

紹興紹興.....與印度人

SHAOXING SHAOXING... AND INDIANS

文、圖 卓嘉健，英國牛津大學人類學博士候選人

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為了尋找博士論文的研究對象，即是在中國紡織市場裡做生意的印度人，我在「兩個紹興」之間經歷了一段難忘的巴士之旅。所謂「兩個紹興」，一個是指「紹興市」（又稱越城區），一個是「紹興縣」（二零一三年十月易名為柯橋區）。雖然名字一樣，兩個地方卻不盡相同：紹興市是古色古香的老城，紹興縣則是個非常蓬勃的環球紡織品交易中心，繁盛的紡織品經濟吸引了大量外國人到來做外貿生意，當中許多是印度人。官方數字指出，兩個紹興有數以千計的印度人聚居。旅程將近結束時，我終於意外地發現多家由印度人開設的貿易公司，原來它們都隱身在紹興縣的一些辦公大樓中。這個發現讓我對當地印度人的生活狀況，產生了不少新的疑問……





典型的越城水鄉風貌。越城大部分地方屬「紹興古城」的範圍，保留著紹興市最古舊的面貌。越城是個古老的水鄉，城中水道交叉，長約一千九百公里的河道構成複雜的河網。

A traditional house adjacent to a river, Yuecheng.

A large area of Yuecheng is known as the "Shaoxing Old City", where the oldest facade of the City is found. Yuecheng is a historic water-town, composed of 1,900 km river channels in a complicated water network.

This article charts my first bus journey in search of Indians in a Chinese market, the targeted informants for my research on their business activities in China. The bus journey traversed two "Shaoxings" - Shaoxing City (also known as Yuecheng District) and Shaoxing County (renamed as Keqiao District in 2013) respectively. Despite the same name, Shaoxing City is different from Shaoxing County. The City is largely an idyllic Chinese old town, whilst the County is a vigorous hub for global fabric trade. The County's flourishing fabric economy has attracted a large number of foreign traders to do local business. Many of them are Indians. The official figure shows there are thousands of Indians living in the two Shaoxings. The article tells a story of how I accidentally discovered a dense cluster of Indian trading companies after the bus journey. These Indian companies are hidden behind the facade of the office buildings in Shaoxing County. This discovery helps me to see new questions about the local Indians...

淺談「兩個

BASIC FACTS OF TWO SHAOXINGs

紹興」

紹興市雖然稱為「市」，古蹟處處的「老城」才叫人印象深刻；相反，紹興縣卻新簇得叫人吃驚。許多首次到訪紹興縣的人，會驚訝它的天際線和上海大都會十分相似！如今的紹興市是文化旅遊重鎮；紹興縣則是亞洲最大的紡織品批發中心、官方號稱的「中國輕紡城」；其紡織品交易不但推動地區經濟，亦對全球經濟有影響力：（一）百分之三十一點八的中國製紡織品是在紹興縣買賣；（二）當中超過一半出口至全球超過一百個國家；（三）當地人口中超過四成從事紡織品相關行業；（四）當地人均生產總值的超過三分之二來自紡織品貿易。

Despite designated as the metropolitan area of the whole Shaoxing Prefecture-Level City, Shaoxing City is largely an old town of historic landscape. By contrast, Shaoxing County has a more metropolitan outlook, with a skyline similar to that of Shanghai - a huge surprise to many first-time visitors! Whilst Shaoxing City is an attractive heritage tourism destination, Shaoxing County is Asia's largest fabric wholesale centre - officially named "China's Light Textile City". Fabric trade here is significant to both regional and global economies: (1) 31.8% of China-made fabrics are traded here; (2) Over half of these fabrics are exported to more than a hundred countries around the world; (3) Nearly 40% of the local population take part in fabric-related industries; and (4) More than two-third of the county's GDP is attributed to fabric trade.

旅程的起點

THE START

時間回到二零一零年，我第一次到當地進行田野研究，寄住在紹興文理學院的訪問學人宿舍。從地圖上看，學院距離紹興縣似乎不遠，也就是我將要去尋訪印度商人的地方。當時，我只知紹興縣有不少印度人開設貿易公司，卻不知道他們的位置。

學院的所在地和紹興縣分屬不同的行政單位——校園位於紹興市的邊緣，和紹興縣只相距十六公里。起初，我以為住在「一個紹興」再到「另一個紹興」做研究並非甚麼大問題。不過，當我第一次由紹興市乘巴士到紹興縣，我的所謂直覺馬上就破滅了！兩地政府架構的不同並非大問題，差勁的巴士服務才令人頭痛。路面暢順時，駕私家車來往兩地單程可能不需半小時。但乘搭公共巴士的話，由於路線迂迴、中途站太多和路上偶爾出意外，我的首次巴士之旅變得異常漫長和痛苦，頭一個小時在紹興市的窄街小巷裡打轉，第二個小時則在紹興縣繁忙的車道上飽受塞車之苦……

During my pilot field work in 2010, I stayed in a visiting scholar room in the Shaoxing University. As I saw on the map, the University did not seem to be far away from Shaoxing County - where I was supposed to find the Indian traders. By that time, I only knew that many Indians were running trading companies in the County, but I did not know their exact locations.

The University and the County fall into different administrative units. The University campus is located at the edge of Shaoxing City - just 16 km away from Shaoxing County. My first impression was that living in one Shaoxing while doing research in another would not be a problem. Such easiness vanished immediately after I made the first bus trip from Shaoxing City to Shaoxing County. Separated administrative units bear no obstacle, but poor bus service was the problem. In good traffic, the direct driving distance could be less than 30 minutes - for private cars, not public buses. Indirect routing, multiple bus stops and occasional traffic accidents turned my first bus journey to be painstakingly long. The bus took almost one hour ambling the labyrinth

of small lanes within Shaoxing City, and another hour inching on the extremely congested road in Shaoxing County.



古城 紹興 OLD LANDSCAPE IN SHAOXING 市 CITY

其實，巴士遊走在紹興市的頭一個小時是挺讓人享受的，至少我能夠探索紹興市的傳統古城之美。從學院出發後的一個小時內，巴士在越城區的幾條小街裡緩慢移動，車窗外兩旁常看見小河、寶塔和一層高的江南式古建築群。經過的街道大都是空蕩蕩的，行人也很少，只偶爾遇見一些慢速經過的小車。如詩如畫的街景，讓我能一窺當地的文化景觀，靜謐的景象讓人把一切對「城市」的刻板印象拋諸腦後。

My first-hour bus journey among historical landmarks among Shaoxing City was quite enjoyable. After departing from the University, the bus strolled along small lanes of the old city. Through the bus window, I was enthralled by the small rivers, pagodas and one-story Jiangnan living quarters. These lanes were largely empty. As I saw, there were only a few pedestrians and slow-moving small vehicles. The picturesque streets gave me a glimpse of the local heritage landscape. The scenery was tranquil and calming - I did not feel any sense of being in "a city".

A BUSTLING ROAD 沒有 WITHOUT INDIANS

印度人的熱鬧街道

然而，當巴士駛上紹興縣其中一條主要道路——萬商路，悠閒的車程便戛然而止。沿路有多座紡織品交易市場，室內和室外都有許多批發店，專門從事各式各樣紡織品的批發生意。我仔細觀察萬商路上的一切，因為即使是路邊的集市，也屬於本地以至全球紡織品貿易中心的一部分。

The zen-like, tranquil scene came to an abrupt end when the bus entered one of the main roads in Shaoxing County: Wanshang Road. There was a complex of fabrics marketplaces along the road composed of numerous indoor and outdoor outlets, all of which specialized in the wholesale of a wide range of fabric items. I paid much attention to everything I saw on Wanshang Road, even road-side outlets as they were too part of the wholesale centre of fabrics at both domestic and global levels.



從高空俯瞰紹興的紡織品批發市場（取自百度地圖）。中間兩座方形建築稱為「北六區市場」，下方的一群建築則是「北聯合市場」。兩個市場之間的道路就是萬商路。
The wholesale marketplaces from the air (from Baidu Map). The North Six District are two square-shape blocks in the middle; all the blocks in the lower part are parts of the North United Market. The road between these two marketplaces is Wanshang Road.



批發市場附近一輛滿載著布匹的小型貨車。
萬商路上有不少紡織品市場，當中有多達二萬二千家批發店和一萬九千家小型辦公室。
A mini-van loaded with scores of fabrics, near one wholesale marketplace. There are several marketplaces on Wanshang Road; there are more than 22,000 outlets and 19,000 small offices.



萬商路一個巴士站上候車的人群
Waiting in a bus stop on Wanshang Road.

No longer surrounded by a flat and open landscape of rivers and riverside traditional housings, the bus was instead edging its way among other buses, taxis, cars and motorcycles congested between marketplaces on both sides of Wanshang Road. The road was extremely crowded, dusty and noisy. Some vans and giant trucks unloading piles of fabrics completely blocked the road. The diesel smell and exhaust particles made breathing difficult on the road. Despite the congestion, a number of rickshaws, fully loaded with fabrics, managed to cut through streams of traffic without hitting or being hit by other vehicles. That picture somehow reminded me of the chaotic traffic often found in the cities of India, but I was surprised that not a single Indian-looking person was seen on Wanshang Road.

萬商路上的手拉車
A rickshaw on Wanshang Road.



萬商路塞車一景
Traffic congestion on Wanshang Road.



來到這裡，車窗外再看不見平緩開揚的景色、長長的水道與河畔的老房子；取而代之的，是萬商路兩旁一個接一個的批發市場。這條路極為擠塞，塵土飛揚，非常嘈吵。許多巴士、的士、私家車和摩托車寸步難移，要不斷地停下、響按、再停下。大大小小的貨車停在路邊卸下布匹，把整條路堵死。難聞的柴油廢氣和懸浮粒子充斥著路面，連呼吸也變得困難。不過，就算路面有多混亂，依然有不少苦力拉著滿載布匹的手拉車，在川流不息的馬路上穿梭，絲毫不會撞到車子或被車子撞倒。如此奇景，讓我聯想起不少印度城市也有相似的景象，但整條萬商路上居然一個印度人也沒有……



宣傳各種紡織品的廣告板
Billboards advertising different fabric items.

WALKING INTO THE
INDIAN TRADING OFFICES

走進印度公司

千辛萬苦終於「塞」過了萬商路，巴士的速度頓時加快，一路北走，駛上旅程的最後一段——金柯橋大道。和萬商路正好相反，金柯橋大道鋪設完善、路面寬闊，因此也甚少擠塞。雖然大道上有數個巴士站，但巴士只需約十分鐘便走完整條大道。

我和其他許多乘客一樣，都在莎蠶家紡站下車。呆站了數分鐘，我依然不知道該往哪個方向走。猶豫之際，其他乘客已經迅速消失，走進了旁邊一座大廈的入口。我抬頭一望，才發現這裡是紹興縣最繁盛的商業區，四周聳立著該縣最高最新的辦公大樓。光看它們宏偉的外觀，你無法得知它是一座商業大樓、紡織業大樓還是其他大樓，更加不要問裡面有沒有印度人了。

我走進其中一座，就知道自己來對了地方！大堂內有些正在等候電梯的印度人和中國人，一位印度人在用家鄉話通電話，另一位則雙手拿著掛布的衣架，其他的不是在檢查電話訊息，就是在吸煙。他們互不瞅睬，我也沒有跟他們打開話題，但我相信這些大樓將會是我的主要研究地點。

在這天的餘下時間，我在這幾座大樓裡逐層摸索，證實了我的直覺無誤：它們裡面全是從事紡織品貿易的公司，如果要以一句來概括，就是「很印度」。每層大約有十至十五個辦公室，在許多樓層中，

Once the bus made its way out of the chaos on Wanshang Road, it immediately speeded up and turned into Golden Keqiao Avenue - the final part of the bus route. Unlike Wanshang Road, Golden Keqiao Avenue was well-paved, wide and, therefore, much less congested. There were several bus stops along the Avenue. But it only took approximately ten minutes for the bus to complete the journey.

Following other passengers, I got off at Salsa Home Textile Bus Station. For a few minutes, I stood still at the bus station and had no idea where I should go next. As I hesitated other passengers quickly disappeared into a building nearby. I looked up and around, finding out that I was surrounded by a bunch of towering office buildings - the tallest and newest buildings in Shaoxing County. The imposing appearance of these office buildings did not tell whether they had anything to do with fabric trade, let alone Indian traders.

I walked into one of these buildings, and realized I had serendipitously come to the right place. There were several Indians and Chinese in the lobby area. All of them were waiting for the lifts. One Indian was talking on his phone in Hindi. Another Indian was holding some fabric hangers with two hands.



金柯橋大道上的商業大樓區。自廿一世紀初，印度人就大舉湧入，在這兒辦起中間代理的業務，將本土供應商和來自全球的買手連結起來，買手們多數來自印度、杜拜、俄羅斯、波蘭和許多非洲國家。對印度人來說，這裡不僅僅是做生意的地方，還是他們組織社區的地方。

The office building area on Golden Keqiao Avenue.

Since early 2000s, Indians have flocked into the area to become middlemen who connect local suppliers with a global network of buyers, particularly those from India, Dubai, Russia, Poland and many African countries. To the Indians, the area is not only a business zone. It is also a place for them to organise the community.

金柯橋大道旁邊的鑽石大廈、財富大廈和一座酒店（前至後）

Diamond Building, Fortune Building and a hotel (from the front to the back) on Golden Keqiao Avenue.



一半以上的公司似乎都是印度人開設，這從公司的名字（如Ashok公司）和在裡面工作的印度人可見一斑。從許多辦公室透明或大開的門戶，可見裡面放著一些印度神祇的雕像，例如象頭神。我隨意走進了一些公司，找到了一些經營這些紡織品貿易公司的印度人，他們也成為我的第一批受訪者。

And the others were either busy checking phone messages or smoking. None of them paid any attention to each other. We did not engage in any conversation, but I knew that these office buildings could be my principal field site.

For the rest of the day, I stepped up and explored every floor of these office buildings. This meticulous probing further confirmed that my intuition was right. Most of, if not all, the tenants of these buildings were Indians. There are usually ten to fifteen offices on each floor and, on many floors, more than half of the offices seem to be run by Indians - it can be told by company names such as "Ashok Textile Trading Co. Ltd." and the Indians working inside. Many offices housed with statues of the Hindu deities like Ganesh can be easily viewed through the transparent or open doors. I randomly walked into some trading companies and, from there, I met the first batch of informants - the Indians who run their fabric trading business in these offices.

紹興國際學校內的印度裔小孩慶祝印度傳統節日——排燈節
Indian children celebrating Diwali in Shaoxing International School.



一位中國攝影師站在慶祝「Cheti Chand」的聖壇後方。「Cheti Chand」是信德族人的傳統宗教節日，居住在紹興的印度人每年都會慶祝。
A Chinese cameraman and the altar of Cheti Chand; Cheti Chand is a Sindhi religious festival celebrated by Indians in Shaoxing every year.

金柯橋大道上的一家錫克教廟
A Sikh Temple on Golden
Keqiao Avenue.



紹興縣一個印度家庭的家門
Door of an Indian home in Shaoxing County.

ENDING 結語 REMARKS

以上就是我如何意外地在紹興發現印度人，和他們營商地點的故事。不過，這只開啟了我研究的第一步。對於印度人在中國進行貿易，還有許多未解的謎團，比如說：他們在這裡怎樣做生意？為何他們選擇在紹興縣落腳？他們在這個由中國人主導的紡織品經濟中，開啟了一個怎樣的印度裔小眾市場？印度人是怎樣跟中國商人打交道的？在二零一零至一二一年間，我在紹興縣合共住了十五個月，以更深入的民族誌田野工作去尋找答案。✧

The unanticipated outcome of the bus journey solved the first puzzle of my research: locating the Indians and their workplace. But it also opened a new set of puzzles, particularly the internal organization of Indian trading activities in Shaoxing County. For example, how Indians conduct the local business, reasons for coming here, market niche for Indians in a Chinese-dominating fabric economy, negotiations and business interest between Indians and local Chinese traders and so on. From an anthropological perspective, these questions deal with the convolutions of Indians' individual migration strategies, global trade networks and local business adaptation. I conducted a detailed ethnography over 15 months between 2010 and 2012 to delve into these questions. ✧