

CHINESE SEX WORKERS IN TORONTO & VANCOUVER



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INTRODUCTION

WHY DID WE WANT TO HEAR FROM CHINESE SEX WORKERS IN TORONTO AND VANCOUVER, CANADA?

Zi Teng, Hong Kong:

“We know that there are more women leaving China and Hong Kong and working as sex workers in other countries. We wanted to better understand their concerns and priorities, so that we might learn how we could better support those who work overseas and those that may want to.”

Supporting Women’s Alternatives Network (SWAN), Vancouver, Canada:

“Zi Teng approached us about participating in this project. The project sounded like a great way to help Chinese workers in Hong Kong make informed decisions about working in Canada. We also liked the idea of strengthening transnational links between workers and sex worker support organizations in different countries, and that Chinese workers in Canada would be able to share information with sex workers in Hong Kong.”

Agincourt Community Services Association (ACSA), Massage Parlour/Micro-Brothel Outreach Project, Toronto, Canada:

“We learned about this project from one of our email conversations with Zi Teng. We found the idea of this project was unique and one of a kind as it involves the two most Asian concentrated cities in Canada – Toronto, Ontario and Vancouver, British Columbia. We would like to have a better understanding of the needs and concerns regarding migrant sex workers working in both cities, e.g. are there any similarities and differences? We would like to hear their voice in areas such as healthcare, law enforcement, working conditions, etc. We hope the gaps (e.g. service deliveries) identified in this project can help us better shape our future services, help workers who want to come to work in Canada to plan ahead, and encourage information exchange and consultation with service providers across Canada and overseas.”

WHO DID WE ASK?

In total, 60 women participated as respondents. Fifty-eight (58) women filled out our survey and four (4) women spoke to us in more detail in structured interviews. Of the four women who participated in the structured interview, two were from Vancouver and two were from Toronto. The two women who were interviewed in Vancouver had also filled in the survey. Fifty-two (or 87%) of respondents were working in Toronto and eight (or 13%) were working in Vancouver.

To be eligible to participate, respondents had to work in the sex work sector and self-identify as Chinese women (this includes trans women), but did *not* necessarily have to be a migrant to participate.

WHERE DID WE ASK?

We surveyed and interviewed women sex workers in Toronto and Vancouver. According to 2013 statistics, Toronto is the largest city in Canada with a population of almost 6 million people and Vancouver is the third largest city in Canada with a population of almost 2.5 million people.¹

Both cities are very diverse and very Asian. In 2014, Vancouver was reported to be the most 'Asian' city outside Asia with 43% of the population having an Asian background.² Toronto was reported to be the second most 'Asian' city outside Asia, with 35% of the population having an Asian background.

In this report, 'Vancouver' is used to refer to a number of cities and municipalities within the Greater Vancouver Area or what is referred to locally as the Lower Mainland. Similarly, 'Toronto' is used to refer to the Greater Toronto Area which includes the City of Toronto as well as neighbouring cities and municipalities.

HOW DID WE COLLECT THIS INFORMATION?

Zi Teng drafted and translated all research materials, including the consent form, survey questionnaire and interview guidelines. A Zi Teng volunteer did an initial quantitative analysis. A SWAN staff member translated the qualitative data. A SWAN board member cross-checked the quantitative analysis, expanded analysis of the quantitative and qualitative data, and drafted this report.

We reached out to potential respondents in both cities from February to September 2013. Jennifer Leung from ACSA and a team of peer workers³ interviewed women in Toronto. Helena Lee from SWAN interviewed women in Vancouver.

Surveys were conducted in Cantonese and Mandarin, and structured interviews were conducted in Cantonese. Topics for survey and interview questions were priorities identified by sex workers in Hong Kong. Sex workers in Hong Kong were most interested in the day-to-day realities and concerns of sex workers in Canada.

We asked women about six main issues:

- Experiences in migrating or travelling to Canada for work
- Working conditions in Canada
- Condom use and sexual healthcare
- Punishment, abuse, violence and exploitation by law enforcement and customers
- Legal rights in Canada

¹ Statistics Canada, Annual population estimates by census metropolitan area, July 1, 2013: <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/daily-quotidien/140226/t140226b001-eng.htm>

² Todd, D. (2014, March 28). Vancouver is the most 'Asian' city outside Asia. What are the ramifications? *The Vancouver Sun*. Retrieved from <http://blogs.vancouversun.com/2014/03/28/vancouver-is-most-asian-city-outside-asia-what-are-the-ramifications/>

³ Names withheld as requested by peer workers.

- Opinions about working in Canada and their advice for those who may be considering working in Canada

An honoraria of 10 Canadian dollars (\$10 CDN) was provided to survey respondents and 50 Canadian dollars (\$50 CDN) was provided to interview respondents.

In Vancouver,

three volunteer SWAN outreach workers conducted interviews and surveys. Respondents were women who work in massage shops⁴ in the Lower Mainland that SWAN outreaches to on a monthly basis. Respondents may or may not have been previously known to the outreach workers. A Chinese-speaking volunteer and former Board Member conducted semi-structured interviews at women's workplaces.

In Toronto,

the project manager and peer workers called women working in massage shops, spas and brothels that ACSA's Massage Parlour Outreach Project had established good connections with. Women were told about the survey and asked if they were interested in participating. Appointments were scheduled with interested respondents. Before conducting the survey, interviewers discussed the purpose of the project, provisions for confidentiality, and honoraria (see Appendix A and B for the project flyer). Interested women were given the option of completing the survey, participating in a qualitative interview, or both.

Survey questions were read to respondents and answers were filled in by the project manager and peer workers as the majority of participants did not want to record their handwriting on the forms, were unable to read, or wanted to save time by having questions read to them.

HOW DID WE PROTECT WOMEN'S CONFIDENTIALITY?

We obtained informed consent from all research participants. The consent form drafted by Zi Teng (see Appendix C & D) outlined the project's purposes. Women could sign consent forms with a pseudonym and use a pseudonym when interacting with interviewers. Demographic information was collected (e.g. age, income) but no personal contact information was collected. Access to surveys and interview notes was limited to Zi Teng and interviewers from SWAN and ACSA. In Vancouver, all completed surveys and interview notes were stored in a locked cabinet kept by SWAN's Executive Director. In Toronto, the project manager added that she and her team of peer workers had already established trust with a large number of Chinese sex workers which helped women feel comfortable about participating: "Our girls know us well. They trust that we will keep everything confidential."

⁴ 'Massage parlour' is the term commonly used in the media but this term is not commonly used among many of the women SWAN works with. A more commonly used term is 'massage shop' and is used in this report.

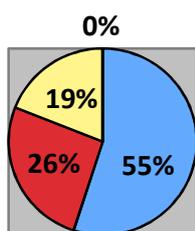


DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

In this section, we asked respondents about their age and a little about their lives before they moved to Canada, specifically their home province, their previous occupation and their annual household income.

AGE

More than half of all respondents are 40 or older. On the survey, there was overlap between the '31-40' and '40 or above'. This was not corrected before data collection and so the table below reflects the categories women themselves selected.



■ 40 or above

	n	% (rounded)
20 or below	0	0
21-30	11	19
31-40	15	26
40 or above	32	55
Total	58	100

HOME PROVINCE

The four options listed in the table below were chosen by Zi Teng, as most of the sex workers Zi Teng works with come from these three provinces or Hong Kong.

Almost half of the women interviewed are from Hong Kong and almost a quarter are from Heibei province. Other provinces or cities identified under 'other' were: Guangzhou (3 women), Guangdong (2), Anhui (1), Fujian (1), Shanghai (1), Shenyang (1), Shijiazhuang (1), and Yunnan (1).



	n	% (rounded)
Hubei/Hunan	6	10
Sichuan Province	5	9
Heibei	6	10
Hong Kong	14	24
Other	27	47
Total	58	100

OCCUPATION IN HOME PROVINCE

Six women identified four other occupations under 'Other'. Three women identified their previous occupation as teacher. Other occupations specified by the three remaining women were student, clerk, and accountant.

	n	% (rounded)
Peasant	5	9
Worker (unspecified)	10	17
Housewife	11	19
Small Business	12	21
Other	18	31
No answer	2	3
Total	58	100

MONTHLY HOUSEHOLD INCOME IN HOME PROVINCE

This question asked women to estimate their monthly income in their home province in Chinese Yuan Renmimbi (RMB) or Hong Kong dollars (HKD) within the options provided below. The table represents the survey data collected but more information is needed before conclusions can be drawn. It was not clarified on surveys whether the option selected referred to RMB or HKD. This was inferred by women's responses to an earlier question about their home province; for example, we assume that a woman would be reporting her annual household income in RMB if she had indicated earlier that her home province was in China.

RMB or HKD	Provinces in China		Hong Kong		Total	
	n	% (rounded)	n	% (rounded)	n	% (rounded)
500 or below	4	7	0	0	4	7
510-1500	7	12	3	5	10	17
1501-2500	11	19	5	9	16	28
2501-3000	8	14	1	2	9	15
3001 or above	10	17	4	7	14	24
No answer	4	7	1	2	5	9
Total					58	100

Currency exchange rate (approximate): \$1CDN is about 5.6 Chinese Yuan Renminbi or 7.1 Hong Kong dollars



MOVING TO CANADA

In this section, we asked women about their reasons for travelling, how they travelled to Canada and their expectations about earnings in Canada. Women were not asked if their reasons for travelling included sex work *at the time of their travel*. Or in other words, it is unclear whether women moved to Canada specifically to work as sex workers or if women moved to Canada with other plans in mind before entering the sex work sector.

Forty-eight (83%) women reported that moving to Canada was the first time they had left their home province to work. Eight (14%) had worked elsewhere prior to moving to Canada; other specified locations included the UK (for three women), the US, Singapore, Hong Kong and Dubai (all reported by one woman each). Two interviewees (3%) did not specify whether moving to Canada was the first time they had left their home province for work.

REASONS FOR LEAVING ONE’S HOME PROVINCE FOR WORK

Survey respondents were given the option to specify a number of reasons for leaving their home province for work. Forty-seven women gave one reason for leaving their home province, and 10 women gave two reasons.

Reasons for moving to Canada were mainly due to issues in one’s home province. Seventy-one per cent of interviewees stated their motivation to move to Canada was related to low income levels (rather than unemployment) in one’s home province and family problems. Five women added other reasons for emigrating, which were mostly related to the desire to travel or experience life in another country: “to study abroad”, “life is good in Canada”, “want to live abroad”, “for my children”, and “want to go abroad”.

	Toronto		Vancouver		Total	
	n	% (rounded)	n	% (rounded)	n	% (rounded)
Unemployment	1	2	0	0	1	2
Low-income in home province	21	36	1	2	22	38
Family problems	19	33	0	0	19	33
Immigration	5	9	6	10	11	19
Other reasons	13	22	1	2	14	24
Unclear	0	0	1	2	1	2

REASONS FOR CHOOSING TO MOVE TO CANADA

Survey respondents were given the option to specify a number of reasons. Fifty-four women gave one reason and four women gave more than one reason.

The most popular reason for choosing Canada was the presence of social networks. Logistical reasons, such as travel costs or visa application processes, were not key factors in women’s choosing to move to Canada. Seven women (six from Toronto, one from Vancouver) provided additional information under ‘Other reasons’ which were related to work (“The women with whom I worked in the UK brought me here”, “I heard that it is easy to make money in Canada”, and “Easy to immigrate as a skilled laborer”), family (“My daughter went to study in Canada”,

and “Sponsored by my husband”), and personal motivations (“No longer want to stay in the US”).

	Toronto		Vancouver		Total	
	n	% (rounded)	n	% (rounded)	n	% (rounded)
Introduced by friends	33	57	5	9	38	66
Had been to Canada before	1	2	0	0	1	2
Relatively cheap travel expenses	2	3	0	0	2	3
Relatively simpler visa application processes	5	9	1	2	6	10
Other reasons	13	22	2	3	15	26

TYPE OF VISA IN CANADA

The table below shows how women categorized their visa according to the options provided in the survey. It should be noted that not all of these labels reflect the specific names of Canadian visa categories. As a result, there may be some ambiguity in the specific visas women held.⁵

For instance, Hong Kong passport holders do not need a visa to visit or transit in Canada.⁶ Persons with a passport from the People’s Republic of China are required to have a visa to visit or transit in Canada.⁷ Visitor visa categories include: tourist, transit, parent or grandparent (of a Canadian citizen or permanent resident), and business.

In addition, ‘new immigrant’ is not a visa category but is more often used to describe permanent residents or new Canadian citizens.⁸ Permanent residents in Canada hold more rights than temporary migrants but are required to fulfil more administrative requirements than citizens.⁹ Permanent residents have the right to work and study anywhere in Canada.

Under the ‘Other’ category, three women indicated ‘smuggling/illegal entry’ as their route into Canada and one woman indicated that she had gained entry to Canada through marriage.

⁵ For more information about the types of visas in and for Canada, as well as corresponding requirements, please see: <http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/>

⁶ For more information, see Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC):

<http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/visit/visas.asp?country=Hong%20Kong%20Special%20Administrative%20Region>

⁷ Persons with a passport from the People’s Republic of China may not need a visa to transit in Canada if they are eligible under the *China Transit Program*. See Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) for more information:

<http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/visit/visas.asp?country=China,%20People%E2%80%99s%20Republic%20of>

⁸ For more information, see Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC):

http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/residents/new_immigrants.asp

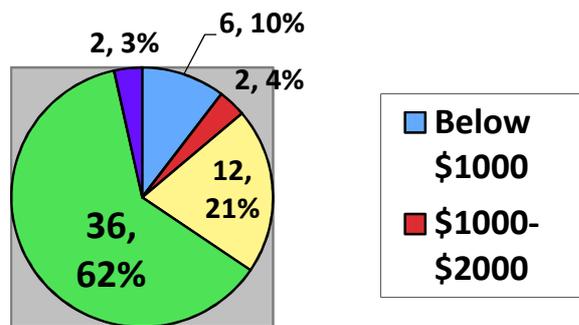
⁹ For example, Canadian permanent residents “have the right to: get most social benefits that Canadian citizens receive, including health care coverage; live, work or study anywhere in Canada; apply for Canadian citizenship; protection under Canadian law and the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*.” Canadian permanent residents are “not allowed to vote or run for political office, [or] hold some jobs that need a high-level security clearance”:

<http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/newcomers/about-pr.asp>

	Toronto		Vancouver		Total	
	n	% (rounded)	n	% (rounded)	n	% (rounded)
Relatives visit*	6	10	1	2	7	12.1
New immigrant	5	9	5	9	10	17.2
Travel (tourist)	15	26	2	3	17	29.3
Business	15	26	0	0	15	25.9
Study	2	3	0	0	2	3.4
Other	7	12	0	0	7	12.1
Total	50		8		58	100

TOTAL COST FOR THE TRIP TO CANADA (CDN\$)

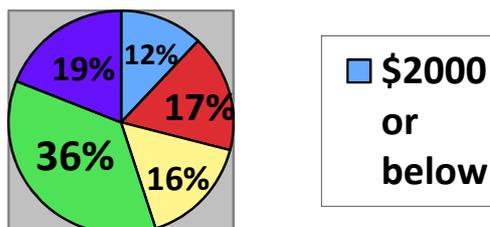
Women were asked to estimate how much money they spent to move to Canada, including travel documents and any travel-related expenses. More than half (62%) of all interviewees paid more than \$3000 CDN to travel to Canada.



	Toronto		Vancouver		Total	
	n	% (rounded)	n	% (rounded)	n	% (rounded)
Below \$1000	5	9	1	2	6	10
\$1000-\$2000	1	2	1	2	2	3.5
\$2000-\$3000	11	19	1	2	12	21
\$3001 or above	32	55	4	7	36	62
No response	1	2	1	2	2	3.5
Total	50		8		58	100

EXPECTED MONTHLY INCOME IN CANADA (IN CDN\$)

Thirty-two women (55%) expected to earn more than \$4000 CDN a month. An expected monthly income of \$4001-\$5000 was the most common response, reported by 36% of respondents.



	Toronto		Vancouver		Total	
	n	% (rounded)	n	% (rounded)	n	% (rounded)
\$2000 or below	6	10	1	2	7	12
\$2001-\$3000	10	17	0	0	10	17
\$3001-\$4000	7	12	2	3	9	16
\$4001-\$5000	17	29	4	7	21	36
\$5001 or above	10	17	1	2	11	19
Total	50		8		58	100



WORKING CONDITIONS IN CANADA

In this section, we asked women about their work environment, work schedule, earnings, and work-related costs.

TYPE OF WORKPLACE

Six women reported working in two types of workplaces; 52 women reported working in one type of establishment. None of the women who indicated 'Other' specified the type of establishment they were working in. Totals are not provided below as some women worked in more than one type of establishment.

	Toronto		Vancouver		Total	
	n	% (rounded)	n	% (rounded)	n	% (rounded)
Massage parlour or 'massage shop' ¹⁰	29	50	7	12	36	62
Brothel	22	38	0	0	22	38
Street	0	0	0	0	0	0
Other	5	9	1	2	6	10

The absence of street-based work among Chinese sex workers reflects SWAN's and ACSA's observations of the sex work sector in Vancouver and Toronto. In both Canadian cities, Asian women are much more likely to work indoors and it is extremely rare for SWAN to meet Asian women working on the street. Anecdotally, ACSA's Massage Parlour Outreach Project Manager states that many Chinese women prefer working indoors for a number of reasons, including concerns about their administrative or residency status in Canada, language barriers, and concerns about exposing their identity.

All of the women working in brothels were based in Toronto. This may reflect differences in City regulation. In the Greater Vancouver area, brothels are not legally permitted to operate under city or municipal bylaw. In other words, there is no way for businesses to apply for a license as a brothel. Businesses that provide 'erotic services' must obtain a license from the City government to operate. For instance, businesses in the City of Vancouver will typically obtain a Body Rub Parlour license or a Health Enhancement Centre license. Business licenses in cities and municipalities surrounding Vancouver may have similar categories. In Toronto, women working in spa or massage shops are required to obtain a holistic license issued by the City of Toronto.

In the Canadian context, 'brothel' is a descriptive term rather than a legal term. This is due to federal criminal law that prohibits owning or occupying a 'bawdy'-house' or a place that is regularly used for sex work.¹¹ The use of term can vary. For example, some women may

¹⁰ This term is often used in the media and among sex worker support organizations. However, many (if not most) women in Vancouver who work in these establishments are much more likely to refer to their workplace as a 'massage shop' or 'spa', rather than 'massage parlour'.

¹¹ Prior to 20 December 2013 (at the time of data collection), the Canadian Criminal Code contained four laws that criminalized aspects of consensual adult sex work: (1) owning or occupying a 'bawdy house' or a place that is regularly used for sex work, (2) living on the avails of prostitution, such as earnings, (3) talking in a public place to arrange a commercial sex transaction, and (4) procurement or assisting anyone to work in sex work, including security staff, receptionists, etc. For more information, see <http://lawslois.justice.gc.ca/eng/acts/C-46/>. On 20 December 2013, the Supreme Court of Canada struck down three criminal laws on the grounds that these laws violated sex workers' rights under the Canadian *Charter of Rights*

describe a massage parlour or a massage shop as a brothel if 'full service' or sexual intercourse is provided. Other women may use the term to describe sex workers who work together in a residential property, such as an apartment, condo or house. In the table above, 22 women in Toronto reported working in a brothel, but it is unclear whether this refers to a 'massage shop' that provides 'full service' or a residential property used by a number of workers for business.

WORK HOURS PER DAY (OR LENGTH OF ONE SHIFT)

The following table only indicates how many hours women worked in a day *on the days they worked*. Women were not asked how many hours they worked in a week, nor were they asked if they worked part-time or full-time.

There was some overlap in the options provided on the survey. The category '10-12 hours' includes women who reported working 10, 11, or 10-12 hours on the days they worked. The category '12-14 hours' includes women who reported working 12-14 or 14 hours on the days they worked.

Shift hours ranged from four to 24 hours a day. On average, women worked 11.5 hours per day (or shift), among the 46 women who answered this question. Sixty-four per cent of women worked between 10 and 14 hours a day on the days they worked. Considering that the majority of women identified working in a brothel or 'massage shop' (see 'Type of Workplace' above), 10-14 hours may comprise an expected shift; for example, workers may be expected to be on premises from the time the workplace opens until it closes. Nineteen of the 34 women who reported working '10-12 hours' worked in a massage shop, compared to eleven brothel workers who reported working '10-12 hours' (the remainder of women specified a number of workplaces or other types of workplaces).

All of the six workers in Toronto who reported working 'more than 14 hours' stated that their workdays lasted 20 or 24 hours. All of these six women stated that they were working in a brothel. This may indicate workers who are free to come and go, but are expected to be 'on call' at all times. Based on clarification provided by ACSA, a 24 hour shift indicates that a worker is working and residing in the same location, i.e. saving rent expenses by staying (and sleeping) at work. In these instances, women are free to move in and out of the apartment, but may choose to reside in the workplace to reduce living expenses and increase earning opportunities (by being more available), particularly if they are planning on staying in Canada for a limited time.

and Freedoms. These laws included 'keeping or being found in a bawdy house' (s. 210), 'living on the avails of prostitution' (s.212(1)(j)), and 'communicating in public for the purposes of prostitution' (s.213(1)(c)). On 6 December 2014, the Canadian federal government passed Bill C-36 or the *Protection of Communities and Exploited Persons Act*. This bill re-criminalizes the previous laws struck down by the Supreme Court (in new form) and introduces the criminalization of clients. The full text of the law is provided here: http://www.parl.gc.ca/content/hoc/Bills/412/Government/C-36/C-36_4/C-36_4.PDF. More information on the law's implications for the safety of sex workers can be found here: https://d3n8a8pro7vhm.cloudfront.net/pivotlegal/pages/660/attachments/original/1404320254/C36_Info_Sheet.pdf?1404320254

	Toronto		Vancouver		Total	
	n	% (rounded)	n	% (rounded)	n	% (rounded)
Less than 10 hours	2	3	1	2	3	5
10-12 hours	32	55	2	3	34	59
12-14 hours	3	5	0	0	3	5
More than 14 hours	6	10	0	0	6	10
No response	7	12	5	9	12	21
Total	50		8		58	100

AVERAGE NUMBER OF CLIENTS PER DAY (OR SHIFT)

The table below only indicates how many clients or customers women had per day on the days they worked. As with the previous section, women were not asked how many clients they saw per week, nor were they asked if they worked part-time or full-time. Workers were not asked what services they provided.

While most Vancouver workers saw three or fewer clients per day (or shift), workers who saw four to six clients per day (or shift) comprised the largest group in Toronto.

	Toronto		Vancouver		Total	
	n	% (rounded)	n	% (rounded)	n	% (rounded)
3 or below	8	14	6	10	14	24
4-6	24	41	1	2	25	43
7-9	14	24	1	2	15	26
10 or above	5	9	0	0	5	9
Total	51*		8		59*	102*

*One respondent circled both '7-9' and '10 or above' for this question.

SERVICE CHARGES AND GRATUITIES (CDN\$)

Women were asked how much they charged for their services or the 'tips' they received from clients. Women were not asked about the specific services they provide, so it is unclear what services the below charges include. For example, some 'massage shops' may not provide 'full service' or sexual intercourse. Some women may offer a limited number of services at a limited number of rates, while others may vary their services and rates for different clients. The survey question did not specify whether women should indicate their *average* service charge or their *most recent* service charge, so women may have answered this question based on a range of factors.

More than half of all respondents stated that service charges or gratuities were \$100 or below. Only 6% of respondents stated charges and gratuities over \$200. It is unclear how these rates compare to similar services offered by non-Asian workers, and what services are provided at these rates, but the payment of Asian workers remain an important area of concern. More

research or engagement with sex workers in this area may reveal valuable insights into how charges are determined and/or negotiated.

	Toronto		Vancouver		Total	
	n	% (rounded)	n	% (rounded)	n	% (rounded)
\$100 or below	29	50	4	7	33	57
\$101-\$150	18	31	4	7	22	38
\$151-\$200	2	3	0	0	2	3
\$201 or above	2	3	0	0	2	3
Total	51*		8		59*	101*

*One respondent circled '\$100 or below' and '\$101-\$150'.

AVERAGE DAILY INCOME (CDN\$)

As with previous categories, it is important to note that this question refers to daily income only. Women were not asked if they worked full-time or part-time.

Women who reported a daily income of over \$250 comprised the largest group. However, the second largest group comprised women who reported an average daily income of \$101-\$150. This group warrants closer examination as the data regarding average number of clients per day (or shift) and service charges and gratuities suggest that more women would report a higher average daily income. This suggests that the negotiation of rates for Asian workers is an important area of concern. More research or engagement with sex workers in this area may reveal valuable insights into how charges are determined and/or negotiated.

	Toronto		Vancouver		Total	
	n	% (rounded)	n	% (rounded)	n	% (rounded)
\$100 or below	4	7	0	0	4	7
\$101-\$150	12	21	3	5	15	26
\$151-\$200	7	12	2	3	9	15
\$201-\$250	6	10	2	3	8	14
\$251 or above	20	34	1	2	21	36
No response	1	2	0	0	1	2
Total	50		8		58	100

AVERAGE DAILY WORKING COSTS (CDN\$)

Respondents were asked to include expenses such as rent and sexual health supplies in their estimate. Almost three-quarters of respondents have daily working costs of \$100 or less and just over a quarter of respondents reported daily working costs of over \$100. Further research would be needed to determine the reasons for this disparity and to identify the specific costs workers are expected to pay for at work, particularly at the higher working cost levels.

	Toronto		Vancouver		Total	
	n	% (rounded)	n	% (rounded)	n	% (rounded)
\$100 or below	35	60	8	14	43	74
\$101-\$200	8	14	0	0	8	14
\$201-\$300	3	5	0	0	3	5
\$301 or above	3	5	0	0	3	5
No response	1	2	0	0	1	2
Total	50		8		58	100

PAY ARRANGEMENT

Fifty-one women selected one option below, six women selected more than one option, and one response was unclear. Just over half of all participants reported a 'profit-sharing' pay arrangement, in which a portion of the client's payment from each session goes to the boss or manager. These arrangements may differ across businesses. For example, a client in a massage shop may pay a 'room fee' or a separate sum to the manager for access to the facilities and a separate sum to the worker for sexual or 'extra' services. A worker may then receive both payment from the client plus a portion of the 'room fee' collected by the manager. This is one example of a 'profit-sharing' arrangement; other businesses may have other methods of dividing payment from clients.

	Toronto		Vancouver		Total	
	n	% (rounded)	n	% (rounded)	n	% (rounded)
Profit sharing	30	52	0	0	30	52
Self-employed	2	3	2	3	4	7
Tips only	1	2	4	7	5	9
Salary	0	0	0	0	0	0
Salary and tips	22	38	0	0	22	38
Others	1	2	1	2	2	3
Unclear	0	0	1	2	1	2



CONDOM USE AND SEXUAL HEALTHCARE

Although sex work involves a range of occupational safety and health issues, workers were only asked about negotiating condom use with customers and maintaining their sexual health for this project. Workers' responses below confirm the social dimensions of sexual health.

DO YOU INSIST ON CONDOM USE WITH CUSTOMERS?

Sixty-seven percent of all respondents reported insisting on condom use with customers, including all respondents in Vancouver and just over half of respondents in Toronto. It is reassuring to see that the majority of workers are ensuring customers use condoms, although the data also suggests there is an opportunity for further discussions with sex workers on sexual health.

Just over one-fifth of respondents reported they insisted on condom use 'sometimes' with customers, and two workers stated that they did not insist on condom use. This presents an area for further community and/or research engagement to determine the barriers to condom use and to understand how workers assess when condom use is or is not required.

	Toronto		Vancouver		Total	
	n	% (rounded)	n	% (rounded)	n	% (rounded)
Yes	31	53	8	14	39	67
No	2	3	0	0	2	3
Sometimes	12	21	0	0	12	21
No response	6	10	0	0	6	10
Total	51*		8		59*	100*

* One respondent replied both 'yes' and 'sometimes'.

IF YOU DO NOT/SOMETIMES INSIST ON CONDOM USE WITH CUSTOMERS, WHY NOT?

Respondents were given the option of selecting more than one reason listed in the table. Twenty women responded to this question. All fourteen women who responded 'no' or 'sometimes' to the above question provided reasons why they did not insist on condom use with customers. Interestingly, six women who reported that they did insist on condom use, also responded to this question. Totals are not provided for the table below as this question was linked to 'Do you insist on condom use with customers?' and because women were given the option of choosing multiple reasons.

	Toronto	Vancouver	Total
	n	n	n
Not necessary	0	4	4
Customers are unwilling to wear	14	0	14
Offered money without a condom	11	0	11
Unaware of condom	0	0	0
Condoms are too expensive	1	0	1
Other reasons	0	2	1

Reasons for not insisting on condom use differed among the five women who insisted on condom use with customers, and the fourteen women who reported they did not insist or sometimes insisted on condom use. Among the five women who insisted on condom use with customers, the most common reasons for not insisting on condom use was it was 'not necessary'. More information is needed to determine what this means. It is possible that these five women (who regularly insist on condom use) were indicating that there are some services where condoms may not be required, such as services involving client masturbation rather than the exchange of body fluids (all of the women who indicated 'not necessary' worked in massage shops). However, it is not possible to determine the specific reasons behind this response, based on the survey data alone.

By contrast, all of the women who did *not* insist on condom use, or that they *sometimes* insisted on condom use reported that this was due to customers' unwillingness to use condoms. Eleven of the fourteen (or 79%) of the women in this group, also reported that they received more money for services without a condom.

This suggests a need for greater sexual health education directed at clients and/or the general population. The data also suggests that one area for community consultation and/or research is workers' risk assessment of particular clients, such as the factors involved in accepting more money for riskier services. It is unclear whether this is due to a gap in sexual health knowledge, greater financial need, restricted pay rates, clientele characteristics or other factors. Although sex workers have typically borne the brunt of social stigma for client preferences for riskier services, it is crucial that any measures to strengthen condom use among workers *and clients* are based on an understanding of the barriers workers are negotiating in their day to day work.

WHAT DO YOU DO IF YOU THINK YOU MIGHT HAVE AN STI?

This survey question did not specify types of sexually transmitted infections, which limits the research findings somewhat. The broad category of 'STI' contains a diversity of sexually transmitted infections and the treatments required for different sexually transmitted infections. It is not possible to know what STIs women might be most concerned about and if they would use different strategies for different symptoms. That said, the data below suggests that most women take active steps to seek treatment for STI-related symptoms. Almost 70% of women said they would seek medical help, and just over half of all respondents said they would obtain the medication they needed.

The fact that women are likely to seek medical attention and treatment make it all the more necessary to ensure non-discriminatory treatment from healthcare providers. Useful areas for further research and community efforts could include ensuring non-discriminatory healthcare, investigating sex workers' experience in the healthcare system, and workers' access to treatment.

Women were given the option to select multiple responses listed in the following table.

	Toronto		Vancouver		Total	
	n	% (rounded)	n	% (rounded)	n	% (rounded)
Ignore it	0	0	0	0	0	0
Seek help from doctors	33	57	7	12	40	69
Buy medicine	29	50	1	2	30	52
Deal with it after travelling back to home province (China or Hong Kong)	3	5	0	0	3	5
Other strategies	3	5*	0	0	3	5
No response	7**	12	0	0	7	12

* Two women said they would contact a community-based organization.

** Two of the women in this group said they would not use any of the strategies provided.

IF YOU DO NOT SEEK MEDICAL ATTENTION FOR A SUSPECTED STI, WHY NOT?

Twenty-three women answered this question and women were given the options of indicating more than one of the reasons listed in the table. The data in the table below indicates that accessing information about healthcare providers remains a challenge for just over one-fifth of respondents, all of whom are working in Toronto. That no workers in Vancouver reported not knowing where to get medical assistance may, in part, be due to SWAN's ongoing outreach efforts which include informing women of free, confidential healthcare clinics and coordinating appointments between workers and 'street nurses' or mobile Registered Nurses that are able to visit women at their workplace.

Just over ten per cent replied that it was 'not necessary' to seek medical attention. It is difficult to determine what this may indicate, due to the broad use of the term 'STI' in the survey question. As previously mentioned, STIs encompass a range of symptoms, conditions and illnesses, and it is not possible to determine what type of STIs women might have been thinking of when thinking about their healthcare needs. STI risk is dependent on a number of factors, including the type of service provided, the severity of symptoms, the infectiousness of different illnesses, health knowledge, etc. More investigation would be required to determine how women assess when symptoms may not require medical attention.

Data also suggests that there may be a range of other reasons why women would not seek medical attention, given that just over 10% of women indicated this category.

	Toronto		Vancouver		Total	
	n	% (rounded)	n	% (rounded)	n	% (rounded)
Not necessary	6	10	1	2	7	12
Do not know where to get medical assistance	12	21	0	0	12	21
Too expensive	3	5	1	2	4	7
Other reasons	4	7*	3	5	7	12

* One woman indicated that she felt embarrassed to seek medical attention.

Interestingly, ten of the women who stated above that they would seek medical attention also responded to this question and offered reasons why they would not seek medical attention. Among this group, five women said they did not know where to seek medical help, four indicated other unspecified reasons, two stated healthcare costs were a barrier, and one answered 'not necessary'. It is not possible to determine how women related these two questions. For example, this may indicate a desire to seek medical attention as well as experiencing barriers to healthcare. However, the data prevents any definite conclusions.



VIOLENCE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT

In this section, women were asked about experiences of punishment, violence, abuse and exploitation, by law enforcement and customers. Women were also asked about the consequences of law enforcement and the criminal justice system, including arrests, charges, abuse by law enforcement and exploitative or intrusive law enforcement measures. The findings in this section reveal the serious risks law enforcement holds for sex workers, and the consequences of exclusion from law enforcement protection.

HAVE YOU EVER EXPERIENCED THE FOLLOWING?

Only thirteen women (or 22%) had *not* experienced any of the following. Thirty-four women reported experiencing more than one of the incidences below.

The data below indicates an urgent need to reduce punishment and abuse of sex workers by both law enforcement and customers. Twenty-three women or 40% of all respondents, all of whom are working in Toronto, have experienced punitive law enforcement measures. Thirty-five women or 60% of all respondents (33 working in Toronto, 2 working in Vancouver) have experienced customers refusing to pay, robbery or both (separate totals for refusal to pay and robbery are provided in the following table). A substantial percentage of sex workers, particularly women working in Toronto, encounter a range of risks in the sector, which are exacerbated by the lack of protection, and often increased punishment, from law enforcement. In this context, workers have extremely limited means to access justice.

	Toronto		Vancouver		Total	
	n	% (rounded)	n	% (rounded)	n	% (rounded)
Rape	1	2	0	0	1	2
Imposter police or false claims of being a police officer	19	33	0	0	19	33
Customers refusal to pay	31	53	2	3	33	57
Robbery	24	41	0	0	24	41
Harassment by customers or gangs	18	31	0	0	18	31
Entrapment by police	23	40	0	0	23	40
Physical violence	16	28	0	0	16	28
Other	0	0	2	3	2	3
None of the above*	9	16	4	7	13	22

HOW DO YOU HANDLE THE SITUATIONS ABOVE?

Respondents could indicate more than one of the options listed in the table below.

Ninety-five per cent of all respondents stated that law enforcement would not be a strategy they would use to seek assistance. Given the number of women who have experienced punitive law enforcement measures or entrapment (in the preceding table), it is

not surprising that none of the sex workers in Toronto reported that they would call the police if they experienced violence, harassment, abuse or exploitation.

Forgetting or ignoring the incident remained the most commonly reported strategy, although the precise meaning this may have for different women may differ, and more information would be needed to contextualize this finding. For example, it may be that ‘forgetting’ or ‘ignoring’ the incident may also indicate that such experiences would not deter women from continuing to work (although this was not specified in the survey). The scenarios listed in the preceding table are understandably very challenging to deal with or recover from. More explanation of what women meant by ‘forgetting or ignoring it’ may reveal more insight into the resilience strategies women are left with when they are excluded from law enforcement protection and/or access to justice.

Interestingly, twenty-two women reported that they would use a combination of ‘forgetting/ignoring the incident’ and ‘seeking help from friends’. The importance of peer support networks is evident from the finding that almost half of all respondents reported that they seek assistance from friends. It is not specified whether these are peer support networks within the industry or outside the industry. However, this finding speaks to the importance of fostering and strengthening supportive networks between workers.

Four women in Toronto specified other strategies they would use. One woman said she would contact a community-based organization and another pointed out that she would tell clients that she would call the police, which was usually enough to convince clients to pay or to leave the premises immediately. One woman said she had not encountered the police, and another said she would stop working if she learnt a client was an undercover police officer.

	Toronto		Vancouver		Total	
	n	% (rounded)	n	% (rounded)	n	% (rounded)
Forget it/ignore it	36	62	4	7	40	69
Seek help from friends	23	40	3	5	26	45
Call the police	0	0	3	5	3	5
Other strategies	6	10	0	0	6	10
None of the above	1	2	0	0	1	2
No response	7	12	0	0	7	12

IF YOU DO NOT CALL THE POLICE FOR ASSISTANCE, WHY NOT?

Respondents could indicate more than one of the options listed in the table below.

Fear of law enforcement and fear of arrest are the two most commonly reported reasons for not seeking assistance from law enforcement. Twenty-nine women or 50% of all respondents said they were afraid of both law enforcement and arrest (the remaining numbers in those categories are women who reported either a fear of law enforcement or a fear of arrest). **That a substantial percentage of respondents reported fearing law enforcement is not surprising given that 40% of all respondents also reported experiencing entrapment by law enforcement.**

Fear was a stronger reason than concerns about efficacy or efficiency, as shown by a sizable but smaller number of women who reported that they did not think the police would be able to help and/or the perception that processes would be too cumbersome.

Three women in Toronto identified other reasons for not calling the police for assistance, such as concern about one's immigration status, not wanting to return to China, and not wanting to affect one's daughter.

	Toronto		Vancouver		Total	
	n	% (rounded)	n	% (rounded)	n	% (rounded)
Police cannot help	13	22	0	0	13	22
Fear of the police	29	50	3	5	32	55
Complicated procedures	25	43	1	2	26	45
Fear of arrest	31	53	1	2	32	55
Other reasons	5	9	1	2	6	10
None of the above	1	2	0	0	1	2
No response	9	16	3	5	12	21

HAVE YOU EVER BEEN ARRESTED?

Although 40% of all respondents experienced punitive law enforcement measures, only two women reported being arrested. The wide disparity between law enforcement scrutiny of sex workers (along with women's widespread fears of law enforcement) and concrete criminal justice outcomes (such as arrest) raises questions about the use, efficacy and efficiency of law enforcement approaches to sex work. The data raises questions as to whether criminal justice outcomes, such as arrests, charges and convictions are plausible, given the ambiguous criminal laws governing sex work in Canada. Or it may be that law enforcement scrutiny and mistreatment of sex workers serves functions other than the administration of criminal justice, such as the exercise of power over a marginalized population. In either case, further research and action is needed to determine and address causes for the wide disparity between the punitive treatment of sex workers and the lack of administrative criminal justice outcomes.

The data also suggests that law enforcement treatment of sex workers has a greater impact on sex workers' attitudes than criminal justice penalties such as charges and convictions. This is suggested by substantial fears of law enforcement among sex workers, despite the fact that the majority of sex workers have not been arrested or otherwise penalized by the criminal justice system. In addition, the fact that twenty-two per cent of respondents did not respond to the question indicates a need for more information before any definitive conclusions can be drawn.

	Toronto		Vancouver		Total	
	n	% (rounded)	n	% (rounded)	n	% (rounded)
Yes	2	3	0	0	2	3.45
No	35	60	8	14	43	74.14
No response	13	22	0	0	13	22.41
Total	50		8		58	100.00

IF YOU HAVE BEEN ARRESTED, IN WHICH CONTEXT WERE YOU ARRESTED?

Respondents had the option of choosing more than one of the reasons listed in the table below.

Interestingly, seven women answered this question although only two women reported they had been arrested in the previous question. It is not possible to determine the reasons for this ambiguity, but the discrepancy warrants further investigation. It may be that women who encounter punitive law enforcement measures may not always be informed about the nature of the encounter, i.e. whether they are being arrested, charged, investigated, etc.

	Toronto		Vancouver		Total	
	n	% (rounded)	n	% (rounded)	n	% (rounded)
Immigration/visa problem	0	0	1	2	1	2
Soliciting/hanging out with clients	0	0	0	0	0	0
In your own workplace	1	2	0	0	1	2
Selling sex	0	0	0	0	0	0
Undercover police operation	4	7	1	2	5	9
Other	0	0	2	3	2	3

IF YOU HAVE BEEN ARRESTED, HAVE YOU EXPERIENCED ANY OF THE FOLLOWING AFTER ARREST?

Women had the option of choosing more than one of the responses in the below table.

Four women responded to this question, including three who had reported they had not been arrested in a previous question (Q25). One woman reported she was forced to sign a confession, was prohibited from making phone calls, and faced verbal intimidation.

	Toronto		Vancouver		Total	
	n	% (rounded)	n	% (rounded)	n	% (rounded)
Forced confession	1	2	0	0	1	2
Prohibited from making phone calls	1	2	0	0	1	2
Prohibited from contacting a lawyer	0	0	0	0	0	0
Strip-searched	0	0	0	0	0	0
Physical abuse	0	0	0	0	0	0
Verbal intimidation	1	2	1	2	2	3
Confiscation of documents	0	0	0	0	0	0
Other	0	0	2	3	2	3

IN THE CASE OF THE ABOVE, HAVE YOU EVER FILED A COMPLAINT?

Seven women responded to this question. All reported they had not filed a complaint.

WHAT ARE THE REASONS FOR NOT FILING A COMPLAINT?

Women had the option of choosing more than one of the reasons listed in the table below.

Eight women responded to this question. Fear of police and a lack of information about complaint procedures were the most common reasons given for not filing a complaint.

	Toronto		Vancouver		Total	
	n	% (rounded)	n	% (rounded)	n	% (rounded)
Fear of police	4	7	2	3	6	10
Unaware of complaint procedures	5	9	1	2	6	10
Complicated procedure	1	2	1	2	2	3
Would not be effective	1	2	0	0	1	2
Other reasons	0	0	0	0	0	0

HAVE YOU EVER BEEN CHARGED?

Eleven women responded to this question. One woman working in Toronto reported having been charged, all other respondents stated that they had not been charged.

IF YOU WERE CHARGED, WHAT WERE YOU CHARGED WITH OR IN WHAT CONTEXT WERE YOU CHARGED IN?

Women had the option of choosing more than one of the responses in the below table.

Seven women answered this question, despite only one woman reporting having been charged in the previous question. It is not possible to determine the reasons for this ambiguity, but the discrepancy warrants further investigation. For example, it may be that women who encounter punitive law enforcement measures may not always be informed about the nature of the encounter, i.e. whether they are being arrested, charged, investigated, etc. However, more information is needed before definitive conclusions can be drawn.

	Toronto		Vancouver		Total	
	n	% (rounded)	n	% (rounded)	n	% (rounded)
Breaching visa condition	4	7	0	0	4	7
Counterfeit documents	0	0	0	0	0	0
Solicitation	0	0	0	0	0	0
Working in your own workplace or in a massage parlour	2	3	2	3	4	7
Selling sex	0	0	0	0	0	0
Undercover police operation	4	7	0	0	4	7

WHAT WAS THE OUTCOME OF THE CHARGE?

Women had the option of choosing more than one of the responses in the below table.

Seven women answered this question, despite only one woman reporting having been charged in Q30. As stated above, more information is needed to determine the reasons for this, but the discrepancy warrants further investigation. For example, it may be that women who encounter punitive law enforcement measures may not always be informed about the nature of the encounter, i.e. whether they are being arrested, charged, investigated, etc. However, more information is needed before definitive conclusions can be drawn.

	Toronto		Vancouver		Total	
	n	% (rounded)	n	% (rounded)	n	% (rounded)
Imprisonment	1	2	0	0	1	2
Fines	4	7	0	0	4	7
Repatriation	4	7	0	0	4	7

Release	0	0	0	0	0	0
Other (unspecified)	0	0	2	3	2	3

WHAT DID THE POLICE DO WHEN YOU WERE NOT CHARGED?

Six women responded to this question. One woman reported repatriation and release, two women stated they were released, and three women said police had taken actions over than repatriation or release, after charges were dropped.



**KNOWING/LEARNING
THE LAW**

In this section, participants were asked about their awareness of their legal rights and their perceptions of the Canadian legal system.

ARE YOU AWARE OF YOUR LEGAL RIGHTS?

Only three women stated they were well aware of their legal rights. Forty-six women, or 79% of all respondents, stated that they were either ‘not very aware’ or ‘unaware’ about their legal rights.

Limited knowledge of one’s legal rights as a sex worker is, to some extent, understandable in the Canadian context. The Canadian legal context for sex work is noted for being contradictory, confused and hypocritical – given that sex work itself is not illegal under federal criminal law, but a number of sex work-related activities are illegal. At the time surveys were collected (prior to 20 December 2013), sex work itself was not illegal (and is still not illegal) under Canadian federal criminal law. However, the Canadian Criminal Code prohibited a number of sex work-related activities: (1) owning or occupying a ‘bawdy house’ (i.e. a place regularly used for sex work), (2) living on the avails of prostitution (e.g. earnings), (3) talking in a public place to arrange a commercial sex transaction, and (4) procurement, or assisting anyone to work in sex work (e.g. security, receptionists, accountants, etc.)¹². In December 2013, the Supreme Court of Canada struck down three prostitution-related laws on the basis that these laws endangered sex worker safety and violated sex workers’ rights protected by the *Charter of Rights and Freedoms*. These provisions were: s. 210 (keeping or being found in a bawdy house), s. 212(1)(j) (living on the avails of prostitution), and s. 213(1)(c) (communicating in public for the purpose of prostitution). On 6 December 2014, the Canadian federal government passed Bill C-36 or the *Protection of Communities and Exploited Persons Act*. This bill re-criminalizes the previous laws struck down by the Supreme Court in new form and introduces the criminalization of clients.¹³

The federal criminal laws governing sex work can also often be contradicted by local or City-level bylaws that regulate how sex work-related businesses are allowed to operate. For example, bylaws can contain requirements for staff dress codes, lighting, architectural features, signage and hours of operation. These legal contradictions mean that sex workers often have to navigate the criminalization of sex work under federal criminal law, and the quasi-legalization of sex work under local or City bylaws.

	Toronto		Vancouver		Total	
	n	% (rounded)	n	% (rounded)	n	% (rounded)
Well aware	3	5	0	0	3	5
Not very aware	15	26	7	12	22	38
Unaware	24	41	1	2	25	43
No response	9	16	0	0	9	16
Total	51*		8		59*	102*

¹² Sections 210-213 of the Canadian Criminal Code prior to 20 December 2013. For more information, see <http://lawslois.justice.gc.ca/eng/acts/C-46/>

¹³ The full text of the law is provided here: http://www.parl.gc.ca/content/hoc/Bills/412/Government/C-36/C-36_4/C-36_4.PDF. More information on the law’s implications for the safety of sex workers can be found here: https://d3n8a8pro7vhm.cloudfront.net/pivotlegal/pages/660/attachments/original/1404320254/C36_Info_Sheet.pdf?1404320254

* One woman indicated she was both 'not very aware' and 'unaware'.

IF NOT, WHY ARE YOU NOT AWARE OF YOUR LEGAL RIGHTS?

Respondents were given the option of choosing more than one of the reasons listed in the table below.

Genuine access to legal information remains an important challenge. Forty-eight women, or 83% of all respondents, identified 'lack of information channels', 'too complicated to understand', or both responses when asked about the barriers to legal awareness. Although sex worker support organisations have been producing user-friendly guides about the laws that govern sex work¹⁴, it remains a challenge to translate worker-targeted materials in different languages and to disseminate information to sex workers in diverse contexts and locations.

Sex workers' assessment that the law is 'too complicated to understand' may also reflect the contradictions between federal criminal laws prohibiting aspects of sex work (although not sex work itself) and the numerous, detailed bylaws that govern sex work-related businesses, as discussed earlier. Despite the fact that sex work is not illegal under the Canadian Criminal Code, workers' experiences with the police reveal that law enforcement of the sex industry continues to be discretionary, often punitive, confusing and disempowering. Under 'other reasons', one woman added "I don't want to know too much."

	Toronto		Vancouver		Total	
	n	% (rounded)	n	% (rounded)	n	% (rounded)
Lack of information channels	30	52	5	9	35	60
Too complicated to understand	31	53	1	2	32	55
Believe it's not necessary	10	17	0	0	10	17
Other reasons	0	0	2	3	2	3

DO YOU THINK THE CANADIAN LEGAL SYSTEM IS FAIR?

Although the overwhelming majority of respondents reported not knowing the laws pertaining to sex work, almost half of all respondents perceived the legal system to be fair. More information is needed to determine the elements that workers perceive to be fair and the elements that require change or reform, particularly given the introduction of the *Protection of Communities and Exploited Persons Act* under the Canadian Criminal Code. Under 'Other', seven women said they didn't know if the system was fair or not, and three women indicated partial agreement or disagreement ('it depends', 'maybe', 'in between fair and unfair, it's good/OK').

¹⁴ Examples include *Law Matters* by Sex Trade Advocacy and Research (STAR): http://web2.uwindsor.ca/courses/sociology/maticka/star/pdfs/law_matters.pdf
My Legal Rights by SWAN Vancouver: [http://swanvancouver.ca/legal/Our_Rights_and_Responsibilities_\(Chapter_8\)_of_Trade_Secrets-Health_and_Safety_in_the_Sex_Industry](http://swanvancouver.ca/legal/Our_Rights_and_Responsibilities_(Chapter_8)_of_Trade_Secrets-Health_and_Safety_in_the_Sex_Industry):
<http://tradesecretsguide.blogspot.com.au/search/label/Our%20Rights%20and%20Responsibilities>
Changes to Sex Work Laws in Ontario – A Workers' Guide by Maggie's: http://maggiestoronto.ca/news?news_id=87

	Toronto		Vancouver		Total	
	n	% (rounded)	n	% (rounded)	n	% (rounded)
Yes	20	34	7	12	27	47
No	15	26	0	0	15	26
Other	9	16	1	2	10	17
No response	7	12	0	0	7	12
Total	51*		8		59*	102*

* One respondent answered both 'yes' and 'no'.

IF YOU DON'T THINK THE CANADIAN LEGAL SYSTEM IS FAIR, WHY NOT?

Three women, all working in Toronto, who did not think the Canadian legal system was fair added the following comments¹⁵:

- "Welfare benefit distribution is not fair. Those who should receive it don't and those who should not do."
- "Unfair is unfair."
- "We work in this trade. The law won't stand on our side."

One woman from Toronto who replied that the Canadian legal system was fair, added it was only "so-so" fair. One woman, also working in Toronto, who did not respond to the question 'Do you think the Canadian legal system is fair?' added "I don't know Canadian law well. Different people say different things."

¹⁵ Responses were translated from Chinese into English by a SWAN staff member with academic research experience.



FEELINGS ABOUT WORKING IN CANADA

In this section, women were asked about their general opinions about working in Canada and their advice to other sex workers who might be considering working in Canada.

DO YOU LIKE WORKING IN CANADA?

Thirty-three women or 57% of all respondents stated that they liked working in Canada. This report has mainly focused on the risks and challenges women face in their work, but these findings suggest that there are also positive or affirming dimensions to women’s experiences, even within challenging contexts. The positive dimensions of sex workers’ experiences, defined by workers themselves, are a fruitful area for further exploration. An examination of how immigrant and migrant sex workers define positive and negative dimensions of sex work in Canada may also enable public, research and policy discourses to move beyond a strict risk/vulnerability approach, and towards a more nuanced understanding of working in the Canadian sex industry as an immigrant or migrant.

	Toronto		Vancouver		Total	
	n	% (rounded)	n	% (rounded)	n	% (rounded)
Yes	26	45	7	12	33	57
No	10	17	0	0	10	17
Not sure	14	24	1	2	15	26
Total	50		8		58	100

IF YOU ANSWERED ‘NO’, WHY DO YOU DISLIKE WORKING IN CANADA?

Respondents were given the option to select more than one response below. Thirteen women or 22% of all participants responded to this question. All but one of the women who answered this question said they disliked working in Canada due to dangerous work environments.

	Toronto		Vancouver		Total	
	n	% (rounded)	n	% (rounded)	n	% (rounded)
Low income	4	7	1	2	5	9
Dangerous work environment	12	21	0	0	12	21
Other reasons	1	2	0	0	1	2

ON A SCALE FROM 1 TO 10, HOW WOULD YOU RATE WORKING IN CANADA AND WHY?

Forty-six women or 79% of all participants responded to this question. Out of these 46 participants, 33 women provided a numerical rating (other participants provided qualitative comments). On average, women rated working in Canada as 7 on a scale from 1 to 10. Answers ranged from 4 to 10 with 8 being the most frequent answer from 14 women.

	Toronto		Vancouver		Total	
	n	% (rounded)	n	% (rounded)	n	% (rounded)
1-4	4	7	0	0	4	7
5-7	16	28	1	2	17	29
8-10	16	28	5	9	21	36
Qualitative comments only	5	9	0	0	5	9
No response	9	16	2	3	11	19
Total	50		8		58	100

Not surprisingly, four women who rated working in Canada on a scale of 1 to 4 raised a number of risks and challenges they experienced at work. Workers who rated work in Canada from 1-4 added comments that pertained both to working conditions and the lack of social and legal protections afforded to sex workers:

- “Too long working hours. No benefits. No employment protection.”
- “High risks. One from police. Another from clients.”
- “Long working hours. Staying inside the parlour the whole day is very boring.”
- “Cannot trust anyone.”

Sixteen workers (all from Toronto) who rated working in Canada from 5 to 7 also referred mainly to working conditions. This group identified both positive and negative aspects to working in Canada. Negative aspects included:

- “Work is not entirely legal here. I have reservations.”
- “Too long working hours. No employment benefits. Difficult clients.”
- “Too many massage parlours.”
- “Good, high-paying work is hard to find in Canada.”
- “Life is too boring and without friends. Work environment is very risky.”

Positive aspects included:

- “Clients are relatively good. Maybe because I am young.”
- “Good income.”
- “Work environment is not bad.”
- “People are nice here. No one would discriminate against us here.”
- “It is freer here than in Hong Kong.”
- “Earned lots of money. Nothing special otherwise. I just want to make enough money and then return to Hong Kong.”

Among the 21 workers who rated working in Canada from 8 to 10, the ability to earn a higher income was mentioned by seven workers and was the most mentioned reason of ranking work in Canada highly (e.g. “Easier to make money than in China”, “Easier to make money and I met a group of sisters”). Others in this group mentioned social and work relationships as a factor, such as:

- “Clients here are friendlier than those in the UK.”
- “Because I met a Canadian boyfriend who is very nice to me.”
- “Because at least I can be with my daughter. No need to live separately in two countries.”

Other reasons for ranking working in Canada highly included:

- “Very relaxed. No pressure.”
- “Feel safe.”
- “Freedom. Protection.”
- “The environment is still better than China.”
- “I like the good working conditions and benefits in Canada and women's rights are protected.”
- “Mainly because of my linguistic ability.”
- “Work is OK. It's my choice. I don't complain.”

Five women did not rank working in Canada on the scale provided but offered the following opinions:

- “At first, I was not used to it. But I got used to it gradually. Income is OK, but the work environment is complicated and I have bad moods.”
- “So-so. Income is not ideal.”
- “Working in Canada is relatively relaxing. My boss doesn't force me. Income is OK and I can sustain myself.”
- “Work freely. Earn money.”
- “Free to set one's work schedule. Can sustain myself.”

WHAT ADVICE WOULD YOU GIVE TO THOSE FOR WHO INTERESTED IN WORKING IN CANADA?

Forty women responded to this question; thirty-five women from Toronto and five from Vancouver. The most common advice offered – by 13 women – involved paying attention to safety and health, and learning to protect oneself. Other advice involved how to decide whether or not women should come to Canada, how to generally approach life and work in Canada, and specific advice about managing work, life and relationships.

Seven women urged careful reflection before making the decision to come to Canada:

- “Tell them that there are pros and cons in coming to work in Canada. Do not rush into going to Canada.”
- “Living abroad is also hard. Do not go abroad lightly.”
- “Best not to come to Canada if they do not have professional skills.”
- “It really depends on whether you think it's worth coming here. I feel it is worth it because I can provide better educational and living environment for my child.”

Fourteen women offered general advice on what women should approach or prepare themselves for life and work generally in Canada, for example:

- “If they want to come, they need to be psychologically prepared. There is a lot of pressure. They have to endure hardship.”
- “Be prepared to learn.”
- “Don't only work; need to treat oneself nicely.”
- “Need to have skills.”
- “Be careful in everything.”
- “Have to be careful. Earn enough money and then leave.”
- “Work happily. Make money smoothly.”
- “Need to be low-key.”
- “Protect one's rights.”
- “Do your work, protect yourself. Be polite.”

Twelve women had specific advice about work, relationships, and life, such as:

- “Don't go gambling in casinos. Be careful in making friends.”
- “Be psychologically prepared not to have friends or bosom friends.”
- “Don't say no casually to offend clients.”
- “Don't trust others easily.”
- “Though working in spas doesn't earn as much money as full service, it does not hurt the body.”¹⁶
- “Best is to meet a foreign boyfriend, can help learn English and meet living needs.”
- “Learn English. Because my English is not good, often I have to rely on others and I don't feel good.”
- “Know the law to protect oneself. Connect with local community groups. Safety first. Have a strong sense of protecting yourself. Do not date strangers easily.”
- “Choose an appropriate profession.”

AN IN-DEPTH DISCUSSION WITH FOUR WOMEN ON LIVING AND WORKING IN CANADA¹⁷

In addition to the survey, structured interviews were conducted with four women (see Appendix G). Two of these women were in Toronto, two in Vancouver. The Vancouver respondents had also filled out the survey, whereas the Toronto respondents only participated in the structured interview. All interviews were conducted in Cantonese; responses were written down in Chinese and then translated into English by a SWAN staff member with academic research experience.

What emerges from these four short interviews are the diversity of opinions and experiences of Chinese women in sex work. These interviews are an important reminder that Chinese women in sex work are not a homogenous group and that women's experiences and perspectives on sex work can vary greatly.

¹⁶ This may refer to spas where sexual services are provided (e.g. handjobs), rather than sexual intercourse or 'full service'.

¹⁷ Identifying details about personal histories are not included.

'Coco'

On coming to Canada:

My friend recommended me to come to Canada. I spent approximately HK\$20,000 [approximately CDN\$3,000]. I went to Japan as a sex worker, but I did not adapt there and so returned to Hong Kong.

I did not have any special feelings [about working in Canada]. I just wanted to make more money. I was in a better state than others as I did not owe any debt.

[When I arrived] I felt OK and happy. Nothing specific attracted me, I just wanted to make money. I did experience some difficulties, especially difficulty in handling personal relationships.

On working in Canada:

About 60% of clients are OK, good people. To say the truth, you find all kinds of people here. I have met all kinds of people. There are good things about Whites, and there are good things about Blacks. Difficult to say.

I don't feel anything special about Canada. Because we are a bit older, work is easier in Canada than in Hong Kong because it is easier to make money here.

On life in Canada:

[There's] nothing special about my life here. I have little rest here, because I often have to help other women, to stand for them. I watch TV on the Internet at my place.

I rarely go out with friends. Whenever they have time, they would go gamble in casinos. I am not interested in gambling. If I go out, I go shopping, have dim-sum, and get facial treatment.

On what to remember about working in Canada:

Something unforgettable is the opportunity to meet foreign men. I didn't think I would come to Canada and live and work here, because I don't know English and I haven't had much education. Also I am older. I feel really lucky to be able to work here. Work is freer here. I don't have to worry about meeting friends and relatives, so I can feel relaxed about working here.

'Annie'

On coming to Canada:

My friend recommended me [to come to Canada]. I only spent money buying my air ticket and used my passport to come here. Unlike others, I did not spend a pile of money to come here.

I didn't think much at the beginning [when leaving for Canada], because my friend recommended me to come here. But then I felt more and more ill-adapted. I wanted very much to return to Hong Kong. My first feeling was that Canada felt like a village, because everything was less convenient than Hong Kong, nothing was as good as in Hong Kong, therefore I wanted to return.

On working in Canada:

There are good and not so good things. In Hong Kong, I worked independently and had a higher degree of freedom because I could decide to take a client or not. Also, unlike here, Hong Kong police protected us. I don't know English and so communication is not easy. The majority of clients here request oral sex. Clients in Hong Kong did not request this. Hong Kong police and law are better than they are here [in Canada]. Every time I had an issue, I would call Ziteng [a Hong Kong sex worker support organization] or 999. I got helped all the time.

[Customers are] not good, because the majority of clients are nasty. They would often remove the condoms secretly in the process.

Of course, [if I had to make the choice whether or not to work in Canada] I would come again. Because the competition [for business] is greater in Hong Kong. Also it is difficult to save money in Hong Kong. [It's] too much fun in Hong Kong, [it's] easy to spend all money. Here, there isn't much entertainment. And winter is cold and I don't want to get out, so I can save up money.

I go to work everyday. I watch DVD when I wait for my clients. Sometimes I go out to relax, but most of time I stay at my workplace.

On living in Canada:

I used to go to casinos with friends. But I stopped gambling and so I rarely see my friends.

On what to remember about working in Canada:

My boss is good and nice to me. She takes care of me. Some clients are OK with me, giving me tips and presents. But the work and lifestyle are less good and free than in Hong Kong.

'Mia'

On coming to Canada:

I moved from China to Hong Kong and then to Vancouver. I haven't been to anywhere else. I immigrated with my husband under the family reunification category. My husband was the sponsor.

I was looking for work in the newspapers. I didn't know English. I saw a massage parlour recruitment ad. No experience required. I couldn't find any other work. I found only this job that helped pay my living expenses.

I worked in a massage parlour in Hong Kong. I knew Ziteng. My friend worked independently, and she referred me to Ziteng. I have been in Vancouver for 2 years. About 7-8 months after arrival, through a friend's contact, I applied to a job advertised in the newspapers.

On working in Canada:

At the beginning, I didn't get used to it. Some clients had unreasonable demands. I had ways to deal with them, but I couldn't offend them....Sometimes, [with] very difficult clients, I will need to be soft and gentle on them when I say no.

Most of them are nice, there are a few bad clients, a few drunk clients. I had conversations with some clients. Clients included office workers, construction workers, chefs, and some others [that spoke English that I] didn't understand. The majority of clients are White, but also Blacks, Indians, Asians, Chinese.

On living in Canada:

When I don't work, I stay home and do house chores. I have long work hours: noon-midnight, 5 days a week and 2pm-midnight.

[If I had to make the decision again] - no, I would not come here to work. But I would choose to go to Vancouver. Vancouver has good weather, fresh air, and it's comfortable.

Vancouver is good. I would stay in Vancouver. I'm temporarily OK with this job. I want to find another job later. I want to care for the elderly or children. I'm taking ESL classes now. After graduating from ESL, I want to go back to school to get a certificate or license to care for the elderly or children.

On what to remember about working in Canada:

The boss is very nice, like sisters. Nobody knows I work here. Only my boss and my colleagues know.

My advice of others: Be aware of safety, don't go out with customers, and don't go to customers' homes.

'Lily'

On coming to Canada:

I came from Hong Kong as an immigrant. My family immigrated here 35 years ago. I asked a lawyer to help. After a year and a half, I came to Canada. My family is here, so I came to Canada. I have never been to another country.

My first feeling [about] in Canada: not bad. Living expenses are big, so I work. I haven't been to other places after arriving in Canada, except Whistler. The air is good, clean, that is why I stay in Canada. The city is safe and calm.

On working in Canada:

I started working in a massage parlour a year after my arrival. [It's] not easy to find work. At the beginning, I wanted to work in a *regular* massage shop¹⁸, but I did not know the situation well.

I didn't feel too well [when I started working]. Then I began to accept it, and felt a bit better. The work environment was good, colleagues were good. I worked happily.

My first client was a [doctor¹⁹], from Hong Kong. Very nice person. He could speak Cantonese, didn't give me any pressure. Clients are usually nice, gentlemen-like, only asking for oral sex, massage. I have a massage license. I get a lot of tips working here.

The clients are mostly Westerners and Chinese. Also Italians, Koreans, a few East Indians. Most are gentlemen-like. They're tired, they want a massage – it's not always sex. I am tired too after a few clients; sometimes, they request a lot of force. Some ask me to step on their back with my feet.

Before, I used to think that clients coming to such places are not normal. But now I feel they just need to satisfy their needs. Many are single. I feel I could help my clients. Before, I used to despise women working in massage parlours. Now I feel they are heroic.

On living in Canada:

When I don't have to work, I go shopping and clean my home. Life here is simple. No one bothers me, I'm self-sufficient. My family has returned to Hong Kong/China. I don't want return to China. I don't like it. It's hot and dirty.

¹⁸ i.e. a registered massage practice that does not provide sexual services

¹⁹ Occupation has been changed to protect privacy.

On what to remember about working in Canada:

Warning: Protect yourself. Safety first, health first. For blow jobs, I always use a condom. If I reject a client, I just tell him, I'm not doing a blow job, I will [just] rub him with my hands.



CONCLUSION

This project asked 58 Chinese women sex workers about six issues: (1) their experiences migrating or travelling to Canada for work; (2) their working conditions in Canada; (3) condom use with clients and access to healthcare; (4) experiences of violence, abuse, exploitation and punishment by law enforcement and customers; (5) their knowledge of their legal rights in Canada; and (6) their opinions and advice on working in Canada.

CONCLUSION ONE: Law enforcement remains a risk for sex workers, including those who experience abuse or exploitation.

1. Twenty-three women or 40% of all respondents, all of whom are working in Toronto, have experienced punitive law enforcement measures (i.e. entrapment).
2. Ninety-five per cent of all respondents stated that contacting law enforcement would not be a strategy they would use if they needed assistance.
3. Punitive law enforcement, particularly in Toronto, leaves women in a highly risky situation, especially considering that 35 women or 60% of respondents (almost all of whom worked in Toronto), had experienced customers refusing to pay for services, robbery or both. This exploitation is exacerbated by the lack of protection, and often increased punishment, from law enforcement.
4. Fear of law enforcement and/or fear of arrest were the most commonly reported reasons for not seeking assistance from law enforcement.

Although a substantial number of women reported experiences of punitive law enforcement measures, only a small number of women were affected by criminal justice outcomes, such as arrests, charges, and convictions. The wide discrepancy between commonly-reported experiences of punitive law enforcement and the relative lack of criminal justice outcomes raises questions for further study and action, such as:

- Is there another purpose for punitive police behavior other than law enforcement, if criminal justice outcomes are unlikely (e.g. harassment, intimidation, etc.), and
- What does the lack of administrative criminal justice outcomes (e.g. arrests, charges, and convictions) suggest about the amount of public resources that are expended in the law enforcement scrutiny of sex workers, particularly Chinese sex workers?

CONCLUSION TWO: Access to healthcare and legal rights information can be substantially strengthened.

Almost 70% of women reported that they would seek medical assistance for STIs, although 21% of women (all in Toronto) reported that they did not know where to seek medical assistance. The fact that women are likely to seek medical attention and treatment make it all the more necessary to ensure non-discriminatory treatment from healthcare providers and access to health and legal information in Chinese.

Useful areas for further research and community efforts include ensuring non-discriminatory healthcare, investigating sex workers' experiences in the healthcare system, and sex workers' access to treatment.

CONCLUSION THREE: Customer attitudes and behaviors comprised the largest barriers to condom use.

Although 39 women or 67% of all respondents reported insisting on condom use with customers, a sizable minority reported that they 'sometimes' insisted on condom use (12 women or 21% of all respondents) or did not insist on condom use (2 women or 3% of all respondents). The most common reasons for wavering on condom use were customers' unwillingness to use condoms and/or customers' offering more money for services without a condom.

These findings suggest a need for greater sexual health education directed at clients and/or the general population. The data also suggests that one area for further action and research is understanding how sex workers assess the risk of particular services or clients. It is unclear from our findings whether this is due to a gap in sexual health knowledge, greater financial need, lower pay rates for Chinese workers, clientele characteristics or other factors. Although sex workers have typically borne the brunt of social stigma for client preferences for riskier services, it is crucial that any measures to strengthen condom use among workers *and clients* are based on an understanding of the barriers workers are negotiating in their day to day work.

CONCLUSION FOUR: The importance of peer support networks, i.e. with other Chinese sex workers, should not be underestimated.

Information and support from one's peer networks was a significant factor that shaped women's migration or travel to Canada. Support from other workers remained one of the most important (and one of the only available) strategies for maintaining resilience in the face of punitive law enforcement, abuse or exploitation (such as robbery and non-payment).

Peer support networks also remain a crucial resource for sex worker support organisations that are not led by sex workers. For sex work *ally* organizations, strengthening connections with sex workers and their networks can reveal a more nuanced understanding of the risks but also the positive dimensions of women's experiences in sex work. One limitation of this project is the focus on what happens to workers rather than workers' perspectives. For example, in this project, we asked women how many clients a day they typically saw but didn't ask how many clients they *would like* to see. Despite the risks and challenges women reported for this project, women also rated working in Canada quite highly. Women maintained a positive opinion about working in Canada, despite the very real risks they face, particularly from punitive law enforcement. A focus on the strategies workers use to maintain their resilience and optimism in a challenging environment can reveal important insights on how sex workers can be better supported by allied community organizations.



APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: PROJECT FLYER – ENGLISH



Survey on 'Situation of Chinese Sex Workers Working in Canada'

Zi Teng is a sex workers concern organization in Hong Kong. Zi Teng provides services for local sex workers, migrant sex workers from Mainland China and new immigrants working in the sex industry.

Women leave China to work as sex workers in other countries. To further understand the different work situations abroad, Zi Teng has been carrying out surveys on the 'Situation of Chinese Sex Workers Working in Foreign Countries'. The purpose of this survey is to understand sex workers' lives and work in Canada to better prepare Chinese women who may be considering coming to Canada to work. SWAN has partnered with ZiTeng to conduct the surveys in Metro Vancouver.

There are two parts of this survey. You can choose to participate in one or both.

1) **A questionnaire.** The questionnaire will be distributed by our outreach teams. You will be provided \$10 cash for your time filling out the questionnaire. The questionnaire will take approximately 15 – 20 minutes to complete.

2) **An interview.** Helena, one of SWAN's Mandarin and Cantonese speaking volunteers, will interview you at your workplace or other mutually agreed location. You will be provided \$50 cash for your time participating in the interview. The interview will take approximately 45-60 minutes to complete. Helena will be interviewing in April 2013. If you are interested, please contact SWAN at 604 719 6343/ info@swanvancouver.ca to arrange an interview.

The information you provide can only be accessed by ZiTeng and SWAN and will not be shared with anyone else. You are not required to use your real name and all personal information will be kept highly confidential. All survey information and findings will be destroyed after the release of the report. For an example of the report, please see the survey Zi Teng and the Scarlet Alliance completed in Australia (see over).

SWAN thanks you for your time, consideration and willingness to support other Chinese women who may be considering work in Canada.

APPENDIX B: PROJECT FLYER – CHINESE



问卷调查：‘关于华裔性工作者在加拿大的工作情况’

紫藤是香港一个关注性工作者的团体。紫藤提供服务给本地性工作者，从中国来工作的性工作者和从事性工作行业的新移民。

妇女离开中国到其它国家从事性工作。为了更进一步了解在外地不同的工作情况，紫藤进行了一个‘关于华裔性工作者在外地工作的情况’的问卷调查。

问卷目的是为了了解性工作者在加拿大当地生活和工作情况，好让一些想考虑前往加拿大工作的妇女作准备。SWAN, ACSA和紫藤合作在大多伦多与温哥华地区进行问卷调查。

调查方式将会有两种。你可以选择参与其中一种或全部两种。

- 1) 问卷调查。我们的外展专员会派发问卷。填写问卷需时约15-20分钟左右。填完之后，你会获得现金 \$10 作填写报酬。
- 2) 访问。Helena, SWAN 其中一个会说广东话和国语的义工，会到你的工作地点或你们相方协议好的地方。访问时间约45-60分钟左右完成。你会获得现金 \$50 作访问报酬。Helena会在四月份开始进行访问。倘若你有兴趣接受访问，请联络SWAN：电话 604-719-5343 或电邮到 info@swanvancouver.ca 安排访问。

你所提供的资料只有紫藤, SWAN 和 ACSA能够参考，我们绝不会跟其他人分享。你无需填写真实姓名和你一切个人资料是绝对保密。我们会把所有调查所得的资料和结果在报告完成之后全部销毁。报告形式，请翻向背页参考：紫藤和澳洲的团体Scarlet Alliance之前做的报告。

SWAN在此感谢你的时间，体谅和愿意支持其她有可能来加拿大工作的中国妇女。

APPENDIX C: CONSENT FORM – ENGLISH



Hong Kong G.P.O. Box 7450 香港郵政總局信箱7450號
Tel/電話: (852) 23327182 Fax/傳真: (852) 23904528
Email/電郵: ziteng@hkstar.com
Web-site/網址: www.ziteng.org.hk

Survey on 'Situation of Chinese sex workers working in Canada' consent form

Zi Teng is a sex workers concern organization in Hong Kong.

We believe that every individual should be respected regardless of her/his work, identity, and nationality. Working in a sauna massage center, on streets, in one-woman brothel, or in karaoke bars is no different to other occupations. She/he is entitled to basic rights. We provide service for local sex workers, migrant sex workers from Mainland China and new immigrants working in the sex industry.

We know that there are more women leaving China and working as sex workers in other countries. In order to further understand their working situation, we have been carrying out surveys on the 'Situation of Chinese sex workers working in foreign countries (migrant sex workers)' since 2006. In this year we will work with SWAN to carry out the survey on 'Situation of Chinese sex workers in Canada', so as to understand your life and work in Canada.

The report on this survey is mainly used to show us the general situation of migrant Chinese sex workers, to further better the service provided for migrant sex workers. There are two major parts in the survey. One is questionnaire and the other is in-depth interview. The survey information can only accessed by us and SWAN interviewers. Personal information will be kept highly confidential: All survey information and findings will be destroyed after the release of the report. We will provide some interview fees for your cooperation.

I agree to provide information for the said survey.

_____ (you can use pseudonym)

_____ (witness)

Date: _____

Date: _____

APPENDIX D: CONSENT FORM – CHINESE



Hong Kong (S.P.O. No. 745) 香港郵政總局註冊7459號
Tel/電話 1852 2327182 Fax/傳真 18521 23404528
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Web-site/網址 www.ziteng.org.hk

「在加拿大工作的中國性工作者狀況」調查同意書

紫藤是香港一個關心性工作者團體。

我們相信每一個人，不論她/他的職業、身份、國籍，都應受到尊重，無論在桑拿按摩中心、街上、一樓一，還是在卡拉ok工作，都是一份職業，都應享有基本的權利。我們的服務對象包括香港本地、來自中國內地和新移民的性工作者。

我們知道越來越多的內地女性離開中國到外地從事性工作，為了進一步了解她們在外地工作的狀況，我們自2006年起進行了「在外国工作的中國性工作者(外勞性工作者)狀況」調查。而今年我們則和SWAN合作，進行「在加拿大工作的中國性工作者狀況」調查，希望了解你們在加拿大的生活和工作。

此次調查報告主要用來了解中國外勞性工作者的處境，藉以改善現有為外勞性工作者提供的支持上的不足。調查主要有兩部份，問卷調查及深入訪談，有關調查的詳細資料只供我們和SWAN的調查人員使用，所有個人資料一律保密，發表調查報告後所有資料均會銷毀。為多謝你提供資料，我們預備了一點訪問費多謝你的幫忙。

本人同意為有關調查提供資料。

_____ (不需使用真名) _____ (見證人)

日期: _____ 日期: _____

APPENDIX E: SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE – ENGLISH

Migrant²⁰ Sex Worker Questionnaire

Questionnaire no:

Interviewer:

Interview taken place at:

Interview taken place on:

Demographic data

1. Age

- 20 or below
- 21 – 30
- 31 – 40
- 40 or above

2. Hometown

- Hubei / Hunan
- Sichuan
- Hebei
- Hong Kong
- Others _____

3. Occupation in hometown

- Peasant
- Worker
- Housewife
- Own business / Hawker
- Others _____

4. Annual household income (in RMB or HKD)

- \$500 or below
- \$501 -1,500
- \$1,501 - 2,500
- \$2,501- 3,000
- \$3,001 or above

Migration purpose and route

5. Is this your first time to leave your hometown for work?

- Yes
- No

6. Why do you leave your hometown for work? (You can choose more than one option)

- Unemployed
- Low income in hometown
- Family problem
- Emigration
- Others _____

²⁰ Although the title of this survey refers to ‘migrant sex workers’, recruitment criteria prioritized ethnicity rather than migrant status, i.e. this study surveyed *Chinese* sex workers (including migrants as well as permanent residents, immigrants, etc.).

7. Why do you come to Canada? (You can choose more than one option)

- Introduced by friend
- Visited before
- Lower traveling expenses
- Simple visa application
- Others _____

8. What kind of visa do you hold?

- Relatives visit
- New immigrant
- Travel
- Business
- Study
- Others _____

9. Expected monthly income earned in Canada (in CAD)

- \$2,000 or below
- \$2,001 - \$3,000
- \$3,001 - \$4,000
- \$4,001 - \$5,000
- \$5,001 or above

10. Total cost for the trip to Canada (including travel documents, travel costs and agent, calculated in CAD)

- Below \$1,000
- \$1,000 - \$2,000
- \$2,000 - \$3,000
- \$3,001 or above

Working condition in Canada

11. Daily working hour _____ hour(s)

12. Average number of customers on a daily basis

- Below 3
- 4 - 6
- 7 - 9
- 10 or above

13. Service charge per head (including tips, calculated in CAD)

- \$100 or below
- \$101 - \$150
- \$151 - \$200
- \$201 or above

14. Average daily working costs (including rent, condoms, calculated in CAD)

- \$100 or below
- \$101 - \$200
- \$201 - \$300
- \$301 or above

15. Business mode

- Profit-sharing

- Self-employed
- Only depend on tips
- Salary
- Salary and tips
- Others _____

16. Workplace

- Brothel
- Massage parlor
- Streetwalker
- Others _____

17. Daily average income (in CAD)

- Below \$100
- \$100 - \$150
- \$151 - \$200
- \$201 - \$250
- Above \$250

Occupational safety and health

18. Did you firmly insist your customers to wear condoms?

- Yes (jump to question 20)
- No
- Sometimes

19. Why do you not/sometimes insist your customers to wear condoms? (You can choose more than one option)

- Not necessary
- Customers are unwilling to wear
- Receive more tips for sex without condom
- Unaware of condom
- Condoms are too expensive
- Others

20. What will you do if you think you are infected? (You can choose more than one option)

- Forget/ignore it
- Seek help from doctors (jump to question 22)
- Buy medicine
- Deal with it after going back to hometown
- Others _____

21. Why do you not seek help from the doctors? (You can choose more than one option)

- Not necessary
- No idea where to seek help from the doctors
- Expensive cost
- Others _____

22. Did you ever experience the following and how many times did you experience:

- Rape
- False claim as police officer
- Refusal of payment
- Robbery
- Harassment of triad members

- Police entrapment
- Physical violence
- Others _____

23. Ways to cope with the above (You can choose more than one option)

- Forget/ignore it
- Seek help from friends
- Call the police
- Others _____

24. Why do you not call the police? (You can choose more than one option)

- The police cannot offer help
- Fear of the police
- Worry about the complicated procedures
- Fear of being found working illegally
- Others _____

Problems experienced at work

25. Have you been arrested?

- Yes
- No (jump to question)

26. In which situation were you arrested? (You can choose more than one option)

- Immigration/visa problem
- Soliciting/hanging along with clients
- In your own workplace/massage parlour
- Selling sex
- Police undercover operation

27. Have you ever experienced the following after arrest? (You can choose more than one option)

- Forced to sign the testimonials
- Forbidden to make phone calls
- Forbidden to find a lawyer
- Strip-searched
- Physical abuse
- Verbal intimidation
- Confiscation of travel document
- Others _____

28. Have you ever filed a complaint in case of the above?

- Yes (jump to question 30)
- No

29. Why did you not file a complaint? (You can choose more than one option)

- Fear of the police
- Unaware of the complaint procedures
- Worry about the complicated procedures
- Believe it is not effective
- Others _____

30. Have you ever been charged?

- Yes
- No (jump to question 33)

31. If you were charged, what were you charged with? (You can choose more than one option)

- Breach a condition of stay (work for money during the stay/overstay)
- Counterfeit documents
- Soliciting for immoral purposes
- Working in your own workplace/massage parlour
- Selling sex
- Police undercover operation
- Others _____

32. Outcomes of the charge? (You can choose more than one option)

- Imprisonment
- Fines
- Repatriation
- Release
- Others _____

33. What did the police do when you were not charged? (You can choose more than one option)

- Repatriation
- Release
- Others _____

Legal Knowledge

34. Are you aware of your legal rights?

- Well aware (jump to question 36)
- Not very aware
- Unaware

35. Why are you not aware? (You can choose more than one option)

- Lack the channel
- Complicated legal procedures
- Believe it is not necessary
- Others _____

36. Do you think the Canadian legal system fair?

- Yes (jump to question 38)
- No

37. Why do you think it is not fair?

Other

38. Do you like working in Canada?

- Yes (jump to question 40)
- No (jump to question 39)
- I am not sure (jump to question 40)

39. Why do you dislike working in Canada?

- Low incomes
- Dangerous working environment
- Others _____

40. From the rates of 1-10, how will you rate working in Canada? Why is it?

41. What advices will you provide for those who are interested to work in Canada?

Thanks for your cooperation.
Your responses will be of great value to other sex workers.

In case of any question, please contact Zi Teng (Hong Kong) at ziteng@hkstar.com
OR
SWAN (Vancouver) at info@swanvancouver.ca
OR
ACSA (Toronto) at ljennifer@agincourtcommunityservices.com

APPENDIX F: SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE - CHINESE

外勞問卷調查

問卷編號： _____
訪問者： _____
訪問日期： _____
訪問地區： _____

個人資料

1. 年齡
 - 20或以下
 - 21 - 30
 - 31 - 40
 - 40或以上
2. 家鄉 (中國)
 - 湖北 / 湖南
 - 四川
 - 河北
 - 香港
 - 其他 _____
3. 在家鄉的職業 _____
 - 農民
 - 工人
 - 主婦
 - 小買賣
 - 其他 _____
4. 在家鄉平均每年家庭總收入 (以人民幣或港幣計算)
 - \$500或以下
 - \$501 - \$1500
 - \$1501 - \$2500
 - \$2501 - \$3000
 - \$3001或以上

流動目的及行徑

5. 是否第一次離鄉到外地工作?
 - 是
 - 否 (以前曾到哪裡工作? _____)
6. 為什麼離鄉到外地工作? (可選擇多於一個答案)
 - 失業
 - 家鄉工作收入低
 - 家庭問題
 - 移民/流徙
 - 其他 _____
7. 為什麼選擇來加拿大? (可選擇多於一個答案)
 - 有熟人介紹
 - 以前來過
 - 路費便宜
 - 辦証容易
 - 其他 _____
8. 持什麼證件來加拿大?
 - 探親

1

- 新移民
 - 旅遊
 - 商務
 - 學生
 - 其他 _____
9. 預計在加拿大每月賺到的數目 (以加幣計算)
- \$2000或以下
 - \$2001 - \$3000
 - \$3001 - \$4000
 - \$4001 - \$5000
 - \$5001或以上
10. 來加拿大成本 (包括證件、中間人、路費, 以加幣計算)
- \$1000以下
 - \$1000- \$2000
 - \$2000 - \$3000
 - \$3000 或以上

加拿大工作的條件

11. 每日工作時間 _____ 小時
12. 平均每日客人數目
- 3個或以下
 - 4 - 6個
 - 7 - 9個
 - 10個或以上
13. 服務收費或小費 (以加幣計算)
- \$100 或以下
 - \$101 - \$150
 - \$151 - \$200
 - \$200或以上
14. 平均每日工作成本 (包括租金、安全套、房租, 以加幣計算)
- \$100或以下
 - \$101 - \$200
 - \$201 - \$300
 - \$300 或以上
15. 經營模式
- 分賬
 - 自僱
 - 只靠小費
 - 定額薪酬
 - 薪酬及小費
 - 其他 _____
16. 工作場所
- 妓院
 - 按摩院
 - 企街
 - 其他
17. 平均每日收入 (以加幣計算)
- \$100以下
 - \$100-\$150

- \$150-\$200
- \$200-\$250
- \$250 以上

職業健康及安全

18. 有否絕對堅持要客人用安全套？
- 是 (跳至第20題)
 - 不是
 - 間中
19. 如沒有堅持要客人用安全套，為什麼？(可選擇多於一個答案)
- 沒有需要
 - 客人不願意，害怕影響生意
 - 不用安全套可收較高酬金
 - 不認識安全套
 - 買/取不到安全套，價錢太貴
 - 其他 _____
20. 當懷疑自己患上性病時，你會如何處理？(可選擇多於一個答案)
- 不了了之
 - 求醫 (跳至第22題)
 - 自行買藥
 - 待回鄉後才處理
 - 其他 _____
21. 如沒有求醫，為什麼？(可選擇多於一個答案)
- 覺得沒有需要
 - 不知道什麼地方有提供身體檢查
 - 費用昂貴
 - 其他 _____
22. 有否遇過以下情況及遇到的次數：
- 強姦
 - 假冒警察
 - 不付錢
 - 打劫
 - 客人/黑社會騷擾
 - 警察放蛇/騷擾
 - 遭暴力對待 (例如毆打、腳踢)
 - 其他 _____
23. 如何處理上述情況：(可選擇多於一個答案)
- 不了了之
 - 向其他同行求助
 - 報警
 - 其他 _____
24. 如沒有報警，為什麼？(可選擇多於一個答案)
- 認為警察幫不了忙
 - 害怕警察
 - 害怕手續麻煩
 - 害怕被捕
 - 其他 _____

工作時遇到的問題

3

25. 有否曾被捕？
- 有
 - 沒有 (跳至第35題)
26. 在什麼情況下被捕？(可選擇多於一個答案)
- 出入境 / 簽證有問題
 - 找客人/與客人一起時
 - 在自己地方或按摩院工作時
 - 賣淫
 - 警察放蛇時
 - 其他 _____
27. 被捕後有否遇過以下情況：(可選擇多於一個答案)
- 被迫簽口供紙
 - 禁止打電話
 - 禁止找律師
 - 脫光衣服搜身
 - 暴力對待
 - 言語恐嚇
 - 沒收證件
 - 其他 _____
28. 如有遇過以上情況，有否曾經投訴？
- 有 (跳至第30題)
 - 沒有
29. 如沒有投訴，為什麼？(可選擇多於一個答案)
- 害怕警察
 - 不知道如何投訴
 - 害怕手續麻煩
 - 覺得作用不大
 - 其他 _____
30. 有否曾被起訴？
- 有
 - 沒有 (跳至第33題)
31. 如有被起訴，以什麼法例起訴？(可選擇多於一個答案)
- 違反逗留條例 (逗留期間做接受金錢的工作 / 逾期居留)
 - 持有偽造身份證明文件
 - 唆使引誘他人作不道德行為
 - 在自己地方或按摩院工作時
 - 賣淫
 - 警察放蛇
 - 其他 _____
32. 起訴結果 (可選擇多於一個答案)
- 監禁
 - 罰款
 - 遣返
 - 釋放
 - 其他 _____
33. 如沒有被起訴，警察怎處理你的個案？(可選擇多於一個答案)
- 遣返
 - 釋放
 - 其他 _____

法律知識

34. 是否清楚自己享有的法律權利？
- 很清楚 (跳至第36題)
 - 一知半解
 - 不清楚
35. 如不清楚，為什麼？(可選擇多於一個答案)
- 沒有途徑了解
 - 法律程序複雜
 - 沒有需要了解
 - 其他 _____
36. 你認為加拿大的法律公平嗎？
- 公平 (跳至第38題)
 - 不公平
37. 如認為不公平，為什麼？

其他

38. 你喜歡在加拿大工作嗎？
- 是 (跳至第40題)
 - 不是 (跳至第39題)
 - 不知道 (跳至第40題)
39. 如不喜歡，為什麼？(可選擇多於一個答案)
- 收入低
 - 工作環境危險
 - 其他 _____

40. 以1-10評分，你覺得在加拿大工作怎麼樣？為什麼？

41. 你會給打算來或已來到加拿大工作的姊妹什麼忠告？

謝謝你的合作！
你的意見對其他的姊妹有很大的參考價值

若有任何問題，歡迎和我們聯絡

你可聯絡香港紫藤(ziteng@hkstar.com)或加拿大溫哥華

APPENDIX G: INTERVIEW GUIDELINES IN ENGLISH & CHINESE

Interview guideline (migrant Chinese sex workers research) 深入訪談建議問題 (中國籍外勞性工作者)

- can you tell me how do you come to work in this country? (describe the process as much as possible, e.g. cost, how to contact, did you pass any other country?) 你怎樣來到這個國家工作的 (可不可以形容一下過程, 例如花多少錢、誰介紹你來的呢? 有沒有去過別的國家?)
- can you remember how you felt before departing for this country? 你來這裡工作前的心情是怎樣的?
- what did you expect before coming to this country? 你來工作之前期待可以得到什麼?
- how did you feel when you just/first arrived this country? Anything you found interesting or attractive? Anything difficult to cope with? 你來到這裡第一個的感覺是什麼? 這裡有什麼令你覺得有趣或者很吸引你? 遇到什麼困難嗎?
- can you describe your first customer after coming here? (describe how he/you approach each other, his attitude, his outward appearance) 形容一下你怎樣找到第一個客人? 例如你如何跟他接觸、他態度如何、外表好看嗎?
- how do you feel about your customers in this country? 你覺得這邊的客人好不好?
- how do you feel about this country? 你覺得這裡好嗎?
- if you can choose, will you choose to work in this country? will you come again? 如果你可以再選, 你會再來這裡工作嗎?
- can you describe your working and living experiences here? What do you usually do? 你可以形容一下你在這邊的生活嗎? 不用工作時平常會做什麼?
- can you describe your life here? Will you go out with friends or do different activities? 不用工作時, 會不會跟朋友出去玩?
- is there anything you will hardly forget about this country? (e.g. customers, laws, landlords, lifestyle, working mode) 在這裡有什麼令你難忘的嗎? 例如好/壞客人、法例、老闆/姊妹、工作/生活方式

APPENDIX H: ORGANIZATIONAL INFORMATION

ZI TENG

We believe that all women, regardless of their profession, social classes, religion, or races, have the same basic human rights, that they are equal and entitled to fair and equal treatment in the legal and judicial system, that nobody should be oppressed against, that all people should live dignity. Our partners are women from Hong Kong and China who work as sex workers. Zi Teng will actively engaged in building contacts with sex workers, providing them information on health care services, their legal rights and other resources. We will also help them in networking and building up a mutual support system. We have a 24-hour paging system for cases of emergency.

Website: ziteng.org.hk
Contact: ziteng@hkstar.com
Tel #: + (852) 2332-7182

SUPPORTING WOMEN'S ALTERNATIVES NETWORK (SWAN)

SWAN supports the health, safety and well-being of newcomer, migrant and immigrant women engaged in indoor sex work. Our membership includes women from diverse cultural backgrounds who speak Cantonese, Mandarin, Hindi, Farsi, Creole, Spanish, French and English. We use this diversity to build a community network that supports women who work in massage parlours and other indoor sites.

Website: swanvancouver.ca
Contact: Alison Clancey, Executive Director, info@swanvancouver.ca
Tel #: +1 (604) 719-6343

AGINCOURT COMMUNITY SERVICES ASSOCIATION (ACSA), MASSAGE PARLOUR/MICRO-BROTHEL OUTREACH PROJECT

The Massage Parlour/Micro-Brothel Outreach Project serves women currently involved in sex work in massage parlours and micro-brothels (aka residential brothels) in Scarborough, Ontario. This outreach-based project consists of a Massage Parlour/Micro-Brothel Outreach Worker and Peer Workers who engage massage parlour and micro-brothel managers and sex workers through weekly outreach visits and occasional accompaniments in Scarborough, Ontario. Workers engage clients through: distribution of safer sex tools and education materials; discussion about sexual health and rights education; information, referrals and informal case management. These activities will empower women through increased means of HIV/AIDS prevention, and referrals to client-identified needs such as health care and STI testing.

Website: <http://www.agincourtcommunityservices.com/programs/homeless/massage.php>
Contact: Jennifer Leung, ljennifer@agincourtcommunityservices.com
Tel #: +1 (416) 321-6912 ext 241

