

Anti-pornography crackdowns

SEX WORK AND HIV IN CHINA

China Sex Worker Organisation Network Forum

In China prostitution is illegal and defined as pornographic pollution of the social and cultural environment. Anti-pornography campaigns aim to get rid of erotica, sex-entertainment establishments and sexual services. Every year the Chinese police carry out crackdowns that make mass sweeps of sex workers. These usually happen during holidays, national conferences or events like the World Expo and the Asian Games.

In April 2010 the Beijing Public Security Bureau announced a Prohibition Office on Sex Work, Gambling and Drugs, and in May they initiated a zero-tolerance inspection of four top-rated sex-entertainment businesses. Public-security departments around the country participated in the following Strict Crackdown Special Initiative, moving against gambling, drugs, prostitution and obscene performances.

With support from the United Nations Population Fund, the China Sex Worker Organisation Network Forum (CSWONF) conducted research to understand how sex workers and owners of businesses viewed the impact on HIV prevention in sex workplaces.

Who We Are

CSWONF is a network initiated by sex-worker organisations in 2009 to support the development of members, improve occupational health for sex workers and promote their equal rights. CSWONF consists of 17 organisations including two in Hong Kong and Taiwan. Twelve of these target female sex workers and five target male or transgender sex workers. Our board, which has nine members, two of them sex workers, makes important decisions by vote. The secretariat, located in Shanghai, coordinates our daily work. Every two years a general assembly select new members for the board. Some network organisations have existed for more than ten years. We are located in ten provinces of China.



Our Research

For our research on the crackdowns we used both qualitative and quantitative methods, collecting 299 questionnaires in 12 cities. The respondents were high-end to middle-end female sex workers, streetwalkers, money boys, transgender sex workers, business owners and peer educators. All interviews and questionnaires were carried out by staff from our member organisations. This was the first large-scale research on sex-worker issues conducted by sex-worker organisations in China.

From the 299 questionnaires collected, 105 respondents were male (35%) and 194 were female (65%).

- 32% of female sex workers were more likely to work at a hair salon or foot-massage house, while 22% worked in the street or rental houses
- 70% of money boys worked at a club
- 73% of transgender sex workers worked in the street or at a rental house
- 60% were 20–29 years old, the youngest was 16 years old, the oldest was 61

We also did 69 interviews with business owners and madams as well as sex workers.

The workplaces we asked about include hotels, clubs, nightclubs, bars, bathhouses, hair salons, foot-massage houses, rental houses, wayside houses and the street.

The research showed that the crackdowns led to the closing of many entertainment businesses. After the 2010 campaign, 62 per cent

Members of CSWONF at IAC 2012 in Washington DC. Left to right: Xiao Bao, from Tianjin Jun Yan, a male sex-worker group; Zheng Huang, director of CSWONF and Lanlan, director of Tianjin Xinai, a female sex-worker group, Photo Hou Ye

中国性工作机构网络平台的成员参加2012年华盛顿世界艾滋病大会。从左至右：小宝，来自天津俊颜，一个男性性工作机构；郑煌，中国性工作机构网络平台秘书长；蓝蓝，天津信爱的负责人，天津信爱是一个关注女性性工作者的机构。

of sex workers surveyed reported their workplaces were forced to shut down. Sixty-three per cent of sex workers surveyed said the number of sex workers had decreased, as well as the number of clients. Female sex workers were most affected, 80 per cent saying that the number of clients per week had decreased.

Among 299 respondents, 135 said that they had experienced crackdowns, 133 through fines, detention and/or violence from public-security officers. Thirty-seven per cent of female sex workers reported violence during the crackdowns, 33 per cent of transgender sex workers and 21 per cent of male sex workers. Of the 79 sex workers who reported violence, 43 had experienced body searches, 31 had been beaten and 22 had been coerced.

A sister was doing it with a boss, and the door of the room was kicked open, and the police caught them in the act. The bosses were brought out, and three cops came in. They threatened us at first... then they made us do a strip dance together, saying that whoever danced best could go. We sisters danced so hard, not wanting to become entangled with them. At last, they decided I was good, and one of them who seemed to be in charge told me to give him a blowjob. Another one wanted anal sex... What could we do?

(Clubhouse sex worker, Gejiu)

They caught about 20 to 30 people this year. Usually people are fined 5000 yuan and detained for 15 days. At least 7 to 10 people were re-educated through labour. They beat us very hard after our arrest. A sister wasn't caught in the act by police but was afraid of re-education through labour and refused to admit to prostitution, so was beaten black and blue on a tiger bench... and fined 2000 yuan. Another sister also wouldn't admit to wrongdoing, so they rolled her limbs with an electric stick and sent her to re-education camp.

(Street worker, Jiaozhou)

The research revealed that the main strategies sex workers used to avoid trouble from the campaign were to work in more hidden locations, change work places more frequently, avoid working in the street and not carry or use condoms. These activities produced high-risk situations for HIV.

In terms of providing health services, community organisations and peer educators are shown to be more effective than government facilities.

The government people never come here. People from the Health Centre (a community-based organisation) come once a month, give us condoms, brochures and magazines. Several peer educators who are also female sex workers come with them and teach our sisters how to use condoms... The centre also provides sex workers with gynecological examinations at a low price.

(Sex worker)

These community services play an important role in HIV prevention, because both owners of sex workplaces and sex workers trust them. But peer educators from community groups said the crackdowns destroyed efforts they had made to reach sex workers.

The police are unreasonable... Even if you don't have a condom, they find other excuses. You had better give us a name card, saying that we are volunteers, then we wouldn't be afraid when the police come. After the crackdown, some new kids left very quickly - who knows whether they have diseases?

(Money boy, Beijing)

Because condoms can be used as evidence of prostitution, workplace owners told sex workers not to bring them to work or use them.

Only those establishments with guanxi [personal connections, relationships] can continue their business. Actually, the relationships are bought with money. The information they receive are tips such as not to open the door or not to put condoms in the establishment.

(Owner of a karaoke bar, Gejiu)

Health Impact of Crackdowns

We believe there should be increased coordination between the government health services and Public Security. We would like to see increased advocacy and training at the government level, on issues such as using condoms as evidence of prostitution, anti-pornography campaigns and freedom of information. Sex workers as leaders of HIV prevention should participate in these activities.

I think the strict crackdown just lets sex workers 'disappear' on the surface, but actually many turn to underground work. The strict crackdown's influence on HIV/AIDS prevention is especially severe.

(Zheng Huang, director of CSWONF, Shanghai)

About the authors

CSWONF is at <http://cswonf.org/>

Contact: sexworker.china@gmail.com



拒绝暴力！拒绝严打！
Chinese Sex Workers say no to Violence & Crackdown!

In 2014, 2026 sex workers' grievances and their lawsuits about crackdowns against pornography and sex workers under a "strike hard campaign". The China Sex Workers Organization Network (CSWONF) conducted a survey among 273 sex workers (89% men, 12% women) about the impact of the crackdowns on HIV prevention. We found that 135 sex workers had been injured or harassed by the police. 61% were denied freedom, 34% were denied proper housing, and 41% were denied a normal life. In the end, the police had completely broken down the police's confidence and protection of sex workers as a matter of legal sex work. Many sex workers said in work meetings that they were calling to keep access to HIV prevention and to provide sex workers with a safe sex work. Sex workers also called for better regulation of sex workers. Police crackdowns on sex workers related to anti-pornography campaign threatened challenges to securing the health and safety of sex workers.

中国性工作者机构网络平台
China Sex Worker Organization Network
www.cswcn.org

扫黄

对中国性工作 与艾滋病防治 的影响

中国性工作者机构网络平台

在中国，卖淫是违法的，被认为是污染社会和文化环境的污秽色情的文化垃圾。扫黄是指清理黄色书刊、黄色音像制品及歌舞厅娱乐场所和色情服务。每年中国都会开展针对性工作者的扫黄行动。这些行动通常在节假日期间、重要会议或者活动之前举行，如世博会和亚运会。

2010年4月，北京公安局成立了“查禁黄赌毒办公室”，并且在5月对一些高档娱乐场所以“零容忍”的态势开展集中专项检查行动。在全国公安机关“2010严打整治行动”和“治安系统整治行动”的部署下，各地开始了打击卖淫嫖娼、淫秽表演等犯罪活动为重点的打击黄赌毒黑专项行动。

在联合国人口基金的支持下，中国性工作者机构网络平台开展了相关研究，以了解性工作者和业主如何看待扫黄对性工作和艾滋病预防的影响。

关于中国性工作机构网络平台

中国性工作者机构网络平台，成立于2009年，是由性工作者组织发起成立的，致力于性工作者的职业健康和平等权利。目前，平台共有17个机构成员，其中包括台湾和香港各1家。这些机构成员中，有服务于女性性工作者的机构12家，有服务于男性或易装性工作者的机构5家。平台的理事会包括9名成员，其中包括女性性工作者2名。理事会的重要决定由成员投票进行。平台秘书处设在上海，负责协调平台的日常工作。每两年平台会召开成员大会，选举新的理事会成员。我们的成员机构分布在全国的十个省份与直辖市，有些机构已经成立超过十年。

关于本研究

本次研究采用定性和定量两种方法开展信息和数据的收集，收集了299份问卷，历时两个半月，覆盖12个城市。受访者为中低档的女性性工作者、站街、MB、跨性别性工作者、业主和同伴教育员。调查中所有的访谈和问卷调查都由平台组织的工作人员承担。这是第一次由性工作者机构开展的大规模调查。

在回收的299份问卷中，男性受访者有105名（35%），女性受访者有194人（65%）。

- 32%的受访女性工作者在发廊或按摩房工作
- 70%的受访MB在俱乐部工作
- 73%的受访跨性别工作者在街边或出租屋工作
- 60%的受访性工作者年龄在20-29岁之间，其中年龄最小的16岁，年龄最大的61岁

我们采访了60名业主、妈咪和性工作者。我们采访涉及到的场所包括酒店、夜总会、酒吧、浴池、发廊、洗脚屋、路边店和站街。

研究发现，扫黄导致了很多场所被迫关闭。2010年扫黄后，62%的性工作者认为周边的场所被迫关闭。63%的性工作者认为从事性服务的人数减少了，客人也同样减少了。影响最大的是女性工作者，有80%认为每周接客数量减少了。

在299名调查者中，有135曾经历过扫黄，133人经历过罚款、拘留和/或警方的暴力。37%的女性工作者在扫黄中遭受过警方的暴力，跨性别工作者和男性工作者的比例分别为33%和21%。其中79人受到警察的盘问，43人遭遇过搜身，31人受到过殴打，22人受到过敲诈勒索。

“有一个姐妹正在和客人做，包厢的门被踢开了，警察正好抓到现行。客人被带出了包厢，进来三个警察，开始是恐吓我们……后来就让我们一起跳脱衣舞，说谁跳得好就放了谁。姐妹们卖力地跳，都不想被他们纠缠。最后他们看我比较可以，他们之间有个看起来像头人说要我给他口交。有一个要肛交……我们有什么办法？”（会所小姐，个旧）

“今年抓了大约有20-30个余人，一般罚款5千，拘留15天。被劳教的有7-10人。抓了被打得很厉害，有的姐姐因妹抓现行，怕劳教，坚持不承认，被打的浑身青紫，上老虎凳……还罚了2千。一个姐姐不招，用电棒滚你的四肢，又被送去劳教。”（站街小姐，胶州）

研究发现，性工作者应对扫黄的主要策略就是“避”，转入更为隐蔽的场所，更频繁地改变工作地点，屈就环境和顾客而不携带或不使用安全套。这样却带来了更大的艾滋病感染风险。

而在提供健康服务方面，社区组织和同伴教育员则比政府更为有效。

“疾控或政府部门没有来过我们这里。健康中心（一个社区组织）每月都来店一次，给小妹发放安全套、宣传书和爱心专刊。中心的人也有带几个也是做小姐的来教给小妹们学习安全套的使用……健康中心也给我们查体和治疗，价格也很便宜。”（性工作者）

这些社区组织在艾滋病防治中扮演着重要的角色，因为场所的老板和性工作者都信任他们。但是，同伴教育员表示，



Lanlan, director of Tianjin Xinai, a female sex-worker group, says I hope all sex workers are healthy, confident, self-loving and happy! Photo Chen Yanjie

蓝蓝是天津信爱的负责人，这是一个关注女性工作者的机构。她说，希望所有性工作者能够健康、自信、自爱、快乐！

扫黄让很多已经形成的防艾小社区遭到了破坏，更难找到干预对象了。

“警察不讲理……你就是没有安全套他也有别的东西可说。你们最好给我一个名片，说我们是志愿者，这样警察来的时候我们也不怕啊。扫黄之后，有些新孩子走的特别快，谁知道有没有病啊？”（MB，北京）

因为安全套会被当作卖淫嫖娼的证据，所以场所老板会告诉性工作者不要携带安全套，或者不要使用安全套。

“只有那些有关系的才能继续运营。其实所谓的有关系还是要用钱去打点。她们得到得信息是不要开门或不要在店里摆安全套。”（卡拉OK老板娘，个旧）

扫黄对公共卫生的影响

卫生部门应加大其与公安部分的协调力度。我们希望加大对政府层面的倡导和培训，包括如“禁止以安全套作为证据”“减少扫黄”，“阳光执法”等。性工作者作为艾滋病预防的领导者也应当参与其中。

“我认为严打只是在表面上让性工作者“消失”，其实不然，许多性工作者转到地下工作。严打对于艾滋病性病预防的影响是特别大的。”（郑煌，平台主任，上海）

关于作者

平台网址：<http://cswonf.org/>
联系：sexworker.china@gmail.com