that women can change their lives without entering spaces dominated	以女性为中心的女权主义者会赞同维戈的实验。雄心勃勃的政治计划, 实际效果显而易见, 依据的理念是, 妇女可以改变自己的生活而不用进入男性主导的空间。这个项目庆祝

by men. The programme celebrated women's achievements. It liberated women's energies and fueled their self-confidence. As many women in Vigo said: 'This is what women like!' - pronounced with pride, not resignation.	女性的贡献，解放了妇女的精力，增强了她们的自信心。正因为很多女性说：“这是女性喜欢的”，充满骄傲没有限制。
The experiment does maintain dominant gender categorization and divisions of labor, and thus power. The feminists on the city council hoped that emancipatory messages would percolate somehow and that the women would communicate with each other, as in the consciousness-raising groups of the feminist movement. Most agreed this had not happened. And the feminist agenda remained hidden. Many of the women organizing the courses were uncertain about what they were doing and how to distinguish 'what women like' from 'what keeps women in their place'.	这项实验的确维持了主导的性别分类和劳动分工，从而维持了权力。市议会中的女权主义者希望解放信息能够以某种方式渗透进来，希望妇女们能够相互沟通，就像女权运动中的意识提升小组一样。大多数认同这不会发生。而女权主义者的议程仍然是隐秘的。组织这些课程的许多妇女不确定自己在做什么，也不确定如何区分“女人喜欢什么”和“是什么让女人坚守阵地”。
Both gynocentric and humanist feminism challenge present power structures, and both have serious shortcomings in the eyes of the other. Therefore, some criterion for comparison is needed. One way might be to identify what the powers that be find most threatening (Young 1990: 89). In Vigo, a woman president of a neighbourhood association was a true threat, especially if she was also a feminist. <u>A woman town councilor with a feminist programme was</u>	不论是以女性为中心还是以人为本的女权主义都是对现有权利结构的挑战，在对方看来，两者都有严重的缺陷，所以需要一些为对比而生的标准。一种方法可能是找出当权者认为最有威胁的因素。维戈邻里组织中的<u>女性领导人的确是一个真正的威胁，尤其她还是一个女权主义。</u>一个组织女性运动的市政女议员是一个更大的威胁。尽管这样的女性很少，但她们却在反女权主义阵营中同时遭到了女

an even greater threat. Such women, though few, were sneered at by women and men in the anti-feminist camp. Hundreds or even thousands of women, attending handicraft courses, on the other hand, were seen as a somewhat unusual but still harmless phenomenon.	性和男性的嘲笑。另一方面成百上千的女性参加了手艺的课程，这被视这是一种有点不寻常但仍然无害的现象。
But if these women were doing something new that would lead them to other activities, ideas and values, then the dichotomy between gynocentrism and humanism might be transcended. One could say that the Vigo programme was gynocentric in the short run as a means, and humanist in the long run as a goal.²⁴ To distinguish between means and ends, or rather, to adapt strategies to circumstances, is necessary, if we consider that gender is a social construct, not an essence. But it is also necessary to recognize that as things stand, women and men in Spain today - and in most parts of the world - do live different lives and experience differently everything from everyday tasks, to relationships to the body, the self and the individual's place in the world. Women are different from men in practice but this is not a necessary condition. It is evidently changing, in Spain, and it is changing towards greater similarity.	但如果这些女性正在做一些能引导她们进入其他活动、思想和价值观的新事物，那么女性中心主义和以人为本主义之间的二元对立可能会被超越。如果我们认为性别是一种社会建构，而不是一种本质，那么区分手段和目的，或者说，根据情况调整策略，就是必要的。但是也有必要识别事物都代表了什么。女性在实践中与男性不同，但这并不是必要条件。在西班牙很明显是一直变化的，而且正朝着更相似的方向变化。
Some areas of life, such as the labor market, are being degendered to some	生活中的一些领域，例如人才市场，尽管理论多于实践，在某种程度

extent, though in theory more than in practice. Politics is an area that resists; it is still strongly gender-marked in practice and to a lesser extent in ideology. The neighbourhood movement is a political activity that is defined by many as nonpolitical. This has made it possible for women to join, and learn. Many of them come to redefine their idea of politics; others continue denying that they are involved in politics. In either case, the neighbourhood movement makes it possible for women to enter a male activity without having to first solve the contradiction between their 'femininity' and the 'masculinity' of what they want to do. They can let time pass, allowing their practice to slowly undermine the fixity of gender markers.	上正在退化。政治是一个顽固的领域，在实践中仍然带有强烈的性别烙印，在意识形态中也是如此。邻里运动是一个政治活动，但是许多人将其定义为非政治性的，使得女性有机会参加和学习。她们很多人开始重新定义自己的政治观念，而另一些人则继续否认自己在参与政治。无论哪种情况，邻里运动让女性有机会参与男性运动，不需要先解决个人的“女性气质”与她们想做的事情的“男子气概”之间的矛盾。他们愿意等，等到通过实践逐渐打破固定的性别标签，
Conclusion	结论
Gender orders do not change easily or quickly. Issues are seldom clear-cut. The Vigo example demonstrates that the dichotomy of difference and similarity in feminist debates must be transcended. All four examples show that the organization of gender in many parts of Spain continues to create formidable obstacles for those who wish to see women and men working together to achieve similar goals. The details and the degree of difficulty vary, as will the methods and solutions. While gender hierarchy and	性别秩序不会轻易变化或者变得很快，问题也很少解决。维戈例子表示必须超越女权主义辩论中的异同二分法。以上 4 个例子表明性别组织在西班牙的很多地方对于那些希望看到男女共同努力实现类似目标的人来说，这些都是巨大的障碍。困难的细节和程度、方法和解决方案都有所不同。虽然性别等级制度和由此产生的民主赤字在西班牙已很普遍，但现在越来越多的西班牙城市妇女对这些制

the resulting democratic deficit are general facts in Spain, it is also a fact that they are now questioned by growing numbers of urban Spanish women.	度和赤字提出了质疑。
The concept of <i>barrio</i> is crucial for analyses of everyday life, political institutions and the organisation of gender in Spain. It is a mediator between the culturally central ideas of private and public and their gendered meanings. It is the main context of daily life for a large portion of the Spanish population, and it is a setting where women, more than men, live and work, and where they can act more forcefully and independently than in other public contexts. Because the <i>barrio</i> has this significance, the neighbourhood associations can serve as culturally specific instruments for the redefinition of politics in the direction of issues closer to women's concerns and the shaping of democracy towards more direct participation and the creation of woman-friendly contexts for political work. I do not claim that the neighbourhood movement is a feminist panacea. If anything, doing fieldwork in it dampened my earlier optimism. But I do want to claim that it demonstrates some unusual combinations of opportunities for change of and adaptation to social and cultural facts, including the gender order, and that it is	"<i>Barrio</i>"这一概念对于分析西班牙的日常生活、政治机构和性别组织至关重要。邻里，作为私人和公共等文化中心思想及其性别含义之间的中介，作为西班牙大部分人口日常生活的主要场所，也是女性比男性更多生活和工作的场所，与其他公共场所不同，她们在这里可以更有力量和独立地行动。由于邻里具有这样的意义，因此街区协会可以作为特定文化的工具，重新定义政治，使其更贴近妇女关注的问题，塑造民主，使其更直接地参与政治，为政治工作创造对妇女有利的环境。我并没有说邻里运动是女权主义的灵丹妙药。如果说有什么影响的话，那就是在这个领域里进行的实地考察打击了我之前的乐观情绪，但我确实想说，它展示了改变和适应社会文化事实（包括性别秩序）的一些不同寻常的机会组合，而且它正在为邻里妇女带来微小但真实可行的成果。

producing small but real and viable results for <i>barrio</i> women.	
The women of the neighbourhood movement are not feminists, or at least they refuse that label. Their political practice is directed towards the immediate environment. It concerns the social and material conditions of the <i>barrio</i>, i.e. of the possibilities for the people they care about to obtain what they (variously) define as a good life. But as they adapt to changing times, searching for new forms of activity, they upset the gender order, and they notice that and define the results as good. In this sense they do become feminists, with or without the label. They negotiate entry into new spaces and then claim more space. Their success varies, and they make mistakes, but their actions undermine the key analogy of woman: house man: street.	邻里运动中的女性不是女性主义者，至少她们拒绝这样的标签。他们的政治实践是针对直接环境的。涉及到社区的社会和物质条件，她们关心的人以不同的方式他们所定义的美好生活的可能性。但是因为她们适应变化时间，寻找活动的新形式，他们的确成为了女性主义者，不管有或者没有这个标签。她们通过谈判进入新的空间，然后要求更多的空间。她们的成功，他们犯错误，但是他们的行为破坏了“女人：房子”“男人：街道”这一类比。
The steps they take may look small, but there are aggregate consequences. The breadth and depth of the changes these women create come from the fact that they are not a vanguard minority. Activist women are a minority in their <i>barrios</i>, but they are so called ordinary women, and represent a majority when it comes to experiences and life styles. What they do is visible and understandable (though not always	他们迈出的步伐看上去不大，但是积少成多。这些妇女所创造的变革的广度和深度源于她们不是少数先锋这一事实。在他们的街区积极主动的女性占少数，但是她们就是普通的女性，而在经历和生活方式方面，他们占大多数。虽然总是不被接受他们所做的是，对于大多数西班牙来说，他们的所作所为是可见的也可以理解的。他们对男女、私人和公共、可能

acceptable) for most Spaniards. They push and pull at the naturalized definitions of women and men, private and public, possible and impossible, individual and collective, and demonstrate that what seemed solid actually yields. To people not accustomed to see themselves as agents of social change, this is important news.	和不可能、个人和集体的固有定义进行了推拉，并证明看似牢固的东西实际上会产生偏差。对于不习惯将自己视为社会变革推动者的人来说，这是一个重要的消息。
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注：文中划线部分为报告正文中所选取的译例。