

深圳開展性工作服務專案的困境與挑戰

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一、深圳性工作者現狀

1.1 種類：

- 站街
- 洗頭房
- 足療店
- 家庭式會所
- 飯店
- 大型KTV

1.2 服務內容：

- 按摩（保健按摩、胸推等）
- 打炮（陰道交）
- 口活（口交）

- 打飛機 (幫助客人手淫)
- 聊天
- 打破 (親吻)
- 坐台、出臺 (KTV)

1.3、價格情況：

- 服務價格大概分兩個檔次
- 40、50、60元，一般站街價格，而在公園站街的只有10元、20元的服務
- 100元—150元，家庭式會所、洗頭房的一般收費

1.4 拆賬情況：(拆賬是指姐姐的收入如何與老闆分成)。大概有以下情況：

- 洗頭房一般是三七分賬，老闆三成，姐姐七成。
- 站街的按天 (150元、300元)、周、月 (3000元) 交給老闆。
- 按摩足療店一般按摩是跟老闆對半分。

1.5 深圳姐姐的特點：流動性大；兼職姐姐多；片區保護嚴重。

1.6 深圳姐姐的困難：嚴打；遭遇暴力；看病難。

二、深圳專案情況

深圳中心的專案從2011年7月開始，一直延續到現在。

3年的專案一共分為2個部分，一部分是針對姐姐的項目，減少暴力傷害、健康醫療支援以及給出國的姐姐們提供海外諮詢支援；一部分是針對社會公眾的項目，包括在社區和高校開展宣傳和招募實習生。

三、面對嚴打，到底我們能做什麼？

在中國，賣淫嫖娼屬於違法行為，嚴打也成為了姐姐日常生活的家常便飯。最近的一次嚴打，開始於東莞的掃黃行動，然而，這一連帶的行動，像一陣風一般吹到全國各地，也免不了深圳的姐姐受到牽連。面對強大的嚴打，機構很難發揮作用，甚至影響到機構日常的服務工作。

四、長期下去，做這樣專案的目的是什麼？如何評估每一年的工作成效？

由於機構是以專案的方式來承接基金會的資助，即使有長期的目標，然而，也面臨基金會不會一直支持的困境。在每一年的專案評估中，機構以與姐姐之間的互動、接觸的個案、姐姐對機構活動的參與度為標準來進行自我審核。

五、我們面臨的困難有哪些？

(5.1) 關係難建立——流動性大；嚴打見不到人；運營方式隱蔽。

女性性工作者工作比較隱蔽，與她們接觸並且建立關係本身就有些困難，而深圳有自己的特點，在關係建立方面更加困難。

首先，深圳的女性性工作者流動性很大。深圳是一個“移民”城市，外來人口佔據城市人口的大部分，這裡從業的女性性工作者來自五湖四海，每天都有人來到深圳，也不斷有人離開。重要的一種流動是境內外的流動，她們中很大一部分人是把深圳當作一個跳板，出境去香港、澳門、馬來西亞、新加坡等地方工作；其次就是國內城市間的流動；最後就是在深圳本地不同片區間的流動，如此大的流動性，致使機構在與女性性工作者建立關係的問題上受到很大的挑戰。

其次，嚴打頻繁，見不到人。全中國針對女性性工作者的嚴打從來不間斷，各種節假日、重大會議、重要活動期間都會有嚴打，深圳也不例外。嚴打的時候，很難見到女性性工作者，有的是因為太嚴不敢來上班了，有的是躲在房間裡通過電話聯繫做熟客的生意，開店經營的老闆把店面關了，自己在外面拉客然後再帶到炮房讓客人挑選。因而，工作人員時常遭遇外展見不到人的情況，加上老闆的謹慎，直接服務女性性工作者更重要的是機遇和耐性。雖然如此，部分熟悉的老闆亦能將資料、小禮品等帶給在房間裡等客的女性性工作者，這對於機構來說，也是莫大的安慰。

第三，運營方式多樣，甚至隱蔽。深圳性行業的運營方式多種多樣，僅低收入女性性工作者群體就有傳統的站街、髮廊、休閒中心、KTV，另外還有以飯店

形式經營，一樓是飯店，女性性工作者陪客人吃飯喝酒，二樓則為KTV包廂。新型的模式是家庭式會所，一個老闆租一個套房，兩室或者三室，內有三五個女性性工作者，老闆在樓下拉客或電話聯繫客人，女性性工作者等在樓上，客人上去選台。在這種會所上班的女性性工作者，有一部分是兼職的，白天做小白領或者工廠工人等，晚上來做兼職，也有些是週末過來做兼職。這些女性性工作者除了客人和老闆之外，不想在上班的地方見到任何陌生人，因為她們不想讓別人知道自己來做兼職女性性工作者，所以對工作人員來說接觸這樣場所的女性性工作者更是難上加難。

(5.2)機構身份尷尬——工商註冊，取得民辦非企業或者社會團體的資格很難。

目前深圳半枝蓮只是完成了工商註冊，由於機構是非營利的組織，沒有任何收入，在報稅上亦是事實就是，沒有盈利，但若在某一天被工商部門審查到時，極有可能面臨被取消工商註冊的資格，若這一天發生，不僅僅對於機構，對於工作人員而言，也將面臨無法繳納任何社會保險的困境。

在種種生存的困境之下，機構一直在努力爭取民辦非企業單位或者社會團體的註冊資格，但民非註冊規定需要一個業務主管單位，政府某個部門允許機構掛靠在其名下，由其負責管理，讓機構幾乎看不到前景。然而，2013年年初機構也得到一個好消息，深圳市坪山新區正在大力推行社會工作服務，據瞭解註冊條件相對寬鬆，機構也將再次去嘗試註冊。

(5.3) 資源有限。

深圳半枝蓮目前為女性性工作者提供免費的子宮頸癌篩查，這項服務能夠開展主要依靠了香港紫藤的幫助，她們提供了宮頸癌的免費化驗和一名醫生義工，義工定期來深圳為女性性工作者檢查宮頸。雖然得到了香港紫藤的幫助，但是紫藤的資源也有限，中心還是需要在深圳本地找到資源才能使這項服務能夠長期開展，但是，機構在深圳沒有醫療方面的熟人，至今還是沒能找到合適的資源，所以只能暫時依靠紫藤的幫助。

另外一方面，中心雖然已經與香港和澳門當地為女性性工作者提供服務的團體取得了聯繫，使得三個地方團體相互之間有溝通，大家可以互通消息，同時還能轉介個案到當地。但，近年女性性工作者去馬來西亞、新加坡、俄羅斯甚至德國的人越發增多，但機構的資源有限，沒能與海外的團體有聯繫，致使無法給在當地的華人女性性工作者提供更直接便利的服務。

(5.4) 公眾宣導艱難。

機構努力抓住各種機會進行公眾宣導，希望能為女性性工作者除污名，消除公眾對女性性工作者的歧視，在社區開展性病、生殖健康知識的普及就是其中一種方式。減少公眾對性病的歧視，也是間接減少女性性工作者就醫時被歧視。

雖然機構目前與一個社工機構取得了聯繫，也開展了兩場社區活動，主要是性病、生殖健康方面知識的普及，但由於機構並非民政註冊系統的社工機構或民

非組織，當工作人員直接去社區聯繫時，常被懷疑是騙子，懷疑活動的目的是宣傳推銷等。事實上，中心嘗試去聯繫社區工作站時，也的確遇到了這樣的事情。中心想要獨立在社區開展服務是比較困難的，還是需要不斷尋找合作夥伴。

(5.5) 資金有限——服務的持續性難以保證。

從2011年建立開始，中心就一直以專案的形式申請運作，但是，單一的資金來源也給機構帶來了困惑，一旦基金會不再支持，整個機構很有可能面臨關閉。機構也嘗試去找另外的資金支持，但相關女性性工作者服務的基金會支援系統並不多，同時，國際上對中國防治愛滋病的支援項目也在大幅度減少，種種的挑戰，使為女性性工作者提供服務的NGO的生存越來越困難，項目很難延續下去，而進一步的發展就更是渺茫了。

The Problems and Challenges of Starting Sex Worker-oriented Service Projects in Shenzhen

LIN Binbin

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1) The Present Situation of Sex Workers in Shenzhen

1.1) Types and venues:

- Street Prostitutes
- Salons (hair-washing service)
- Foot massage shops and Massage parlors
- Family-style private clubs
- Hotels
- Large scale Karaoke lounges

1.2) Services:

- Massage (therapeutic massage treatments, massage with breasts, etc.)
- *Da-pao* (vaginal intercourse)
- Blow job
- Hand job
- Chatting
- Kissing
- *Zuo-tai, chu-tai* (Hostess drinking, singing, etc. with costumers at Karaoke lounges and clubs)

1.3) Price:

- The price can be roughly divided by the “class / grade”:
- The average price for service offered by street prostitutes ranges from RMB 40-60, while that of the street prostitutes working in parks goes even lower to RMB 10-20.
- For those working in salons and family-style private clubs, the average charge is RMB 100-150.

1.4) Income division (between the sex workers and the owner / employer):

- Salons: 30% to the boss, 70% to the sex worker
- Street prostitutes need to hand in a standard fee of RMB 150-300 (per day), per week, or RMB 3000 per month, to the boss
- Massage parlor or foot massage shops: For normal massage service, 50% to the boss, 50% to the sex worker

1.5) Features of Sex Workers in Shenzhen:

- High level of population mobility
- Large number of “part-time” or “freelance” sex workers

1.6) Problems faced by Sex Workers in Shenzhen:

- Frequent raiding by law-enforcement bodies
- Violent treatments
- Difficult access to proper medical service

2) The Situation of the Shenzhen Project

The sex-worker-oriented project of the Shenzhen Information Centre was launched in July, 2011, and is still running.

The 3-year project is divided into 2 parts: the first is targeted at the sex workers: to reduce harm caused by various forms of violence, health and medical

support, and consultation service providing information and advices for sex workers aiming to go abroad; the second part of the project is targeted at the general public, including public education programs in communities and high schools, as well as recruitment of interns.

3) What can we do in the face of fierce governmental actions against prostitution?

In China, both the selling and buying of sex are illegal, and government crackdown (“Yan-da”) has become a matter-of-fact occupational hazard for the female sex workers. The recent large scale raiding started in Dongguan, and spread to the rest of the country, affecting, of course, the livelihoods of the sex workers in Shenzhen. In the face of such governmental actions against prostitution, it is difficult for any organization to help the sex workers or to improve the situation, since the daily operation of the organization is also affected.

4) What is the aim of these service projects in the long run? How do we evaluate our work year by year?

Since our work is supported by different foundations by individual project grants, even though there are long-term goals, the actual services we are able to provide is still limited by the span of each grant. In the annual project evaluations, we measure the effectiveness of our work by 3 main criteria: the interaction between the organization and the sex workers, the number of cases we come into contact with, and the involvement and participation of the sex workers in the organization’s activities.

5) What challenges do we face?

5.1) The difficulties in building relationship: mobility of population; visibility; modes of business operation

Sex work is not a high profile business, the difficulties in contacting the sex

workers and establishing a trusting relationship have always been major obstacles in our work. In the unique context of Shenzhen, these challenges are exemplified.

First of all, the working population of female sex workers in Shenzhen is highly mobile. A significant portion of the population of Shenzhen is made up of migrant workers; female sex workers in Shenzhen come from all parts of China (as well as from other countries), people come and go every day. Most of them see Shenzhen as a stepping-stone or a terminal for them to move on. There are 3 major modes of movement, first, moving beyond China, to nearby places such as Hong Kong, Macau, Malaysia, Singapore, etc.; second, moving within China, to other cities; third, intra-city movement, within different districts and regions of the city of Shenzhen. The mobility of the population makes it very difficult for the organization to establish any stable relationship with the sex workers.

Secondly, governmental crackdown on prostitution is fierce (“Yan-da”), resulting in the ever-more low visibility of sex workers. There has been continuous Yan-da efforts targeting female sex workers all over China. Raiding is especially serious during major holidays and festival, governmental meetings and events, and Shenzhen is no exception. During the “Yan-da” period, female sex workers are basically no where to be found. They are too afraid to go to work, so they usually just stay at their rooms and operate their business over the phone with regular clients; or for some business owners, they would close their shops, go out and liaise on behalf of the sex workers before bringing the customers back to the “rooms”. As a result of Yan-da, both the sex workers and the business owners are very careful and choose to lay low, it is very difficult for our outreach staff to really meet the sex workers in person. We understand that our service rely much on patience and chance. But luckily, thanks to some business owners who are on friendly terms with us, our newsletters and gifts can still reach the hands of the sex workers. We are

most grateful for their encouragement and help.

Thirdly, types of business operation are diverse, often very inconspicuous. There is a huge variety of business types within the Shenzhen sex industry, one need to only look at the lower income sector of the trade, which consist of more traditional hookers, salons, clubs, karaoke, to newer ones like the restaurant-lounge model (first floor restaurant, sex workers will keep the customers company for dinner and drinks, and the second floor would be Karaoke lounge), and even newer ones, in the form of “family-style clubs”. For the “family-style clubs”, the business owner would rent a flat, with two to three bedrooms, and average three to five sex workers would be on call. The sex workers would be stationing at the apartment while the owner would solicit downstairs or over the phone, and the customers would choose the sex workers at the apartment. Some of the sex worker working at these clubs are working part-time, usually working as junior clerks or factory workers during daytime, and as sex workers at night, or over weekends. These female sex workers often avoid contact with anyone other than the business owners and the clients, since they wish to keep their part-time jobs a secret. This makes it even harder for our staff to be in contact with them.

5.2) Ambiguous legal status of the organization – regular business registration, difficult to register as NGO or charitable organization

At the moment, *Ban Zhi Lian* is currently registered under regular business registration. As we are, in reality, operating as a non-profitable NGO, we do not have any income, and we dutifully report our financial status for taxation. Yet this could be a problem when the industry and finance departments go through our account, we might face the termination of our business registration, which, if really took place, would put the organization and the staff in a distress, since we would not be able to pay for social security of any form.

Despite the many challenges we face, we have been working towards the goal

of registering as NGO or charitable organization. Yet, in order to register as a NGO, the government regulation requires that the NGO be subordinate under a larger service unit, and should be authorized officially to be operating under its name, which makes it almost impossible for us to get approved. Luckily, in early 2013, we receive the encouraging news about Pingshan New District (Shenzhen) beginning to adopt a more open and proactive policy promoting social service, and they have loosen the regulations for registration, therefore we are working on applying again in that area.

5.3) Limited Resources

Ban Zhi Lian centre currently provides free cervical cancer test for female sex workers. The service is launched with the help of Ziteng (Note: the first NGO in Hong Kong serving sex workers), they provided the tools for the test, and also a volunteer with medical training. The volunteer visits our centre in Shenzhen regularly to conduct the tests for the sex workers. Even though Ziteng has kindly offered us their help, yet they are also suffering from the shortage of resources. In order to provide this service in the long-run, we would need to find a local partner in Shenzhen, yet for the time being, due to our connection limited connection in the medical sector, we are still relying on Zi Teng's assistance.

On the other hand, even though we have established working networks with other sex-worker-oriented NGOs from Hong Kong and Macau, maintaining a constant exchange of information and cases; yet in recent years, as more and more sex workers are traveling to places like Malaysia, Singapore, Russia, and even Germany, there is an urge for us to expand our service, and collaborate with NGOs overseas, but due to the limitation in resources, we are lagging behind in this aspect, not being able to provide more timely and direct aid to Chinese female sex-workers in those places.

5.4) Challenges related to Public Education

Ban Zhi Lian seizes every chance to educate the public in hope of combating stigmatization and discrimination against female sex workers. One way of doing it is through community education program on STDs and sexual health. By reducing the stigmatism related to STDs, it is hope that we could reduce discrimination faced by sex workers when they seek medical care.

Even though we have now established a working relationship with a social service unit, and had organized two community education events (mainly about STDs and the promotion of information related sexual health), we often face challenges when contacting local communities – since we are not officially registered as NGO or charitable organization, our projects are often mistaken as cons or frauds. We face the same challenge when trying to communal service units. It is indeed very difficult for us to launch any service projects in local communities on our own, much assistance from local working partners is needed.

5.5) Limited funding – the sustainability of service is at stake

Ever since our establishment in 2011, the *Ban Zhi Lian* centre has been applying for funding on project basis from a single funding body. Yet, the reliance on a sole funding body also means that the future of the organization is at risk, should the funder decide to withdraw their funding one day. We are constantly reaching out to new funding opportunities, yet funding bodies that are willing to support sex-workers-oriented services are rare, furthermore, in the global scene, the funding opportunities supporting AIDS work in China is shrinking, which threatens the continual survival of the organization, and the prospect of any future development is bleak.