香港女工 — 經濟支柱及靈感泉源

Female Workers in Hong Kong: An Economic Driving Force and a Muse



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「勞動的痕跡」專題展示試圖發掘CHAT六廠紡織藏品與「明日工廠」季度展覽的當代藝術作品之間的相互關係。在季度展覽展出的藝術作品之中,岩崎貴宏的《混亂以外(變遷)》(2018)、候恰亭的《代工繡場:紗廠客廳No.10》(2021-2022)和鄭然斗的《穿高跟鞋的少女》(2018)等皆取材自香港的紡織業史及前女性紡織工人的回憶,展現了香港紡織文化遺產對世界各地藝術家的持續影響。

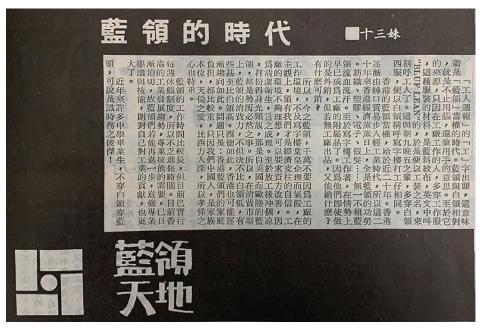
Artefacts of Labour is a thematic display that offers deeper insight into the interrelationship between CHAT's heritage collection and the contemporary artworks in the seasonal exhibition Factory of Tomorrow. Some of the artworks on view, including Iwasaki Takahiro's Out of Disorder (In Flux) (2018), Hou I-Ting's Sewing Fields: CHAT Living Room (2021–22) and Jung Yeondoo's A Girl in Tall Shoes (2018), draw on Hong Kong's textile legacy and the recollections of a former female textile worker, demonstrating the enduring influence of Hong Kong's textile heritage on artists worldwide.

1951年,美國因韓戰向中國實施禁運,香港作為中國進出口的一個主要據點,從此把經濟重心轉移至輕工業和出口加工業。藍領工作者自此成為主流,造就了香港1960至70年代一段經濟輝煌的時期,使香港躋身「亞洲四小龍」之列。紡織業是當時香港的主要經濟動力之一,在作品《混亂以外(變遷)》中,岩崎貴宏在地面上鋪設棉花,喚起以往紡織業在香港蓬勃發展的回憶。

In 1951, the United States imposed an embargo on China in light of the Korean War. Previously a major base for China's import and export, Hong Kong's economic focus shifted to light and export processing industries. Blue-collar workers made up a majority of the population, marking a period of economic prosperity from the 1960s to the 1970s and propelling Hong Kong into the ranks of the 'Four Asian Tigers'. The textile industry became one of the major driving forces of the city's economy. Iwasaki Takahiro's *Out of Disorder (In Flux)* covers the floor with raw cotton, recalling the heyday of Hong Kong's textile industry.



岩崎貴宏,《混亂以外 (變遷)》,2018 Iwasaki Takahiro, *Out of Disorder (In Flux)*, 2018



十三妹,〈藍領的時代〉,《工人週報》,1970年8月31日 Sap Saam Mui, 'Blue-collar Era', Workers Weekly, 31 Aug 1970

在「繁榮」及「經濟奇蹟」的大論述背後, 是眾多女工的默默貢獻。工業的起飛同時 意味着性別角色的轉變,女性不再囿於相 夫教子的傳統觀念而進入工廠工作,工 廠女工成為1960年代最受歡迎的職業。 其實,女性一直是推動香港工業發展的 一股重要力量,在1961至1981年,香港 製造業女工的數量從156,182急升三倍至 466,921人,儘管香港工業在1980年代逐 漸式微,女工依然佔1986年製造業總人 數的46%,而這些相關的統計尚未納入於 承包制度下,在家中接取工廠訂單賺取外 快的女性。但是,女工至今依然未是歷史 敍述中的主角,亦少有成為研究主題,她 們的生活經驗仍有很多值得我們探索的 地方。

Behind the grand narrative of prosperity and an 'economic miracle' was the contribution of innumerable hard-working female workers. The industrial boom brought about a change in gender roles: no longer confined to the traditional roles of homemaking and childrearing, women flocked into the workforce. Factory workers became the most popular occupation among women in the 1960s. In fact, women have been an important force behind Hong Kong's industrial development. Between 1961 and 1981, the number of women in manufacturing in Hong Kong tripled from 156,182 to 466,921. Despite the downturn in industrial production in the 1980s, women still formed 46% of the manufacturing workforce in 1986, not including those who took factory orders at home for extra income. Female workers, however, have yet to take centre stage in historical narratives and are seldom the subject of research. Their lived experiences await further exploration.

以往女工自由選擇工作,可隨時到別的工 廠上班,有時甚至於一日內在同一棟大廈 中多次轉換工作。從以下的招聘廣告可 見,工廠以不同福利作招徠,包括冷氣 設備、廠車接送、提供膳食、新人入廠額外 加20%薪水等。由於女工的收入以件工計 算,她們的收入亦可比文職高。但是,多勞 多得的工作模式也帶來健康的隱患,例如 因趕工引起的胃病或久坐導致的脊骨移位 等。70年代前,勞工法例尚未完善,工 廠工人缺乏保障,便出現女工因未有分娩 假期而需要在分娩一星期後繼續上班等 情况。此外,由於迷信文化,女工不能進 入某些較為高薪及高技術的部門,例如成 衣廠中的裁床和燙衣部門等。

《工商日報》, 1972年10月6日 The Kung Sheung Daily News, 6 Oct 1972 Female workers had the freedom to switch between jobs at different factories. It was normal for female workers to change jobs multiple times, sometimes even within a day in the same building. To entice workers, factories offered various benefits, including airconditioning, employee shuttle services, meals and a 20% starting bonus for new recruits, as seen from the recruitment advertisement below. The income of factory workers was based on piecework and could therefore surpass that of clerical workers. However, workers were prone to overworking, which could cause health risks such as stomach problems from rushing to work and spinal displacement from sitting for a long time. Before the 1970s, workplace protection was insufficient as labour legislation was not yet well established. In some cases, female workers had to resume work one week after giving birth because of the absence of maternity leave. Moreover, due to superstitions, female workers were barred from entering certain departments that were relatively technical and high-paying, such as the cutting and ironing departments in a garment factory.



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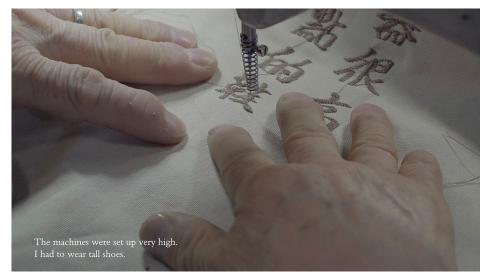
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香港女工的工作和生活為一些藝術家提供了創作靈感。鄭然斗的錄像作品《穿高跟鞋的少女》記錄了前女工閔婆婆的回憶與故事,她在1956年由上海移居香港,成為紡織女工,並由於身型嬌小而需要穿上高一點的鞋子才能操作紡紗機器。鞋子於是超越了時尚物件的角色,被賦予新的含義,象徵當年一眾女工面對時代轉型與挑戰所展現出的適應力,也反映出香港人拼搏堅持的精神。

The lived experiences of female workers in Hong Kong have been a source of inspiration for artists. Ms Mun in Jung Yeondoo's video installation A Girl in Tall Shoes relocated from Shanghai to Hong Kong in 1956, where she later worked as a textile worker. In the textile factory, she had to wear tall shoes to operate the spinning machine due to her petite stature. Shoes here have transcended the role of fashion items and symbolise the female workers' adaptability in navigating the transformation and challenges of the time, echoing the hard work and perseverance of the people of Hong Kong.



鄭然斗,《穿高跟鞋的少女》,2018 (錄像截圖) Jung Yeondoo, A Girl in Tall Shoes, 2018 (Video still)

N8

衣服的符號象徵 Clothing as Symbols

早期中式衫褲和長衫的流行,部分可歸因 於1950、60年代的香港人口由大量內地 移民構成,他們在剛移居香港時大多未將 這裏視為要落地生根的地方,文化取向依 然以中國傳統文化為依歸。如在候恰亭的 《代工繡場:紗廠客廳No.10》中可見,當 時女工一身中式衫褲,穿着依然深受中國 文化影響。但到了後期,戰後的新生一代 已開始孕育出自己的文化。土生土長的 他們不像南來的上一輩般擁有深厚的中國 文化背景。他們幼時已接受英式教育,平 日接觸荷里活電影和披頭四音樂等西方 流行文化。媒體亦時常將西式服飾與「青 春」、「活力」掛勾,並把長衫與上了年紀 的女士連繫,影響年輕人對西服的觀感, 間接促成後來西式成衣的普及。

Hou I-Ting's Sewing Fields: CHAT Living Room No. 10 shows a female worker in saam fu, a Chinese-style ensemble of a matching top and bottom. The early popularity of saam fu and cheongsam could be partially attributed to the large number of Chinese immigrants in Hong Kong in the 1950s and 1960s. Most of these immigrants did not regard Hong Kong as a permanent home when they first arrived and closely retained Chinese traditions and customs. However, as time passed, the postwar generation had begun to nurture their own culture. Unlike the older generations from the north, they received British education from a young age and were regularly exposed to Western popular culture, such as Hollywood movies and music by the Beatles. Furthermore, the media often associated Western clothing with youth and vitality while linking cheongsam to 'older' women. This influenced young people's perception and contributed to the rising popularity of Western-style ready-towear clothing.



候怕亭,《代工繡場: 紗廠客廳 No. 10》,2021–2022 Hou I-Ting, Sewing Fields: CHAT Living Room No. 10, 2021–2022



《工人週報》,1970年5月18日 Workers Weekly, 18 May 1970

1960年代是香港服裝的一個轉折時期, 西式成衣的熱潮逐漸在社會蔓延開去。 經濟獨立的女工在衣着的選擇上有更大的 自由,日常衣着亦隨之改變,就如右方圖 片所示。除了工業化和出口市場轉向以 西方為主的影響外,政府的推廣也在熱潮 中扮演推波助瀾的角色。例如在1967年 11月,貿易發展局及香港工業總會推行 「香港週」,舉辦向大眾推廣成衣的時裝 表演、展覽及其他娛樂節目;其後以此為 藍本、規模更大的香港節於1969年展開, 進一步推廣西式出口服裝及「西化」、「繁 榮」的形象,這些官方宣揚的形象亦融入 在港人的日常生活中。 The 1960s was a turning point for Hong Kong clothing. The craze for Western-style ready-to-wear clothing gradually spread in society. Economically independent female workers were able to express themselves through their daily clothing, as shown in the picture on the right. Aside from the impact of industrialisation and the shift of export markets to the West, government promotion propelled the trend. For example, in November 1967, the Trade Development Council and the Federation of Hong Kong Industries launched the Hong Kong Week, a public programme of fashion shows, exhibitions and other entertainment events to promote ready-made clothing. In 1969, the similar but larger-scale Hong Kong Festival was launched to promote Western-style clothing export and the image of 'westernisation' and 'prosperity'. These official narratives were also ingrained into the daily lives of Hong Kong people.



1960 年代紗廠工人照片,圖片由政府新聞處提供 Workers in a cotton mills in the 1960s. Image courtesy of the Information Services Department

1960年代,女星已以西化形象出現於銀幕上,其中蕭芳芳和陳寶珠最為女工追捧。以陳寶珠為代表的工廠生涯電影展現女工的積極與勞動,女工亦認同她敢於為自己爭取權益的正面形象。她的穿搭,如連身A字型短裙、恤衫或針織外衣配長褲,也成為了女工效仿的對象。在工餘時間,擁有經濟能力的女工亦會購入時尚衣飾,到影樓模仿喜愛的女星姿勢拍照,成為當時影樓的重要客源。

除了電影,漫畫和畫報也是女工接收潮流 資訊的渠道。少女漫畫《13點》於1966年 推出,深受包括女工在內的女性讀者歡 迎。漫畫女主角過着優渥的生活,經常更 換不同款式的外來時裝,不但提供流行時 尚資訊,也觸發女工對理想生活的想像。

By the 1960s, actresses had already been wearing Western-style attire on screen. Among them, Josephine Hsiao and Connie Chan were the most popular among female workers. In movies portraying factory life, Chan displays the enthusiasm and diligence of female workers while courageously fighting for her own rights, a trait well loved by the audience. Her outfits, such as A-line skirts, shirts, knitted jackets and trousers, were widely emulated by female workers. Those who are financially capable would also purchase trendy clothes and visit photo studios in their spare time to imitate the poses of their favourite actresses, thus becoming a significant customer base for photo studios at the time.

Aside from movies, female workers also learned about fashion trends from comics and pictorials. First launched in 1966, the comic series *Miss 13 Dots* was incredibly popular among women, including female factory workers. The heroine of the comic lives a privileged life, often sporting a rotation of foreign fashion items. Not only did the series inform about the fashion trends of the time, it also inspired female workers to imagine an ideal life.



《影壇週報》第 73 期 (1968 年 9 月),封面:陳寶珠、呂奇 Ying Tan Weekly, issue 73 (September 1968), cover: Connie Chan, Lui Kay

勞動的痕跡

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Artefacts of Labour

「勞動的痕跡」包含了口述歷史元素,由前 女工陳女士在錄音中講述她的職業路途和 對衣着的看法。透過口述歷史,女工親自 描述自己的經歷,自由表達感受,浮現她 們的主體性,不再是研究中抽象的數字。 但值得注意的是,展示所牽涉的是一個 宏大的歷史體驗,而每個女工的生命歷程 也複雜多變,未能一概而論,陳女士分享 的具體境遇和其中的細微感受,也與任何 其他女工的經歷不盡相同。

當代藝術作品可捕捉這些過去的微妙之處,如鄭然斗的錄像裝置《穿高跟鞋的少女》便透過虛擬對話,連結閔婆婆與當代香港女生的生活,逐漸深入探索她們各自的掙扎和連繫。在CHAT六廠這個前棉紗廠房,我們鼓勵你結合文化遺產的視角欣賞當代藝術作品,由此發掘更多香港悠久紡織業史底下,複雜甚或相互矛盾的動人故事。

Artefacts of Labour features a recording of former factory worker Ms Chan recalling her career and perspectives on female workers' clothing. The inclusion of oral history highlights the subjectivity of the female workers, allowing them to restore their personal experiences and express their feelings freely, rather than treating them as quantitative data for analysis. Each of their life journeys is intricate and nuanced within a greater historical context: Ms Chan's narrative provides insight into her specific circumstances and the subtle emotions involved, which distinguish her experience from those of other female workers.

These nuanced stories can also be found in the works by contemporary artists, such as Jung Yeondoo's video installation *A Girl in Tall Shoes*, which weaves together the life stories of Ms Mun and several girls in contemporary Hong Kong through virtual dialogues, gradually delving into their individual struggles and connections. Here at CHAT, a former spinning factory, we encourage you to view the displayed contemporary artworks through the lens of heritage, which will help us uncover more complex and sometimes contradictory stories about the history of Hong Kong's textile industry.



岩崎貴宏,《混亂以外 (變遷)》,2018 (局部) Iwasaki Takahiro, *Out of Disorder (In Flux)*, 2018 (Detail)

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