

遮打道的**星期天**午後：
Matinee on Sundays:

香港「菲傭」的 文化節慶與選美活動

Cultural Festivals and Beauty Pageants of Overseas Filipino Workers in Hong Kong

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二零一一年六月一個星期天早上，我乘坐的士到遮打花園參加「朋友節」，一個慶祝菲律賓獨立日的活動。的士到達目的地後，司機出於善意地提醒我：「這裡常有許多菲律賓人示威抗議，可能很危險的。你最好小心，不要久留。」我聽了詫異得很，當刻真不知該跟他說謝謝，還是該跟他分享一下我對菲律賓人的小小認識……

On a Sunday morning in June 2011, I took a taxi to the Kapangyawan Festival (The Philippine Independence Day celebration) at Chater Garden. When we approached Chater Garden, the taxi driver, out of friendly intention, told me: "There are many Filipinos protesting in the area. It could be dangerous. You better be careful. Don't stay." I was too surprised to neither say thank you, nor share my understanding.

他加祿語的「朋友節」(Kapangyouwan Festival)，名字是從廣東話「朋友」(pang⁴ jau⁵)一詞音譯而來。這個節日有兩大目的：向香港人介紹菲律賓文化，以及增進香港人和菲律賓籍傭工間的友誼。的士司機的反應，顯示香港社會並沒有接受在港菲律賓社群所伸出的友誼之手，也顯示了儘管諸多在港菲律賓人的文化、宗教和節慶活動都歡迎大眾一起來共襄盛舉，但是兩個群體之間一道無形的隔膜，卻令這些節慶活動始終吸引了不了香港主流社會的眼光。從我開始進行在港菲律賓移工^①的人類學田野調查至今，已經有四年的時間。透過此文，我希望簡單向各位介紹這些每週日都在香港的各個角落上演、充滿節慶歡鬧氣氛的活動。而透過這些活動，我們也可以認識香港這個多元文化城市的另一個精彩的面向。

① 外地勞工，台灣常稱為「移工」。

Kapangyouwan is a Tagalog term adapted from the word “pang⁴ jau⁵” (friend) in Cantonese. The celebration has two aims: to introduce Philippine culture to Hong Kong, and to enhance amiable relationship between the Filipino guest workers and the local residents. The taxi driver’s interpretation certainly made me wonder what went wrong when extending the hand of friendship. It also showed me that though much of the Filipino cultural, religious and communal celebrations were held in the public, a quietly kept distance between these two groups of people has efficiently rendered these festive events invisible to the mainstream society. I have been doing an anthropological fieldwork with ladies of the Filipino community in Hong Kong for four years now. This article aims at briefly introducing these delightful events that, happening in various corners in Hong Kong every Sunday, reveal for us yet another face of this astonishingly multicultural city of ours.

香港的外籍家庭傭工

Foreign Domestic Workers in Hong Kong

香港的七百萬人口中絕大部分是華人，然而現時外籍家庭傭工所佔人數也超過三十萬，當中超過九成是來自菲律賓和印度尼西亞的女性。香港法例規定所有外傭必須在僱主家中留宿，僱主也必須「每七天給予她們至少一天的休息日」。這表示這三十萬外傭大部分每星期都只有一日假期，通常就是星期日。因此，香港人已經普遍習慣每逢周日，特定的公共空間就會給大量外傭「佔領」的現象。銅鑼灣的維多利亞公園是印傭聚集地，菲傭則以中環的皇后像廣場、遮打花園、滙豐銀行總行地下的有蓋公共空間、皇后大道中至中環碼頭的行人天橋等等為主要的聚腳點。香港人未必知道的是，她們的星期天並非一定在公園或天橋上的空地虛度。其實，在僅有的一日休假中，她們要做的事情有好多：參與宗教聚會、朋友的生日會或告別派對、運動比賽，在環球大廈處理雜事或採購日常所需，參與一些社群組織的定期會議，又或為即將到來的選美會或文化節慶作綵排。

Hong Kong, a largely Chinese metropolis with a population of seven million, has currently over 300,000 foreign domestic helpers. Among them, the majority (over 90%) are women from the Philippines and Indonesia. The law of Hong Kong requires all foreign domestic helpers to live-in with their employers and grants them “not less than 1 rest day in every period of 7 days”. This means that every week most foreign domestic helpers could have but one free day for themselves. In most cases, the rest-day for the 300,000 domestic helpers is on Sunday. Due to this arrangement, most people living in Hong Kong are familiar with the phenomena of foreign domestic helpers crowding certain public spaces. Among them, the most famous are the Victoria Park in Causeway Bay for the Indonesian workers and Central - the Statue Square, Chater Garden, the covered ground of the HSBC headquarter and the many footbridges from Queen’s Road to Central piers - for Filipino workers. Less known to the general public is that not every domestic helper spends her Sundays sitting in a park or on a footbridge to rest. Many instead have busy schedules joining religious gatherings, attending friends’ birthday or farewell parties, joining sport competitions, running errands in Worldwide House, holding general meetings of various associations, or rehearsing and participating in beauty pageants and cultural festivals.



她們的舞台——遮打道 Central Stages on Chater Road

若你有興趣看看菲律賓人星期日的舞台表演，最好在午後不久來到中環的遮打道或遮打花園。這些活動通常在日間舉行，因為大部分家傭受僱主「宵禁」的規限，晚上必須要回家報到。自一九八零年代初本港菲律賓籍家庭傭工（本文簡稱作「菲傭」）人數開始急升，遮打花園就成為菲傭聚集的中心點。那裡交通方便，鄰近為菲傭提供外匯、儲蓄與郵寄服務的機構和她們添購必需品的商店。且周圍五光十色，處處是現代都市的景象，更是吸引她們到此會友並享受難得的休閒時光。當遮打道在八十年代劃為行人專用區後，更加成為菲律賓社群舉行活動的最主要地點。比如說：一月第三個星期日的「仙奴洛節」是比薩揚（菲律賓中部）人的節慶，為新一年的慶祝活動打響歡樂的頭炮。仙奴洛是一種舞蹈形式，舞姿模仿水的流動，從中可感受到比薩揚人家鄉美麗的熱帶島嶼和海洋之美。仙奴洛節源自宿霧省，主要為了對宿霧的一尊幼年耶穌像（俗稱聖嬰）表達敬仰。據說菲律賓在十六世紀獲得該像，象徵羅馬天主教正式進入菲律賓。此外，這個節日同時也紀念菲律賓過去作為異教國家的歷史。這個節日展現了菲律賓的自然、宗教和文化傳承，以及作為菲律賓人的自豪。節日中，不同的菲律賓群體一起參與街頭巡遊，透過自己設計的舞衣、道具和舞蹈，盡情展示她們多元的民族和文化。除巡遊外，這個節日還包括彌撒聖祭、特別嘉賓表演，以及一個仙奴洛祭儀的舞蹈比賽。

If you are interested in Filipino stage performances on Sundays, the best bet is going to Chater Road and Charter Garden in Central in early afternoons. As many domestic helpers have curfews, these events are held during the day, rather than at night. Since the early 1980s, when the number of overseas Filipino workers (OFWs) in Hong Kong started to grow quickly, Chater Garden had emerged as a center for OFWs because its location is easily accessible by public transportation, close to many businesses targeted at and services needed by OFWs, and surrounded by signs and landscapes of modern glamour. When Chater Road is pedestrianized in 1980s, it became the most popular venue for Filipino communal events. Here are a few examples. On the third Sunday of January, the Sinulog Festival organized by Visayans or Filipinos from the central division of the Philippines, spiritedly kicks off another year of celebrations. Sinulog is a dancing style that resembles the movement of water and tells much about the beauty of Visaya's tropical islands and seas. Sinulog Festival is a Cebu fiesta that honours Santo Nino (Holy Child), a statue of an infant Jesus originally given to the Philippines in the 16th century and symbolized the arrival of Roman Catholic, and also celebrates Philippine's pagan past. The fiesta therefore showcased the natural, religious, and cultural heritage and pride of the Philippines. At the fiesta, various Filipino groups join the street parade, showcase regional ethnic and cultural diversity as well as religious piety through self-designed costumes, props and dances. Other than the parade, the fiesta program also includes a holy mass, shows of guest performers, and a competition for Sinulog ritual dance.



緊隨其後的，還有五月的旅遊節、六月獨立紀念日的連串活動（包括朋友節），和秋天的「卡利郎節」。旅遊節由菲律賓商界群體所組織，旨在推廣菲律賓旅遊業。節日的重頭戲是一場選美盛會，其競選項目同樣突顯了菲律賓在族群和文化上的多元特質，佳麗必須穿上有誇張袖形的菲律賓傳統禮服，顯出其婀娜的美態。除選美外，旅遊節也會從菲律賓請來流行明星與名人助興。每年六月的獨立紀念日則是最多在港菲律賓人會參與慶祝的日子。慶典由菲律賓駐港總



領事館主辦、多家菲律賓背景的商业公司贊助，並得到許多興趣團體和地區組織的支持。首先，慶典以不同信仰的禱文、一場天主教彌撒、唱歌和國家官員致辭揭開序幕，接下來是維持一整天的慶祝活動，亦如仙奴諾節般在遮打道有大型巡遊、在遮打花園舉行舞台表演和各種比賽。

Following Sinulog, Chater Road also stages Philippines Tourism Day in May, the Independence Day celebration (Kapangyawan Festival) in June, and the Kalilang Festival in Autumn. The Philippine Tourism Day Celebration, organized by Philippine business communities and promoting Philippine tourism, is a beauty pageant that interweaved Philippine ethnic and cultural diversity in its competition categories and emphasized the beauty of traditional Filipiniana dress. In addition to the pageant, the Tourism Day celebration also brings pop stars and celebrities from the Philippines. The Independence Day communal celebration in June is the annual event that witnessed the highest numbers of participants from the Filipino community in Hong Kong. It is organized by

the Philippine Consulate General, sponsored by various Filipino-targeted businesses, and supported by various interest groups and regional societies. Starting with an interfaith prayer and a Catholic Mass, singing the national anthem and some speeches by the state officials,

this daylong celebration, similar to Sinulog, also includes a street parade along Chater Road and stage performance and competition in Chater Garden.



九月至十一月的遮打道，則輪到「卡利郎節」上場。這是菲律賓南部棉蘭老島的節日。「卡利郎」在馬京達瑙省語言中就是「節慶」的意思。棉蘭老島是整個菲律賓文化、宗教和種族最多元的地方，因此在香港的卡利郎節，參加者可以看到最豐富、最多姿多彩的色彩、音樂和舞蹈。這個節日背後還有個特別的使命，就是改變一般人對棉蘭老島經常發生宗教衝突和暴動的印象。



In September to November then, Chater Road witnesses the Kalilang Festival. Kalilang Festival is an event hosted by Filipinos from Mindanao, the Southern district of the Philippines. Kalilang means festival in Maguindanao language. Mindanao is the district in the Philippines that witness the most cultural, religious and ethnic diversity. Therefore, participants in Kalilang festival in Hong Kong present to the spectators the richest and most vibrant mixture of colours, music and dances. The festival also aims at offsetting the popular impression of Mindanao as suffering from religious conflicts and chaos.



街角的巧奪天工 Enchanting Talents Around the Corner

以上所有節慶都包含豐富的舞台表演和街頭巡遊，充分表現出菲律賓多元的文化。但當中最令我著迷的，是菲律賓人從中展示的創意和藝術天賦。雖然節慶由官方協辦、商界贊助，但絕大多數的參與者是香港人家中的菲律賓籍家傭。她們工作忙碌，在非常有限的時間和資源下，卻依然能製作出讓人驚歎的華麗舞衣和設計各種各樣的表演。有如灰姑娘故事中的仙女般，她們盡興大膽地發揮各自的美感、詩意、手工藝天份，互相把對方打扮成完美的選美皇后、歌手、舞者或司儀等。

While all these events include stage performances and street parades that demonstrate Philippine's rich diversity, what I found most fascinating, however, is the creativity and artistry the Filipino participants exhibit. While official participation and business sponsorship are critical, most of the participants are Filipino domestic helpers in Hong Kong. With extremely limited time and resources, they improvised all sorts of spectacular costumes and performances. Most daringly, they devote their poetic, artistic, and crafting talents - no less magically than the fairies in Cinderella - and help transforming each other into beauty queens, singers, dancers, masters of ceremony, etc.



中環的遮打道為在港菲律賓人提供一個展現他們各種才藝（戲劇製作、聲樂展現、個人及團體舞蹈、時裝表演、化妝、服裝設計和編舞等等）的舞台。但除了遮打道的戶外空間，菲律賓人的才藝也在各種在室內舉辦的選美、模特兒比賽和才藝競賽中發揮得淋漓盡致。這些活動有時在會展中心，有時在酒吧和餐館，有時在社區活動中心或堅尼地城的香港外籍傭工活動中心（Bayanihan Center）的禮堂舉行。雖然這些活動在室內進行，顯得沒有那麼公開，但其實它們和在戶外舉行的活動一樣，也都歡迎大眾的參與，節目的精彩程度也不相上下。這些表演多數是免費的，在酒吧和餐館舉行的活動，觀眾也僅需購買一杯飲料就可以坐下來欣賞表演。即使是假灣仔香港會議展覽中心舉行、最大型的年度選美盛會——由數碼通公司贊助的「親善小姐」（Ms. Barkadahan）比賽，每張門票也僅需港幣四十元，比香港大多數的舞台表演要便宜得多。在香港夜總會工作的專業菲律賓歌手和舞蹈演員經常為這些節目注入活力，菲律賓的演員和名人更不時蒞臨大型活動。比方說，二零一三年度世界小姐冠軍、來自菲律賓的楊梅根就參與了該年的卡利郎節。在另外一場印尼人的選美比賽，一位來自印尼峇里島的傳統面具舞（Topeng Dance）大師也帶來令人驚嘆的演出。化身成模特兒和選美皇后的家傭參與這些活動不單是為展示自己的才華，也不僅是為了享受生活，更是因為重視對其他參與者的社群認同。因此，這些活動除了極富娛樂性之外，也總是十分溫暖融洽。

Other than at the stages on Chater Road, their various talents for theatrical productions, vocal performances, individual or group dances, catwalk, make-up, costume design, choreography, etc. - are also demonstrated and evident in beauty pageants, modeling competitions, and talent shows staged elsewhere at, for example, convention centers, bars and restaurants, and auditoriums of community centers including the Bayanihan Centre for foreign domestic helpers in Kennedy Town. Although these events are indoor and therefore less public, they are equally accessible to the interested public and equally spectacular. Most of the shows are free and welcome public attendance. For events held at bars and restaurants, audience is usually required to buy a drink. Even for Miss Barkadahan of SmarTone, the biggest annual pageant held at the Hong Kong Convention and Exhibition Center in Wan Chai, each ticket costs but HKD40, much cheaper than most stage performances in Hong Kong. Professional Filipino singers and dancers working in Hong Kong's night clubs frequently give vibrant performance in these shows; performers and celebrities from the Philippines also grace some larger events. For example, Megan Young, the crowned Miss World 2013 from the Philippines, joined Kailiang Festival in 2013. Another time, a Balinese traditional Topeng (mask) Dance master gave a breathtakingly beautiful show in an Indonesian pageant. The helpers-turn-models and beauty queens join these events with the aspiration to showcase one's talents and also to appreciate a friendly community and enjoy life. Therefore, these events are always both warmly communal and incredibly entertaining.



敢作敢為的姊妹 Daring Sisters



研究香港海外移工的這些年以來，身邊的「非外籍傭工」朋友經常表示懷疑：「誰？工人姐姐選美？」看來，縱然這些充滿活力的節慶盛會經常且在公共場合舉行，香港社會上大部分人恐怕對它們並不熟悉。我認為這是因為香港的主流社會選擇和外傭的社區保持距離。香港有三十萬名外傭，每一位都是一個本地家庭的親密成員。她們照顧我們的小孩和長者、做飯、清洗和熨衣服、清理住所又當跑腿。雖然有些家庭跟他們的「工人姐姐」關係較親密，但在每一家每一戶以外，這些婦女都成了這個社會完全的陌生人。「香港外傭週日在天橋或公眾場所豎立紙板隔間，一波又一波的人潮席地而坐，整天打牌、睡覺、聊天」。這一具有戲劇性又最典型不過的形象，給大家一個「外傭全都是閒散沒有目的過日子」的印象，令這些婦女不但被邊緣化，同時也被消抹了個人的差異，被一體地評價。這樣的偏見，自然影響了公眾對朝氣蓬勃的菲律賓社區和他們的活動的認識。

In these years of studying pageants of OFWs in Hong Kong, I constantly encountered doubts from non-foreign-domestic-helper friends: "Who? Helpers as beauty queens?" It is safe to argue that, by large, these vibrant fiestas and pageants are not known to the majority of Hong Kong society, even though they are held frequently and in public. The invisibility is resulted from the "segregation" of the foreign helper community from the mainstream society. Each of the 300,000 foreign domestic helpers is an intimate co-resident of a Hong Kong family. She nourishes kid(s), takes care of elders, cooks, washes and irons clothes, cleans up flats and runs errands. While some families are close to their *gongren Jiejie* (worker-big sister, a term widely used to refer to helpers in Hong Kong) and others don't, outside each individual household, these women became strangers to the society. The most stereotypical image of Hong Kong maids on Sundays - sea of women sitting on "cardboard cubic" on footbridges or public areas - marginalized, anonymized and homogenized these migrant women. The spirited Filipino community and their vibrant activities are hidden from the public awareness by nothing other than the naive, if not biased, assumption that every single foreign domestic helper simply idles all day long on Sundays; chatting, lying and playing cards on road sides.

遮打道上的慶典或是其他地點的選美活動不光是個人的消遣，更是香港菲律賓社群所謂的「民族經濟」重要的一環。一方面，這些活動的贊助商包含航空公司、旅行社、無線通信運營商、銀行服務提供商等，全都以外傭社群作為他們主要的客戶，贊助的目的不言而喻。另一方面，選美比賽和其他賽事的參加者也希望透過參賽可以實現個人改善經濟條件的夢想。要麼，贏得豐厚的獎金（例如：獎額最高的數碼通「親善小姐」比賽的贏家可領走五十萬披索，即約港幣八萬八千元），要麼藉此認識在香港重要的菲律賓政商人物。當星期天到來時，積極參與這些活動的家傭肯定不是在消極地等待自己重新提起精神，以投入新一週的工作。相反的她們積極尋找契機，建立更有前途的事業，改變生活；同時，也努力為自己在香港建立起受尊重的身份和尋找值得信賴的夥伴。參與選美比賽和文化展演正是實現這些追求的方式之一。

Fiestas on Chater Road or pageants elsewhere are not just individual pastime but are an integrated part of the so-called “ethnic economy” of the Filipino community in Hong Kong. The economic potential is clear in that sponsors of related events - airliners, travel agents, wireless communication carriers, banking services providers - all targeted the OFW communities for business. Pageants and other competition participants also expect to achieve individual “economic success” through either winning valuable prizes (for example, the cash award - no doubt the most valuable one - for the winner of Ms. Barkadahon values 500,000 pesos, roughly HKD88,000) or networking with important Filipino figures in Hong Kong. The domestic helpers who actively participated in these events are certainly not just passively waiting to refresh their energy for another week’s domestic work. They are migrants aspiring to, first, find changes to build more promising careers and change their lives; and, secondly, foster a respectable identity and trustable community for themselves in Hong Kong. Beauty pageants and cultural fiestas participation is one way to fulfill these pursuits.



文化大熔爐 Hong Kong as a Cultural Hub

數年前，當我由台灣來到香港生活時，我對這個城市的第一印象，就是除了比較西化以外，也很巧妙的融合了各種東南亞和南亞的文化。常規的茶餐廳的趣味在於不僅能吃到叉燒，也能點意大利麵、三文治、奶茶、咖喱和「新加坡」炒米粉。聽著香港的巴基斯坦人和印僑以廣東話溝通亦是深刻的體驗。作為所謂的全球化城市，香港不單是個金融中心，她更是一個文化的熔爐。有時候，當我在週日下午觀賞充滿娛樂性又讓人驚嘆的表演，再次成為全場唯一的一個非菲律賓或印尼籍人士，我是多麼期盼香港說廣東話、普通話或是英語的群體也能接觸香港的這一面！我全心的相信，以舞台表演者的角度認識外僑，是足以融化菲律賓和香港其他社群之間的隔閡的。然後，重視多元文化定會進而令香港成為一個更具挑戰性、也更為有趣的地方。❖

When I moved from Taiwan to Hong Kong a few years ago, one of my first impressions was that Hong Kong, in addition to be more Westernized, was also much more integrated with various Southeast and South Asian cultures. In a regular “tea restaurant (cha chaan teng)”, it is amusing to find not only roasted pork but also pasta, sandwiches, milk tea, curry and “Singaporean” fried rice noodle. Listening to Pakistani Hong Kongers and Indonesian maids converse in Cantonese is another remarkable experience. Hong Kong as a so-called global city is not only a financial hub but also a cultural hub. Sometimes, when I was, again, the only neither-Filipino-nor-Indonesian in a fun and inspiring matinee on Sunday, I wish so much that this side of Hong Kong is also available to Cantonese and English speaking Hong Kong communities. Getting to know foreign domestic helpers as inspiring stage performers will, I wholeheartedly believe, melt down the segregation between the Filipino and Chinese communities of the city. Recognizing cultural diversity will, in turn, make Hong Kong a challenging and therefore even more interesting place to live. ❖