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Street-Level Multiculturalism: Cultural Integration and Identity Politics of African Migrants in Hong Kong

Abstract: Multiculturalism is about co-existence of diverse cultures. Current literature on multiculturalism mostly uses a top-down approach to examine how the governments adopt different policies to manage cultural diversity. However, how the migrants use their own culture including music to enhance integration is often neglected. This paper uses the experience of African migrants in Hong Kong to reveal an alternative account of multiculturalism. Based on in-depth interviews and participant observation with African drummers, this paper examines the role of African drum as a means of cultural integration. It raises the concept of “street-level multiculturalism” for analysing how African migrants experience and negotiate cultural difference on the ground. It argues that African drum music promotes intercultural contact by arousing curiosity and creating friendly atmosphere. Africans’ engagement in identity politics is based on their marginal status. Their ability to negotiate their African culture and their Hong Kong experience is a politically conscious process.

Keywords: multiculturalism, integration, African drums, identity, African migrants, Hong Kong

Introduction

Hong Kong is one of the Chinese cities that have attracted migrants from different countries. 93.6% of the total population (around 7.3 million) are Chinese and 6.4% (451,183) are ethnic minorities (HK Census and Statistics Department 2011). The number of ethnic minorities in Hong Kong increased significantly by 31.2% from 343,950 in 2001 to 451,183 in 2011 (HK Census and Statistics Department 2011). By 1999, Hong Kong had positioned itself to become the world city of Asia. One aim of the marketing strategy of the city’s Brand Hong Kong programme is to maintain cultural diversity and a global network of people. Although the Hong Kong government claims that Hong Kong is a world and multicultural society, there is a relatively subtle form of racism and discrimination against migrants at the community level due to their culture, dress, and former refugee status (Ku 2006; Chan and Shum 2011; Crabtree and Wong 2012). Tang et al. (2004) found that Hong Kong Chinese rarely established friendships with minority groups. This is regrettable as cultural awareness and cultural tolerance among Hong Kong Chinese are necessary for making Hong Kong a true multicultural city. Over the first decade of the twenty-first century, there was a marked increase in the number of African migrants coming to Hong Kong. The migratory pattern and networks between Africa and Hong Kong started to emerge in 2001 when China joined the World Trade Organisation. Since then, there has been a significant rise in the number of African migrants travelling to China’s major cities such as Guangzhou and Hong Kong to explore economic opportunities (Bodomo 2016, 2). This created a visible presence of African migrants in Hong Kong. According to the email responses from Hong Kong Immigration Department (2016), there are 4,670 Africans (both regular and irregular) residing in the city. African migrants in Hong Kong are predominantly doing businesses, engaging in low-budget transnational trades across Africa, Hong Kong, and China or seeking asylum. African migrants are one of the smallest minority groups in Hong Kong. They fall into the “others” category of the census. Invisibility is one form of marginalisation. Given their small population but high visibility of their skin colour in the community, African migrants are often the subjects of suspicion, which generates misunderstandings between them and the Hong Kong Chinese in their everyday life interactions. Their presence has been receiving a lot of negative coverage in newspapers such as African migrants in Hong Kong are drug dealers, criminals, and Ebola virus carriers. These negative newspaper reports have inevitably further strengthened the social boundary and misunderstandings between African migrants and Hong Kong
Chinese. The adaptation and integration processes of African migrants are problematic. However, how the African migrants adapt to Hong Kong’s life in the context of marginalisation is rarely explored in academic studies.

To fill this knowledge gap, this paper attempts to examine the process of integration and identity reconstruction among African migrants in Hong Kong. The state of appearing different provokes a strong emotion which results in the discrimination that distinguishes between “us” and “them”. Negotiation of this difference may be what is required to lead to the formation of friendships between migrants and the local population regardless of cultural differences. Multiculturalism is about coexistence of diverse cultures. Current literature on multiculturalism mostly uses a top-down approach to examine how governments adopt different policies to manage cultural diversity. How the migrants use their own culture, including music to enhance integration is often neglected. This paper examines how African migrants negotiate an identity and articulate “Africanness” by performing African drum music at various places in the face of marginalisation and exclusion as it exists in Hong Kong. Specifically, it analyses how the African migrants develop an appropriate space for meaningful contact with Hong Kong Chinese by using African drum music. Music is a resource with a psychological function (e.g. entertainment, emotional expression) and a social function (e.g. communication, the means to contact a supernatural world, identification of social groups). It “plays an important role in the negotiation, construction and maintenance of identities” (MacDonald, Hargreaves, and Miell 2009, 463). This paper aims to explore the role of African drum music in the integration of African migrants in Hong Kong.

Seeking to understand the complexity and fluidity of the relationship between the African migrants and Hong Kong Chinese, the paper raises the concept of “street-level multiculturalism” for analysing how African migrants experience and negotiate cultural difference on the ground. It focuses on how the African migrants develop the “contact zone” with Hong Kong Chinese by performing and teaching African drum music. In this paper, “street-level multiculturalism” highlights the encounters between the migrants and the local population in “micro-publics” (Amin 2002) (i.e. sites of playing African drums) which are sites of purposeful organised group activities where people from different backgrounds are brought together in ways that provide them with chances to learn new things. “Street-level multiculturalism” is a two-way process requiring a willingness to engage and change by the local population and the migrants, which, I argue, is determined by the benefits each side can get from the intercultural contacts. By playing African drums as a way to create the contact zone, African migrants provide Hong Kong Chinese with entertainment, happiness and a teaching of culture in exchange for more performance and teaching opportunities, acceptances and respects from Hong Kong Chinese.

In terms of structure, the first part of the paper attempts to offer a concept framework which is couched within three interrelated concepts bound together. These are integration, multiculturalism and identity politics. The second part of the paper provides background information about ethnic minorities in Hong Kong and the role of certain structural influences that affect the ability of Hong Kong people and migrants to interact fruitfully as equals. The third part of the paper presents findings of ethnographic and interview studies on why and how the African migrants use their own traditional culture – African drum music – to facilitate their integration process as well as negotiate an identity in Hong Kong. It proposes the concept of “street-level multiculturalism” which was developed based on the contact hypothesis and bonding and bridging capital originated from the works of Allport (1954) and Putnam (2000) respectively. The study concludes with a reflection and discussion on cultural policy in Hong Kong by arguing that traditional music of ethnic minorities in the host society, which is an under-researched area, offers a rich focus for research on multiculturalism, identity and cultural heritage of migrants.

Integration, multiculturalism and identity politics

The term integration has often been used by the host governments to describe strategies to promote inclusion of ethnic minority groups with the ultimate goal of achieving social harmony and racial equality. Integration strategies mostly include compulsory training on “national values” and citizenship and language a proficiency test in order to make sure that “migrants conform to the imagined normativities of the dominant citizens” (Mayblin et al. 2016, 961). This neo-assimilationist approach of integration (Kofman 2005) adopts a top-down approach to examine how the host governments use different policies and regulations to manage cultural diversity in the territories. However, this approach neglects the attitudinal perspectives of the migrants.
regarding the issue of integration as to how they interact with the local people and how their social relations are shaped and re-shaped in the process.

Integration is often conceptualised as migrants’ rights to gain access to, for example, education, employment, healthcare and housing (Ager and Strang 2008). However, the realisation of these rights requires the migrants to build a sense of belonging in the host society which is determined by the growth of relationships and contacts between the migrants and the local population (Mayblin et al. 2016). This “contact”, according to Mayblin et al. (2016), is important in understanding the development of mutual respects across the differences. Whether the migrants are included or excluded by the local population depends on the willingness to engage, and change, by the host population as well as the migrants (e.g. Alba and Nee 1999; Cook, Dwyer, and Waite 2011; Waite 2012). This is a two-way process. With a view of such, integration should be defined as “the production of new multicultural forms of living together as a result of a mutual openness to change, the breaking down of boundaries, and the mixing or hybridisation of cultural practices” (Mayblin et al. 2016, 962). In Hong Kong, Africans comprise both regular and irregular migrants. Some Africans in Hong Kong are asylum seekers whose legal statuses are yet to be confirmed. They get stuck in Hong Kong for years with a slim chance of resettlement. However, according to the Immigration Ordinance of Hong Kong, they are not legally entitled for local settlement. The neo-assimilationist approach of integration (Kofman 2005), therefore, cannot appropriately address this group of irregular African migrants in relation to the issues of citizenship and integration in the legal sense. Against this background, this research adopts the approach proposed by Mayblin et al. (2016) by focusing on the process of cultural integration of African migrants in Hong Kong.

Integration of migrants with the host society is evidence of multiculturalism. Multiculturalism is a contested concept that ‘posits difference as something “others” bring to the nation, and as something the nation can have through how it accepts, welcomes or integrates such others’ (Ahmed 2007, 235). Hong Kong is no exception. Its colonial history together with the strong influence of globalisation has generated migratory inflows of different non-Chinese groups such as Africans to the city. Colonialism causes the classification of people based on skin colour as what Law and Lee (2012) call ‘coloured race’: cruelty, vulgarity, stupidity, and irrationality, as opposed to white race with the highest class who represents civilization, development, elegance, wisdom and rationality (Law and Lee 2014, 120). The former colonial value system ‘assigned higher social status to white skin, was ultimately internalised by the colonised and acquired as true, even after the end of the colonial rule, becoming deeply ingrained in the cultures of the people’ (Olivotti 2016, 4). Multiculturalism in Hong Kong simply highlights the different cultural background of the residence of people. Freedom from discrimination, mutual respect and recognition as well as the sense of worth contained in the utopian project of multiculturalism are very weak under Hong Kong’s public policies and laws such as the Race Discrimination Ordinance (Law and Lee 2014).

Over the years, there has been a considerable critique and debate about the term multiculturalism due to concerns regarding their idealised connotations (Nederveen 2007; O’Connor 2010). Wise and Velayutham (2009) argue that multiculturalism is mostly approached through a top-down perspective as a set of policies concerned with how to manage cultural diversity. However, this approach neglects the most important element of multicultural life which is the lived experience of migrants (Wise and Velayutham 2009, 2). O’Connor (2010) argues that ‘multiculturalism has become disjointed; a political ideal and lived reality in largely different social spheres’. This argument does not mean that multiculturalism is misrepresented. Rather, the concept ‘is associated with elite ideals of cultural exchange and diversity that privilege Western middle class values’ (O’Connor 2010, 527). How is multiculturalism managed in everyday life? What is happening on the ground? To address these puzzles, the term ‘everyday multiculturalism’ has emerged, and is different from ‘official’ multiculturalism, which aims to examine the mundane, quotidian aspects of multicultural life (Wise and Velayutham 2009; O’Connor 2010). It delves into the day-to-day intercultural encounters that occur within a community. In this research, the focus is placed on the intercultural encounters between African migrants and Hong Kong Chinese and how the African migrants manage multiculturalism in everyday life.

Identity and difference have framed the theoretical structure for the contests around multiculturalism. It often draws us into the discussion of identity politics among the migrants in the host society. Identity politics are self-reflective and oriented towards the expressive actions of collective members (Melucci, cf. Cerulo 1997). The host governments construct and represent identity to draw boundaries for the inclusion or exclusion of people. What is unique in Hong Kong is that the government’s interpretation and practice of multiculturalism – as
‘Asia’s world city’ putting a lot of emphasis on its image and reputation for ‘diversity, inclusion and harmony’ in the world – ‘ethnic groups are unclassified for resource or provision of social services and minorities have not been included in the budgets or “disadvantaged groups” in the chief executive’s policy address’ (Law and Lee 2012, 122). Moreover, some minority groups such as Africans fall into the “others” category of the official census. The effect is in the African drum through playing African through play-ethnic groups are unclassified for resource or 2002). These groups often—engagement in identity Terence Chun Tat Shum: Street-Level Multiculturalism after an Indonesian foreign domestic worker was—popular imagination of Africa (Agawu 2016).—the instrument that is mostly associated with the Hong Kong Chinese in order to negotiate an identity in—in this research, it attempts to demonstrate how the Africans use their own traditional culture, it does not mean that it takes no political meaning. In this research, it attempts to demonstrate how the Africans use their own traditional culture – African drum music – to create a meaningful “contact zone” with the Hong Kong Chinese in order to negotiate an identity in Hong Kong even though they are faced with marginalisation. The drum is the instrument that is mostly associated with the popular imagination of Africa (Agawu 2016). MacDonald and his colleagues (2009, 463) argue that

**African migrants and everyday racism in Hong Kong**

Multicultural imaginings remain firmly racialised in Hong Kong. Although the Hong Kong Race Discrimination Ordinance came into effect on 10th July 2009, which “makes discrimination, harassment and vilification on the ground of race unlawful, serves to ensure that people of different races are treated equally in Hong Kong” (HKSAR government 2005), this anti-discrimination law by itself has not eliminated racism, because deeply rooted social attitudes continue to reproduce racial prejudice and new forms of discrimination (Erni and Leung 2014). When asked their impression to Hong Kong Chinese, many African research participants answered that Hong Kong Chinese were unfriendly or discriminative against
African drum music in Hong Kong life

The musical instrument mostly associated in the popular imagination of Africa is the drum (Agawu 2016). African drums occupy a privileged position in African culture because Africans play drums for multiple reasons, from social events to secret society rituals, from planting the fields and pounding rice to life-cycle events such as naming ceremonies, initiations and marriages” (Price 2013, 231). African drums are also used for worship and processions of kings and/or chiefs. African drum music has always served “as a powerful cultural crucible and signifier of African diasporal identity formation and engagement” (Zeleza 2012, 546). African drumming is transmitted orally through a system of apprenticeship under a master (Price 2013, 228–229). Therefore, playing African drums can help the African migrants living somewhere outside their home country to maintain their physical and imaginative connections to their countries of origin and ancestors. It can also help them in creating a sense of togetherness and strengthening their community in the host society.

In Hong Kong, African migrants have their own sites for drum music in their community gatherings as well as religious and other ceremonies such as New Yam festival, funeral and their country’s national day. The rise of African drumming in Hong Kong began in the late 1990s after the first local Afro-drum group, the Island Sundrum was established in 1991 (Lee 2010). In the 1990s, however, Hong Kong received a tiny number of African migrants. African culture, including African drum music was not widely known among the Hong Kong Chinese until 2010 when World Cup took place in South Africa. Since then, Hong Kong Chinese have been curious about Africa, Africans and their cultures. The African research participants have been playing African drums in Hong Kong for six to sixteen years. When asked why
they performed and taught African drum music in Hong Kong, all research participants provided the same answer “we had a mission to promote African culture here”. Makha, a Senegalese research participant, is one of the African pioneers who started to perform and teach African drumming in Hong Kong at the turn of the twenty-first century. Back home, Makha was a professional African drummer. In 2000, Makha was invited by a British student in Hong Kong to become his drum teacher for two months. The British student flew all the way from Hong Kong to Senegal and they became friends. In 2001, the British student decided to invite Makha and two of his friends to perform African drumming in Hong Kong for two weeks. After that, Makha had work permit and managed to stay in Hong Kong. When he first came to Hong Kong, Makha said that no one talked about African drum music. He said, “Hong Kong people had no idea about Africa. There were a few Africans that time. I use to work in Central and I didn’t see anybody look like me.” Makha said Hong Kong Chinese were not friendly to him. When asked why he played African drums in Hong Kong, Makha said,

“My goal was just to spread my culture as much as I could around Hong Kong. So that time, when I had my drums I had a much better approach toward people because first of all, the curiosity of Hong Kong people made them want to talk to you. People reacted differently when I had my drums”.

Dixon, a Ghanaian research participant, arrived in Hong Kong as an asylum seeker in 2006. He said when he first arrived in Hong Kong, Hong Kong Chinese couldn’t differentiate between his country of origin and Africa. He added, “they classified me as African, which is not bad, but they thought Africa was a country, they didn’t see that Africa is a continent. That’s the problem I need to fix”. Therefore, Dixon decided to promote African culture in Hong Kong. At first, he tried to give some public talks in different places such as schools. “But people [Hong Kong Chinese] just looked at me without any feedback. Probably they were thinking what this boring guy was talking about on the stage”, Dixon described. “I then thought if I played a musical instrument when I was giving my speech, it might change the whole atmosphere”, he added. In 2007, Dixon with his eleven fellow African migrants from Cameroon, Ghana, Nigeria, Niger, Kenya and Togo, formed a musical group called Sankofa warriors. “Sankofa, is a Ghanaian word which means you have to go back and take it. You have to return back and take what you left. So it has a symbolic meaning, we are warriors and need to take back [practise] African culture, even we are outside our home country.” The drum is a talking instrument (Agawu 2016, 127). Among African drums, djembe is the most popular one. When asked which African drums they mostly played in Hong Kong, all research participants said djembe drum and some also played dunun (a three bass drum). Djembe is made from lenke or djala tree, covered with calf or goat skin and fixed with ropes. In Hong Kong, there are a number of reasons that made djembe so popular among African migrants. In Hong Kong, the majority of African migrants come from West Africa. The djembe is associated with the ethnic group collectively known as the Malinke or Mandingue (Price 2013, 228), who settled in the region of West Africa associated with the old Mali Empire. Playing djembe is a West African traditional culture dating back three thousand years (Price 2013). Nevertheless, the migrants from Central (e.g. D.R. Congo) and East Africa (e.g. Kenya) also play djembe drum in Hong Kong for multiple reasons such as personal entertainment and social events. Djembe is a symbol of Africa. It is a symbol of joy, peace, unity and harmony. Plying djembe drum has a symbolic meaning that binds together not only the African migrants from different countries, but also the African migrants and the Hong Kong Chinese. In terms of the size, djembe drum is relatively smaller than other African drums such as the royal drum. It is easy for the African migrants to carry them to different places for performing and teaching. Moreover, in terms of the drumming techniques, “Djembe is easier”, Dixon commented. “For playing djembe, we just use bare hands. But for the Ghanaian aka drums, for example, we need sticks, hands and legs to control the sound, which requires higher technique”. Drumming is a communal event which requires participation from all present with singing, dancing and handclapping. For the purpose of promoting African culture in Hong Kong, this West African hand drum is fun and easy to play, which is best for the Hong Kong Chinese beginners.

Cultural contact zone: representing and negotiating differences by using African drum music

In an increasingly globalised world, how to live in cultural differences is a challenging question for all members in the society. Assuming that socio-cultural integration is the solution that multicultural societies need and strive for, how can it best be achieved and
promoted? One way to achieve this is to increase the incidence of positive factors which include any collective activities that promote positive intergroup contact. Contact zone, according to Pratt (1991), is a “social space where culture meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in contexts of highly asymmetrical relations of power”. Being positioned at the lowest strata of racial hierarchy in Hong Kong, the African research participants believed that they had to actively contribute positively to integration. They need a tool which assists them to gain acceptance and recognition by Hong Kong Chinese. Playing African drum music in different places is one way to achieve this goal by creating and developing cultural contact zone with the Hong Kong Chinese on the ground.

Setting up social space for cultural interactions

To set up a social space where cultures meet, the regular African migrants make use of the networks of local music schools to promote themselves in the local community. They work as drumming teachers. Mariane, a Senegalese, has been working for a local music school for six years. “I was an artist back home. The company brought me here from Africa in 2010”, she said. The company is responsible for doing promotion and making teaching and performance schedules for Mariane. When she performs djembe drum, she usually dresses up. “Last time I performed in JW Marriott Hotel. I dressed in African BouBou. I had to tie my hair and to put on colourful costume”, Mariane explained. Over the years, Mariane has been teaching countless numbers of Hong Kong Chinese children and adults djembe drum. She recalled her teaching experience, “At first, they [Hong Kong Chinese] did not use to black skin people. They just came and saw something like, oh my God! I am going to die, mommy”. The other group is the irregular African migrants. Due to their immigration status, they can only rely on the networks of non-governmental organisations and churches as platforms to promote djembe drumming culture. Kaze, a Cameroonian, is a Christian who has been teaching and performing djembe drum in Hong Kong since 2010. He carried his djembe drum all the way from his home country to Hong Kong. “Because playing djembe drum is part of my life’, he said. Kaze organised djembe drumming workshops in churches and non-governmental organisations almost every week. Kaze commented, “It’s difficult to promote African culture in Hong Kong because when you promote something that people are not receiving it directly. It means you need to give a lot of effort to make them accept it”.

The African research participants perform and teach djembe drums in different places. Teaching classes were mostly organised at schools, corporate companies, non-governmental organisations, churches, private studios and camp sites. They performed djembe drums both outdoors and indoors in different occasions such as company’s annual dinner, Christmas party, New Year’s party. Their teaching and performance hourly rate ranges from HK$150 (US$19) to HK$200 (US$26).

Representing difference: to stir up curiosity among the locals

Music, especially, traditional music can make people curious about another culture. It can also motivate people to get to know the people and the culture. Stirring up curiosity among the Hong Kong Chinese is crucial. When they perform djembe drums, the African research participants must put on their traditional clothing. Dixon recalled his first street performance experience in 2006. He described, “They found me strange. Why a jungle guy wearing strange clothing and playing a drum in Hong Kong?” Dixon was very optimistic. He was proud of the uniqueness of African culture. In the field, I observed that Hong Kong Chinese were excited about the djembe drumming performance, not only because of the unique sounds of djembe drum they played, but also because the African research participants dressed up their traditional clothing and had their costume on. They screamed and shouted loudly. Some of them even put their hands up and danced freely and happily in front of the drummers. After the performances, the Hong Kong Chinese would approach the drummers for photo taking. (See Figures 1 and 2) They also asked the drummers about the name of the clothing and the drumming techniques. I remember one day when I was accompanying Makha who had a drumming performance at a carnival, a Hong Kong Chinese lady and her two sons watched his play closely. After the performance, she approached Makha and asked, “I enjoyed so much! Do you live in Hong Kong? Do you teach African drum in Hong Lok Yuen [a housing estate in Hong Kong]? I live there and would like my children to learn from you.” By playing djembe drum in different places, the African research participants can
not only demonstrate their traditional culture in the local community, but also stir up Hong Kong Chinese’s curiosity and motivate them to get to know more about the African migrants and their culture. It was often through this method that they recruited Hong Kong Chinese to attend their drum learning classes so that they could further develop their cultural interactions with them.

Figure 1: Makha, a Senegalese, demonstrated how to play djembe drum in his studio. The drums are all made in Africa (Photo was taken by the author on 27th October 2016).

Figure 2: Kaze, a Cameroon, was talking about the history of djembe drum to Hong Kong Chinese after his performance. (Photos was taken by the author on 9th October 2016).
Negotiating difference: playing as a social and cultural learning

What role then does the of djembe musical drum play in contributing to the cultural integration of the African migrants? African drums including djembe can be beaten solo or in groups (Agawu 2016). In some occasions such as company’s annual dinner events and private parties, the African research participants had solo-performance. They stood on stage and entertained the audience. Hardly could they ask for the participation of the audiences. However, in other occasions such as street performance, the African research participants prefer to play djembes in groups. Drumming is a communal event which requires participation from all present with singing, dancing and handclapping. When performing and teaching, the African research participants usually prepared extra drums for Hong Kong Chinese to play. (See Figure 3) Play offers a way of “engaging with the world around people, through observing and playing out patterns of behaviour and other social and cultural phenomena” (Marsh 2016, 2). It involves interactions with others. “Seeing culture is not enough, they need to experience the culture”, Dixon stated. Playing is a social learning. The African research participants initially play djembe drums with the Hong Kong Chinese, with considerable amount of interactions such as eye-contacts, physical and verbal communications. They talked and laughed together. Rarely could we see these harmonious interactions between the two groups outside this contact zone. African drumming music, I argue, is the tool that facilitates the integration process of the African migrants in Hong Kong. Djembe drums are mostly tuned. The djembe drums of the African research participants are often tuned higher than the other accompanying djembe drums used by the Hong Kong Chinese. This practice has both practical and symbolic meanings. Practically, the African drummers who are advanced players ensure that their parts are being heard above the rest of the orchestra. This allows less-skilled Hong Kong Chinese players to follow easily. Symbolically, by tuning the djembe drum to a higher pitch, the African drummers could lead the group. The Hong Kong Chinese have to listen to their instructions, which balance- off their marginalising experience facing them in their everyday life.

Playing is a way of accommodating new knowledge and a way of cultural learning. In the field, the African research participants not only demonstrated how to play djembe drum, but also taught the Hong Kong Chinese African history and culture such as the name of the rhythm and why they played drums in Africa. “Besides forest, lions and tigers, Africa also has urban cities, have high rise buildings, just like Hong Kong”, Dixon aired his frustration regarding the ignorance of Hong Kong Chinese. By engaging Hong Kong Chinese in the djembe drum musical play, the African research participants can easily break down social boundaries with the local people. With djembe drums, they represented and negotiated cultural differences in the contact zone. Life in the contact zone aims at pushing people to change their existing habits of thinking and existing knowledge of ourselves and others. In this social space of cultural interactions, the contact zone initiated by the African migrants has facilitated them not only to make a living, but also to change the perceptions of Hong Kong Chinese regarding Africa and its people. The African research participants all felt that Hong Kong Chinese nowadays are more willing to accept Africans and African culture. “Over the years, we have been doing a lot in promoting African culture here. We all have passion. After they

Figure 3: Kaze, a Cameroon, taught a group of Hong Kong Chinese how to play djembe drum in a church. (Photo was taken by the author on 13th October 2016).
Kong Chinese appreciate what you are doing in Hong Kong, they would put down their defence mechanism", Makha said. However, this is not saying that subtle racism no long exists in Hong Kong. Rather, this research argues that the African migrants in Hong Kong focus their energy on the asymmetrical power relationships existing between the African migrants and Hong Kong Chinese and they are trying to bring about change in these power relations by using a non-confrontational approach.

Street-level multiculturalism: networks, cultural maintenance and identity politics

The accounts illustrated in this article are of a number of African migrants who have been experiencing different degrees of discrimination and marginalisation in Hong Kong. In view of the failure of government policies to achieve cultural diversity, they attempt to use their own way to manage and practice multicultural life on the ground. The “street-level multiculturalism” I conceptualise here has been motivated by my participant observation with the African research participants who have engaged in various activities and interacted with the Hong Kong Chinese in different places which aimed to promote African culture such as school talks, cultural exhibitions, television and radio cultural programmes, drumming performance on the streets and drumming classes. The fieldwork has revealed the success of African drummers’ activities which were sites where the African migrants negotiated their own Africanness and their relationship to the diaspora, their country of origin and their ancestors. The concept of “street-level multiculturalism” is an attempt to theorise the intercultural contacts and networks of African migrants when using traditional culture to manage multicultural life on the ground.

The networking strategies of the African migrants had an impact. Concepts of bonding and bridging can be used. Putnam (2000:20) developed Coleman’s argument, distinguishing between bonding – “ties to people who are like me in some important way” – and bridging – “people who are unlike me in some important way”. Putnam argues that tight knit, bonding networks are important for “getting by,” but outward-looking bridging contacts are important for “getting ahead” (Putnam 2000, 23). The African research participants have strong bonding networks in the realm of promoting African drumming culture. Dixon’s Sankofa warriors musical group was a good example of how a bonding network with his fellow African migrants from Cameroon, Ghana, Nigeria, Niger, Kenya and Togo, facilitated intercultural contact with the Hong Kong Chinese. Bonding networks can be transnational. Daniel is a Ghanaian, who has been living in Hong Kong for more than ten years. He has a drum repairing company in Hong Kong which imports djembe drums and other drum parts such as goat skins all the way from Africa. He said, “I began drum maintenance service in Hong Kong ten years ago. Because we, back home, have families who make drums, that’s their work. Or we have a professional, that’s their work; they have their own workshop, that’s what they do. So we just call some of them and they can get you the skin and send it over.” One week before the author completed this article, Makha said that he was recruiting his friend in Senegal to Hong Kong as a drumming teacher and was waiting for the immigration paper of his friend.

Bridging with the dominant population can assist the adaptation and integration processes of migrants in the host society. However, bridging network building requires a “tool”. This research highlights the importance of the “tool” in bridging. The African migrants used djembe drum as a “tool” to set up a cultural contact zone with the Hong Kong Chinese. Contact thesis argues that contact between cultural groups leads to better communication and hence less conflict and discrimination (Allport 1954). But some scholars argue that contact with others does not necessarily translate into the respect for difference that can achieve integration (Valentine and Harris 2015). That is to say, how to produce meaningful contact is important. Focus is placed on Amin (2002) terms “micro-publics” which are sites of purposeful organised group activities where people with different backgrounds are brought together and have chances to learn new things. In this research, the African research participants insisted that they must use the drums which are made in Africa. “Because we need a right tool to promote authentic African culture”, Mariane said. As stressed, playing djembe drum has both physical and emotional connections to the country of origin and ancestors. In the past few years, there has been an increasing number of Hong Kong Chinese drum manufacturers who produced djembe drums with plastic instead of lenge and iroko wood. “The wood drum is very heavy”, one Hong Kong Chinese drum manufacturer told me. However, Dixon commented, “But the sounds are different. This is not real African culture. We need right people who use right tools”. Throughout the course of my fieldwork, I found out that Hong Kong Chinese prefer to learn from and
watch djembe drum played by the African instructors. Many Hong Kong Chinese learners told me that they wanted to learn authentic African culture from an African. Most African research participants expressed that Hong Kong Chinese nowadays are more willing to accept Africans, because of the popularity of African drum music. The contact here is meaningful. By playing African drums, African migrants provide Hong Kong Chinese with entertainment, happiness and teaching of culture in exchange for more performance and or teaching opportunities, acceptances and respects from Hong Kong Chinese.

Culturalists are people who emphasise the importance of culture in determining behaviour. Street level culturalists are the “human face” of multicultural policy because these people interact directly with the local population. In this research, African migrants are considered as street-level culturalists who directly interact with the local population. Africanness is constantly negotiated as a dimension of both individual and collective identities (Rastas and Seye 2016). It often includes talking back to the stereotypes, African people, African culture and their relationship to the diaspora. Symbolically, by playing djembe drums at various places in the context of marginalisation as it exists in Hong Kong, African migrants consciously engage in identity politics which is a cultural engagement, but not power politics featuring street protests and strike that fight against the authority. They are trying to mark cultural footprints in this host society. No doubt, their engagement in identity politics is based on their marginal status in this host society. For those regular African migrants, their engaging in identity politics is due to their immigration status as a professional drummer, being socially marginalised, who uses African culture to gain back recognition. For the irregular group, engaging in identity politics is a way of shielding themselves from legal sanction of working illegally. It is a way of not exposing themselves to the law and is a survival strategy for earning a living. Their ability to negotiate their African culture and their Hong Kong experience is a politically conscious process.

**Conclusion: multiculturalism, cultural policy and cultural politics in Hong Kong**

By focusing on how multiculturalism is managed at street-level, the intention of this article was not to argue theunnecessity of multicultural policy at government’s level, but rather to use the drumming experience of African migrants in Hong Kong as an entry point for exploring the relationship between ethnic minority culture, integration and multiculturalism, and its relevance for cultural policy of Hong Kong. This has provided a basis for two concluding points.

Firstly, multiculturalism should be conceptualised not only at government’s level as to how the government uses various policies to manage cultural diversity, but also at street-level as to how the migrants manage cultural diversity and negotiate identity through their encounters with the local population. This research has turned our analytic lens to position African migrants as subjects. It has explored how the Africans used African traditional culture – djembe drum music – to make meaningful contacts with the Hong Kong Chinese in the cultural “contact zone”. This is a move from analysing descriptive multiculturalism (governmental policy analysis) to practical multiculturalism (ground-level intercultural interaction analysis). Secondly, this approach of examining multiculturalism is highly relevant for cultural policy of Hong Kong. Hong Kong’s multicultural city status is being questioned, especially after the branding exercise in 1999 when Hong Kong was positioned as “Asia’s World City”. However, the experiences of African migrants in this research highlighted the insufficient cultural awareness and sensitivity of Hong Kong Chinese, suggesting that more resources should be devoted to develop their global vision. Hong Kong is a migrant society. Migration involves not only physical body movement, but also the movement of cultural capital of people such as unique skills, talents and cultural practices. Cultural ambassadors’ scheme is suggested so that migrants can promote their unique culture in the host society that can foster more intercultural contacts. Moreover, interracial marriage such as African men get married to Hong Kong Chinese women has become significant. Cultural heritage has become a hot research topic in Hong Kong recently, but it is mainly limited to Chinese cultural heritage. As a multicultural society, further research should be conducted on an ethnic minority cultural heritage policy that could better inform and encourage debates about the identity and cultural conservation among the second generation of the migrants.

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街头文化多元主义：香港非洲移民的文化融入与身份政治

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引言

香港是吸引了不同国家移民的中国城市之一。总人口的93.6%（730万左右）是华人，6.4%（451,183）是少数族裔（根据政府统计处，2011）。香港少数族裔的数量从2001年的343,950增加到2011年的451,183人，大幅成长了31.2%（根据香港人口普查统计处，2011）。香港在1999年将其定位为亚洲的全球城市。香港城市品牌项目的营销策略之一就是保持文化多様性和全球性的网络。虽然香港是世界之都和多元文化的社会，由于文化、服饰、与之前的难民身份，在社区中仍然存在着隐喻的种族主义和针对移民的歧视（Ku 2006; Chan and Shum 2011; Crabtree and Wong 2012）。Tang等人（2004）的研究发现香港的中国人为少数族裔建立友谊。这一点让人遗憾，因为港人的文化认知和包容对于香港作为一个多元文化的城市是非常必要的。在二十一世纪的第一个十年，香港的非洲移民有显著的增加。2001年香港加入世界贸易组织之后，香港和非洲之间的移民模式和网络就开始浮现。从那以后，到中国的主要城市像广州和香港寻找商机的非洲移民数量就开始大幅成长（Bodomo 2016. 2）。使在港非洲移民的能见度增强。根据香港民政事务（2016），有4670非洲居港人（包括正规或非正规）。来港非洲人主要是做生意，从事非洲、香港和中国之间的国际贸易或寻求其他工作。非洲移民是香港最小的少数族裔之一。他们属于人口调查的“其他”这一类别，没有能见度就是一种边缘化。考虑到他们数量之小但肤色在社区里的高可见度，非裔移民常常被怀疑的对象，这导致他们在日常生活与港人的互动里常常存在误解。新闻中经常会听到一些关于他们的负面报道，比如非裔移民是毒贩、罪犯和伊波拉病毒携带者。这些负面的媒体报道加深了非洲移民与港人之间的社会边缘和误解。非洲移民的适应与融入过程是存在很多困难。但是在边缘化背景之下，非洲移民如何适应香港生活却很少有学术探讨。

为了填补这个空白，本文试图探讨香港非洲移民融入与认同建构的过程。外表的不同引起强烈的情感，导致歧视来区分“我们”和“他们”。这种差异也许是移民与本地人建立友谊所需要的目标。多元文化主义是关于不同文化的共存。目前关于多元文化主义的文献都使用的是自上而下的方法来探讨政府如何采取不同政策来管理文化多元性。移民如何利用他们自己的文化，比如音乐来促进融合是经常被忽略的。本文探讨非洲移民在香港面对边缘化和遇到排斥时，如何通过表演非洲鼓乐来协商一种认同和阐释“非洲性”（Africaness）。本文特别分析非洲移民如何利用表演来创造一种合适的空间与港人进行有意义的接触。音乐是一种带有心理学（比如娱乐、情感表达）和社会（比如交流、作为与界接触的手段，社会群体认同）功能的资源。它在协商、建构和维系认同中扮演了重要角色（MacDonald et al. 2009, 463）。本文旨在讨论非洲鼓乐在香港非洲移民的融入中扮演的角色。

本文试图去理解非洲移民与港人关系的复杂性。它提出了“街头文化多元主义”的概念来分析非洲移民如何经历和实地协商文化差异。它集中在非洲移民如何通过表演和解释非洲鼓乐来发展与港人的“交流区域”。在本文中，“街头文化多元主义”提出了移民与本地人的“微观公众”（micro-publics）（Amin 2002）在亚洲的这种社会活动中的遭遇。“微观公众”是为特定目的的群体活动的场合。在这个群体活动中不同背景的人聚在一起，给他们提供机会学习新的东西。“街头文化多元主义”是一个双向的过程，要求本地人和移民有意愿来互动和改变。这一点我认为是由每一边能够从文化间交流得到的好处来决定的。表演非洲鼓是一种创造性交流的方式，通过表演非洲鼓，非洲移民通过为港人提供娱乐和文化选择来交换得到更多的表演和教学机会以及港人的接受和尊重。

就结构而言，文章第一部分是由三个组成部分组成的理论框架，它们是融合、文化多元主义和身份政治。文章第二部分提供关于香港少数族裔的背景信息，以及特定结构性因素在影响港人和移民对交流能力中扮演的角色。第三部分提出了民族志与访谈研究的一些发现，关于非洲移民为什么和怎样利用他们自身的传统文化—非洲鼓乐—来促进他们的融入过程以及在香港协商认同。本文本基于从Allport（1954）和Putnam（2000）来的“交流”（contact）假说与“凝聚力和连结资本”（bonding and bridging capital）概念，提出“街头文化多元主义”的概念。本文本以香港文化政策的反思和讨论作为结论，指出在接收社会的少数族裔传统音乐——
融入、多元文化主义与身份政治

融入这个词常常被接待政府（host government）用来描述推动接纳少数族裔的策略。其最终目的是为了达到社会和谐与族群安全。融入策略模式包括强制性的训练比如“国家价值”，公民权和语言熟练程度测试来确保“移民达到设想的主体公民的规范化[程度]”（Mayblin et al., 2016, 961）。这个研究融入的新归化主义（Kofman 2005）是自上而下监测政府是利用不同的政策和法规来经营文化多样性的。但是这个方法在融入议题上忽略了移民的视角，比如他们如何与当地人互动。这个过程里社会关系是如何形成和再形成的。融入常常被概念化为移民获得的权利，比如教育、雇佣、健康和住房和（Ager and Strang 2008）。但是这些权利的实现需要移民去建立一种在接待社会的归属感，这是由移民与本地人之间关系及交流的增加所决定的（Mayblin et al. 2016, 962）。这个交流，根据 Mayblin et al. (2016)，理解对于发展尊重彼此的差异是至关重要的。这些移民与本地人接受或者排斥取决于接待人群以及移民对于互动和改变的意愿（e.g. Alba and Nee 1999; Cook et al. 2011; Waite 2012）。

这是一个双向的过程。从这个角度来看，融入应该被定义做“多元文化形式的新的共同生活的制造，是相互之间对改变的开放，界限的清除和文化实践的混合或杂交的结果”（Mayblin et al., 2016, 962）。在香港的非人是由于常规范和非常规范的移民构成。一些非洲人是寻求避难者，他们的法律地位还要得到确认。他们常年困在香港，很少有机会定居。根据香港移民条例，他们法律上没有权利定居本地。研究融入的新归化主义方法（Kofman 2005）因此无法精确地在公民权和法律层面上融入上表述这群非常规的非洲人。在这个背景之下，这个研究采用 Mayblin 等（2016）提出的方法，将重点放在香港非洲移民的文化融入过程。

为了理解活的多元文化主义，本文使用了日常多元文化主义的框架来检验多元文化主义是如何在街头被实践的。本文的重点使得我们不仅能够解释香港非洲人面临的挑战，也能理解非洲人是如何通过打非洲鼓在多元文化社会的排斥背景下协商认同和阐释“非洲性”的。我对二十位研究参与者的对象进行了大约两个小时的半结构式访谈和六个月的参与观察法，特别关注他们在香港的日常生活，在香港打非洲鼓的原因，如何利用非洲鼓来与港人交流，以及非洲鼓在多元文化社会中遇到的挑战。以便在数据中确认主题访谈的问题都经过编码。参与者来自研究者的个人的社会组织和教会网络。

### 非洲移民与香港的日常种族主义

香港的多元文化想象仍然是非常种族化的（racialised）。尽管香港种族歧视条例在2009年7月10号就开始生效，使得任何基于种族的歧视、骚扰和诋毁非法，来确保不同族裔的人在香港受到平等对待。（特区政府2005）这个反歧视法律并没有根除种族主义，因为更深蒂固的社会态度继续制造种族偏见和新形式的歧视（Erni and Leung 2014）。

当问到非洲裔研究参与者对港人的印象，他们中许多人回答港人过去不友好或者是歧视非洲人。“语言障碍”和“交通恐惧”是研究参与者在香港定居下来的主要障碍。他们表示很难与香港人交朋友。来到只有香港人的社交环境，一些非洲裔研究者会觉得不自在。港人倾向于把非洲移民看做是一群“外国人”。我记得一天我在香港旅游区的公车站与一位加纳研究参与者一起等车。一位港人带着怀疑的眼神问我：“他是你朋友吗？为什么和死黑鬼交朋友？”黑鬼是广东话常用来诋毁黑皮肤的非洲移民的俚语。有时也出现在前面表示港人认为他们是不开心的人，并表达对这些麻烦制造者和骗子的仇恨。许多香港非洲移民能听懂这个广东话俚语死黑鬼。当他们在香港人对话里听到这个词，他们会马上把对方拦下来，大声地说：“不要叫我死黑鬼！”除了语言上的歧视，非洲移民Kila，一位刚果人的回来表示他对非洲移民的种族态度。Kila在1998年来到了香港，他对这个社会的种族主义表示了不满：他说，“我们进电梯的时候，中国人会捂住鼻子！你闻我是怎么做的，我进电梯，他们向我捂鼻子。我也捂鼻子，我们就这样看着对方，谁说不闻，你对我？”上面的叙述可以与Velayutham（2009）和O'Connor（2010）的观点相对应。即直接的冲突并不经常会在本地人与移民在日常生活中的遭遇中发生。隐藏形式的种族主义包括一些标准化的行为比如厌恶，来表达对不洁净的想法和用贬义的名词来加强主流团体（香港人）和移民（黑人）之间的突出权力关系。

### 香港生活里的非洲鼓乐

最常被与非洲联系在一起的乐器就是鼓（Agawu 2016）。在非洲文化里，非洲鼓占据了一个特别的位置是因为非洲人为了各种原因需要打鼓，从“社交场合到秘密社团仪式，从田耕和狩猎到生命轮回仪式，比如命名仪式，入会和婚礼”（Price 2013, 23）。非洲鼓也被用来在崇拜国王或者首领的游行中。非洲鼓总是被用来当做“有
力的文化熔炉和非洲移民认同形成和互动的指示器”（Zeleza 2012, 546）。非洲鼓乐通过学生制从师傅那里口头流传下来（Price 2013, 228-229）。因此玩非洲鼓可以帮助生活在外的非洲移民保持与祖国和祖先的身体和想象的连接。它也可以帮助他们创造一种归属感，在接待社会巩固他们的共同体。


“我的目的是尽可能地在香港传播我的文化。所以那时候，我到非洲鼓表演的人是比较多的，因为首先香港人的好奇心使得他们想和我交谈。我手里有鼓的时候，大家的反应是不一样的。”


鼓是会说话的工具（Agawu 2016, 127）。非洲鼓里面，金贝鼓（djembe 或坚贝鼓）是最受欢迎的一种。问到在香港哪种非洲鼓表演最多，所有研究参与者都说金贝鼓。有些人也玩墩墩鼓（一种三弦鼓）。金贝鼓是由 lenke 或者 djama 木做的，覆盖上小牛皮或者羊皮用绳子固定好。有有几个原因使得金贝鼓在香港非洲移民中这样受欢迎。香港非洲移民主要来自西非。金贝鼓通常与一起被称为马林科人（Malinkens）和曼丁人的族群联系在一起（Price 2013, 228）。他们定居在与老马里帝国相关的那个西非。打金贝鼓是西非文化传统，可以追溯到三千年前（Price 2013）。尽管如此，从中非（比如刚果民主共和国和东非）来的人出于各种原因比如个人娱乐和社交也在香港打金贝鼓。金贝鼓是非常的象征。它是欢乐，和平，团结和和谐的象征。玩金贝鼓有象征意义，它不仅把不同非洲国家来的移民聚拢在一起，也聚拢了非洲移民与港人。在不同非洲鼓相比其他非洲鼓要小，比如皇家鼓。易于携带到各种地方进行表演和教学。此外，打鼓技术称，“金贝鼓更容易，”Dixon 评论道。“因为我金贝鼓的话，我们只用手而已。如果是加纳 AKA 鼓，比如说，我们会需要棍子，手和四肢来控制声音，那需要更高的技巧。”打鼓是社交场合，需要所有在场的人参与。包括演唱，跳舞和拍手。对于在香港推广非洲文化，这种非洲手鼓好玩又好打，最适合香港的初学者。

文化交流区域：通过非洲鼓乐来呈现与协商差异

在日益全球化的世界，怎样在文化差异中生活，对所有社会成员是一个挑战性的议题。假设社会文化融合是多文化社会需要和努力的解决方案，怎样才能最好地推动和达到它？有一种方式是增加积极因素的发生机率，包括任何集体活动来推动积极的群体之间的交流。根据 Prat（1991, 34），区域是一个社会空间，那里常常是在不对称的权力关系背景之中文化相遇、冲突与面对对方。”被定位在香港种族等级结构的最低层，非洲裔研究参与者相信他们必须去积极地促进融合。他们需要工具帮助他们来获得港人的接受和承认。在各个地方表演鼓乐是通过创造和发展与港人的实地文化交流区域来实现这个目标的一种方式。

建立文化互动的社会空间

常规的非洲移民利用地方音乐学校的网络在地方社区推销他们自己，以创造文化相遇的社会空间。他们担任打鼓教师的工作。塞内加尔人 Mariane 已经给一个地方音乐学校工作了六年。“在国内我是艺术家。有个公司在 2010 年把非洲从非洲带到香港来了，”她说。这个公司负责为她进行推广和安排教学与表演的档期。
她表演金贝鼓的时候，通常都穿上传统的服装。“上次我表演是在 JW Marriott Hotel。我穿上了非洲 BouBou。我必须把我头发扎起来，穿上色彩艳丽的服饰。”Mariane 解释说。这些年里，Mariane 已经教了无数的香港小孩和大人打金贝鼓。她回忆教学经历说：“开始，他们[港人]不习惯黑皮肤的人。他们一看到我就说，我的天！妈啊，好吓人啊。”另外一个群体是非常规的非洲移民。因为他们的人口身份，他们只能依赖政府组织的网络和教会作为平台来推动金贝鼓乐文化。喀麦隆人 Kaze 是基督徒，从 2010 年以来就在香港表演和教学金贝鼓。他把他的金贝鼓一路从自己国家带到香港来。“因为表演金贝鼓就是我生活的一部分”，他说。Kaze 几乎每周在教会和非政府组织举办金贝鼓培训班。Kaze 评论道：“在香港推广非洲文化有点难，因为你推广的东西人们无法直接地接受。这意味着你需要经过一些努力来使他们接受。”

非洲裔研究参与者在许多地方表演和教学金贝鼓。教课主要是在学校，公司，非政府组织，教会和私人工作室以及度假地。他们表演金贝鼓在室内也在室外；在不同的场合像是公司的年度晚会，圣诞晚会，新年晚会。他们的教学和表演每小时收费从港币 150 元（19 美元）到 200 元（26 美元）。

呈现差异：激发本地人好奇心

音乐，特别是传统音乐能够让人对其他文化产生好奇心。它也能调动人们去认识其他文化，激发港人的好奇心是关键的。当他们表演金贝鼓，非洲裔研究参与者必须穿上传统服装。Dixon 回忆 2006 年第一次在街头表演。他说：“他们认为我很奇怪。一个从丛林里的人穿着这么奇怪的服装到香港来是为什么？” Dixon 很乐观也对非洲文化的独特性很骄傲。在实地笔者观察到港人对金贝鼓表演很有兴趣，不仅因为金贝鼓的独特声音也因为非洲人研究者穿着传统服饰。他们大声地惊叹和喊叫，甚至伸出手来跟着欢快地在鼓手面前跳起舞来。表演结束后，港人会上前和鼓手合照（见 图 1 和 2）。他们也会问鼓手关于服饰的名字和打鼓技巧。我记得有一次我跟着 Mahka，他在一个嘉年华有个鼓表演，一位香港女士和她的两个儿子聚精会神地看着他的表演。之后，她上前问 Mahka：“我很喜欢！你住在香港吗？你有在康乐园（一个香港的住宅区）教非洲鼓吗？我住那儿，想要我的儿子跟你学。” 通过在不同地方表演金贝鼓，非洲裔研究参与者不仅在本地社区证明了他们的传统文化，也激发了港人的好奇心，推动他们去认识更多的非洲移民和他们的文化。通过这种方法，非洲移民吸引港人来参加他们的鼓学习班，并进一步地发展与本地人的文化互动。

协商差异：作为社会和文化学习的玩乐

那么金贝鼓表演在推动非洲移民的文化融合上扮演了什么角色？非洲鼓包括金贝鼓是可以在街上也可以集体表演（Agawu 2016）。在一些场合比如公司的年度晚会和私人派对，非洲裔研究参与者进行单人演出时，他们站在舞台上，娱乐观众，但很难让观众参与进来。可是在其他场合，比如街头表演，非洲裔研究参与者更愿意集体表演金贝鼓。打鼓是一种社会活动，要求在场人的参与，包括演唱，跳舞和拍手。表演和教学的时候，非洲裔研究参与者通常准备额外的鼓给港人来参与（见图 3）。娱乐提供了一个 “通过观察与发展行为模式和其他社会与文化现象来与世界各地的人互动的方式”（Marsh 2016, 2）。它涉及与其他人的互动。“只是看文化是不够的，他们需要体验文化”，Dixon 说。非洲裔研究参与者一开始与港人一起玩金贝鼓，就有许多互动，像是眼神交流，身体和口头的交流。在这个文化互动区域以外，我们很少能看到两个群体之间这样和谐互动。我认为非洲鼓是非洲裔在港非洲移民的融入过程的一个工具。金贝鼓多数是调好的，非洲裔研究参与者的
图 2：来自喀麦隆的 Kaze 在表演后，向香港人介绍金贝鼓的历史。（图片来源：作者，2016 年 10 月 9 日）。

图 3：来自喀麦隆的 Kaze 在教会里教一群香港人如何打金贝鼓。（图片来源：作者，2016 年 10 月 13 日）。
金贝鼓通常音调得比其他跟港人用的金贝鼓要高。这个安排就有实际意义和象征的意义。就实际意义来说，非洲鼓手是专业表演者，他们要保证他们的部分被整个乐团听到。这也是使得技巧不熟练的港人能够容易跟上。从象征意义来说，调整金贝鼓的音域到更高，非洲鼓手可以引领整个群体，港人必须听他们的指导，这一点平衡了他们在日常生活里面对的边缘化经历。

娱乐是一种接受新的知识和文化学习的方式。在这个领域非洲裔研究参与者不仅要表现出如何玩金贝鼓，他们也教港人历史与文化，比如韵律的名字和为什么在非洲要打鼓。“除了丛林、狮子和老虎，非洲也有都市，有高楼，就像香港一样，”Dixon 对港人的无知感到沮丧。他以在港人的金贝鼓表演的互动，非洲裔研究参与者很容易打破与本地人的社会分界。利用金贝鼓，他们在这个交流空间显现和协商了文化差异。这个交流空间的活动旨在推动人们去改变既有的思考习惯和既有的关于自己和其他人的知识。在这个文化互动的空间中，非洲移民在表演的交流区不仅使得他们容易谋生，更改变了港人对非洲和非洲人的观念。非洲裔研究参与者都感觉到在港人更加愿意接受非洲和非洲文化。“过去这些年，我们做了很多来推广非洲文化。我们有许多热情的人们，在香港努力地推广非洲文化。”Makha 说。不过，这不是说在香港隐藏的种族主义不再存在了，这个研究只是要说明香港非洲裔移民把精力放在非洲移民与港人之间不对等的权力关系上，他们试图利用非冲突性的方法使这些权力关系的发生变化。

街头文化多元主义：网络、文化维系和身份政治

本文要分析的这些陈述来自一些曾经经历过不同程度的歧视和边缘化的非洲移民。看到政府政策无法达成文化多样性，他们试图用自己的方式来实地经营和实践多元文化生活。我在这里概念化的“街头文化多元主义”基于我对于研究参与者非洲移民的观察，他们为了推动非洲文化，致力于各种活动，与港人在各种不同场合互动，比如学校讲座，文化展出，电视和广播节目，街头打鼓表演，打鼓课程。田野调查显示非洲打鼓活动的成功。这些活动是非洲移民调适他们的非洲性和他们与移民群体，来源国家，和他们祖先关系的方式。“街头文化多元主义”试图概念化文化之间的交流和非洲移民网络——当他利用传统文化来经营地产的多元文化生活。

非洲移民的网络经营策略已经产生果效。我们可以用凝聚（bonding）与连接（bridging）的概念来分析它。Putnam（2000:20）发展了 Coleman 的论点，他将凝聚与连接区分开来，凝聚是“把与我在重要方面类似的人联系在一起”，连接则是“与我在重要方面不相像的人”。Putnam认为紧密连结的网络对于“生活”是重要的，但是外向的连接性交流对于“引领潮流”更重要（Putnam 2000:23）。我们研究的非洲裔参与者在促进非洲鼓文化上的有凝聚力网络。Dixon 的 Sankofa 斗士音乐剧团是一个很好的关于凝聚力网络如何促进与港人的文化交流的例子，这个凝聚力网络是由来自喀麦隆、加纳、尼日利亚、尼日尔、肯尼亚和多哥等不同地区的人组成。凝聚力网络可以是跨国的。Daniel 是加纳人，他在香港已经超过十年。在香港他有一间鼓修复公司，直接从非洲进口金贝鼓和其他鼓的部件如羊皮。他说道：“我在香港开始教授业务在十年前。因为我们在自己国内有家人做鼓，那就是他们的工作；或者我们有专业人员，那是他们的工作；他们有他们的作坊，他们只是做这个的。所以我们就给他们打电话，他们就能把皮找送来。”作者完成文章一周年，Makha 说他想从塞内加尔招他朋友过来到香港当鼓老师，正在给他朋友准备移民文件。

连接主要人口可以有助于在接待社会的适应与整合。不过，连接性的网络是建立需要一个“工具”。我们的研究突出了“工具”在连接上的重要性。非洲移民利用金贝鼓作为工具来建立与港人的文化交流区域。区域理论认为文化网络之间的交流带来的更好的沟通，更少的冲突的现象（Allport 1954）。但是，我们研究发现，非洲裔研究参与者坚持他们必须使用非洲鼓的鼓。“因为我们对工具的运用推广真正的非洲文化”，Marine 说。就像她强调的，打金贝鼓与祖先是独一无二的，也有情感的。在过去几年里，制作金贝鼓的香港制造商在增加，他们利用塑料而非 leorge 和 iroko 木头制作金贝鼓。一位香港制造商告诉我们“木鼓重”。不过 Dixon 觉得，“声音不一样，这不是真的非洲文化。我们必须对的木鼓。”在田野期间，我发现港人更愿意从非洲鼓手那里观看和学习金贝鼓表演。许多港人学习者告诉我他们想向非洲人学习真正的非洲文化。多数的非洲裔研究参与者表示因为非洲鼓手的流行，港人更愿意接受非洲人，这种的交流是有意义的。通过表演非洲鼓，非洲移民提供港人娱乐和文化教学来交换更多的表演和教学机会以及港人的接受和尊重。

文化主义强调文化在决定行为中的重要性。街头文化主义者是多元文化政策的“面孔”，因为这些人直接与本地人有互动。在我们的研究里，非洲移民被看作是街头文化主义者直接与本地人群互动。非洲性作为既是个人也是集体的认知一直在被调适（Rastas and Seye 2015）。它常常包括回击关于非洲人、非洲文化和他们与移民群体关系的刻板印象。有象征意义的，在边缘化的背景之下，通过在各个香港地方表演金贝鼓，非洲移民有意识地致力于身份政治，这是一种文化参与，但与
街头抗议罢工向威权斗争为表现形式的身份政治不同。他们想要在接待社会留下文化印记。毫无疑问，他们致力于身份政治是基于他们的在接待社会的边缘地位。对那些常规的非洲移民，当他们被社会边缘化时的身份政治是利用作为职业移民的移民身份，通过非洲文化赢得承认。对非正规群体来说，身份政治是确保自己免于对非法工作的法律限制。它是一种不向法律曝露自己的方式，也是一种谋生的策略。他们调适非洲文化和香港经历的能力是一个充满政治意识的过程。

结论：香港的多元文化主义，文化政策和文化政治

通过关注街头文化多元主义经营的方式，本文的目的并非认为多元文化政策在政府层面的不必要性，而是利用香港非洲移民的打鼓经历作为一个切入点，来探索香港少数族裔文化融合与多元文化主义，以及它与文化政策的相关性之间的关系，这为以下两点结论提供了基础。

首先，文化多元主义应该在政府层面被概念化—关于政府如何使用各种政策经营文化多样性，也应在街头层面被概念化—关于移民如何通过与本地人的接触经营文化多样性和协商认同。本项研究把分析视角转向以非洲移民为主题。它分析非洲人是如何运用非洲传统文化—金贝鼓乐—在文化“交流区”与港人进行富有意义的交流。这也是从分析理论性的文化多元主义（政府政策分析）转向实践中的文化多元主义（实地文化互动分析）。其次，这种检视文化多元主义的方法与香港的文化政策高度相关。香港的多元文化政策正受到质疑，特别是经过1999年品牌战略定位香港为“亚洲的世界城市”之后。本研究里的非洲移民的经济突出了港人文化认知和敏感度的不足，暗示应该投入更多的资源来发展国际视野。香港是移民社会。移民不仅包括身体移动也包括人们的文化资本的流动如独特的技艺，技术和文化实践。有人建议文化大使方案，这样移民可以在接待社会推动他们独特的文化，培养更多的文化社交交流。此外，跨种族的婚姻如非洲移民与香港中国女性通婚变得日益重要。文化遗产在港最近变成一个研究项目，但是主要限于中国文化传统。作为一个多元化的社会，我们需要更多关于少数族裔文化传统政策的研究，来更好地丰富和鼓励关于第二代移民中的认同和文化保存的讨论。

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