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Symbolic Violence, the Sale of Sex and Sex Trafficking in Hong Kong

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Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

School of Applied Social Sciences

Durham University

2016

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Angie Ng

Abstract

Hong Kong is a highly developed, neoliberal and post-British-colonial region. It has a history of being a trafficking hub for both opium and humans, which includes the enslavement of girls and women for sexual exploitation. The aim of this thesis is to use a Feminist, Bourdieusian framework to explore the local environment, the experiences of women selling sex, and the relationship between the two, in order to explain the persistence of control of women by third parties in the sale of sex in Hong Kong. The research can be described as pragmatic, utilising a predominantly qualitative, mixed-methods approach to answer the research questions, within the aforementioned framework. This approach includes the life 'herstories' of eight women who are legal residents of Hong Kong and involved in the sale of sex, in order to allow for deeper exploration of their feelings and experiences; expert interviews with five community workers from different NGOs to share their knowledge from the ground; participant observation from volunteering with a civil society group and living in Hong Kong to explore the local environment; qualitative content analysis of six Hong Kong newspapers; and a survey with 189 respondents on social attitudes. Findings suggest that control persists, and it does so because the political and business elite are maximising their interests, via inaction, in terms of structural challenges and symbolic violence against women. This suggests that symbolic struggle and collective action are needed to change social attitudes and press the government of the Hong Kong SAR for social and political change.

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List of Abbreviations

AFP: Agence France-Presse
AFRO: Action for REACHOUT
ARIAT: Asian Regional Initiative against Trafficking in Women and Children
ASEAN: Association of Southeast Asian Nations
BSA: British Sociological Association
CEDAW: Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women
CIA: Central Intelligence Agency
COYOTE: Call Off Your Tired Old Ethics
EOC: Equal Opportunities Commission
ECPAT: End Child Prostitution, Child Pornography and Trafficking of Children for Sexual Purposes
ESRC: Economic and Social Research Council
GAATW: Global Alliance Against Traffic in Women
GEM: Gender Equitable Men
GMS: Greater Mekong Subregion
HE: Humanitarian-Egalitarian
HKSAR: Hong Kong Special Administrative Region
HRC: Human Rights Commission
ILEA: International Law Enforcement Academy
INTERPOL: International Criminal Police Organization
IOM: International Organisation for Migration
MFMW: Mission for Migrant Workers
MTR: Mass Transit Railway
NGO: Non-Governmental Organisation
PRC: People's Republic of China
SAARC: South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation
SAR: Special Administrative Region
SCMP: South China Morning Post
STD: sexually transmitted disease
TIP: Trafficking in Persons
TWP: Trafficking in Women Perception
U.K.: United Kingdom
UPR: Universal Periodic Review
U.S.: United States of America
U.S. Dept. of State: United States Department of State

UN: United Nations

UNIAP: United Nations Inter-Agency Project on Human Trafficking

UNDP: United Nations Development Programme

UN.GIFT: United Nations Global Initiative to Fight Human Trafficking

UNODC: United Nations Office on Drug and Crime

Statement of Copyright

“The copyright of this thesis rests with the author. No quotation from it should be published without the author’s prior written consent and information derived from it should be acknowledged.”

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Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to my mother, Emy, who passed away too early, and my brother, Rene, for always being there for me.

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Introduction

The thesis began in October 2010 with the author's wish to look deeper into the issue of sex trafficking after her MA studies, particularly after a group of victims from Ukraine shared their 'herstories' with her as her part of her thesis. She felt both an overwhelming sense of compassion towards these women and the feeling that she needed do more to help shed light on the issue and contribute towards the fight against trafficking in women. The Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (HKSAR)¹ was chosen as the research location, both for personal reasons - to spend more time with her 90+ year-old grandmother and expose her young son to their Hong Kong culture - and professional reasons, including Hong Kong's unique historical situation as both a colonial trafficking hub of both men and women for various purposes and location in which the sex trade was once legalised.

The methodology was inspired by the life and work of Pierre Bourdieu, a French sociologist who was not only a founding figure of modern Sociology but also one of the greatest public sociologists of our time, using his sociological analysis to publicly support social causes (Burawoy, 2008 and 2010; Swartz, 2013). He helped revitalise the field of Sociology, and in giving it a mission of civic duty, he extended its influence in the public sphere more than anyone else had arguably

1 SARs of the People's Republic of China (PRC) are territories that fall within the sovereignty of the PRC but are not considered part of Mainland China, operating autonomously under the 'One Country, Two Systems' model, except in the case of defence and foreign affairs (Basic Law Promotion Steering Committee, 2008). Hong Kong's constitutional document, the Basic Law, guarantees this autonomy for 50 years from the date it came into affect, 1 July 1997 (ibid.).

ever done (Wacquant, 2002). After the author learned about Bourdieu and his theoretical framework, she felt it resonated so closely with her that she decided to utilise a Feminist, Bourdieusian framework in this research.

The fieldwork, which began in September 2011, was originally carried out with the hope of focusing on both the sale of sex and foreign domestic workers, to cover different types of trafficking in women popular in Hong Kong. However, at a later stage, it was decided that the focus should be on the sale of sex to allow for more depth in analysis. Despite this, the situation regarding foreign domestic workers in Hong Kong is important in understanding gender oppression in the territory and is included in the thesis, although not in as much detail as the main focus of the thesis is on women in the sale of sex².

The thesis is an examination of various aspects of society itself and not just laws, because laws by themselves do not necessarily end in justice (Spivak, 2006; Spivak, 2010a). It utilises an ethnographic approach with the aim of studying the environment in the highly developed territory of Hong Kong, including that related to the media, government agents, social attitudes, the local sex trade, the experiences of women selling sex and the relationship between these in order to shed light on the persistence of control of women by third parties in the sex trade. Although pimps may be involved, other agents that are also known to control women in the sale of sex include 'loan sharks', the men in their lives, family members, friends, organised crime, the police, owners of entertainment venues and other agents. Contrary to the vision of developing countries

² Both women, men and people who identify with neither genders can sell sex, but within this thesis, the term 'the sale of sex' refers to women.

commonly conjured by the mention of sex trafficking, the destination countries are often those that are established (Sesay, 2011), such as the United States, Great Britain and other Western nations (Kristof, 2011).

Hong Kong SAR is considered a 'country' with very high human development, ranking first in income inequality within the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) list of these countries (Einhorn, 2009). Although it is one of Asia's richest cities, Hong Kong also has one of the region's largest levels of income inequality (Ibrahim, 2010). It has a Gini coefficient, which shows the degree of income inequality within a country, of 53.7 in 2011, with zero indicating perfect equality and 100 indicating perfect inequality (CIA, 2013). To put this into context, in a list of 136 countries around the world, Hong Kong ranks eleventh in income inequality, sandwiched between Colombia, Honduras and Guatemala, which had higher levels of income inequality, and Thailand, Paraguay and Bolivia, which had less (ibid.).

This thesis is pragmatic and takes the position that although there is harm and violence against women in the sale of sex, it is necessary to recognise the factors that limit women's choices and be careful of further limiting the choices available to women. Research into the issue of women and the sale of sex should be used to improve the lives of women in general, increasing the options available to them; it should not be carried out in line with some political agendas, which have the goal of limiting women's choices in migration, sexuality or both.

1.2 Significance of this Research

In order to explain how women continue to be controlled by third parties within the sale of sex, this thesis examines how the local environment, including the local policy and legal situation, affect women in the sale of sex and contribute to their experiences. The sale of sex by women does not exist within a vacuum but within communities and societies, and these broader, contextual factors are important. As with all issues involving patriarchy, this one is harmful to societies as a whole and has implications for how all women are treated, and both women and men need to be part of the solution. Indeed, just as women may be seen as prisoners of dominant representations, so too can men (Bourdieu, 1998a; hooks, 2000), albeit it in differing ways.

The current situation around the world is that many people do not want to accept that something as horrible as human trafficking exists, preferring instead to deny that it occurs at all or to blame the victims (Barry, 1984; Korzinski, 2013; Revenco, 2006). To successfully change attitudes, it is necessary to know which attitudes must be changed and from what starting points these changes must occur in order to fight human trafficking.

Specifically regarding the victims of sex trafficking, research conducted by La Strada, an NGO network in Europe, found that one third of respondents blamed victims of sex trafficking (Revenco, 2006). Although not directly translatable into the context of Hong Kong, this research illustrates the harm caused by victim blaming. According to the same research (*ibid.*), over 80 per cent of victims

were rejected by their families; 70 per cent were rejected by their communities; more than 70 per cent had limited assistance and/or faced hardships in obtaining this assistance; some of these were subjected to physical and mental abuse by their families and rape by men in their community. Victim-blaming attitudes in social workers, such as believing sex trafficked children choose to enter the sex trade, have been linked to attitudes denying them therapeutic services (Bergeron, 2010). Rejection by and lack of support from families and/or communities is especially common for sex trafficking victims and are known to be factors causing victims to be re-trafficked (IOM 2010); many victims are re-trafficked within two years of exiting the first trafficking situation (ibid.). These attitudes are also correlated with beliefs that pimps and johns need to be traffickers to make a living (Bergeron, 2010), as if sex trafficking were a 'necessary evil'. In order to prevent sex trafficking, rescue victims, rehabilitate them and reintegrate them successfully, it is imperative to change societal attitudes.

Another reason that attitudes must change is that economics dictates that when there is a demand for a commodity or service, a market develops, and the criminal mind dictates that where there is a market, there will be those willing to supply it by any means possible (Jordan and Walsh, 2007). Unless the root cause of demand is eliminated, there will be men who want to buy sex and criminals willing to control women in the sale of sex. Little has been done to transform the sexist attitudes and gender stereotypes that create and reinforce the demand for women in women-designated sectors, such as the sex industry (Heyner, 2006).

In addition, changing social attitudes helps press governments into allocating adequate resources to implement policies. Even when there is legal action, this action is not useful if not taken seriously and given adequate resources (Craig, 2010). It has even been argued that enacting legislation without stringent enforcement of the law is equivalent to criminalising the masses, because individuals in such a society form the belief that punishments are not enforced and go above and beyond what is prohibited by law (Ebbe, 2008a). The low level of support the issue of human trafficking actually receives is illustrated by the fact that, according to Matthew Friedman, the regional project manager for the UNIAP, only about U.S.\$300 million a year is spent on fighting the human trafficking industry (as cited in Parry, 2011); meanwhile, the industry itself generates U.S.\$34 billion a year (ibid.). According to the International Labour Organization (ILO, 2005, as cited in Bales, Trodd and Williamson, 2009), this translates to each slave's labour generating U.S.\$13,000 on average, and U.S.\$28 billion of this is from sexual exploitation alone (ILO, 2005, as cited in Bales, Trodd and Williamson, 2009). Despite official recognition of the severity of human trafficking, both the United States and the United Kingdom (U.K.) spend less in one year on the fight against human trafficking than they do on a day in the fight against the drug trade (Skinner, 2011). Police work and public outrage alone will not end slavery (ibid.); there needs to be a mobilisation of real resources, and the sector needs to link up the right agents (Friedman as cited in Parry, 2011).

This research also recognises that the level of control by third parties and the

harm these women face in the sale of sex is graded. The continuum starts from absolute control over one's situation and minimal harm, such as in the case of those who have many options but choose to sell sex as an expression of their sexuality, to those who have no control and suffer much harm, such as sex trafficking victims who are physically and/or psychologically confined. The definitions of both will be discussed in Chapter 2. According to the United Nations Global Initiative to Fight Human Trafficking (UN.GIFT), the Protocol against Trafficking in Persons (also known as the Palermo Protocol) provides the first definition of trafficking in persons that has been internationally agreed upon (2008). This Protocol states that the crime of trafficking in persons consists of the three following elements:

- (i) Acts such as transport, transfer, harbouring, receipt of a person,
- by (ii) Means of deception, coercion, abuse of a position of vulnerability and others,
- for (iii) the Purpose of Exploitation including sexual exploitation, labour exploitation, removal of organs, etc. (ibid.).

Human smuggling or undocumented migration, on the other hand, occurs for the purpose of transporting migrants to their destinations and not with the intention of exploiting them in these destinations. This is discussed again in Chapter 2.

1.3 Introduction to Framework, Methodology and Aims

Adapting Bourdieu's theoretical framework and reworking it for a Feminist analysis, this research can be described as being pragmatic, in that it 'rejects conceptual dualisms' (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 122). It strikes a balance between materialist feminism and social constructivist feminism, and between other dichotomies, such as voluntarism and determinism. Being inspired by Bourdieu, it can also be described as having an epistemological stance that has a rationalist, 'constructivist' leaning to balance out objectivism in scientific method (Robbins, 2008). This stance calls for scientific practice to be grounded in social action (ibid.).

Related to the brief discussion on attitudes above, according to Bourdieu, the 'most successful ideological effects' are the ones that need only '*laissez-faire* and complicitous silence' (1990: 133), inaction and silence, which just allow the perpetuation of injustice. If one can cause people to do nothing or next-to-nothing about obstacles, then these obstacles will persist. Rather, there needs to be a change in the conditions that make inequalities exist (Bourdieu, 1992).

The ethnographic approach allows for both the research questions of this thesis to be answered and a deep exploration of the material aspects, experiences and feelings related to the selling of sex by women, including trafficking in women. The research goal is to use this ethnographic approach to explore various aspects of the local environment, including social attitudes, the experiences of women selling sex, and the relationships between these, in order to help explain

persistence of control of women by third parties in the sale of sex.

The table below, Table 1.1, shows these research questions and the specific methods used to collect and analyse data in order to be able to answer these questions.

Table 1.1: Research Questions

Research Questions	Research Methods	Analysis
What are the women's experiences, and what do they reveal about the local environment?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 'herstories' of women selling sex: 8 ▪ participant observation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ thematic analysis of field notes ▪ thematic analysis of interview data
What is the local context in which women sell sex, and how is this understood by the NGOs supporting the women?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ semi-structured expert interviews: 5 ▪ participant observation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ thematic analysis of field notes ▪ thematic analysis of interview data
How does the information about trafficking in women learned from the informants compare with the local Hong Kong government's official position?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ semi-structured expert interviews: 5 ▪ life 'herstories' of women selling sex: 8 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ thematic analysis of field notes ▪ thematic analysis of interview data
How is the press coverage of human trafficking-related issues, and how is it similar to or different from the government's attitude?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ qualitative content analysis using the databases of six popular newspapers in the territory 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ qualitative content analysis using matrices
What are relevant attitudes that exist in other agents' habitus, and how are these similar to or different from the government's attitude?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ semi-structured expert interviews: 5 ▪ life 'herstories' of women selling sex: 8. ▪ participant observation ▪ survey: 182 respondents from general population 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ thematic analysis of field notes ▪ thematic analysis of interview data ▪ statistical analysis and multiple correspondence analysis via SPSS

In line with the ethnographic approach, these methods place what the women themselves, and others in their communities, have to say into the discussion as

legitimate sources of information, while also possibly linking the experiences of women in the sale of sex with various factors in the local environment, such as agents' social attitudes.

This ethnographic approach is pragmatic, in line with Bourdieu's research methodology. It is also in line with Feminism and phenomenology, as it allows for a deep exploration of the material aspects, experiences and feelings related to the sale of sex, linking structure and agency. At the same time, it notes the attitudes of other social agents on the issues, including the media.

1.4 Structure of Thesis

The next chapter, Chapter 2, contains a review of the literature on women selling sex, including trafficking in women; it contains knowledge gaps and issues with current theoretical frameworks, which illustrate how Bourdieu's theoretical tools can be used in studying this issue. The following chapter, Chapter 3, consists of a literature review on the Feminist 'appropriation' of Bourdieu and how this is useful in researching women selling sex, including sex trafficking. Chapter 4 is comprised of an analysis of Hong Kong's legal and policy situation with regards to the sale of sex. This is then followed by Chapter 5, which details the methods used in this research; this chapter also contains an exercise in reflexivity in line with Bourdieusian methodology and a discussion on ethical issues, which is especially important given that the research was initiated at a university outside of the United Kingdom, where ethical approval beyond that of one's supervisor was not required.

Chapter 6 delves into the 'herstories' of the women interviewed and discusses them in terms of the local environment. After that, Chapter 7 presents a more detailed view of the local sex trade and larger environment from the point of view of NGOs working with women selling sex and as viewed from the ground by the researcher and other civil society agents. Chapter 8 presents the information on human trafficking in Hong Kong, which was uncovered during the course of the fieldwork. Chapter 9 then explores the media coverage of human trafficking-related issues and whether or not this reflects the government's position. Chapter 10 presents social attitudes in Hong Kong related to trafficking in women and whether or not these are similar to the government's attitudes. Together, these five chapters, Chapters 6 to 10, address various aspects of the overarching research question, concerning how the local environment impacts the lives of women selling sex, including victims of sex trafficking. The last chapter, Chapter 11, concludes the thesis by bringing together themes from these five chapters together and offering some practical steps that could be taken and directions for future research.

Chapter 2: The Sale of Sex in Hong Kong

2.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a review of some of the literature on the sale of sex. It starts with an introduction to the historical context necessary for understanding the research context, including Hong Kong's British colonial history, how the selling of sex was viewed in the Victorian era back in Britain and the fight against 'white slavery'. The second section discusses Hong Kong's historical and present situation - in terms of gender, the sex trade and human trafficking - in order to provide more information about the context of Hong Kong and its uniqueness.

Not only was Hong Kong once a human trafficking hub, it also offers an example of a culture in which pre-existing and colonial cultures came together to produce an even more patriarchal society and serves as an example of a historical location in which legalisation of the selling of sex highlights the use of the issue as a tool for political projects. The remainder of the chapter then presents how the issues are currently defined, the movement of women around the world, controversies surrounding these issues, theoretical frameworks and debates in terms of women selling sex and theoretical frameworks in terms of human trafficking. Then, the knowledge gaps in this area of study are presented.

2.2 Historical Context

2.2.1 Colonial History

When the Chinese government confiscated illegal opium stocks in 1839, a drug trafficker based in Guangdong steered the British government into the first Opium War (the Guardian, 1984, as cited in Naylor, 2004). Although the goal was to secure the British opium monopoly (Marez, 2004), this war was fought under the guise of protecting 'free trade' (Ropp, 2010). After the loss of the war, one of the concessions China made was to allow the British to establish a colony in Hong Kong in 1841, at which time Jardine, the aforementioned drug trafficker, moved his activities to Hong Kong (the Guardian, 1984, as cited in Naylor, 2004). After another Opium War, China was forced to grant foreign powers free trade, give them authority over foreign residential areas in main cities and lease them certain territories, such as the New Territories of Hong Kong (Jaschok and Miers, 1994).

In 1972, Hong Kong was removed from the UN's list of colonial territories upon the People's Republic of China's (PRC) request, after the PRC joined the UN in 1971 (Carroll, 2007). After that and more than two years of Sino-British negotiations, the Sino-British Joint Declaration, specifying that all of Hong Kong would be reunified with China on 1 July 1997, was signed on 19 December 1984 and ratified on 28 May 1984 (Carroll, 2007). This declaration guaranteed that for the first fifty years of return, Hong Kong would be administrated under the 'One-

Country, Two-Systems' model, allowing Hong Kong to retain use of British colonial laws, maintain its status as a free port and not pay taxes to the PRC (ibid.).

2.3.2 The Selling of Sex in the Victorian Era

Due to the British colonial history of Hong Kong and the colonial-era laws that were and still are used in the territory, it is important to consider what was happening in the British Victorian era. In the United Kingdom, due to the religious revival of the 1850s, the sale of sex had become the 'Great Social Evil', diverting public discussion away from class issues (Walkowitz, 1982: 32). It reflected a new interest in the state in controlling the lives of the 'unrespectable poor', including enlisted men, and women selling sex (Walkowitz, 1982); these women were the same as the other working poor who had to make a living in urban areas, mainly teenagers from both rural and urban areas who came from poor families that could not support them (ibid.). The political agenda at this time was aimed at creating an army of men without any ties to families or localities and hence easily transportable to all corners of the empire, and this resulted in the regulation of the sale of sex, creation of medical institutions and adoption of new methods to enable the police and medical establishment to supervise the lives of poor people (ibid.). Women selling sex became the focus, because enlisted men had violently objected to being periodically examined themselves, and female bodies became seen as the primary source of pollution; they separated women selling sex as 'sexual deviants' from the regular working poor and gave rise to negative social attitudes against these women, resulting in their being considered outcasts (ibid.). Women registered as selling sex who were

found to have venereal diseases were interned into lock hospitals, which had previously been voluntary and unpopular due to the unsanitary nature and negligence of female patients (ibid.).

Women registered as 'prostitutes', middle-class feminist, female popular audiences and others viewed the Acts as a misogynist conspiracy to degrade women, casting women as the polluters of men and separating women into the virtuous versus the impure (Walkowitz, 1982). The prior group were seen as maternal and desexualised, whereas the latter were perceived as sterile and sexualised (Spongberg, 1997). Even the medical literature of that time had shifted from considering women in general as diseased to focusing blame on women selling sex; the sale of sex was increasingly framed as a public sexual health issue (ibid.).

Whereas the police previously had a laissez-faire attitude towards the sale of sex, due to increasing attacks by the public on their inaction, they looked into using the European system of regulation in order to limit the area in which the sale of sex took place and place it under police surveillance (Walkowitz, 1982). The Contagious Disease Acts of 1864, 1866 and 1869 were passed by the British parliament, requiring all women selling sex in specific military zones to be registered and regularly inspected as an attempt to halt the spread of venereal diseases, and those who did not comply were forced to do so (ibid.). Although there were some exceptions, most women selling sex worked mainly for themselves, and lodge-house keepers were working-class women trying to make ends meet (ibid.).

In 1883, the acts were suspended, and in 1886 they were repealed (Phoenix, 1999); however, the Defence of the Realm Act of 1918 reintroduced similar measures to stem venereal disease in military units (ibid.).

2.2.3 The Fight against 'White Slavery'

The first women's suffrage organisations in Great Britain were formed in 1866 and 1867, and in the 1870s, an interclass coalition consisting of working-class men, middle-class feminists, such as Josephine Butler, and others fought to repeal the Contagious Disease Acts (Walkowitz, 1982). From 1870 to 1886, they held awareness raising campaigns to change social attitudes among the political elite, and the public became aware of instrumental rape and the effects of stigmatisation of anyone identified as a woman selling sex, even if falsely so, and their efforts were known as abolitionist (ibid.).

Then, well over one hundred years ago and after the abolition of the 'black' slave trade, sex trafficking of white, European women became the first feminist issue to receive international attention and discussion (Limoncelli, 2010). The movement was a response to the organisation of the sale of sex from pre-modern, small-scale forms to a modernised, bureaucratised and internationalised industry set up by state officials in the 1800s, just as globalisation, with its economic interconnectedness and international migration, was increasing and nation-building and imperialism were rising (ibid.). This was due to state officials' concern with regulating women's bodies and sexuality (ibid.). Indeed, at first, the

focus, as per the 1904 agreement, was on migration and the control and repatriation of migrant women and girls (Kangaspunta, 2009). In 1910, the focus shifted to criminalisation of third parties involved in sex trafficking by signatory countries of the 1910 International Convention for the Suppression of the White Slave Traffic, but it was not until after World War I that it was recognised that sex trafficking could include non-European, non-white women and children of both sexes, and countries were requested to take steps towards prosecuting traffickers (ibid.).

The two international voluntary associations who initiated the first anti-trafficking movement, both based in London, had different approaches to 'prostitution' (Limoncelli, 2010). Very briefly, the International Abolitionist Federation, which emerged out of feminist groups, challenged state sovereignty in matters regarding the sale of sex and sought to abolish the state regulation of 'prostitution' around the world (ibid.). They argued that sex trafficking was just a way to supply women for the regulated brothel system and fought stereotypes of women selling sex and generated sympathy, not scorn, for these women (ibid.). On the other hand, the International Bureau was formed by those seeking racial purity and to reinforce state sovereignty and nationalism by protecting their women from foreign men and compulsory repatriation of foreign women selling sex, mainly conservative, privileged women (ibid.); their movement was closely tied to the state, and its message served state interests (ibid.). In the United States, the message of the International Bureau was taken up by the social purity movement (Nakano Glenn, 2010). The abolitionists worked for protection of women and girls in migration regardless of whether or not they had been

involved in the sale of sex, whereas officials and the International Bureau distinguished between innocent victims and those that knew they would enter 'prostitution', considering the latter group as guilty and not worthy of support (Limoncelli, 2010).

Unfortunately, the movement ended up losing its original vision and turning against the very women it had originally sought to protect as officials selectively used reforms in order to maintain their control over women's mobility and sexuality (ibid.). Officials preserved their right to maintain and regulate 'prostitution' as a disease-free service supporting their military men and migrant labourers, in prevention of interracial sexual relations, which was seen to threaten the very boundary of the nation, and homosexuality (ibid.). The lesson is that the fight against this form of exploitation has already been used as an excuse to control women's bodies via legalisation and control women in the sale of sex in the past, and it is important to avoid falling into the same trap again.

2.3 Hong Kong - Then and Now: Gender, the Sex Trade and Human Trafficking

2.3.1 Gender and Cultural Situation

In Chinese communities, as in all cultures influenced by Confucianism, the central rule of patriarchy is that the male parents are the head of their households, and as such, they have power over everyone in their families, including servants and slaves (Sinn, 1994). This reflects the core concepts of Confucianism: the privileging of order and hierarchy, the collective over the

individual, filial piety and women's obedience (Jackson, Liu, and Woo, 2008). It requires women to adhere to the three submissions, which is that they obey their fathers prior to marriage, their husbands in marriage and their eldest sons upon their husbands' passing (Gao *et al.*, 2005).

Within the context of Hong Kong, the Protestant and Roman Catholic missionaries who later came with colonialism reinforced the patriarchal ideas of Confucianism. In traditional Christianity, the ideal of a woman is also one who submits to their fathers and husbands as 'earthly representatives' of the Lord (Joyce, 2009). In pre-Victorian times, women were viewed as objects for buying and selling by men, and in Victorian times, there was an obsession with sex and controlling it (Walkowitz, 1982). So, unlike certain other indigenous societies that had patriarchal relations imposed upon them by colonisers, Hong Kong's situation of patriarchy pre-dates colonisation. During British colonial times, Christians started and ran many schools in Hong Kong (Chan, 2008). Although colonial rule ended in 1997, and Christianity is not widely accepted in general (*ibid.*), the religion and its adherents continue to dominate the education system and influence the population in this way (Liu, 2003). The intersection between these two religions and the patriarchal ideals they contain has resulted in Hong Kong's high levels of sexual control of women or sexual conservatism (Chang, 1999).

When the British occupied Hong Kong, the island was given the right to remain under the laws and customs of China (Sinn, 1994). As the local elites favoured the continuation of patriarchy, women continued to have no voice in Hong Kong

(Jaschok and Miers, 1994). A sign of this was that monogamy laws were not introduced in Hong Kong until 1970 (Jaschok and Miers, 1994). Another sign was that though the British House of Commons and various local Hong Kong groups were against the *mui jai* system, in which girls from impoverished families were enslaved within wealthier families as domestics, the system did not disappear in Hong Kong until the 1970s as the local bourgeoisie opposed the abolishment of the system (Carroll, 2007). In this system, poor families, often from rural locations, sent their daughters to wealthier homes, which would promise the care and education afforded to their own children but instead have the girls do household labour, subject them to sexual attacks and even sell them into 'prostitution' (Steinfatt, 2006).

Before education became free and compulsory in 1978, girls were more educationally disadvantaged than boys (Lee and Collins, 2006). Textbooks (ibid.) and the media (EOC, 2009) continue to perpetuate gender stereotypes. Statistics show that there is still a wide achievement gap between males and females. In 2008, the number of female employers was only 26,800 as compared to 101,300 male employers, and the numbers for self-employed females versus males was 59,700 versus 180,900 in the same year (Census and Statistics Department, 2010).

Similar to Taiwan, Singapore and South Korea, where education and career opportunities for women have improved, the marriage age of women has risen, and many are choosing not to get married at all (Hong Fincher, 2014). The crude birth rate in Hong Kong was 13.5 births per 1,000 population in 2011, and

has since dropped to 8.6 births per 1,000 population in 2014 (Census and Statistics Department, 2015), showing that more and more are choosing not to have children either. At the same time, competition among women is perceived to be high in Hong Kong. One reason may be that, whereas the gender ratio had always remained skewed towards larger numbers of men than women during colonial times, this ratio reversed in 1997 (Lee and Collins, 2006). This may have caused them to feel competition both amongst themselves and with women from Mainland China. The term, '港女' (Hong Kong girl) is now a derogatory label for Hong Kong Chinese women, who are now perceived as demanding, spoiled and materialistic, as compared to Mainland Chinese women, for having a certain level of standards. When they prefer to focus on their educations and careers instead of men, they are also labelled '剩女' (leftover girl), which is just a more trendy term from Mainland China for 'old maid' or women who have 'failed' to find a husband (Hong Fincher, 2014). The promotion of such ideology is linked to Mainland China's agenda of encouraging childbirth and child rearing in highly educated, urban women in an attempt to increase the 'quality' of the general population (ibid.). The promotion of such ideology may also be playing a role in increasing the level of competition among women in Hong Kong.

Although a similar label does exist for men, '港男' (Hong Kong boy), which broadly refers to 'nerds' and less financially successful men, the term does not carry the same negative weight as '港女' (Hong Kong girl). Also, although the term '剩男' (leftover boy) exists in Mainland China, where the gender ratio has a higher proportion of men than women, it is not heard in Hong Kong; even within Mainland China, it is rarely heard (Baiké, n.d.).

2.3.2 The Sale of Sex

According to the first proper census, carried out in 1872, Hong Kong's ratio of Chinese men to women was 7:1 and European men to women was 5:1 (Carroll, 2007); census and bi-census statistics indicate that the number of males in Hong Kong was consistently higher than the number of females until 1997 (Lee and Collins, 2006). As the settled community increased, the demand for females increased, causing many women from the rural areas in the Pearl-River Delta to be forced into sexual slavery in the colony (Jaschok and Miers, 1994). In the 1876 census, it was noted that five out of every six women in Hong Kong was selling sex (Carroll, 2007). It was well known that many of the women who sold sex in Hong Kong were living in slavery, but attention was focused not on liberating them but on making sure sexually transmitted diseases (STDs) were controlled so as not to affect the colony's health (Sinn, 1994); many were either kidnapped or sold by impoverished parents (Carroll, 2007).

In places around the world, from Paris to Shanghai to Nairobi, prior to the 1800s, the sale of sex was typically organised on a smaller scale and in different cultural variations and often involved in-kind exchanges; a more expansive relationship in which women might also provide food, bathing, conversation and company in addition to sex acts, or both (Gilfoyle, 1999). In Hong Kong's case, as the colonial administration saw Chinese women, as natives, to be sexual hazards who could potentially infect their soldiers, sailors and other colonialists, from 1857 to 1890, 'prostitution' in Hong Kong was licensed and regulated to separate women that catered to Chinese men and those that catered to Western men

(Carroll, 2007). The formal regulation of the sex trade in Hong Kong preceded the Contagious Disease Acts in Britain, with regulation being introduced in 1857, and the act was extended to cover white women twenty years later (Levine, 2003); even then, white women selling sex were given privilege over non-white women and were visited at home (ibid.). Under the regulations, women who catered to Westerners were forced to be inspected weekly, punished in cases when clients received venereal diseases and detained when found to be infected (ibid.). The Nailiyat women of Algeria, who combined dance and sexual service, and Chinese courtesans in Shanghai, for example, met similar fates; rather than being exempt from state regulation, they were reduced to 'common prostitutes' and subjected to the same rules (Henriot, 1994, and Hershatter, 1992, as cited in Limoncelli, 2010). While military vulnerability had been a main concern in the 1800s, after the turn of the century, racial purity was the primary concern (Levine, 2003).

According to the 1932 League of Nation's publication on human trafficking, Hong Kong was one of the main destinations of women and girls from America, Australia, Austria, Britain, Canada, France, Germany, Hungary, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, Russia and Switzerland (Kangaspunta, 2009). However, as mentioned previously, it was already known decades earlier, amongst residents, that many women selling sex in Hong Kong were slaves from the rural areas in the Pearl-River Delta (Jaschok and Miers, 1994), but attention was focused on controlling STDs, not on liberating them (Sinn, 1994). In contrast, even though many women from Europe sold sex in colonial territories, they did so out of their own free will, their being European and hence 'civilised'

made them automatically labelled 'trafficking victims' (Levine, 2003). Under colonialism, Asian and Aboriginal women were viewed as silent, without choices and stupid (ibid.).

The 1950s were politically and economically difficult for Hong Kong, as it was a 'Cold War city' caught in the midst of power struggles between China, the United States and Great Britain (Tsui, 2007). During this difficult period, as the majority of residents struggled for survival, young women were forced by loan sharks to sell sex to repay family debts, as depicted in local films from this era (ibid.). It is in this era that the fictional, 1957 novel by Richard Mason, *The World of Suzie Wong*, is set (Tsui, 2007). The movie about a woman who was orphaned and forced to become a *mui jai* to her uncle, later being sexually exploited by him, and eventually ending up selling sex in Hong Kong's Wan Chai district to earn money to raise her child by herself (ibid.). The movie captivated Western imagination, with the character of Suzie becoming the Orientalist stereotype of an Asian sex symbol, especially one from the territory, being 'girlish, naïve, irrational and sexually available' (ibid.:33).

In summary, little research has looked into sex trafficking in Hong Kong. It is known, however, that many Chinese women were trafficked to Hong Kong as part of the colonial project, in order to sexually service both the Chinese and Western men relocated to Hong Kong for the city's development. There was no concern for these women, who were not assisted as sex trafficking victims but controlled in order to guarantee the health of the male workforce, especially the Western one. In contrast, when women of European descent migrated to Hong

Kong to sell sex, they were automatically categorised as 'trafficking victims' since, being white, they were considered too 'civilised' to be selling sex in a colonial outpost. Later, in the 1950s, while dire poverty was forcing women to sell sex to support their families and/or pay off family debt, the character of Suzie Wong promoted the Orientalist stereotype of an Asian woman - childlike, stupid and sexually available - a caricature that continues to this day.

Previous research has documented many reasons women enter the sex industry and continue selling sex. In a book published by Ziteng titled *性是牛油和麵包 (Sex is Bread and Butter)*, one woman in Hong Kong states that, 'I am a sex worker. I am in this field because of poverty. I must raise my children' (陳, 陳 and 黎, 1999: 131). This inability to find other similarly paying jobs combined with flexible hours and free time to take care of children has been documented by previous research, such as O'Neill and Campbell's study of women selling sex in Walsall in Great Britain (2011). Childhood abuse and post-traumatic stress disorder have been linked to the selling of sex (Farley *et al.*, 1998; Wiechelt and Shdaimah, 2011). Poverty and difficulty finding secure housing has been linked to the selling of sex (May and Hunter, 2006; Farley *et al.*, 1998). Another known factor is being financially responsible for parents. According to another woman in Hong Kong:

The whole family wants me to give them money. They feel that if I make money then I should give them some, because they think they raised me, and now I should pay them back. I feel that I never asked to be born, so why should they ask me to give them money, silly! (陳, 陳 and 黎, 1999: 46).

A fifth factor is the avoidance of exploitation in non-sexual jobs (Mai, 2011).

According to one sex worker in Hong Kong in Ziteng's book, she has also tried different jobs but felt that:

...since I have to stand for 10 hours a day [at her previous job as a salesperson], why not sit for eleven hours. While still young, make more money, try more things, be happier and can save money to study, study abroad. ... Since I have to work anyway, of course I should find something more fun! (陳, 陳 and 黎, 1999: 45).

Concerning women's experiences within the selling of sex, the police, customers and the public can all play negative roles in the lives of women selling sex.

According to a 25-year-old victim of internal sex trafficking in Hong Kong, who was not identified as such, 'Police and the public are the same. ... They think it's normal if something bad happens to us' (AFP, 2012). Another woman selling sex in Hong Kong has stated, 'I don't want to live this inhumane life of being discriminated against, being victimised, being beaten, being tortured daily' (陳, 陳 and 黎, 1999: 58). A third woman selling sex in Hong Kong has also shared that working in this field is pitiful, always being wronged by the police, who arrest people erratically, always being beaten by customers, and being discriminated against by others (ibid.: 131). This fear about when crackdowns will randomly take place has been documented in the U.K. (Hubbard, 2006). The fact that public complaints about women selling sex can trigger these 'sweeps', in order to placate the public, has also been recorded (ibid.). Violence by both police and customers has also been previously documented (Farley *et al.*, 1998).

In order to escape from their identities and numb themselves, some women selling sex in Hong Kong turn to betting on horses, gambling on mahjong and abusing drugs (陳, 陳 and 黎: 127). Many previous studies have linked drug addiction with the sale of sex on the streets in multiple ways (May and Hunter, 2006; Wiechelt and Shdaimah, 2011) as well as alcohol addiction (Farley *et al.*, 1998). In some cases, drug addiction has replaced physical violence in the control by third parties of women in the sale of sex (O'Connell Davidson, 1998). This also potentially links women to 'loan sharks, also making them vulnerable to control. 'Loan sharks' are often involved in these women's lives, for various reasons (陳, 陳 and 黎, 1999: 96). Some of these include their husbands or themselves being gamblers, having acted as guarantors on the loans of their 'sisters' or having borrowed money to pay legal fees or penalties after being prosecuted by the police (陳, 陳 and 黎, 1999: 96).

However, that is not to say that all women selling sex experience the same level of negative experiences. This varies from person to person, in part due to differing levels of various types of capital. Within the selling of sex, it is known that women with lower levels of social and economic security, in general, sell sex in more marginalised forms and experience more violence (Phoenix, 2012).

2.3.3 Human Trafficking

Not only was the opium trade important for the development of Hong Kong, the trafficking of Chinese people overseas for labour was another main factor leading

Hong Kong's economic prosperity (Carroll, 2007). Both of these trades were the routes by which many early Chinese businessmen in the territory, with whom the British traded, accumulated their fortunes at the expense of others, especially coolies and opium users (Hui, 1999; Marez, 2004). In the mid-1800s, Hong Kong was already an established shipping centre and became an embarkation port for Chinese migrants and trafficking victims to all different areas (Sinn, 1994), such as California, Canada and Australia (Marez, 2004). Until the past few decades, almost 90 per cent of Chinese emigration occurred through Hong Kong (Carroll, 2007).

As a result of the Opium War and the Second Opium War, China was forced to not only open twelve major ports to Britain and its allies, but also deregulate Chinese emigration, opening a huge 'labour market' in southern China (Yun, 2008). This meant that China had to accept British opium trafficking, along with the resulting impoverishment and debauching of its population, and also the British kidnapping of Chinese labour, known as coolies, for the mines, plantations and construction camps of its colonies throughout the world (Naylor, 2004). China was considered a 'slaving nation' (Levine, 2003: 26).

While a percentage of these men were kidnapped, pressed into debt, drugged and/or tortured into signing contracts, others were recruited with false promises, and both types of coolies were put on slave ships and held in debt bondage (Ropp, 2010). As some countries started abandoning slavery, forced labour became encouraged in Hong Kong in order to serve the enormous demand for labour by European colonialism (Hui, 1999). Local and colonial merchants alike

benefited (Carroll, 2007). This large population being sent overseas in the 1870s caused traffickers to demand a large amount of women and girls to also be shipped to these areas in order to sell sex; many women were kidnapped and sold for this purpose (Sinn, 1994).

While Western human-trafficking vessels holding Indian coolies took married couples and their children, the ones holding Chinese coolies took 99 per cent males (Yun, 2008), and it became popular for Chinese women to be trafficked regionally and/or to colonial areas, such as the Federated Malay States and Indochina (Limoncelli, 2010). Purely male 'emigration' was seen to result in homosexuality (Marez, 2004), and the organisation of 'prostitution' was seen as a basic service to keep workers happy, using women selling sex as a subordinate class (Truong, 1988). Just like the Straights Settlement, the Federated Malay States and Shanghai, Hong Kong had a regulated 'prostitution' system (Limoncelli, 2010); while Chinese women were trafficked overseas, to fill the demand for paid sex within China, women were trafficked there from Southeast Asia in the 1890s (Sinn, 1994).

The territory is currently considered to not be making enough effort in identifying victims of human trafficking. To illustrate this point, it only identified two cases involving three victims and two offenders in 2009 (U.S. Dept. of State, 2010) and four cases involving eleven victims in 2010 (U.S. Dept. of State, 2011). This is despite the fact that Hong Kong is known for being a destination for women from Mainland China and Southeast Asia who come to the territory after receiving fraudulent job offers only to be forced into 'prostitution' (U.S. Dept. of State,

2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014). Hong Kong, along with Taiwan and Macau, is also noted by Chinese law enforcement records to be the destination for many women who are abducted and trafficked outside Mainland China, mostly for 'prostitution' (Gu, 2008). At one point, it was also known to be the second-largest market for Nepalese women and children, with India's being the first (Khatri, 2002); it is constantly mentioned as a sex trafficking destination for Nepalese women (Enriquez, 1999), and international traffickers looking for women and girls for the sale of sex in Hong Kong, along with those from the Gulf States, are known to look for victims within Nepal's sex industry, which itself is a major destination for sex trafficking within the country (Mathema, Kshetri and Subedi, 2010). In general, women are lured by false promises via online job advertisements and find themselves trapped in forced 'prostitution' upon arrival (Snider, 2011).

The low number of sex trafficking victims identified by the Hong Kong government, only twelve between 1 Mar 2011 and 29 Feb 2012, combined with the fact that a victim of trafficking of labour was found to be in prison, raises questions (U.S. Dept. of State, 2012). Many victims of sex trafficking are actually not identified as such but instead are simply deported as illegal immigrants and/or migrant women selling sex (Emerton, Laidler and Petersen, 2007). Meanwhile, out of ten people convicted of forcing or organising 'prostitution', six offenders received an average of six months in prison, and the other four received probation or orders to carry out community service (U.S. Dept. of State, 2012). The lenient sentencing of sex traffickers and other third parties who control women in the sale of sex sheds light on the lack of gravity attached to the

crime by the government.

Aside from the information provided in the annual Trafficking in Persons publication by the U.S. Department of State, current knowledge on trafficking in women in Hong Kong is sparse. However, one ground-breaking study carried out on Mainland Chinese women who were incarcerated for crimes related to the selling of sex, which was carried out by Emerton, Laidler and Peterson (2007), reveals much information. Documents by Ziteng, one of the NGOs working with women selling sex in Hong Kong, and an article by Agence France-Presse (AFP), a global news agency, also shed some light on the issue. Below, some information from these sources is discussed as is the recent murders of two Indonesian women selling sex in Hong Kong

Emerton, Laidler and Peterson located 12 sex trafficking victims from Mainland China who were not identified by authorities (2007). This study found that the Hong Kong Police assume that the majority of sex trafficking victims are selling sex freely, valuing the quick processing of cases over allocating resources to properly investigate each case (ibid.). The police viewed women who would fall under the internationally accepted definition of 'sex trafficking victims' as 'deserving' victims who willingly went to Hong Kong to sell sex and were 'stupid' (Emerton, Laidler and Peterson, 2007: 78). Women from Mainland China were mainly promised fraudulent jobs within the service industry - such as waitressing, hairdressing and cleaning - via recruitment by both acquaintances and strangers (Emerton, Laidler and Peterson, 2007). Some were not aware they would be entering Hong Kong illegally until they arrived without encountering any border

gates (ibid.). Physical confinement and violence appears to be especially prevalent in the 'villa' type of establishment. Sex trafficking victims in the study were documented as having been closely watched by 'minders', some of whom were armed with knives, and these women were told they could not leave the 'villas' until they had paid back the 'visa fee' (Emerton, Laidler and Peterson, 2007: 71). One victim, Ah Mei, and her friend were locked in a room in a 'villa' in Mongkok, slapped, threatened with murder and denied food (ibid.). Also in Mongkok, Ah Lin and her cousin were locked up in a dormitory and threatened with police violence if they escaped (ibid.).

Documents by Ziteng show that this is also the case with victims who did not originate from Mainland China. According an online document by Ziteng (2010), the Hong Kong government is only interested in arresting foreigners selling sex in Hong Kong, jailing them and then deporting them. The document shares an example from September 2009, in which there was a case of five Filipina women who had come to Hong Kong to work as domestic workers but had been forced to sell sex upon arrival. When they were caught by the police in a private nightclub in Wanchai, along with four women who were arrested as suspected traffickers and operators of a vice establishment, they were themselves arrested for the immigration offence of breaching their condition of stay rather than being given aid (ibid.). Recently, the murder of two Indonesian women selling sex in the Wanchai district, one of whom was reported to be officially employed as a domestic worker, has highlighted the plight of women from the Philippines and Indonesia who sell sex in Hong Kong (Harding, 2014). It is known that some of these women are migrant domestic workers seeking to supplement their

inadequate earnings, while others enter Hong Kong on tourist or entertainment visas (ibid.), with an unknown percentage being subjected to control by third parties.

Another, older publication by Ziteng also reveals that women from Hong Kong are not immune to various types of control by third parties in the sale of sex (陳, 陳 and 黎, 1999). For example, Ana from Hong Kong became pregnant as a teenager with a cocaine addict. At first, Ana's boyfriend told her to sell sex for a year or two with the intention of stopping after saving enough money to buy a flat together (ibid.:134). It was only later that she realised that she had fallen into a trap (ibid.). Again, 'loan sharking' also plays a role. One woman, Xiaoyan, states that 'loan sharks' are many sex workers' invaluable friends as 'their husbands are addicts, husbands or themselves are gamblers, acted as guarantors for 'sisters', were prosecuted by police and had to pay the legal fees or penalties...' (ibid.: 96). Another element of control by third parties is the protection money some women must pay to triads for support; Xiaoyan notes that since the police will not protect women selling sex, they pay hundreds of dollars a day to triads instead (ibid.: 61). According to one triad member who provides 'protection' to these women for 200 or 300 HKD per day, he is providing services to help the women since they mostly service Westerners in that area and are not well educated (ibid.: 70); he feels that he has chosen 'a life of righteousness, helping those nobody helps' (ibid.: 72). In his opinion, 'Every sex worker has her story, and they are all not happy ones... some get into it themselves, some are forced by others around them...' (ibid.: 70).

In addition to the aforementioned study and documents by Ziteng, AFP, a global news agency, has reported that this controlling of women in the sex industry in Hong Kong is well known to the local police, but they mainly just target women without work visas (2012). Bars are venues in which sex trafficking victims and other, non-trafficked women, sell sex (ibid.). The AFP claims that investigations by journalists have found that there is widespread control of women selling sex by triad gangs and/or bar owners in Hong Kong (ibid.)

There is little awareness or interest in human trafficking in general in Hong Kong. One factor that might contribute to this are some inaccurate media reports, which may have led some people to believe that human trafficking does not even exist (Craig, 2010). According to one local newspaper, *The Sun* (2010a), a survey by Against Child Abuse in Hong Kong showed that 90 per cent of people in Hong Kong are not aware of the seriousness of trafficking of minors, and only 16 per cent of local NGOs believed that the issue of sex trafficking of minors in Hong Kong was a serious issue. A positive turning point was when the United Nations Inter-Agency Project on Human Trafficking (UNIAP) selected Hong Kong as the home of its Mekong Club, an organisation taking a business approach to human trafficking and enlisting the support of wealthy professionals in Hong Kong (Parry, 2011). However, the city was selected for its strategic location in the 'heart of the Mekong region' and vast amounts of expertise in areas useful in the fight against human trafficking, such as telecommunications and logistics (Parry, 2011), and not for any wealth of human rights awareness. Another positive note is that Liberty Asia launched its website in Hong Kong in 2013, with the aim of raising awareness around trafficking in humans, carrying out research and

providing networking opportunities for various NGOs in the region and around the globe; however, human trafficking is still not seen as an issue of any importance within the territory. The city is what Truong (1988) describes as a typical city in which consciousness about trafficking is hidden by negative attitudes towards women selling sex, but not necessarily the sale of sex.

2.4 The Current Definitions, Knowledge and Debates

2.4.1 Definitions

The definition of the physical act of selling sex, which is also referred to as 'prostitution' by some and 'sex work' by others depending on the theoretical position taken, is seemingly more straightforward than that of sex trafficking and is usually thought of as the exchange of sexual services for money and/or other benefits (O'Connell Davidson, 1998). It has also been used to describe the buying and selling of 'sexual favours', which do not necessarily have to involve physical contact (Phoenix, 1999). It has also been seen as the temporary transfer of power over a woman's body for sexual purposes (O'Connell Davidson, 1998). However, differences in theoretical views allow for the use of various frames, such as whether the selling of sex is a patriarchal institution that involves violence and exploitation or it is merely another form of labour.

Concerning the control of women in the sale of sex by third parties, there are two major axes regarding how this is organised (O'Connell Davidson, 1998). One axis has 'enslaved' on one end, directly/indirectly employed in the middle, and self-employed on the end; the other axis describes the contract as informal and

diffuse, on one end, and formal and commoditised, on the other end. Those who are controlled by third parties can be in situations similar to other forms of employment or be enslaved by physical force, psychological coercion and/or debt. Those with contracts specifying which acts will be carried out have more power than those who contract out their time. Seen in this context, sex trafficking occupies the section of the first axis, from 'enslaved' to 'directly/indirectly employed'.

However, this distinction remains controversial. The sale of sex can be considered inherently harmful and a form of violence against women, instead of involving informed consent to 'sexual behaviour' (Hampton, 2007). Similar to how battered women 'choosing' to stay with abusive partners does not mean that their partners are not violent, women involved in the sale of sex may appear to 'choose' to be there, but this does not mean that what customers do to them is not violence (ibid.). It may be more useful to consider there to be a spectrum of harm, ranging from minimal harm to severe harm. Also, the institution of 'prostitution' serves patriarchy by promoting the sexual double standard and control of women, referring to sexually active men in a congratulatory manner and insulting sexually active women, and paying women to be able to oppress them as 'whores' (ibid.). Although children are legally too young to consent (CROP, 2006), research has shown that many women selling sex were originally involved in the sale of sex as children and even sexually abused before that (Hampton, 2007; Romito, 2008). Some research has shown that the majority of women want to desist from the sale of sex (Hampton, 2007), although this does vary depending on the sample of women who participate in different studies.

This position is associated with the radical feminist viewpoint and is further discussed in the theoretical frameworks subsection.

It is important to note that prior knowledge that one will be selling sex does not eliminate the element of coercion (Williams, 2007) and disqualify one from being a sex trafficking victim. Consent obtained via deception and coercion is irrelevant (CROP, 2006). Some sex trafficking victims expect to be selling sex in non-slavery forms, which would allow for them to make a decent living and send home remittances, but find out upon arrival that they have become sex trafficking victims (Williams, 2007). Others victims are groomed by pimps posing to be boyfriends, also known as the 'lover boy' trap, and consent before being sexually exploited and abused (CROP, 2006); this is considered sex trafficking due to the element of deception.

The definition of human trafficking in general is also confused and conflated with that of irregular or illegal migration. Although movement or mobility may be common to both, it is the presence of some or all of the following that makes a person's experience human trafficking: coercion, exploitation, abuse and loss of control on life options (agency) (Haque, 2006; Danailova-Trainor and Belser, 2006). Some forms of force, deception or coercion include kidnapping, assault, drugging, raping, statutory raping, blackmailing and presenting a fraudulent offer to the victim (Nussbaum, 1999). It is important to note that human trafficking does not require transnationality, as in the case of internal trafficking. Also, human trafficking can start out with legal migration, such as in the case when women enter countries on entertainer visas but become victims of human

trafficking after arrival (IOM, 2008). The definition of the term ‘trafficked persons’ in comparison to some frequently conflated terms is illustrated in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1 How some frequently conflated terms overlap or differ (GAATW, 2010)

	Third party involved	Move to another country	Without legal status	Exploitation at the end	Move because of some kind of force
Migrant	Possible	Possible	Possible	Possible	Possible
Refugee	Possible	Yes	Possible	Possible	Yes
Smuggled persons	Yes	Yes	Yes	Possible	Possible
Trafficked persons	Yes	Possible	Possible	Yes	Yes
Undocumented migrants	Possible	Possible	Yes	Possible	Possible

As the table shows, just as victims of trafficking for sexual exploitation are a smaller part of the larger issue of ‘prostitution’, the category of ‘trafficked persons’ can be thought of as a part of the larger ‘picture of migration’ (GAATW, 2010: 6)³. A person could potentially fall into multiple categories within this picture (ibid.). Even legal migration does not guarantee safe working or living conditions as states are primarily interested in controlling migrants and making sure that their stays are temporary, instead of protecting migrants’ rights (Asis, 2007); this makes even legal migrants vulnerable at later stages, such as those in the domestic work and entertainment sectors, sectors for which labour laws or policies either do not exist or are poorly enforced (ibid.). Illegal migration further increases the risks, and even in cases when the receiving country identifies a person as a human trafficking victim, the country of origin may view them as criminals and deny them re-entry for months or, possibly, years (Ren, 2004). As

³ That is not to say that migration and transnationality are required in order for one to be considered a victim of human trafficking.

a result, when they are eventually repatriated, not only are they denied any victim assistance, they may also face fines and other criminal penalties (ibid.).

Meanwhile, the children born to these victims of human trafficking are wanted neither by the countries in which they were born nor their mothers' countries of origin and become stateless children (ibid.).

While migrant smuggling and illegal immigration are considered crimes against the state, human trafficking should ideally be considered a crime against a person, or both the state and a victim (Mattar, 2002, as cited in Yuko, 2009).

Unfortunately, there are still states that perceive human trafficking to be a crime against the state and continue to criminalise victims instead of those responsible for their exploitation (Mattar, 2006).

It is important to note that physical transportation from one location to another is not needed in order for someone to be considered a victim of sex trafficking (U.S. Dept. of State, 2010); the general belief is still that human trafficking involves movement of foreigners from their countries of origin to the destination, but much of human trafficking takes place within a country or even a city (CROP, 2006).

According to the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), out of 26,700 victims detected in 83 countries between 2007 and 2010, 27 per cent had been trafficked domestically, 49 per cent had been trafficked from within the same region and 27 per cent had been trafficked across continents (2012).

Within East Asia and the Pacific, 99.5 per cent of detected victims had been trafficked within a country or region (ibid.).

2.4.2 Controversies and Political Agendas

As with all other controversial subjects, sex trafficking also has multiple points of view. One perspective is that sex trafficking is creating a moral panic in order to tighten borders (Rothschild, 2009). Indeed, the revival of the century-old, 'white slavery' discourse took place when the Iron Curtain had collapsed and people from the former Eastern Bloc were able to migrate (Dumienski, 2012). The difference is that, today, the image of the victim is an impoverished, young woman from a developing country or Eastern Europe (Weitzer, 2005b), not a white and hence 'civilised' woman. To the frustration of migrant rights advocates and migrants, there have been more and more restrictions on movements, deportations or both under the guise of fighting human trafficking (GAATW, 2010). Based on data from 192 states, Avdan (2012) found that governments do indeed tighten visa policies when faced with human trafficking threats; origin and transit states respond by issuing restrictions on travel, and destination states react by imposing tighter controls (ibid.). As mentioned in Chapter 1, the American government has used women's issues as an excuse to 'liberate' other countries before, and in the same way, governments around the world are indeed using the issue of sex trafficking to tighten borders. Perhaps not coincidentally, Dumienski (2012) points to the States Department of State (U.S. Dept of State) as the driving agent behind the anti-trafficking movement. While human trafficking has received more attention, it has also resulted in a 'depoliticising of debates on migration' (ibid.: 64; Anderson and Andrijasevic, 2008). This issue will be discussed in more detail in section 2.5 as certain

theoretical frameworks used today do indeed give way to anti-migration interpretations.

A contrasting perspective is that the issue is being used as an alibi for sexually controlling women (Rothschild, 2009; Joyce, 2013). This is not a new phenomenon; as previously noted in this chapter, the 'white slave trade' was primarily concerned with repatriating white women so as to protect the purity of the 'white race'. As mentioned in Chapter 1, Hong Kong, under colonial British law, had already experienced the legalisation approach, regulating and controlling 'prostitution', but this did not stop sex trafficking; instead, it made the situation even worse by adding another layer of oppression. So although feminists, in general, argue for laws that decriminalise women selling sex, not legalisation, there is the question of whether or not to criminalise those who buy sex. In reality, criminalising the sale of sex penalises women with few choices to begin with (Nussbaum, 2008).

Regarding the use of the issue of human trafficking to sexually control women in the form of anti-'prostitution' campaigns, according to a systematic review of the literature conducted by Gozdziaik and Bump, most research on sex trafficking was indeed conducted by researchers active in the anti-'prostitution' campaign (2008). Raymond and Hughes are just two researchers falling under this category, while the main researcher criticising this practice seems to be Ronald Weitzer (*ibid.*). Weitzer has similarly dismissed other radical feminist research, for example that of the harms of pornography (2011), and in response to this critique, the debate returned to the questioning of the myth of objectivity itself

(Boyle, 2012). Indeed, absolute objectivity cannot be attained in social research, especially that involving issues of social justice. For example, in the case of child abuse, it is unrealistic to expect researchers to maintain neutrality; this just points to the need for reflexivity on the part of researchers and documentation of their stance on the issue being researched. It seems that the larger challenge is government agendas and what research governments decide to fund and take into account.

To illustrate how the government of the United States of America (U.S.) uses the issue of sex trafficking to push its anti-‘prostitution’ agenda, according to Weitzer (2005b), the U.S. government requires that foreign NGOs it funds on the human trafficking issue explicitly oppose the legalisation of the sale of sex, and those that it funds in the fight against AIDS must also oppose the sale of sex. Also, the U.S. government requires that all researchers conducting research on sex trafficking, funded by federal grants, to sign an affidavit stating that the researchers are against ‘prostitution’ (Gozdziak and Bump, 2008). According to a chart of related research funded by the U.S. government, the support of research in human trafficking began in 2001, and funding has been from the Department of Justice, the Department of State, USAID and other arms of the government (U.S. Dept. of State, 2014b).

When the two political agendas above combine together, they result in the goal to stop women in general from migrating at all. Indeed, some anti-trafficking measures do seem to merely be instructing women to stay home and not migrate for fear of being trafficked (Rothschild, 2009). This sounds similar to women

being told not to go out at night for fear of rapists. According to the Global Alliance Against Traffic in Women (GAATW) (2010), the overuse of the category 'trafficked persons' is not helping women if it leads to the restrictions of women's rights to move; labelling all poor or working class women who migrate for marriage as 'victims of trafficking for marriage' does not help women (ibid.), nor does calling all women who migrate to sell sex 'victims of trafficking for sexual exploitation'.

Another perspective, which is also complementary to the ones above, is that, while forcing someone to sell sex is wrong, increasing economic opportunities for women should be the focus instead (Nussbaum, 2008). This would decrease the vulnerability of women to traffickers and also allow those who do not want to sell sex to have other options available. Increasing the rights of migrants and women selling sex would also lower vulnerability to sex trafficking (Dumienski, 2012).

This thesis takes all these points of view into account and incorporates them into the discussion of results, and the author recognises that the issue of sex trafficking can indeed be made to serve political purposes, whether these be tightening borders or controlling the sexuality of women. This thesis is not about furthering the moral panic but examining the situation. That being said, although there may be a moral panic, perhaps it is also too extreme to say that sex trafficking does not exist at all, and there are victims who need support and assistance; there is the need for a more pragmatic theoretical framework.

2.5 Theoretical Frameworks - The Sale of Sex

In terms of the sale of sex by women, according to Weitzer (2005a: 934), '*In no area of the social sciences has ideology contaminated knowledge more pervasively than in writings on the sex industry.*' Research is often deliberately skewed to serve a particular agenda (ibid.). Indeed, there seem to be two dichotomised theoretical positions on the issue, with one end viewing the sale of sex as a form of patriarchal exploitation and violence and the other end perceiving it as just another form of work (O'Neill, 2001; O'Neill, 2008; Sanders, O'Neill and Pitcher, 2009; Westmarland and Gangoli, 2006). The first view belongs to radical feminists (Scoular, 2004; Weitzer, 2005a). The second approach belongs to those who favour laws that decriminalise the sale of sex and the reduction of harms (Comte, 2013) and generally associated with cultural feminists (Sanders, O'Neill and Pitcher, 2009). These two positions are the ones most reflected within public discourse, despite the existence of more nuanced research (ibid.).

Before discussing these theoretical positions, it is important to note that while debates around the sale of sex became more and more polarised in the 1960s, the current situation appears to be less polarised (Campbell and O'Neill, 2006). As there is actually a range of viewpoints within each of the aforementioned positions (Coy, 2012), the labels below should be seen more as markers on a continuum of positions related to women selling sex, rather than absolute categories into which theorists, researchers and activists can be tidily separated. The following is a brief presentation of the four viewpoints: radical feminism/abolitionism, neo-abolitionism - which is linked to the Nordic model - sex as work feminism and sex libertarianism. This is then followed by the current

policy discussion in Europe around different models used to address the issue and the need for a pragmatic approach.

2.5.1 Radical Feminism/Abolitionism

In the view of radical feminists, having women sell sex is a fundamental violation of their human rights and the ultimate expression of male power and sexual oppression, tied to heterosexuality and male privilege (Scoular, 2004). As such, women selling sex are viewed as survivors, while customers are considered sexual predators (Weitzer, 2005a). This viewpoint is associated with abolitionist or neo-abolitionist feminists, who aim to end all forms of selling of sex, not just that involving control by third parties (O'Connell Davidson, 1998).

Some of the primary researchers and theorists on the sale of sex belonging to this category include Barry (1984), Coy (2012), Dworkin (1993), Farley (Farley *et al.*, 1998), Hughes (2004), Jeffreys (2011), Kelly (Coy, Horvath and Kelly, 2007), MacKinnon (2006), and Raphael (Raphael and Shapiro, 2004), Raymond (2004) and Shapiro (Raphael and Shapiro, 2004).

This theoretical framework involves the study of the larger historical and cultural context in which the sale of sex exists. It locates the experiences of agents involved within patriarchy and the sexual control of women, such as Barry (1994). It also highlights women's 'herstories' of physical and non-physical violence and emotional trauma prior to entry into the sale of sex, as well as their experiences of violence in the sale of sex and the resulting emotional trauma

involved; these are well-documented in Farley's work (Farley *et al.*, 1998). Given this context, much radical feminist research also refocuses the discussion on the demand side, both the larger culture that promotes the demand and the reasons individual men buy sex. It questions the perceived right of males to sex ingrained in patriarchy. Coy, Horvath and Kelly's (2007) *It's just like going to the supermarket: Men buying sex in East London* is one example of research on the demand side.

As with any theoretical position, there are also critics of radical feminist approaches, and critiques are generally related to those waged against structuralism. For example, some claim that this model neglects women's individual agency and does not consider the possibility of changing the way sex is sold so that harm is minimised and women selling sex are more empowered (Weitzer, 2007). Radical feminism is also criticised for being essentialist in claiming that exploitation and violence are ingrained in all types of selling of sex, across history and geographical locations (Weitzer, 2005c; Weitzer, 2007). Such critics claim that related research silences some women selling sex by using discourse around 'false consciousness' or accusing them of 'acting or lying' and being 'unrepresentative' (Levy, 2013: 4). They challenge this view and its ability to capture the full diversity of the situation (Scoular, 2004; Weitzer, 2007).

O'Connell Davidson states that this position views power as a zero-sum game, with power always being exercised over women selling sex by clients and/or pimps (1998). However, it should also be said that just because empirical research falling into this category sheds light on violence against women and mental health concerns, it does not necessarily ever claim that *all* women selling

sex *always* experience violence. Also, it is important to remember that women selling sex were previously constructed as sterile and sexualised (Spongeberg, 1997), and even dehumanised, and radical feminist research has served to show the real-life struggles and faces of regular women who happen to be selling sex.

2.5.2 Neo-Abolitionism/Nordic Model

This model was pioneered in Sweden in 1999, with the passing of a law criminalising sex buyers and decriminalising women selling sex, as part of a bill concerning Violence against Women (Equality Now, 2014). In 2009, the model was adopted in Norway and Iceland and is being considered in other countries (Danna, 2012), with law in Norway covering residents of Norway who buy sex in other countries (Skillbrei, 2012). It is informed by radical feminism, and views the sex trade as a form of violence against women ingrained within patriarchy (Levy and Jakobsson, 2013). Supporters believe that the sale of sex is a fundamental violation of women's human rights and challenges the myth of the male right to sex and entitlement felt towards women's bodies, which are ingrained in patriarchy (Equality Now, 2014). This model aims to abolish the sale of sex, including sex trafficking, via both the tackling of demand and provision of social services to women (ibid.). Major researchers and/or theorists associated with the Swedish or Nordic model include Hoigard (Hoigard and Finstad, 1992), Finstad (ibid.) and Månsson (2004).

Similar to radical feminism, this position seeks to refocus the discussion on the customers, in works such Månsson (2004), which focused on men's practices in

'prostitution' and their implications for social work. It also aims to locate the experiences of agents within their positions within both the gender and economic hierarchies in societies, such as Hoigard and Finstad (1992). It recognises the sale of sex can involve a complex network of agents, which does not involve only the most obvious agents, such as pimps, pornographers, owners of sex clubs and brothels and buyers (Jyrkinen, 2005). It also involves those who profit indirectly - such as motels, taxi drivers and the media - as well as people living in neighbourhoods associated with the sale of sex and policymakers (ibid.). This literature explores the stories of a variety of agents within one larger piece of research in attempts to understand the complex interplay of agents within a social context, such as Hoigard and Finstad's (1992) *Backstreets: Prostitution, Money and Love*.

As the neo-abolitionist approach and the Swedish or Nordic model are informed by radical feminism, criticisms of this approach are generally those waged against radical feminism. For example, it is criticised for viewing women selling sex as passive victims lacking agency and conflating the consensual sale of sex with sex trafficking (Levy and Jakobsson, 2013). Critics also question the true motives behind certain countries' adoption of this model, stating, for example, that the model was enthusiastically adopted by Norway after a large increase in Nigerian migrants selling sex on the streets (ibid.), along with, to a lesser extent, women from Eastern Europe (Skillbrei, 2012). They also point to support for this model in Sweden as stemming from the extreme levels of stigmatisation women selling sex face there (Danna, 2012). They also critique the real-life application of the model, arguing that it is applied selectively to control certain women who

step out of patriarchal social roles in public (Levy and Jakobsson, 2013). In Sweden, for example, the law decriminalising the selling of sex does not apply to migrant women; the Alien Act repatriates migrants who do not earn an 'honest living', including those selling sex (Danna, 2012). Critics state the mandatory repatriation of both migrant women selling sex and human trafficking victims by Sweden runs counter to what the model claims to be doing, protecting women (Levy and Jakobsson, 2013). As for the social services attached to the model, such as those in Stockholm, they are criticised for merely offering therapy services and helping with applications for income support applications, not directly giving income support to clients (Danna, 2012). So women who need assistance must wait for lengthy periods, uncertain of whether or not they will actually receive income support, given the neoliberal economic turn in the mid-1990s (ibid.). These services are also criticised for being judgemental, expecting women to fit into their victim stereotype and being especially unfriendly towards women who do not want to stop selling sex (ibid.). However, although there is much room for improvement in the real-life implementation of this model and enforcement of related laws, its theoretical focus on men buying sex as problematic is important in the discussion on the sex trade, which has historically only been about women selling sex.

2.5.3 'Sex as Work' Feminism

Feminists taking the 'sex as work' approach to the issue tend to use the terms 'sex workers' and 'work' or 'trade' (Westmarland and Gangoli, 2006: 1). They argue for the decriminalisation of the sale of sex by lawmakers to minimise harm

and improve the conditions in which sex is sold (Comte, 2013). They argue for all criminal laws related to the selling of sex to be abolished, leaving the civil code to regulate the sale of sex as it does other industries (ibid.). Researchers and theorists associated with this theoretical position include, Alexander (Delacoste and Alexander, 1998), Brock (1998), Delacoste (Delacoste and Alexander, 1998), Ditmore (Ditmore, Levy and Willman, 2010), Levy (2013) and Weitzer (2005b).

Much of this work involves presenting the stories or writings of 'sex workers' themselves, such as Delacoste and Alexander's (1998) *Sex Work: Writings by Women in the Sex Industry*. These works counter the moral panic related to sex trafficking, as stressed by Weitzer (2005), with stories of the everyday lives and concerns of women selling sex, including both positive and negative experiences. Similar to some works in radical feminism, pieces such as Ditmore, Levy and Willman's *Sex Work Matters: Exploring Money, Power, and Intimacy in the Sex Industry* aim to locate the story of those in the sex industry within a broader socio-economic context. However, this type of feminism seems more concerned with minimising harm within existing socio-cultural contexts and fighting sexual control of women under patriarchy, rather than challenging patriarchy and the male sex right. As such, there is not as great a focus on men as customers in the sale of sex or on the demand side. Similar to the radical feminist position, it argues for the decriminalisation of the sale of sex by lawmakers. However, this viewpoint tends to view criminalisation as the main source of violence and exploitation involved in the sale of sex, rather than the sale of sex itself. It views the criminalisation of customers as similar to the

criminalisation of women selling sex in that both models limit women's choices and create vulnerability to violence and exploitation, as can be seen from Levy (2013).

Criticisms of this approach include those generally made against poststructuralism, for not taking into account and challenging patriarchy in particular. Some critics of this approach argue that this viewpoint stresses personal choice and agency, neglecting the contexts in which individual choices take place (Jeffreys, 2011). Although every day, individual gender relations may vary, the sale of sex by women is located within patriarchal regimes, which include a gendered division of labour and the entitlement felt towards women's bodies for sexual purposes (Coy, 2012). Specifically in terms of patriarchy, critics argue that this position neglects the sex trade's adverse effect on women's status (Jeffreys, 2011) and perpetuation of gender inequality (Coy, 2012). Critics also link the language used in this approach to that of neoliberal economics and free-market capitalism, promoting individuality and entrepreneurship instead of challenging men's entitlement to women's bodies (Jeffreys, 2011). While there is the need to fight patriarchy and other types of inequalities, due to their ingrained nature, these can be seen as longer-term battles; in the meantime, it is also important for those that are in the sex trade, for whatever reason, to have the potential of harm against them minimised.

2.5.4 Sex Libertarianism

Sex libertarianism is a position that celebrates the sale of sex (Chapkis, 1997;

Weitzer, 2005a). Women are seen as completely free agents, with the sale of sex being seen as a form of spiritual expression, sexual diversity and economic freedom (Scoular, 2004). This view originates from seeing the sale of sex, along with other forms of sexuality outside of the norm, to be rebellion against the sexual control of women under patriarchy and sexual repression (Comte, 2013). In this view, the state is the central source of power used to repress women selling sex (O'Connell Davidson, 1998), and the criminalisation by laws and social stigmatisation of women selling sex associated with the sex trade are seen as efforts to control women (Comte, 2013). This view maintains that the sale of sex allows for the transformation of gender stereotypes and the creative augmentation of masculinities (O'Neill, 2001); it is considered a threat to patriarchy itself (Chapkis, 1997). Califa (1994), Pheterson (1989), Rubin (2011), and St. James (1987) are some of the main proponents of this viewpoint.

This position shares so much with that which views the sale of sex as 'sex work' that it could also be considered the libertarian wing of the 'sex work as work' position. For example, this position does not consider the sex trade itself as necessarily harmful but various inequalities, such as the lack of workers' rights for those involved in the sex trade. Inequalities include criminalisation of women in the sex trade by lawmakers, which St. James believes furthers the vulnerability of women in the sex trade to violence (1987). This also includes inequalities that push women into selling sex. Califa, for example, believes that the sale of sex has always been a part of human history and that in an ideal world, one without economic desperation and sexual control of women, the sale of sex would become, or return to being, a spiritual profession or a vocation pursued by those

passionate about it (1994). This position is against the conflation between sex trafficking and the selling of sex (Rubin, 2011). It also involves presenting the stories of those in the sex trade themselves, such as in Peterson's book, *A Vindication of the Rights of Whores* (1989). St. James (1987) herself had experience in the sex trade and then started the organisation, Call Off Your Old Tired Ethics (COYOTE), which fights for the rights of women selling sex. Where the position goes beyond that of those who believe the sale of sex should be considered work or labour is that it not only aims to fight the sexual control of women but also considers the selling of work to be subversive to patriarchy itself. According to St. James (ibid.), women selling sex have the power to disrupt the patriarchal hierarchy not only by demanding money from men for their time instead of giving it away for free, but also by sharing this knowledge with other women, who can then know the value of their time. It sees not only the sexual control of women but 'sex negativity', and the related hierarchy of sexual preferences, as oppressive (Rubin, 2011: 148). It does not seek to change the male sex right; instead it seeks to change how society thinks about all types of sexuality, using 'sex positivity' is seen as a way to fight 'sex negativity'.

Criticisms are generally similar to those against 'sex as work' feminism, due to their commonalities. While this viewpoint seeks to overcome various dualities, such as that of the obscene with the sacred and the body with subject, it does not take into account the structural constraints different women selling sex experience, which limits some from having the opportunity to challenge current discourse (Scoular, 2004). It also tends to utilise neoliberal language and focuses on individuals, drawing attention away from the contextual issues of

power, gender oppression and neoliberal economic policies (Jeffreys, 2011). Critics also claim that while radical feminists seem to use the worst-case scenarios to argue that the sale of sex is a form of violence against women or a violation of human rights, postmodernists also have a tendency to use the best-case scenarios to support their case that the selling of sex can be personally empowering and profitable (Weitzer, 2005a). However, the telling of stories involving positive experiences is understandable given that this position attempts to give voice to those they perceive to be silenced in the radical feminist discussion on the sex trade. These stories can be helpful if used in context of the entire discussion and may mainly be harmful if readers, including policymakers, believe that these positive stories are the only or majority of stories that exist in the sex trade.

2.5.5 Policy Implications of Different Theoretical Positions

Although there is not much discussion concerning the sale of sex in Hong Kong, there are international policy debates going beyond whether the sale of sex should be legal, decriminalised or illegal. These debates and their resulting policy decisions, which are outcomes of theory and research, have a potential to eventually influence future policy decisions in locations such as Hong Kong. One important model to note is the aforementioned 'Swedish Model' or 'Nordic Model', which criminalises the buyers of sex in an effort to change social attitudes, challenge the 'male sex right' and lower demand, while decriminalising women selling sex and providing them with support services instead (Equality Now, 2014). It is seen as model legislation by some considered radical

feminists, such as Jeffreys (2011). The popularity of the system may continue to spread; recently, in February 2014, a non-binding resolution to adopt this system was voted through the European Parliament with a large majority (European Parliament, 2014). Supporters of this system, such as Honeyball, who drafted the resolution, criticise the system of 'blanket legalisation', a system that is supported by some who view the sale of sex as a form of work and is used in Germany and the Netherlands, for example (ibid.). However, this is not to suggest that all those who support the sale of sex as 'sex work' view legalisation as the solution; many support decriminalisation of women selling sex by lawmakers instead, such as Jacobs (2014).

Those who view the sale of sex as just another form of work, such as Levy (2013), condemn the 'Nordic Model' as harmful to women selling sex, claiming that it has merely driven the sale of sex to less visible forms and stigmatises women who wish to continue selling sex when they attempt to seek social services. However, Levy does admit that the advantage of such a system is that it can be used by women selling sex to threaten bad clients with police involvement (ibid.). Despite the fact that anti-trafficking is often tied to political agendas, some active in anti-trafficking object to the 'Nordic Model' for equating the sale of sex in general to sex trafficking, and view the criminalisation of sex buyers by lawmakers as just another form of criminalisation of women selling sex, such as La Strada (2014), which is a European NGO networking against human trafficking. Before the Report on Prostitution and Sexual Exploitation and Its Impact on Gender Equality was voted through, 560 NGOs and civil society groups, along with 86 academics, had urged the European Parliament to reject

the report (Jacobs, 2014; ICRSE, 2014).

As a pragmatic alternative, some across theoretical viewpoints propose the 'Merseyside Model', which was implemented in Merseyside, U.K., in 2006. It minimises harm and protects those selling sex from crimes by dealing with crimes against persons selling sex as hate crimes (Navarro, 2013). Instead of considering violence against people selling sex as an 'occupational hazard' that they should just accept and people selling as criminals or 'deserving victims', this model requires that those selling sex are equally respected as others and not disqualified from being considered victims when victimised (ibid.). It is a model that illustrates what beneficial policies could come about from pragmatic approaches to the sale of sex.

2.5.6 The Need for Pragmatic Approaches

Instead of declaring one approach to be the absolutely 'correct' one, it is necessary to realise that different aspects of each approach may be applicable depending on the time, circumstances and geographical location of the situation (Westmarland and Gangoli, 2006). Indeed, both researching and theorising on the topic of women selling sex are not simple given that practices differ in time and space and may be rapidly changing (Coy, 2011). There is a need to acknowledge that while women selling sex are subjects, they *also* experience differing levels of structural constraints (Scoular, 2004); Chapkis, for example, differentiates between the 'free choice' that the privileged can make to sell sex and the 'rational choice' that other women make to do the same (1997: 67). The

lived reality of women selling sex is far more complex than dichotomous positions illustrate (Chapkis, 1997; O'Connell Davidson, 1998; Sanders, O'Neill and Pitcher, 2009), and there is the need for a more refined, multifaceted understanding of the issue (Weitzer, 2005c). While both best case and worst case scenarios exist, neither of these represents the norm (Weitzer, 2005a). It is necessary to bridge various dichotomies, such as whether these women are victims or survivors, and whether they sell sex out of choice or coercion, as their experiences are paradoxical (Phoenix, 1999).

As Westmarland and Gangoli (2006) state, it is necessary for people with different points of view to work together to better the lives of those affected. O'Neill (2008) argues that such collaboration is needed to develop knowledge for intervention and make changes in policy and practice. Chapkis (1997) also states that different types of feminists need to come together, recognise that each perspective has its strengths and fight patriarchy. One of these attempts has been collaborations between activists fighting for the rights of those selling sex and anti-trafficking activists in the Netherlands, which was documented in Chapkis' 1997 book, *Live Sex Acts: Women Performing Erotic Labour*, which itself is a work aiming to overcome the dichotomies within feminist debate around the issue of the selling of sex (O'Neill, 2001). Another attempt is Westmarland and Gangoli's *International Approaches to Prostitution: Law and Policy in Europe and Asia* (2006), which is a collaboration between two editors with different points of view and authors with varying approaches.

One example of a pragmatic position is O'Neill's as she is fighting inequality and

the abuse of women and children and would like to see an end to the selling of sex due to coercion or force, while at the same time, she respects women's choosing to sell sex, especially in light of the current system and the limited options it offers (2001; 2008); she, along with Campbell, is listed as one of the 94 researchers who signed a letter urging the European Parliament to reject the resolution pushing for the 'Nordic System' (ICRSE Coordinator, 2014). She warns that collaborations across positions can, at times, be shortened as a result of polarised ideological views (Campbell and O'Neill, 2006), suggesting the need for not only pragmatic collaborations but also more pragmatic frameworks.

According to Chapkis (1997), women selling sex cannot be simply categorised as all sex slaves or all subversive sexual agents. Comte notes that current research has found that there are a large variety of women selling sex, and reasons for selling sex may range from survival to making quick money to meeting new people (2013). She also discusses how current research shows how the socio-economic background of those selling sex accounts for the differing experiences encountered in the selling of sex (ibid.). This thesis also takes a pragmatic approach, using the theoretical framework of Bourdieu, which aims to transcend various dichotomies.

2.6 Theoretical Frameworks – Human Trafficking

While research on the sale of sex has been taking place for decades, the focus on human trafficking is relatively new. The issue of human trafficking itself still does not have a strong theoretical basis (Castle, 2008). There is a need for new

theoretical frameworks in order to incorporate both structure and agency (ibid.). The debate on sex trafficking only rarely addresses the deep structures underpinning its existence and its perpetuation, and the wrongful assumption that we live in a 'post-feminist era' in which equality has been achieved does nothing to help matters (Dunlop, 2008). Other gaps involve the socio-economic contexts of gender relations, showing the extent of constrained choices or survival strategies, which requires knowledge of a victim's pre-trafficking situation (Piper, 2005).

The most common approaches in studying human trafficking are migration, human rights and law enforcement, economics and development, and trafficking as a culturally patterned practice (Lindstrom, 2006; Kokko, 2008). That is not to say that theorists and researchers exclusively use just one approach, as the field itself is interdisciplinary; this makes it difficult to 'pigeon hole' thinkers on human trafficking into neat categories, although the below attempts to introduce some main theorists or researchers who use each approach. Instead, these approaches can perhaps be linked to some of the main UN agencies working on the issue, namely the International Organisation for Migration (IOM), UNODC and UNDP, as well as the original discipline or department one is from, such as Migration Studies. Related to this is that the disadvantages of these approaches include close ties to political agendas, conflation of migration and human trafficking, dealing mainly with the supply-side of the issue and justice not necessarily being attained just by a legal victory.

2.6.1 Migration - Interdisciplinary

The migration approach to human trafficking is based on the idea that the issue is one of unregulated or irregular migration and works with a repatriation-oriented assistance model, such as in the case of the IOM (Lindstrom, 2006). Despite the growth of social science research on migration in the past decade, there still does not exist a generally-accepted framework to explain why some people migrate and others do not (Castles, 2008), and it is believed that the traditional theoretical understanding of migration can no longer explain the complexities of human trafficking (Haque, 2006). Not much theoretical work is being done which could link human trafficking within a broader migration dynamic, including both the process and outcome of trafficking (ibid.). Also, as mentioned in the above section on political agendas, the use of this approach lends to the conflation of migration and trafficking, which supports political projects aimed at tightening borders (Turner, 2012). It has also been suggested that this model should be classified under a law enforcement or criminal model, because when migration laws are broken, the matter becomes a criminal one, involving law enforcement (Yuko, 2009). Even within migration studies itself, there are obstacles such as the marginality of interdisciplinary work in academia, the split between migration research versus integration research and a closeness to political agendas (Castles, 2008). Theorists who use this approach include Mai (2011) and Laczko (Laczko and Thompson, 2000), the latter of whom is associated with the IOM.

2.6.2 Human Rights and Law Enforcement

Within the human rights approach, there is a clear divide between voluntary and forced migration, with human trafficking victims always being recruited against their will, and the main emphasis is on law enforcement action and victim protection (Kokko, 2008). Lindstrom (2006) makes a separation between the human rights and law enforcement approaches but mentions that, although the human rights approach states that human trafficking is an issue of human rights violations, it recognises that this approach requires working with law enforcement. It must be mentioned here that policies are, to a much larger extent, focused on stopping crime and punishing criminals, not on assisting victims (Juni, 2010), although some NGOs advocate integrating women into the local economy (Lindstrom, 2006). The rationale behind the law enforcement, or criminal, approach is that human trafficking, along with offences related to it, is a threat to the state (Yuko, 2009). The view is that every state in the world must have anti-trafficking laws for both internal and international trafficking (ibid.). Main theorists who use this approach include Shelley (2007; 2010) and Lee (2007a; 2007b; 2011), although that is not to say that they use only this framework. In addition to fighting organised crime, this approach causes borders to be tightened and the targeting of local sex industries (Lindstrom, 2006). So this approach also conflates human trafficking with migration, making the issue one of securing national boundaries and fighting unwanted migration, and conflates the sale of sex and sex trafficking. It also does not take into account how some groups are considered less human than others, as suggested by Butler (Brady and Schirato, 2011). If only victims who were recruited against their will are considered true victims (Kokko, 2008), as mentioned above, victims who had approached recruiters are disqualified from victimhood. Another

important weakness is that law is not justice, and a political and legal victory is just the beginning of a process that requires what Spivak terms the 'uncoercive rearrangement of desires', the changing of mental habits (Spivak, 2006; Spivak, 2010a).

2.6.3 Economics and Development

The economic approach considers victims as having an initial will to migrate and stresses that it is untrustworthy people they rely on for assistance along the way that turn migration into human trafficking (Lindstrom, 2006; Kokko, 2008). The approach shifts the focus from the individual to the structural, while at the same time advocating for the protection of victims from deportation to the conditions from which they escaped, which just leads to re-trafficking (Lindstrom, 2006). Here policies addressing socio-economic conditions are the priority, and this approach advocates shifting funds from law enforcement and border control towards social and economic development to reduce supply-side factors pushing women to migrate (Lindstrom, 2006). Without long-term initiatives that fight poverty and the harms of globalisation, the need for migration will be so great that women will continue to be vulnerable to the fraudulent offers of traffickers (Kara, 2009). Bales is one of the main theorists utilising this approach, although again, that does not imply that he exclusively uses this approach (2006; Bales, Trodd and Williamson, 2009). It is important to note that from the human rights approach viewpoint, addressing the economic root causes of human trafficking, such as lack of employment opportunities or poor wage conditions, is the responsibility of economic development and is not considered as a counter-

trafficking effort (Kokko, 2008). Despite the differences with the human rights/legal perspective, the economic approach shares with that perspective its lack of focus on the actual abuse and exploitation faced by victims (Haque, 2006). It also shares with the aforementioned approaches the conflation of migration and human trafficking.

2.6.4 Human Trafficking as a Culturally Patterned Practice

The cultural approach suggests that, despite being fully aware of the exploitative nature of the contracts they are entering, some victims actually consent to being trafficked (Kokko, 2008). The claim is that cultural practices within the family and communities encourage human trafficking, and anti-trafficking efforts to change cultural conceptions include awareness raising campaigns (ibid.). However, this cultural approach, with its cultural relativism, contradicts the idea of human rights (ibid.). Although some argue that any view that is counter cultural relativism is ethnocentrism, practices that enslave women are not unique but global, and it is a form of oppression, a violation of human rights, not an expression of culture worthy of respect and protection (Barry, 1984). This approach is dangerous, because it separates victims into 'true victims' and 'consenting victims' based on their race or culture, recalling the fight against 'white slavery', when only Western women were considered civilised enough to be considered 'true victims'. The cultural approach is also dangerous, because it would serve states hoping to gain support for tighter borders (Kokko, 2008), in order to 'protect' their nations from 'those people', for whom human trafficking is 'normal'. There are no particular scholars linked to this approach, although, according to Kara (2012),

there are economists who view some types of bonded labour as voluntary. Also, Genicot (2002) states that there are those who consider that these workers are just maximising their utility and freely agree to become bonded labourers.

Nevertheless, there are studies that include cultural explanations, such as those on bonded labour in South Asia (Kara, 2012) and specifically in India (Finn, 2008), and bonded labour in India and chattel slavery in Mauritania (Bales, 2012).

2.7 Knowledge Gaps and Theoretical Perspectives

Gozdziak and Bump (2008) conducted a review of 741 pieces of English-language literature on human trafficking in order to put together a comprehensive bibliography of such literature, develop a classification system and assess the state of research in the English language on this topic. They found that despite the interest in the topic, there is a need for more studies that carry out empirical research as well as ones that are based on solid theoretical frameworks (*ibid.*).

To illustrate the need for empirical research, Gozdziaak and Bump found that non-empirical articles dominated journal articles on human trafficking; 179 of 218 research-based articles were non-empirical, and even in peer-reviewed journals, which tend to disregard non-empirical research, 46 per cent of related articles were non-empirical (Gozdziaak and Bump, 2008). Books were also found to be predominantly based on non-empirical research (*ibid.*). Only reports were predominantly based on empirical research, at 68 per cent fulfilling this criterion; most of these publications could be classified as related to either the social

sciences or law or criminal justice (ibid.). The danger of this is that various claims that have not been empirically verified, such as the scope of human trafficking and the involvement of organised crime, are taken as facts (ibid.). Weitzer recommends micro-level empirical research, such as that carried out within a city, town or location within a country since the potential for attaining valid victim numbers, insights into the lived experiences of agents and human trafficking 'hot spots' is greater (2014: 15). It can also provide a better foundation for policy development than the top-down, macro-level claims, such as that of the U.S. Dept. of State's annual Trafficking in Persons (TIP) reports (ibid.).

Gozdziak and Bump (2008) found research grounded in sound theoretical frameworks to also be lacking, both in terms of sex trafficking and trafficking for labour exploitation. Within the research on sex trafficking, they found that much of it was being conducted by anti-'prostitution' activists who adhere to an extreme version of radical feminism and often do not distinguish between sex trafficking and voluntary migration for the purpose of selling sex (ibid.).

There has not been much research done on the media coverage of human trafficking, but media reporting on human trafficking is considered to be deficient in many parts of the world (UN.GIFT, 2014). Some outlets are confusing the issue with human smuggling and illegal immigration. This conflation is not something that occurs only in 'third world countries' or some imagined 'other' place. In American and European media and government publications, related to 2006's World Cup, an important theme was border security and illegal immigration (Isgro, Stehle and Weber, 2013). This was also reflected in U.S.

media coverage of the issue of human trafficking between 1980 and 2006 (Gulati, 2010). Another issue is the reliance on official sources and framing that mirrors the viewpoint of the dominant and marginalising criticisms of current policy (ibid.). This was found in the aforementioned study on U.S. media coverage, in which sex trafficking and related issues were covered, the majority of the time, with much less attention being paid to labour trafficking (ibid.). This same study found that roughly half of the related coverage did not mention any causes or solutions (ibid.). When a cause was mentioned, it was usually that of criminal activity, which points to the use of a law enforcement framing (ibid.).

The current literature reveals some theoretical gaps. One important area that needs to be further researched includes the exploration of women's experiences under various systems of control by third parties within the sex industry and the organisation of such systems themselves (Limoncelli, 2010). There is also a need to understand, not only the harm done to women under a system of deception, coercion and/or force, but also what women's service needs are, in order to know how to best assist those victimised (Gozdziak and Bump, 2008). Also, where services are available for their rehabilitation and reintegration, it is necessary to evaluate whether or not these services are helping the women (ibid.).

Another research area is on the supply and demand related to the sex market in general, with 'supply' referring to the number of women made available on the sex 'market' and 'demand' referring to the desire for men to buy sex (Danailova-Trainor and Belser, 2006). The root causes of the issue lie in the reasons why

(a) large numbers of people are vulnerable and (b) why so much demand exists (Todres, 2010). In terms of women selling sex, it is important to gather more information about why so many women are selling sex, and what the reasons are for the growth of the international sex trade (Limoncelli, 2010). In terms of demand, just as the issue of male sexual violence against women needs to also focus on the male perpetrators, research on the sale of sex also needs to focus on men (Hughes, 2004; Asis, 2007; Langberg, 2005). Historically, the sale of sex has been about the women who sold sex, and men have been anonymous or invisible (Månsson, 2004); the demand side of the market for human beings is little understood, and this is important as third parties seeking to control women selling sex will only operate in profitable market conditions (UNODC, 2009a).

Also, there is a need for more research to be conducted in countries of destination, which is where women who migrate - both voluntarily and out of deception, coercion and/or force - and end up selling sex. Most sex trafficking research has been done in countries of origin, drawing more attention to supply-side factors (Piper, 2005). Hong Kong is an example of a destination for women selling sex, including sex-trafficking victims.

2.8 Summary

Human trafficking is not a new phenomenon although its scale and reach are greater than ever due to factors such as globalisation and ease of travel. This is despite increasing international attention. It is a controversial topic, partly because of its links - be they implicit or explicit - with highly politicised topics,

such as immigration and the control of women's bodies.

In order to provide an historical context of the debates around the issue, this chapter has introduced Hong Kong's colonial history, the Victorian era and discourse around women selling sex, and the 'white slavery' movement. It has also discussed the context of Hong Kong, both in the past and present, including gender inequality, human trafficking and the sale of sex. In addition, current definitions and the controversies around these issues and landscape of theoretical frameworks currently used have been presented. This chapter has also listed the existing knowledge gaps, including those that this study attempts to fill, which illustrate a need for a Bourdieusian perspective and reiterate the importance of keeping political agendas in mind.

Chapter 3: Towards a Feminist, Bourdieusian Theoretical Framework

3.1 Introduction

This chapter starts with an introduction to Bourdieu's major concepts. It then continues on to explore why and how Bourdieusian thinking is useful to Feminism in general. It then covers some Feminist criticisms of classical, Bourdieusian theory and how supporters of the use of Bourdieu's concepts within Feminism have addressed and worked around these issues. Then the chapter moves on to explain how the feminist 'appropriation' of Bourdieu can help us understand more about the sale of sex.

3.2 A Brief Introduction to the Theoretical Framework of Bourdieu

Below, a few of Bourdieu's main theoretical elements - capital, habitus and symbolic violence - are explained, and reflexivity is discussed separately in Section 5.11. It is important to note that his analysis is relational (Johnson and Lawler, 2005), and Bourdieu himself cautions against 'substantialist' reading of structural or relational analyses (1998b: 3). Instead of being intrinsic, properties belong to certain groups at a certain time due to their position in social space and the relative supply of different goods (ibid.). Distinction itself is a relational property as it exists only in relation to other properties and through its relation to these properties (ibid.). While these theoretical tools are useful, it is necessary to note that Bourdieu's work has not been uncritically accepted or utilised by all sociologists. This section first introduces capital, habitus and symbolic violence, before briefly introducing critiques in subsection 3.2.4. A presentation of

Feminist critique of Bourdieusian theory is available in subsection 3.3.3.

3.2.1 Capital

Capital is the potential capacity to both incur profits and reproduce itself, and it takes time to accumulate (Bourdieu, 1986). Unlike in economic theory, various forms of capital exist and are necessary to explain the social world (Bourdieu, 1986). Capital typically presents itself in three different forms, which are economic, cultural and symbolic (Bourdieu, 1986). The position of various agents in social space is defined by the *relations* between them or their differences in terms of overall capital and the relative ratio of different types of capital, in terms of distance for example (Bourdieu, 1998b). Capital and different types of capital are relevant to the thesis, because they help explain why some women are excluded from being 'worthy' of 'protection' and include the structural constraints women can face. Below, economic capital, cultural capital and symbolic capital are first explained before social capital is discussed. Social relations themselves are bound by a relationship to various elements, such as sets of activities or goods, which are themselves characterised in relation to one another (Bourdieu, 1998b). Capital is relational, as the concept is used to identify which agent is relatively wealthier in a type of capital and the relative weight of various types of capital they possess (ibid.).

Economic capital is the form of capital closest to what those in the Economic and Business sectors view as capital. Economic capital is that which can be immediately and directly converted into money (Bourdieu, 1986). It can include

assets such as stocks, shares and property (Bourdieu, 1984). This section will return to this type of capital again, after discussing other types of capital, as it is seen as the root of the other types of capital (Bourdieu, 1986).

Another main type of capital is cultural capital, and there are three forms of cultural capital: embodied, objectified and institutionalised (Bourdieu, 1986). The embodied form is the form that exists as durable dispositions within an agent, such as in the case of cultivation (ibid.); unlike economic capital, it cannot be instantaneously transferred, and, as it requires time to accumulate, it represents temporal distance from financial necessity (ibid). Examples include playing piano, carrying out a proper Japanese tea ceremony and other hobbies which require relatively large investments of time and money and are not expected to bring financial returns, which show others how much free time and money agents who master these hobbies have at their disposal. The objectified form is that which exists as cultural products, such as paintings and works of literature (ibid.), which can be accumulated using financial payments. The institutionalised form is also an objectified form, but it actually grants properties on the cultural capital it is supposed to guarantee, such as in the case of academic qualifications (ibid.).

As for social capital, it is one's durable network of family, friends and others - such as mentors, work colleagues or business acquaintances - which are capable of being mobilised (Bourdieu, 1990). It is not just individuals within such a network that are important though, because the concept also takes into account the volume of other types of capital belonging to each person within such network (Bourdieu, 1986). This network of relationships is the product of

investment strategies, not necessarily carried out consciously, with the goal of establishing relationships that may be useful (ibid.). It is important to emphasise that this Bourdieusian concept does not imply that all social interactions are undertaken for the explicit purpose of increasing social capital or 'networking'.

A more abstract type of capital, which is important in understanding the other types of capital, is symbolic capital. It describes any kind of capital, which is misrecognised as disinterested and unrecognised as capital (Bourdieu, 1986). It can also be thought of as the legitimacy, distinction, prestige, competence or charisma an agent is perceived to have by the larger group (Bourdieu, 1991). As the interest behind the acquisition and transfer of cultural capital is more disguised than in the case of economic capital, cultural capital tends to function more as symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1986). For example, people who master certain hobbies, such as wine tasting, may be seen as more sophisticated or elegant than others. Social capital also functions as symbolic capital (ibid.), such as when someone is seen as being popular and charming.

Different forms of capital can be converted into other forms (Bourdieu, 1984; Bourdieu, 1986). Before explaining how economic capital is important here, it is necessary to state that convertibility between types of capital explains the social strategies aimed at reproducing capital (Bourdieu, 1986) and existing social conditions, along with their hierarchies. For example, the conversion of economic capital into cultural capital in the form of educational qualifications is aimed at access to better paying employment options (ibid.), which will increase one's economic capital. Therefore, economic capital can be thought of as the

root of the other types of capital and that these other types can be thought of as economic capital in disguise but not completely reducible to this (ibid.).

3.2.2 Habitus

Another important Bourdieusian concept is that of the habitus, which can be thought of as a set of *durable* dispositions or tendencies (Bourdieu, 1998a). It contains the frameworks used to perceive, appreciate and act that have been deposited by previous efforts to instil them (ibid). They are cognitive structures, which agents use to understand the social world, such as schemes of classification and historical schemes of perception produced by objective social divisions (Bourdieu, 1984). It is not only a 'structuring structure', which results in practices and thoughts, but also 'structured structure', as it is caused by the internalisation of social divisions (Bourdieu, 1984: 166). The relationship between habitus, capital and field is illustrated as [(habitus)(capital) + field = practice] (Bourdieu, 1984).

Bourdieu clarifies that this formula expresses the relations between social agents' positions and habitus and the 'choices' these social agents make in practice, such as choice between different types of food or sport (1998b: 6). This relational formula conveys how different individuals within a field, or set of social conditions, have different practice or practices based on the relationship between their habitus and their differing distribution of various types of capital (Johnson and Lawler, 2005). It is through the habitus that social positions translate into practices (Bourdieu, 1998b) or actions. These practices are themselves

characterised in relation to one another, such as in terms of relative supply at a given time (ibid.)

The habitus is developed within a certain set of social circumstances, produced by the social conditioning of that set of social circumstances, so that individuals with similar overall levels of capital and relative distribution of different types of capital tend to have similar habitus and feel 'at ease' with one another (Bourdieu, 1998b; Johnson and Lawler, 2005). The attitudes and beliefs held within the habitus can also include those formed by relations of oppression (Bourdieu, 1998a). The habitus includes a sense of one's place in the hierarchical social world (Swartz, 2013), including limits of what is possible and what is impossible (Bourdieu, 1984; Bourdieu, 1998a). It causes agents to exclude themselves without the dominant having to use force, as certain actions are deemed as not for 'people like us' (Bourdieu, 1990). Even though these limits are imposed on the dominated, they accept these limits and possess 'bodily emotions', such as admiration for the dominant and shame towards the dominated (Bourdieu, 1998a: 38). For example, in a society in which low income, ethnic minority persons are oppressed, a child from this community will internalise the community's and others' low expectations of oneself in school achievement and believe that higher education attainment is not for 'people like us'.

Since the habitus holds durable dispositions, even when the objective conditions of an agent change, the habitus has a tendency to continue generating practices which are in line with the previous conditions (Bourdieu, 1984), especially at first. This change in conditions could be in the form of change in overall levels of

capital or ratio of various types of capital, such as by going bankrupt, or change in fields, such as moving from an academic position to one in the fashion industry. When one changes fields, some cultural capital that would have been seen as symbolic capital and hence valued in the former field, may no longer hold the same value in the new field (Johnson and Lawler, 2005). Even when one's new social context translates into an increased range of options, the habitus causes one to have a preference for what options were previously available (Bourdieu, 1984). The same practices, which would have seemed to be 'common sense' in the former situation (Bourdieu, 1990: 55), would seem out of place to an external observer in the new situation.

However, although these dispositions are durable, they are not immutable since new experiences are also shaping the habitus (McNay, 1999). This mismatch between an agent's new circumstances, whether in field or in capital, and the agent's habitus causes reflexivity, which has the potential to change the agent's beliefs and attitudes. Continuing with the same example from the above paragraph, if the same child who has internalised low expectations from those around them is exposed to a new teacher or school principal and receives constant encouragement and a nurturing, supportive environment, the child may come to increase her/his expectations.

According to Warde (2004: 18), practice refers not only to actions or 'performances' but also to practice as a 'coordinated entity'. Emphasising practice as a 'coordinated entity' reiterates how practice can be institutional and point to the need to analyse the institutions or organisations behind the

performances of individuals (ibid.). For this reason, and due to the durability of the dispositions in the habitus, it is important to note that consciousness raising is not enough (Bourdieu, 1998a). Instead, 'radical transformation' of the social environment that produces these dispositions leading the dominated to take on the views of the dominant is needed (ibid.). Scientific analysis of forms of domination, when publicly available, can symbolically neutralise domination (ibid.). Political action that takes into account the effects of domination within the habitus of not only persons but also major institutions is necessary (ibid.).

3.2.3 Symbolic Violence

This type of violence is gentle and typically escapes being perceived by its victims (Bourdieu, 1998a). It is exerted mainly through channels of communication and affects how people think and feel (ibid.). Hierarchies are not ahistorical but are reproduced using weapons of symbolic violence, along with physical violence, and require constant work to reproduce (Bourdieu, 1998a). Symbolic violence is not purely 'spiritual' as it has very real effects and does not minimise physical violence (ibid.). By affecting social agents' perception of the social world, it forms the objective structure of that world (Bourdieu, 1991). It causes the dominated to accept the definitions and categorisations formed by the dominant, not as historical and culturally arbitrary but as 'natural' (Bourdieu, 1998a). In doing so, it ensures that one group dominates over another group (ibid.). This includes the destruction or unmaking of groups, which makes these groups invisible to group members and others, thus preventing collective action (Bourdieu, 1991). Gender domination is considered by Bourdieu to be the

pattern of symbolic violence on which other violence is based (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). Just as states increasingly use ideological weapons to control the masses as they move away from overtly authoritarian regimes, so too is symbolic violence increasingly used to control women. As patriarchy moves from more private forms, requiring the confinement of women to homes, to more public forms, such as via the promotion of individualisation of women and novel types of class differentiation amongst women (McRobbie, 2005).

A concept related to symbolic violence is symbolic power, which is the power to name or establish classifications and have social agents accept these categories (Bourdieu, 1991). It is the power to state what the world is, and by doing so, affect it (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). In structuring the perception of social agents, it also constructs the world (ibid.), either conserving or transforming social reality (Swartz, 2013). Symbolic power is an invisible power, which can only be exercised with the complicity of those who do not want to know that they are subject to it or even exercising it, because it is a power that exists because the person submitting to it believes in it (Bourdieu, 1991). The more symbolic capital an agent has, which is recognition or legitimacy the agent receives from others, the more symbolic power the agent has (ibid.). Generally, state institutions exercise a monopoly over symbolic power (Bourdieu, 1991). Laws and legal acts are grand expressions of symbolic power exercised by governments (Swartz, 2013). Legal discourse brings whatever it enunciates, such as categories and labels, into existence (Bourdieu, 1991). With this monopoly over symbolic power, the state also has the ability to exercise *legitimate* symbolic violence (ibid.). Symbolic violence is the gentle form violence

takes when overt violence is no longer possible, no longer widely approved of (Bourdieu, 1990); as societies advance, domination shifts away from overt physical violence towards this largely undetected type (Burawoy, 2008). However, this is not to minimise the physical violence that does actually take place at the same time as symbolic violence (Bourdieu, 1998a).

Although individual elements of Bourdieu's theoretical framework may appear in and/or have been adopted into other's work, such as reflexivity, his framework includes all these elements as a system that, for one, bridges various dichotomies.

3.2.4 Briefly Introducing Critiques of Bourdieu

At this point, it is worth reiterating that Bourdieu's work has not been uncritically accepted or utilised by sociologists or scholars outside of Feminism. For example, his theory of social reproduction has been critiqued for being overly deterministic (Goldthorpe, 2007), not giving agency enough autonomy to allow for emancipatory action (Cronin, 1996). The traditional interpretation of cultural capital has been accused of being overly confined to White, middle-class values (Yosso, 2005). Books, such as *Bourdieu: Critical Perspectives* (Calhoun, LiPuma, and Postone, 1993) and *Bourdieu: A Critical Reader* (Shusterman, 1999), offer critical coverage of his theoretical framework. However, this section does not dwell on these critiques of Bourdieusian theory as Feminist critique of this theory is more relevant to this thesis and is available in the following section, which discusses Bourdieu's usefulness to Feminism.

3.3 A Feminist, Bourdieusian Theoretical Framework?

Moi (1990) suggests Feminists 'appropriate' Bourdieu, taking his concepts and using these in their research. However, Feminists must also be critical of Bourdieu's ideas and not feel the need to become a complete believer (ibid.). This section first introduces four of the major reasons why Bourdieu is useful to Feminism. Then in the subsequent sub-section, it explains how Bourdieu is useful to feminism and includes some examples on how a Feminist application of Bourdieusian theory has been used in research. After this is a discussion of some Feminists critiques of Bourdieusian theory. This is followed by an exploration of how a Feminist, Bourdieusian theoretical framework is useful in the discussion of the sale of sex.

3.3.1 Why Bourdieu is useful to Feminism

Below is an exploration of four reasons why Bourdieu is useful to Feminism. The following subsection then discusses how Bourdieu is useful to Feminism in these four ways. These are with regards to the structural-symbolic dichotomy, in foregrounding class, concerning the voluntarist-determinist dichotomy and the ease or difficulty of liberation.

Firstly, there is a need within Feminism for a combination of (i) a feminist materialist analysis of gender relations and (ii) a feminist post-modern approach to the way gender is represented and constructed (Truong *et al.*, 2006). While

materialist/structural feminists focus on structural inequalities, such as poverty, cultural/post-modern feminists tend to focus on language and culture. So a Bourdieusian approach would help pragmatically bridge the divide between materialist/structural feminists, who argue that the linguistic turn in feminist theory results in dealing with just identity politics, and cultural/post-modern feminists (McNay, 2005). Although language is a potent tool of domination, it is necessary to also take into account the structural issues that affect women. Even the early Feminist theorists believed that the interests of the oppressors lie in changing just the perceptions of the oppressed and not in changing the situation (Freire, 1970). However, that is not to say that changing cultural issues, such as social attitudes, is not important; instead, a Feminist, Bourdieusian framework would show that both structural and cultural issues are necessary for understanding gender oppression.

There is also the need to bring the concept of class back to the forefront of Feminist theory (Lovell, 2000), because the very existence of class divisions is increasingly being ignored (Lawler, 2005). This has resulted in the issues of working class women, as a group, largely fading from Feminist discussions (Skeggs, 1997). For example, while the fight for more women to enter executive positions in corporations is also important, the attention this issue has received not only gives the impression that feminist battles have largely been won, but also hides the issues encountered by women in less privileged positions. Ceasing to use class as a theoretical tool neither changes nor reflects the real-life inequality women face, but it is rather a reflection of a trend in feminism and other branches of academia to become more 'upmarket' and 'high culture' (ibid.).

This trend of ignoring class inequality can itself be serving as a form of symbolic violence against those women who face economic inequality, as if they or their challenges do not exist.

Bourdieu's theoretical framework can bridge the divide between voluntarists, who argue that agents have absolute free will, and determinists, who argue for the opposite (Bourdieu, 1998a). This transcends the agency-structure dichotomy, which divides not only cultural feminists from materialist/structural feminists but, in terms of this thesis and other works on the sex trade, also sex libertarians and those who recognise the structural constraints women are faced with when making decisions. Recognising that the lived reality of women is neither completely voluntaristic nor deterministic also points to how challenging, though not impossible, change to the gender order can be. Bourdieu does not underestimate how difficult it will be to break free from patriarchy as the effects of symbolic violence outlast the social conditions that produce it (Moi, 1990; McNay, 1999). It is necessary to Feminism that there be a pragmatic rather than a dualistic idea of embodiment, to explain how gender identity is durable but not immutable (McNay, 1999). Bridging the divide between voluntarists and determinists is also necessary so that feminists understand that the struggle against gender oppression is a long-term one that requires sustained effort.

3.3.2 How Bourdieu Is Useful to Feminism

In terms of bridging the structural-symbolic divide, Bourdieu calls for the investigation of both structural issues, such as economic inequality, and symbolic

violence. So his theoretical framework can be used to bridge the views of materialist and cultural feminists. McRobbie (2005) uses this framework to study how television 'makeover' shows carry out symbolic violence against working class women. This study took into account both symbolic violence and the role it played in the class oppression of working class women. Similarly, Lawler (2005) uses Bourdieu to study media accounts of a protest and how the use of symbolic violence against working class women is used to delegitimise the protestors. Again, both symbolic violence and its role in class oppression of working class women were the focus of the study.

In terms of foregrounds class, Bourdieu's concept of capital helps to refocus Feminism on the material aspects of women's lives (Moi, 1990). His framework recognises that struggles are not solely between women and men, but also between women who occupy different positions within a field and between men who also do the same (Thorpe, 2009), which can be thought of as competition among women. Gender is one axis around which class distinctions are drawn, and class is also one axis around which gender distinctions are drawn (Lawler, 2005). In other words, gender creates social division that occurs within classes, and the way it does so is different for different classes and in different fields (Burawoy, 2008), and at the same time, class creates social division that occurs within genders. In addition, the maintenance of class and other social boundaries through the accumulation of symbolic capital is actually gendered (Lovell, 2000). Middle-class women actually play a key role in the reproduction of class society, through their roles as ideal wives and mothers, as models of middle-class family values and for protecting the valuable cultural capital

accumulated to them and their families through education, refinement and other privileges (McRobbie, 2005). As such, similar to other groups, women are forced to choose between assimilation to the dominant ideal and resistance resulting in exclusion (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992).

Popular culture and tabloid press have constructed an individualistic, feminised social space, in which each woman is defined in terms of status, affluence and body image, bringing about even deeper social division (ibid.) by fostering competition among women. While middle-class women are represented as devoted mothers by the media, working-class women are presented in highly negative tones along three main axes, bodily appearance (e.g. tattoos and piercings signify a lack of morality), ignorance (lack of capacity for self-knowledge or reflection) and inadequacy as mothers (or even child abusers) (Lawler, 2005). So women are generally divided into either low class, unattractive, badly-dressed 'failures' who do not earn an honest living and cannot find a long-term partner, as embodied by the 'single mother' in the United Kingdom or the 'welfare mothers' with 'crack babies' in the United States (Skeggs, 1997), for example; or middle class, attractive and well-groomed successes (McRobbie, 2005).

In terms of bridging the voluntarist-determinist divide, Bourdieu's theoretical framework can bridge the divide between those who argue that agents have absolute free will and those who argue for the opposite (Bourdieu, 1998a), which is that behaviour and actions are predetermined by causal laws. Just as the internalisation of class conditions and socialisation results in a class habitus (Bourdieu, 1984), gendered norms and inequalities also become embodied. The

gender dimension of the habitus modifies all social qualities (Thorpe, 2009). An example Bourdieu mentions is the socially-constituted fear that causes women to exclude themselves from public activities, from which they are also structurally excluded, such as politics and science (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). This then contributes to the reproduction of their economic and political inequality (ibid.). Even after private patriarchy has transformed into public patriarchy, the set of durable inclinations formed by previous external constraints is still contained within both men's and women's habitus.

One example of feminist research, related to the sex trade that uses Bourdieu to bridge the voluntarist-determinist dichotomy is Coy, Wakeling and Garner (2011). They recall McRobbie's study (2005) and use Bourdieu's symbolic violence to study representations of the sale of sex within Western popular culture (Coy, Wakeling and Garner, 2011). The study found that the sex industry was glamourised using 'pimp and ho chic' as symbolic violence to deny the physical and psychological harm women controlled by pimps face (ibid.). Symbolic violence, when it has deposited dispositions into the habitus, may cause the dominated to unknowingly, and at times unwillingly, accept gender and other types of oppression (Bourdieu, 1998a). For example, oppressed groups, such as women selling sex who are controlled by third parties, may feel admiration for the oppressor group, such as pimps. At the same time, perpetrators, oppressors and even friends and families of victims may hold durable dispositions causing them to deny the fact the victims have been victimised or blame them for it.

As for the level of ease or difficulty in gender liberation, the effort needed should

not be underestimated. Bourdieu believes that collective action is required for wide-ranging social change, not just raising one's own individual consciousness or the 'regulated liberties' as postmodern feminists, such as Butler, suggest (Thorpe, 2009; Lawler, 2005). This is not to say that he does not see any value in raising one's own consciousness but rather to stress the importance of acting in collectivity. He explicitly states that agents can become akin to subjects only as they consciously master their relation to their habitus instead of abandoning themselves freely (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). This action needs to take the form of a symbolic struggle that can challenge the immediate fit between the objective and embodied structures, one that questions symbolic capital and its related pretension and distinction (ibid.). This symbolic struggle is very difficult, though not impossible, due to the lack of symbolic capital and symbolic power oppressed groups, such as women, have relative to the dominant groups. Whether or not someone can speak with authority is also not a question of individual choice, but of doxic rules (Lawler, 2005) and their level of symbolic capital. Just because a person speaks with 'authority', if the listener does not grant this authority or legitimacy to the speaker, then it is ineffective (ibid.). Spivak also deals with this issue in 'Can the Subaltern Speak?', and her conclusion is that acts of resistance are in vain unless there is already an infrastructure in place that would make people recognise that act of resistance as such (Spivak, 2006; Spivak, 2010b; Spivak, 2010c).

Another concept important to gender liberation is gender reflexivity. This arises from the tensions that arise as women move between fields (McNay, 1999). This can also take place as men move across different fields and become aware of

variations in gender norms (Thorpe, 2009). For example, Thorpe (2009) uses Bourdieu's framework to study gender reflexivity and the habitus-field complex of female snowboarders within snowboarding culture. She discusses how it is possible for the habitus to change when one moves into a different social environment, or field, as it causes a certain level of gender reflexivity or reflexivity concerning gender relations (ibid.). This points to the potential of gender liberation; however, again, the difficulty should not be underestimated. Although certain aspects of gender relations may be destabilised as women enter new fields, other aspects may become more deeply entrenched in the habitus as women make adaptations to masculine culture within these new fields (McNay, 1999). Not all social circumstances are conducive to the same level of non-alignment between sex, sexuality and gender, and a feminist politics needs to identify when interventions to transform society are possible while also recognising the strength of the constraints that bind women into their social circumstances (Lovell, 2000).

3.3.3 Feminist Critiques of Classical Bourdieusian Theory

In France, Bourdieu has received much criticism from Feminists for largely ignoring their work and even appropriating it without giving them due credit (Bilge, 2006). However, this section does not further explore these concerns but focuses instead on aspects of his theory, which Feminists have found questionable. One Feminist criticism of classical Bourdieusian theory is that it considers women to be capital bearing objects circulated between men, not capital-accumulating subjects (Lovell, 2000; Thorpe, 2009; Bourdieu and

Wacquant, 1992); women are treated as vessels holding cultural capital, in the form of education and 'refinement', to be passed on from their fathers and natal families, to their husbands and marital families. Another feminist critique is that it is overly structural or deterministic (Lovell, 2000; McNay, 2005), denying women the possibility of agency (Chambers, 2005). A third criticism is that his work, *Masculine Domination*, focuses undue attention on women's complicity in masculine domination (Fowler, 2003); perhaps these critics see this as a form of victim blaming.

However, this has not prevented feminists from adopting his theoretical framework. Addressing the first criticism, feminist scholars, such as Adkins, Lawler, Moi and Skeggs, do so while maintaining that there are women who do pursue capital-accumulating strategies (Thorpe, 2009). Regarding the second, Bourdieu regards postmodern feminists as too voluntarist (Lovell, 2000; McNay, 2005), and his later writings avoid the extremes of voluntarism and determinism by suggesting the possibility of a different kind of practice (Thorpe, 2009; Lawler, 2005). This kind of practice requires collective action for wide-ranging social change, not just in individual consciousness alone (ibid.). In *Acts of Resistance*, Bourdieu stresses his hope of facilitating collective mobilisation but concedes that 'breaking the appearance of unanimity' of the dominant discourse is already itself an achievement (1998: viii). In fact, Feminists such as Spivak seem to support that the habitus holds the harm done to the women for hundreds or thousands of years (Spivak, 2006; Spivak, 2010a). However, the durability of dispositions within the habitus are not a cause for hopelessness, because 'what the social world has done, it can, armed with this knowledge, undo' (Bourdieu,

1999: 629). Even if Bourdieu is sceptical about the effectiveness of consciousness raising, Chambers suggests that the strategy suits his theoretical approach and deserves attention from Feminists using his analysis (2005). In terms of the third criticism, that Bourdieu focuses too much attention on women's complicity in their domination, it ignores the complexity of his work and the possibility of reflexivity despite symbolic violence (Fowler, 2003).

3.3.4 Usefulness to the discussion on the sale of sex

Chapter 2 stated that one important knowledge gap is the lack of pragmatic theoretical frameworks, and another gap is the need for better understanding of the supply and demand factors related to the industry. The use of such a Feminist, Bourdieusian framework, which is pragmatic in nature, not only bridges the dichotomy between materialist and postmodern feminists, it also bridges the views of sex libertarians and radical feminists, who tend to use the stories of women selling sex, which reflect the best-case scenarios and worst case ones respectively, as discussed in Chapter 2. Instead, it is necessary to recognise that the control of women by third parties, such as traffickers, within the sale of sex is graded, and the average case is neither one of extreme sexual empowerment or extreme sexual slavery, nor of zero harm or extreme harm. Bourdieu's methodological emphasis on empirical research, particularly in the form of ethnography, makes it more possible to capture the true variety of experiences available in real life. Also, its stress on reflexivity forces researchers to question their own biases, including conscious or unconscious alliances with any political agendas, so as to avoid reproducing inequalities. Specifically concerning human trafficking, Bourdieu mentions that discourse around

traffickers is used to give a progressive angle to promotion of immigration controls (1998). In fact, he states that the very use of the word 'trafficking', which is also used for forbidden objects such as arms and illicit drugs, suggests victims are criminals (ibid.).

At the same time, his theoretical tools allow for the incorporation of both structure and agency, which was noted to be missing in theorising on human trafficking by Castle (2008). Habitus explains how the effects of symbolic violence and structural issues can be embodied by victims of human trafficking, while leaving room for agency. Habitus alone does not lead to an agent's actions. As moving between fields can result in changes to the habitus, this is a hopeful reminder that habitus is dynamic, not immutable, in nature.

The theoretical tool of multiple forms of interchangeable capital, namely economic and cultural, in addition to symbolic violence, also explains why some women are viewed as worthy of 'protection' or 'true victims', while others are excluded. This theoretical tool allows for the inclusion of social class in analyses, which is necessary in order to stress the structural constraints women can face and the need for other proper alternatives.

Regarding the supply and demand regarding the sale of sex, it involves a variety of structural factors and symbolic violence, as the sex 'industry' does not exist within a socio-economic or political vacuum. Bourdieu's idea of women being used as capital-accumulating objects, especially in private patriarchy, is useful in explaining the sexual control of women, involving the virgin-whore dichotomy,

which is a key political agenda related to the fight against sex trafficking. It is also related to the feminisation of poverty, since the view that women can not and should not act as capital accumulating subjects, coupled with institutional habitus that reflect this view, push women into the sale of sex.

In addition, the use of symbolic violence against women, forcing them to conform to the status quo or be labelled as 'sluts', 'whores' and similar terms, is useful in explaining how women are physically and sexually controlled, especially within public patriarchy and families. This results in the blaming of victims of sexual violence, including women selling sex who are raped or controlled by traffickers. This sheds light on why trafficking victims who experience sexual exploitation are particularly vulnerable to stigmatisation and rejection by their families and/or communities (IOM, 2010). This not only makes it difficult for victims to receive caring support but also results in second victimisation and even re-trafficking (ibid.).

The use of symbolic violence is also very useful in explaining the increasing, global demand of sex as well as why the industry is still viewed as supply led, despite research suggesting otherwise (McMillan, 2006). This is linked with both the myth of the male right to sex and entitlement felt towards women's bodies. This idea of males having a right to sex has been reinforced by the 'sexual revolution', with public patriarchy's belief that men in general are entitled to unlimited sexual access as a form of entertainment (Walby, 1990). Since the 1970s, a globalised popular culture mainly originating from the U.S. has increasingly promoted the selling of sex and pimping (Lloyd, 2011). Thanks to

this increased global demand, sex tourism, child pornography and other sex-related industries have also become global industries (Heyner, 2006). There is now an excessive global desire for sex, which is furthered by wealth (Higuchi, 2008), manifesting as what Ebbe (2008b) refers to as hysterical sexual deviancy.

Through symbolic violence, physical and sexual violence against women are becoming not only increasingly mainstream but also increasingly in demand. Within the past ten years, the 'erotification' of violence has been increasing along with the 'erotification' of pain in the general media and advertising (Corradi, 2012). This link between sexual violence against women and the entitlement men feel towards women's bodies is supported by a study carried out in six different Asia-Pacific countries (Jewkes *et al.*, 2013). This study shows that this entitlement is the number one reason men rape a non-partner woman, with 90.9 per cent of men who committed this type of rape in China agreeing to this (*ibid.*). The second reason given for men raping a non-partner woman is seeking entertainment, with 63.2 per cent of male perpetrators in China listing this as the reason for their actions (*ibid.*). Meanwhile, as women continue to be labelled 'sluts' and 'whores', men continue to be seen as sexually passive and having no agency (McMillan, 2006).

3.3.5 A Feminism Bourdieusian Framework and Feminist Perspectives According to this Framework

The Feminist, Bourdieusian framework used in this thesis takes into account the material aspects of gender oppression, using the concept of capital, especially

economic capital. It also accounts for the postmodern, feminist concern for the way women and other oppressed groups are constructed by using the concepts of symbolic violence and symbolic power. This type of framework bridges the divide between materialist feminist and structural feminists, as the two are interlinked within a system. Symbolic violence is used to justify depriving women, and other oppressed groups, of capital and then blaming them for their low levels of capital. Having low levels of capital disadvantages women, and other oppressed groups, in terms of not having the symbolic capital to fight for more capital. Both the structural and symbolic issues used to disadvantage women in life need to be addressed. Such a framework pragmatically accounts for the symbolic concerns of sex libertarians, the economic concern of the 'sex as work' feminists and both the power and economic concerns of radical feminists.

Related to this is that this framework would refocus on class at a point when some may imagine that feminism's main concern is shattering the 'glass ceiling' and allowing women more access into the 'C-Suite', which refers to top executive positions. Although this is also an important issue, and one which illustrates how women also act as capital-accumulating subjects, women who have high enough levels of capital to reach the glass ceiling only represent women in one particular social class, and the others should not be ignored. Women are not a homogenous group, as intersectional feminism has recognised, and this Feminist, Bourdieusian framework would acknowledge that people of one class can be divided by gender differences, and at the same time, people of one gender can be divided by class differences. It is important to note that it is not

only economic capital that determines one's social class and status, but also one's levels of other types of capital, such as cultural capital, of which femininity is a form (Lovell, 2000; Skeggs, 1997). So this framework recognises that not all women in the sex trade have the same level of capital, and these different levels of capital would allow for different levels of power, experiences and viewpoints. Sex libertarians, who view the selling of sex as mainly for personal expression, predominantly deal with women further away from financial necessity and hence have more power and choices in the sex trade, minimising the harm they may experience. They may also work in the higher end of the sex trade due to social capital, in the form of contacts, and cultural capital, in the form of the currently valued femininity, such as body type, youth and beauty, which also results in a more positive experience in the sex trade. 'Sex as work' feminists mainly discuss women who see the selling of sex as accumulating economic capital in an economically unequal world and hence have lower levels of power and choices than those the sex libertarians discuss, so their view of the sex trade is focused more on those who may experience higher levels of harm. Radical feminists, who mainly research those who have the least levels of capital and power, discuss the high levels of harm these women face. Women from all different socioeconomic classes exist in the sex trade, and their differing levels of capital account for differing levels of harm; and studying the sex trade from the point of view of women of different classes naturally produces different theoretical viewpoints in feminists.

A Feminist, Bourdieusian framework also balances voluntarist and determinists by using the concepts of habitus, symbolic violence and capital. Capital has

been discussed in the previous paragraph, so this paragraph focuses on habitus and symbolic violence. Symbolic violence against women, for example that which tells them to accept their 'lot' in life or that once they are considered 'whores' they will always be considered 'whores', leaves lasting attitudes and beliefs in the habitus of people, including women in the sex trade. Other types of symbolic violence previously mentioned include that which glamourises the sex trade. So it is not that women in the sex trade do not have agency but rather that they have differing levels of constraints against them, which affect the options available or the options they see as available. They are constrained by both their habitus and those of the society around them, as well as their financial situation or capital constraints, and there is a need to recognise agency without denying these constraints. All Feminist frameworks discuss symbolic violence against women used to sexually control women, but their views differ in terms of constraints and the scope of constraints. Also, the extent to which they take into account women's own habitus differs. In the case of Sex Liberationists, due to the particular social class of women they mainly focus on, they view women as having high levels of agency and minimal levels of constraints - both within and outside of their habitus - and can use the selling of sex itself as a type of symbolic struggle against sexual control of women, because these women have higher levels of capital, which could potentially counted as symbolic capital. 'Sex as Work' Feminists, on the other hand, primarily focus on women with financial and other constraints and fight for the right for women to have the option of selling sex, which is also related to agency. They also recognise that symbolic violence against women as 'whores' and 'others' leads to other types of harm and fight to minimise this and other types of harm. When internalised, this type

of symbolic violence also results in a habitus that can lead women to view themselves as 'dirty' or powerless, which serves to constrain their agency. Hence, 'sex as work' feminists, in a symbolic struggle, stress that these women are workers providing sexual labour, not 'whores'. The third group of feminists discussed, Racial Feminists, do not necessarily see women as lacking in agency, but instead, they deal with the broader constraints against women and hence not only challenge symbolic violence related to the sexual control of women, but that which promotes patriarchy itself and the male sex right, including the glamourisation of the sex trade. They recognise that control by third parties is not necessarily in the form of physical chains but also in the form of symbolic violence. This symbolic violence results in attitudes in the habitus that bind a woman to her situation, the way many girls brought up in the sex trade in Hong Kong during colonial times believed they had to stay in their brothels as a form of 'filial piety' towards the women who bought and brought them up.

Related to the voluntarist-determinist dichotomy is the way a Feminist, Bourdieusian framework would view gender liberation. Due to the complex system of constraints in which women are oppressed, including capital, symbolic violence and the habitus, it is possible, but very difficult for gender liberation to occur. Although consciousness raising alone is not enough, it does play a vital part in collective action. It is important as it causes gender reflexivity, which occurs when people move between fields and are exposed to different types of gender and sexuality or different points of view about gender and sexuality, but it is best carried out strategically in the form of broad collective action, not just individual consciousness raising. This symbolic struggle, however, is difficult as

persons who do not have symbolic capital are not given as much respect when speaking. In terms of sex liberationists, they overestimate the value of individual consciousness raising or individual liberation too highly, neglecting scope and severity of the constraints women face; at the same time, without individuals, there is no collective. Due to their point of view, they underestimate the constraints against women, in terms of capital and habitus, and may believe that an individual's liberation is enough, without the need for collective liberation. On the other hand, 'sex as work' feminists work for harm minimisation and other immediate needs of women selling sex; they are concerned with more constraints on women and understand more the difficulty of liberation. Perhaps radical feminists, due to their widened scope of concern and long-term goal of fighting patriarchy itself and the male sex right, see the most challenges in gender liberation and hence most realistically view the need for widespread, collective action.

3.4 Summary

This chapter has introduced the theoretical framework of Pierre Bourdieu. It has also explained why and how it is useful for Feminism to adopt his theoretical tools. It does so by transcending the dichotomy between materialist feminists and post-modern, social-constructivists feminists. Indeed, it is necessary to understand both structural and ideological components of patriarchy as international studies show that structural equality does not necessarily lead to ideological equality (Hunnicut, 2009). Part of this is that it can bring class back into mainstream, feminist discussion. It also bridges the dichotomy between

structure and agency, the two of which together reproduce dominant ideologies and material conditions (Einspahr, 2010: 5). Related to this is the amount of effort that is needed for gender liberation.

At the same time, this chapter has also discussed some of the Feminist critiques of a classical Bourdieusian framework and how supporters of a Feminist, Bourdieusian theoretical framework have addressed or rectified these issues. This chapter has also explored how such a framework is useful to the discussion on the sale of sex. It has also described what such a framework would entail and how such a framework would account for various feminist viewpoints concerning the sale of sex.

Chapter 4: Hong Kong's Legal and Policy Situation on the Sale of Sex

4.1 Introduction

This chapter examines Hong Kong's legal and policy situation regarding the sale of sex. Analysing first the domestic situation and then the international situation, this chapter demonstrates the Hong Kong government's lack of public acknowledgement of human trafficking as an issue in the territory.

The first section describes local laws that can be used to prosecute human trafficking-related crimes. It also examines how these laws are being enforced on the ground. The second section briefly notes information regarding international agreements, such as the Palermo Protocol and the Convention for the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). Then, before moving on to the conclusion, the third section contains a brief, Feminist, Bourdieusian analysis of Hong Kong's legal and policy situation.

4.2 Domestic Legal and Policy Situation on the Sale of Sex

As mentioned in Chapter 1, laws by themselves do not necessarily lead to justice (Spivak, 2006; Spivak, 2010a). There is a difference between laws on paper and laws in practice. This section presents the currently available laws relevant to the thesis and then discusses to what extent these laws are currently enforced.

4.2.1 Hong Kong SAR's Legislative Framework on the Sale of Sex

Hong Kong uses a variety of laws to prosecute human trafficking offences as it does not have a comprehensive law for this crime. According to the U.S. Dept. of State (2013), there are insufficient laws, impeding the fight against human trafficking in Hong Kong. There is a crime titled 'Trafficking in persons to or from Hong Kong', which is Section 129 of the Crimes Ordinance, but its definition is very narrow. According to Section 129, human trafficking is when someone 'takes part in bringing another person into, or taking another person out of, Hong Kong for the purpose of prostitution' (Department of Justice, 2013; Ch. 200 39). This limited definition requires both the elements of transnationality and the selling of sex, ignoring both domestic trafficking and trafficking for purposes other than sexual exploitation. It also means that the territory has to use other sections of its legal system, such as its Immigration Ordinance and Crimes Ordinance, in prosecuting traffickers (Emerton, Laidler and Peterson, 2007). According to the Security Bureau (2013), the bureau itself is responsible for directing all law enforcement departments in efforts to fight 'human smuggling/trafficking'.

In the Crimes Ordinance, there are various laws that are related to human trafficking, and these are shown in Table 4.1 (Department of Justice, 2013). This table also includes data obtained as a result of the request to the Security Bureau for the relevant 2011 and 2012 sentencing statistics; this data was sent by Edmond Cheung, on behalf of the Secretary of Security.

Table 4.1. Crimes related to human trafficking falling under the Crimes

Ordinance (Source of data for first two columns: Department of Justice 2013.

Source of data for last two columns: Cheung 2013b)

Section	Description of Crime	Maximum Terms of Imprisonment	2011	2012
119	Procurement by threats	14 Years	Not known	Not known
120	Procurement by false pretences	5 Years	Not known	Not known
121	Administrating drugs to obtain or facilitate unlawful sexual act	14 Years	Not known	Not known
122	Indecent assault	10 Years	158 not convicted: 425 convicted. 227 immediately imprisoned; 34 fined.	178 not convicted: 441 convicted. 231 immediately imprisoned; 40 fined.
123	Intercourse with girl under 13	Life	Not known	Not known
124	Intercourse with girl under 16	5 Years	Not known	Not known
125	Intercourse with mentally incapacitated person	10 Years	Not known	Not known
126	Abduction of unmarried girl under 16	10 Years	Not known	Not known
127	Abduction of unmarried girl under 18 for sexual intercourse	7 Years	Not known	Not known
128	Abduction of mentally incapacitated person from parent or guardian for sexual act	10 Years	Not known	Not known
129	Trafficking in persons to and from Hong Kong	10 Years	Not known	Not known
130	Control over persons for purpose of unlawful sexual intercourse or prostitution	14 Years	Not known	Not known
131	Causing Prostitution	10 Years	Not known	Not known
132	Procurement of girl under 21	5 Years	Not known	Not known
133	Procurement of mentally incapacitated person	10 Years	Not known	Not known
134	Detention for intercourse in vice establishment	14 Years	Not known	Not known
135	Causing or encouraging prostitution, or intercourse with, or indecent assault on, girl or boy under 16	10 Years	Not known	Not known

Section	Description of Crime	Maximum Terms of Imprisonment	2011	2012
136	Causing or encouraging prostitution of mentally incapacitated person	10 Years	Not known	Not known
137	Living on earnings of prostitution of others	10 Years	Not known	Not known
138A	Use, procurement or offer of persons under 18 for making pornography or for live pornographic performances	Persons under 16: 10 years (+HK\$3,000,000 fine) Persons over 16 but under 18: 5 years (+HK\$1,000,000 fine)	Not known	Not known
139	Keeping a vice establishment	Summary Conviction: 3 years Conviction on indictment to imprisonment: 10 years	16 not convicted; 223 convicted. 195 immediate imprisonment, 1 fined.	7 not convicted; 273 convicted. 232 immediate imprisonment, 0 fined.
140	Permitting girl or boy under 13 to resort to or be on premises or vessel for intercourse	Life	Not known	Not known
141	Permitting young person to resort to or be on premises or vessel for intercourse, prostitution, buggery or homosexual act	14 Years	Not known	Not known
142	Permitting mentally incapacitated person to resort to or be on premises or vessel for intercourse, prostitution or homosexual acts	10 Years	Not known	Not known
143	Letting premises for use as a vice establishment	7 Years	Not known	Not known
144	Tenant etc. permitting premises or vessel to be kept as a vice establishment	7 Years	Not known	Not known
145	Tenant etc. permitting premises or vessel to be used for prostitution	7 Years	Not known	Not known
147	Soliciting for an immoral purpose	6 Months (+HK\$10,000 fine)	6 not convicted; 414 convicted. 352 immediately imprisoned, 30 fined.	9 not convicted; 487 convicted. 406 immediately imprisoned, 38 fined.

Within the Crimes Ordinance, there are various laws intended to criminalise various aspects of sexual exploitation, including the keeping, managing or

controlling of vice establishments, allowing a premises to be used for 'prostitution' and pimping. The official definition of 'vice establishments' is (i) 'the premises, vessel or place are and is used wholly or mainly by two or more persons for the purposes of prostitution', and (ii) 'the premises, vessel or place are or is used wholly or mainly for or in connection with the organizing or arranging or prostitution' (Department of Justice, 2013: Ch. 200, p. 34). This law is argued by some to increase the vulnerability of women selling sex to robbers and even murderers by not allowing them to work together (Ziteng, 2007). Another questionable law, Section 147, which prohibits 'soliciting for an immoral purpose... in a public place or in view of the public' (Department of Justice, 2013: Ch. 200, p. 45), including signage, is obviously in place to keep women selling sex hidden away.

While these laws could potentially be used to prosecute individuals controlling women in the sale of sex, they are often used instead in relation to organised crime networks. This can be seen from the Security Bureau's information leaflet to potential migrant workers, titled 'Don't be a prey of human traffickers', which appeals to victims to call the police force's Organised Crime and Triad Bureau to report people who intend to or have trafficked them (2006). This focus on organised crime is, however, a reflection of the UN's priorities as seen from the Palermo Protocol, which is discussed later in this chapter.

In the Immigration Ordinance, there are three main laws that can be used against human traffickers, and they are shown in Table 4.2. This table includes data obtained as a result of the aforementioned request to the Security Bureau for the

relevant 2011 and 2012 sentencing statistics.

Table 4.2. Crimes related to human trafficking within the Immigration Ordinance

(Source of data for first two columns: Department of Justice, 2013. Source of data for last two columns: Cheung, 2013b)

Section	Description of Crime	Maximum Terms of Imprisonment	2011	2012
38	Prohibition of landing and remaining without permission, and penalty for carrying illegal immigration	3 Years (+Level 4 fine)	30 not convicted: 403 convicted. 397 immediate imprisonment, 0 fined.	28 not convicted: 388 convicted. 284 immediate imprisonment, 0 fined.
41	Breach of condition of stay	2 Years (+Level 5 fine)	160 not convicted: 5402 convicted. 3056 immediate imprisonment, 29 fined.	148 not convicted: 5415 convicted. 3095 immediate imprisonment, 24 fined.
42	False statements, forgery of documents and use and possession of forged documents	Conviction or indictment: 14 years (+HK\$150,000 fine) Summary conviction: 2 years (+Level 6 fine)	23 not convicted: 330 convicted. 297 immediate imprisonment, 0 fined.	24 not convicted: 321 convicted. 274 immediate imprisonment, 2 fined.

However, these laws are more often used against women selling sex. The immigration policies of Hong Kong consider mass imprisonment to be a tool of migrant control, incarcerating large numbers of women from Mainland China for immigration violations (Lee, 2007a; Emerton, Laidler and Peterson, 2007). The title of the Security Bureau's (2013) online 'special topics' information page is 'Human Smuggling/Trafficking and Illegal Immigration', illustrating the conflation between human smuggling and human trafficking and the focus on illegal immigration. This page not only combines human smuggling and human trafficking into one singular issue, it also denies any direct involvement in these activities (ibid.). Enforcement efforts mentioned did not include any proactive

attempts to identify victims (ibid.). As work visas are not issued for the sale of sex, and tourist permits do not permit any type of work, any migrant women who try to sell sex can be charged with breaching their condition of stay (Emerton, Laidler and Peterson, 2007). Women who enter without any documentation may be charged with more serious offences under the Immigration Ordinance, such as Sections 38 and 42 (ibid.).

Although the local government acknowledges that women come to Hong Kong illegally or as visitors for the sale of sex, it insists that almost all of them have come to Hong Kong voluntarily (Government of China, 2004)⁴. The government ignores the fact that even though people enter Hong Kong voluntarily to sell sex, it does not take away the possibility that they are sex trafficking victims who have been deceived or coerced into selling sex in conditions incongruent with those they were promised. This is despite the fact that Section 129 of the Crimes Ordinance, which will be discussed further below, states that 'It shall not be a defence to a charge under this section to prove that the other person consented to being brought into or taken out of Hong Kong whether or not she or he knew it was for the purpose of prostitution or that she or he received any advantage therefore' (Department of Justice, 2013: Ch. 200, p. 40). Instead, the element of control by third parties is ignored, and women selling sex who are caught in violation of any immigration or crime offences cannot use the deception and force they experienced as a defence (Emerton, Laidler and Petersen, 2007).

Please note that this section does not aim to suggest that having a singular human trafficking law encompassing all forms of human trafficking would

4 The Government of China files these reports, but the content reflects the views of the HKSAR.

necessarily be beneficial. As Dumienksi points out, having a 'single big crime' would serve to criminalise the whole migration process, which would be detrimental to potential migrants (2012: 62). However, having an overarching framework, or 'umbrella', under which various anti-trafficking laws could be placed may be useful for classification purposes.

4.2.2 Law Enforcement in Hong Kong

With respect to the sale of sex in Hong Kong, local law enforcement shows questionable framing, a low level of victim identification, focus on illegal immigration, a low level of prosecution of traffickers, a high level of prosecution of women selling sex, and inadequate protection for victims.

Regarding the questionable framing, the territory considers trafficking in persons to be a 'transnational crime' and perceives that Hong Kong is 'neither a destination for human trafficking nor a place of origin for exporting illegal migrants' (Government of China, 2012). This perspective displays the fact that Hong Kong considers human trafficking to be an issue requiring transnationality and involving illegal migrants. This is at a time when other highly developed countries, such as those in Europe, have recognised domestic trafficking (UNODC, 2009b). In the cases of Germany and the Netherlands, it has even been found that domestic trafficking victims form the largest group, by nationality, of human trafficking victims (ibid.). It also suggests that the government does not publicly acknowledge the level of human trafficking and ignores other reports that Hong Kong is a major destination for trafficking in humans. Not only does the

government consider trafficking in persons to be rare in Hong Kong, it states that almost all illegal immigrants and 'prostitutes' arrested 'came to Hong Kong voluntarily to take advantage of the economic prosperity of the HKSAR' and not via 'means of threat or use of force or other forms of coercion or abduction' (HKSAR, 2006: 1).

Concerning the low level of victim identification, despite claims that 'the Immigration Department, Customs and Excise Department and the Hong Kong Police Force of the Government of HKSAR have made efforts to fight humans trafficking 'on all fronts' (HKSAR, 2006: 1), there are inadequate procedures in place to demand the proactive identification of victims of human trafficking among vulnerable populations and their referral to relevant services (U.S. Dept. of State, 2013). For example, Emerton, Laidler and Petersen's (2007) study found that sex trafficking victims are routinely treated as migrant women selling sex, without any proper effort to investigate their situations. The study also found that when Ah Mei, who had to be chased down by her minder in front of an undercover police officer and even told him she had been deceived into selling sex, police officers told her 'she had been very stupid'. She was given a two-month jail term for breaching the conditions of her stay, instead of being considered a sex trafficking victim (Emerton, Laidler and Petersen, 2007: 78). When Ah Mei told a social welfare officer that her friend was still being confined by the minder, she was told keep quiet, or else 'her friend would have to go to jail if she was 'rescued' by the police' (ibid.: 78).

Despite lack of effort in the identification of victims, in accordance to the Hong

Kong government's focus on stemming illegal immigration, various efforts have been made to locate various agents involved in the network used to traffic and smuggle humans, such as passport brokers. A comparison of the sentencing statistics for offences under the Immigration Ordinance and the Crimes Ordinance further supports that the Hong Kong government prioritises fighting illegal immigration⁵. The statistics show that although the conviction rate for offences falling under the Crimes Ordinance has been high, 72.0 per cent and 70.9 per cent in 2011 and 2012 respectively, it is much lower than the conviction rate for immigration offences in the same years, 95.7 per cent and 96.3 per cent in 2011 and 2012 respectively (Cheung, 2013a).

In terms of the low level of prosecution of traffickers, the ten offenders convicted during the reporting year for 2013 saw the use of Section 130 instead of Section 129, and out of the ten, six received an average of six months in prison while the others were sentenced to community work or parole (U.S. Dept. of State, 2013). This is despite the fact that Sections 129 and 130 carry a maximum sentence of 10 and 14 years imprisonment respectively (Centre for Comparative and Public Law, 2009; Government of China, 1998). This lenience in sentencing terms suggests that the government is not taking the issue of trafficking in women as seriously as they might if they were seen to be using full term sentences. In the words of Lee, 'The local government desires to attract migrants with high economic and/or social capital and at the same time keep away the 'human waste' created in the present phases of modernization and globalization' (2007a:

⁵ As previously mentioned, a request for sentencing statistics from the Security Bureau resulted in personal communication from Edmond Cheung (2013a), on behalf of the Secretary of Security. In the first communication, the aggregate data for all Immigration Ordinance offences was shared.

857).

In contrast to the low level of convictions and light sentences for traffickers, women selling sex are frequently targeted by law enforcement. According to the Association for the Advancement of Feminism *et al.* (1999), the criminal ordinances mentioned are frequently used to discriminate against women selling sex and give law enforcement the power to threaten them. Ziteng (2007), an NGO working with women selling sex, states that law enforcement abuse their power in order to eliminate the sex trade, claiming to be protecting them from triads. While the government subjects them to daily arrests and potentially fines, on the ground, it dismisses the financial hardships that cause them to sell sex (Association for the Advancement of Feminism *et al.*, 1999).

Contrary to the local government claims that 'prostitutes' can seek financial relief, psychological assistance and other services to help them while they are 'giving up' 'prostitution' (Government of China, 1998), there are no public services specifically meant for women selling sex, and services often rely on volunteers and NGOs (The Association for the Advancement of Feminism, 1999). The Hong Kong government also mentions that the laws against violence against women apply equally to those who are 'prostitutes' (Government of China, 1998). However, the Association for the Advancement of Feminism *et al.* (1999) contrasts this by stating that the police often do not consider women selling sex in Hong Kong to be legitimate victims of crime, such as rape or sexual abuse. The questionable framing that has caused women selling sex to lose their eligibility to be considered valid victims has logically resulted in a lack of

protection for them. This lack of eligibility for consideration as ‘true’ victims of crimes extends to victims of sex trafficking. Human trafficking victims from abroad are not granted permission to work while participating in trafficking investigations and prosecutions (U.S. Dept. of State, 2013). Even in cases when repatriation may pose a risk of hardship or retribution for victims, Hong Kong does not specifically allow for permanent residency status (ibid.).

4.3 Hong Kong, International Treaties and Regional Agreements

Hong Kong is covered by multiple international treaties and regional agreements related to the sex trade and human trafficking.

4.3.1 International Treaties

Most of the international treaties that previously covered Hong Kong as a colony of the U.K. continue to be applicable to the territory, as agreed upon by the PRC and the U.K. (Centre for Comparative and Public Law, 2009). Therefore, even though the early Conventions on human trafficking, that of 1904, 1910 and 1921, do not apply to the PRC, they still apply to Hong Kong (ibid.). Specifically, there are the International Agreement for the Suppression of the White Slave Traffic, the International Convention for the Suppression of the White Slave Traffic and the International Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Women and Children (UN, 2013). As the 1933 Convention was not ratified by the U.K., it has never applied to Hong Kong (Centre for Comparative and Public Law, 2009). This is the International Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Women

of Full Age.

One of these international treaties is CEDAW, which was adopted by the UN in 1979 (Stacy, 2004) and extended to the territory in 1996 (Labour and Welfare Department, 2013). CEDAW created international obligations upon signatories to carry out reforms related to women's rights in order to eliminate discrimination against women in civil, political, economic and cultural spheres (Stacy, 2004). However, there is a lack of enforceability (Stacy, 2004), and national governments are free to decide in which manner they wish to comply with CEDAW and enforce it (ibid.). The reservations made, especially to core articles, are questionable (Shin, 2004). Under Article 6 of CEDAW, 'State Parties shall take all appropriate measures, including legislation, to suppress all forms of traffic in women and exploitation of prostitution of women' (Labour and Welfare Department, 2013). The original ratification was carried out by the United Kingdom in 1996, and when Hong Kong returned to China in 1997, China notified the UN that the Convention would apply to HKSAR with the reservation made by China (UN, 2013).

Although Hong Kong is a self-administrated territory, it is still politically part of China, and as such, it is also subjected to the Universal Periodic Review (UPR), which reviews the human rights records of all UN member states. The Human Rights Committee (HRC) (2013), in the latest meeting, expressed concern with the persistence of trafficking in persons in the territory and its reluctance to take steps towards the Palermo Protocol. The HRC suggested that Hong Kong expand its definition to include domestic labour, intensify victim identification

efforts, reconsider the current sentencing policy for those guilty of trafficking-related crimes, support shelters offering victims protection and strengthen victim assistance, including the stability of their legal status (2013).

Hong Kong has been criticised for not adopting the Palermo Protocol - which stands for the Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime (U.S. Dept. of State, 2013) - even though both Mainland China and Macau are covered by this protocol (UN, 2013). For this reason, the territory is not legally bound to have definitions in line with established international standards or a comprehensive law prohibiting all forms of trafficking in persons (U.S. Dept. of State, 2013). The new definition has been lauded for including forms of human trafficking other than sex trafficking, but has also been criticised for describing a process that can involve various permutations of actions and results, which leaves open arguments surrounding which particular combinations of these actions and results should be included (O'Connell Davidson, 2006). Perrin (2013) suggests that the definitional issues with the protocol exist deliberately to allow national laws to provide their governments' interpretations, which was required in order for the protocol to gain international consensus. Further exploration revealed that the original convention, that against transnational organised crime, does not apply to HKSAR and will not do so until 'prior enactment' of local legislation by the territory (UN, 2013). This is especially interesting given Hong Kong's historical relationship with organised crime. That being said, even without signing the protocol, the Hong Kong government would be free to adopt its definition of human trafficking

if it had the will to do so.

4.3.2 Regional Agreements

Hong Kong is a party of two regional agreements, the Bangkok Declaration on Irregular Migration and the Asian Regional Initiative against Trafficking in Women and Children (ARIAT) (Centre for Comparative and Public Law, 2009). In terms of the Bangkok Declaration, it was adopted on the last day of the International Symposium on Migration: Towards Regional Cooperation on Irregular/Undocumented Migration in Bangkok, an event organised in 1999 by the Thai government, together with IOM (Derks, 2000). It frames the issue of trafficking in women within the context of organised crime and, as the name of the symposium suggests, illegal migration instead of human rights (Centre for Comparative and Public Law, 2009). Hong Kong was one of 18 states or special administrative regions in the Asia-Pacific region to sign this declaration (ibid.).

As for the Action Plan Against Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children (ARIAT Action Plan), it was developed at a 2000 meeting in Manila, co-hosted by the Philippines and the U.S., which was held to facilitate the discussion of various governments, intergovernmental organisations and NGOs around the issue of human trafficking, especially women and children and particularly in Asia (Derks, 2000; Centre for Comparative and Public Law, 2009). This plan outlines numerous practical proposals, including the setting up of a regional data bank, and adoption methods to encourage victims to file complaints, guarantee their safety and provide them with assistance (Derks, 2000; Centre for Comparative and Public Law, 2009). However, the ARIAT

Action Plan has received criticism for remaining relatively unknown and prompting little follow-up (Emerton, Laidler and Petersen, 2007). Perhaps one of the reasons for the latter is that the plan is considered a political commitment and not legally binding (Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific, 2003). Even though Hong Kong was present when the ARIAT Action Plan was devised and has signed it, there is no national action plan related to anti-trafficking efforts, and the territory needs to develop one that contains a clear strategy, including training of government employees and the general public, and commit resources to such efforts (U.S. Dept. of State, 2013).

4.4 A Bourdieusian analysis of Hong Kong SAR's legal and policy situation

The government uses symbolic violence against women selling sex, labelling them in various ways, which results in their being unable to be considered true victims of crime. Instead, they become victims of the laws meant to protect them.

As previously mentioned, the Hong Kong government states that almost all illegal immigrants and 'prostitutes' arrested 'came to Hong Kong voluntarily to take advantage of the economic prosperity of the HKSAR' and not via 'means of threat or use of force or other forms of coercion or abduction' (HKSAR, 2006: 1). Constructing migrants as 'others' and women who sell sex as 'gold diggers' or predators who 'take advantage of' something or someone are acts of symbolic violence. If the Hong Kong government's narrow definition of human trafficking requires both transnationality and the sale of sex, then trafficking in persons is an issue of 'others' who are 'gold diggers'; in other words, trafficking is not a serious

issue. This negligence and even refusal to consider migrant women suspected of selling sex as victims of sex trafficking is questionable and is linked to the symbolic violence against Mainland Chinese women and women who sell sex in general, which causes them to be blamed instead of considered victims by government employees who should be supporting them. It can also be considered symbolic violence against victims of sex trafficking and other forms of control by third parties, because their very existence and victimisation are not acknowledged.

Another issue with the government's considering that almost all 'prostitutes' come to Hong Kong voluntarily, is that it ignores the fact that the law specifically states that women having prior knowledge that they would be selling sex can still be considered victims of trafficking. The official framing is eventually incorporated into the habitus of government institutions, law enforcement officials and other members of the justice system. This framing becomes part of what is taken for granted and unquestioned, the doxa, and causes it to be difficult for these agents to view women selling sex as legitimate victims of various means, such as deception, which is the most common method used in Hong Kong (U.S. Dept. of State, 2013). Unfortunately, according to O'Connell Davidson, this mirrors the situation in most countries, where despite laws stating otherwise, victims need to demonstrate that they did not choose to sell sex and have also experienced severe physical abuse as per the stereotype of what a true sex trafficking victim should be, one who is completely controlled by a third party (2006); the criteria for who gets to be considered a legitimate victim is set so that few woman can qualify, which suits government intent on tight control of

immigration (ibid.).

In addition, symbolic violence against women in the sale of sex can be seen in Section 147 of the Crimes Ordinance, which prohibits 'soliciting for an immoral purpose... in a public place or in view of the public' (Department of Justice, 2013: Ch. 200, p. 45). Labelling women selling sex as 'others' who are not fit to be seen in public is itself an act of symbolic violence. While official documents may state otherwise, these women are not seen as legitimate members of society who may require assistance as persons with low levels of economic and other types of capital. So not only are migrant women selling sex labelled as 'others', they also suffer additional symbolic violence by being framed as 'human waste', as persons with low levels of economic and/or social capital, and 'gold diggers' for selling sex.

Also, the construction of the issue of human trafficking as an issue of organised crime and border security instead of an issue of person's rights is an act of symbolic violence against victims. It makes apparent the local government's focus on the crime as one against the state, and not one against persons, thus rendering victims invisible. As discussed, this issue is not limited to Hong Kong, and Bourdieu actually noted the use of discourse on traffickers is being used to lend anti-immigration agendas a 'progressive tinge' (1998: 16).

This symbolic violence against women involved in the sale of sex, which is full of questionable stereotypes, contradicts the government's official claim of not discriminating against women selling sex and even being open to assisting them

in desisting from the sale of sex. It can be considered hypocritical to first issue such symbolic violence, resulting in durable dispositions against these women embedded in the local government and law enforcement's habitus, and then state that discrimination against these women does not occur.

4.5 Summary

This chapter has discussed Hong Kong's legal and policy situation with regards to the sale of sex. It has also briefly noted the international and regional agreements which do or do not apply to Hong Kong, how organised crime may be the main reason why Hong Kong has not adopted the Palermo Protocol and the implications not signing this protocol has on its legal situation. Despite participation in CEDAW and ARIAT and various international law enforcement operations and conferences, Hong Kong has done little to combat trafficking in women.

The Hong Kong government does not publicly acknowledge the fact that Hong Kong is a destination for human trafficking and should be doing more to fight trafficking in persons. Even if it has not adopted the Palermo Protocol, it could still adopt its internationally-accepted definition of human trafficking; however, Hong Kong continues to use an outdated definition, which requires transnationality and focuses on illegal immigration and 'prostitution'. This is reflected in its legal and policy situation.

Interestingly, but not surprisingly, the United States seems to be ever present

within this chapter as is the focus on fighting illegal immigration and organised crime. In terms of the United States, it co-hosted the meeting with the government of the Philippines, a former colony of the U.S., which gave rise to ARIAT; it also took part in operation 'Sky League' and, overseas, the ILEA-Bangkok. Of course, its Department of State also publishes the annual Trafficking in Persons Report. This suggests that Hong Kong's policy and legal response to human trafficking reflects international priorities and agendas, despite international rhetoric concerning human rights.

This chapter has also described the different levels of symbolic violence migrant women who are suspected of selling sex face. They are considered the 'other' for being from Mainland China or elsewhere; they are viewed as 'gold diggers' for selling sex; and they are dismissed as 'human waste' (Lee, 2007a: 857) as agents with low economic and social capital. This is part of the government's habitus and taken for granted, as part of the doxa. Despite official statements about commitment to human trafficking and not discriminating against women who sell sex, law enforcement is keen on removing 'prostitution' from Hong Kong by using laws designed to protect women selling sex against them; law enforcement appear to be dedicated to the current bureaucratic machinery which efficiently process cases of migrant women and incarcerate them. This is carried out without any effort to investigate if these women are sex trafficking victims, as the goal is to stem illegal immigration, which is a crime against the state, rather than improve the lives of women in general and victims in particular.

Chapter 5. Methodology and Methods

5.1 Introduction

This chapter begins with methodological issues, which are followed by a brief presentation of the research aims and a detailing of the ethnographic approach used. Then, there is a presentation of the various methods used, in line with the ethnographic approach. These are life 'herstories' of women selling sex ; semi-structured expert interviews and participant observation of the larger context and the views of NGOs and others working with women selling sex; content analysis of newspaper articles related to human trafficking and the sale of sex; and survey of attitudes and experiences of various social agents in Hong Kong. After that, the ethical considerations relevant to the research are discussed; this is especially important as the research was initiated in a country in which ethical approval was not required, only one's supervisor's approval. The data analysis methods are then described, before a presentation of the researcher's exercise in reflexivity and a brief reflection on the strengths and limitations of the methods used.

5.2 Methodological Approach

In terms of theoretical approach, this research can be described as being pragmatic, as it dismisses 'conceptual dualisms' (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 122) and utilises a mixture of different research paradigms and methods in order to answer the research questions of the study (Gray, 2014). Below is a

presentation of why this theoretical approach was chosen - beyond the researcher's being inspired by Bourdieusian theory - along with other theoretical perspectives, which play a part in this research, namely Feminism and interpretivism, utilising the description of various theoretical perspectives from Gray (2014).

This research is based on a pragmatic theoretical perspective, interwoven with influence from interpretivist and Feminist perspectives. Within an interpretivist theoretical perspective, the researcher's views are in line with critical realism. This viewpoint holds that the object of research, such as culture, exists independently from the researcher but also acknowledges the subjectivity of agents and the difficulty of ever arriving at the real truth. In line with this view, she believes in a pluralism of research methods, which should be used when needed to answer research questions. The choice to use a predominantly ethnographic methodology in this research was made with an attempt to discover relationships between different agents' behaviour and the surrounding culture, something in line with symbolic interactionism. However, as a Feminist, she also believes it is important to let women speak for themselves and explore their lived experience of their social reality. Also, as a Feminist, she is also concerned with the social positioning of the researcher to the researched and using reflexivity. An analytical survey was also used to explore associations between variables, and a qualitative content analysis, which is linked to both Feminist and Postmodern theoretical approaches (Leavy, 2007).

Returning to the issue of reflexivity, Bourdieu firmly rejects the ideal of value-

neutral objectivity and believes socio-analysis requires reflexivity as a systematically self-critical practice (Navarro, 2006). As such, after a presentation of the rationale and aims of the study, there is a discussion on reflexivity in more details, which presents the researcher's exercise on reflexivity.

5.3 Ethnographic Approach and Research Aim

This research uses an ethnographic approach with the aim of studying the local environment in Hong Kong, the experiences of women in the sex trade and the relationship between the two, in order to explain the persistence of control of women by third parties in the sale of sex in Hong Kong. In terms of the local environment, aspects of concern to this thesis include the local culture in Hong Kong - especially related social attitudes -the local sex trade, the media and the government.

According to Wittel (2000), ethnographic practice is the presence of the ethnographer and the social situation s/he is observing, revealing complexity by examining a context. It involves a commitment to observing in a natural setting, reporting observations in a factual and descriptive way and finding out the points of view of the local participants (Genzuk, 2003). Traditional forms of fieldwork in communities have been criticised for ignoring global influences, interconnections between different fields and other forms of context (Wittel, 2000), and the author attempted to include these complexities in her research.

In order to develop an 'insider's' view of the local situation (Wittel, 2000), the

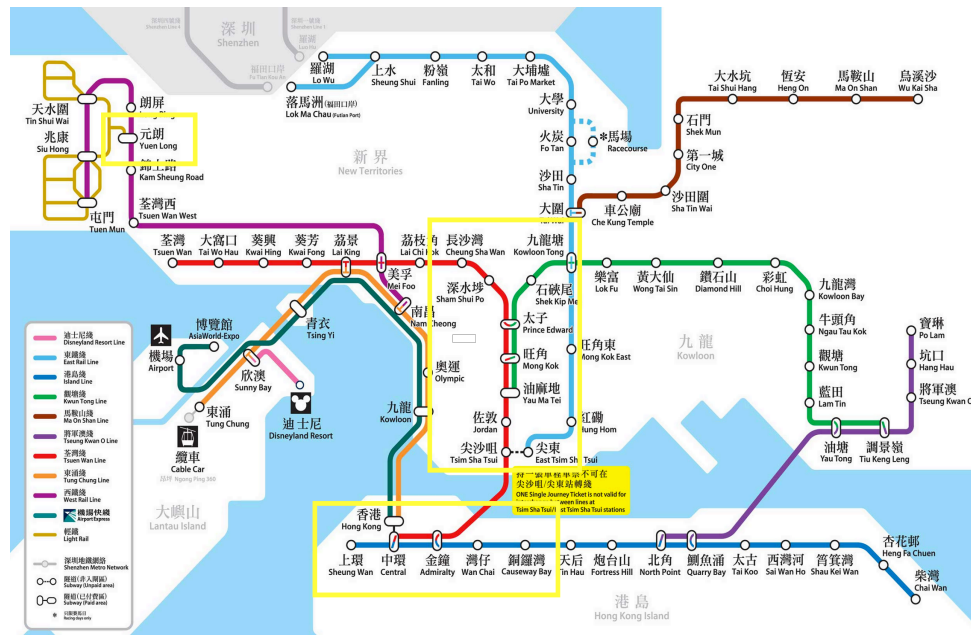
author not only took part in civil society events, some of which were related to migrant workers and women selling sex, but also interacted with regular people in Hong Kong on a daily basis. In line with ethnographic practice, the author gathered data from a range of sources, mainly through participant observation and/or informal conversations but also through interviews and collection of field documents (ibid.). Below is the story of the author's time spent in Hong Kong.

5.3.1 The Story

The researcher stayed in Hong Kong from September 2011 until February 2012, leaving the field early due to a family member's health. She then returned to the field in May 2012 and left again the next month. During this time, she actively participated in both regular life and civil society with the goal of better understanding the culture there, with regards to the research aims.

Geographically, she spent most her time on Hong Kong Island and Kowloon, although she did visit the New Territories. Figure 5.1 shows a Mass Transit Railway (MTR) map of Hong Kong with the aforementioned areas outlined in yellow.

Figure 5:1 MTR map of Hong Kong



On Hong Kong Island, Central, Hong Kong's financial centre and the colonial government's historic location, was the main focus. Not only was the migrant worker NGO she volunteered with located there, many migrant workers' and other groups' demonstrations also occur there or start off there and march east to the new government offices in Admiralty. Another popular route for civil society demonstrations is from Causeway Bay, a major commercial and shopping area, back west to Wanchai, Admiralty or Central. Wanchai is known as a red-light district with bars and clubs catering mainly to foreigners, while Central is a favourite night entertainment spot catering mainly to foreign workers. The area known for nightlife in Central was historically a red-light district for non-Chinese, and there are still people in Hong Kong who think of it as a red-light district. Central is also known to be the favourite gathering spot of foreign domestic workers from the Philippines on Sundays, usually their one day off, and Causeway Bay is known as being the preferred gathering spot of foreign

domestic workers from Indonesia, also on Sundays. On the Kowloon side, most of the researcher's time was spent in what is known as the Yau Tsim Mong District, which includes the commercial and shopping areas of Yau Ma Tei, Tsim Tsa Tsui and Mongkok. Although Tsim Tsa Tsui is quite tourist-friendly, as it is on the harbour and provides excellent views, some other areas in the district are known for triad activity, being much featured in movies about organised crime in Hong Kong. For example, Mongkok is an area that many middle-class, older persons associate with poverty and gang-related activity, but although there are still many people living in poverty there, the area is gentrifying into a more upscale shopping district. Younger people tend to think Mongkok is okay or even 'cool', and many from the New Territories think of it as 'downtown'. That is, with the exception of the '黄色街' (yellow streets) or red-light streets. On these streets, one can sometimes see signs advertising women of different nationalities for different prices, and there are upstairs 'bars' or 'karaoke clubs'. Some demonstrations and other awareness raising events are also carried out here. Some time was also spent in Cheung Sha Wan and Sham Shui Po, which were formerly factory centres and are now known for being decrepit areas, which have higher rates of poverty and a higher number of elderly persons. However, even in the midst of this, individual luxury villas are being developed.

As the researcher carried out active participant observation, she actively took part in civil society and participated in everyday life in Hong Kong. When she embarked on her fieldwork trip, she only had contact with three NGOs. These were the Mission for Migrant Workers (MFMW), Ziteng, which is one of the NGOs assisting women selling sex in Hong Kong, and PathFinders, an NGO

working to empower migrant workers who become pregnant in Hong Kong. At the migrant worker's NGO with which she volunteered, MFMW, she carried out translation work, and the NGO gave her the opportunity to volunteer at community events and accompany someone from the shelter for foreign domestic workers to her court hearing in Yuen Long, New Territories. She was invited to Ziteng's offices and also invited to attend various other NGO events, such as one of PathFinders' mommy and toddler days, where her young son played with all the other kids. She also attended a screening of a short film about the sex trade in Hong Kong, where she met someone from AFRO, who would become an expert informant. In terms of civil society, it was an especially eventful time in Hong Kong, and the researcher was fortunate to have been in the city during this time. The researcher had a chance to take part in the Occupy Hong Kong and SlutWalk Hong Kong movements, both of which were grassroots, local expressions of the larger, international movements; the Occupy movement was concerned with capitalism and income inequality, while SlutWalk was concerned with rape culture and victim blaming. For a few months, the researcher visited the Occupy site in Central on a regular basis; it was an open area, located on the ground-floor directly under the HSBC headquarters and not far from the NGO with which she was volunteering. Participating in these movements allowed her to have contact with a variety of people from different backgrounds, and as the progressive circle in Hong Kong was small enough, she found that she kept running into the same community workers and social agents at various events. Eventually, she met other expert informants and informants. One key informant, Sophie, was from a socialist group, whom allowed the researcher to volunteer with her at some of her street stations in Cheung Sha

Wan. It was with Sophie (pseudonym) and other members and volunteers of Socialist Action that she learned that it was possible to buy noodles out of plastic bags and eat on the sidewalk, for example, experiencing yet another side of Hong Kong that she had never seen before, despite having lived and worked there before.

During her follow-up trip of May-June 2012, the researcher also met with an expert informant and other informants and participated in civil society events. She also visited a MFMW-run shelter for women who had been employed as foreign domestic workers but were now in need of assistance, mainly waiting for trials against employers, either as defendants or victims. It was there that she heard that the foreign domestic worker she had accompanied to the court case had been found guilty and put in jail. There, some women also shared their stories and experiences with her. During this time, she also presented some preliminary findings at a small, outdoor forum the migrant worker's NGO had organised and received feedback from them.

The participant observation, in addition to the other aspects of the ethnographic approach, allowed for a better understanding of Hong Kong's structural and cultural environment. This shed light on the wider context in which the sale of sex occurs.

Within the ethnographic approach, the life 'herstories' of women selling sex were collected, and this is described below in Section 5.4. This approach also includes semi-structured expert interviews with NGOs, which are discussed in

Section 5.5; a survey exploring related attitudes in Hong Kong, presented in Section 5.6; and an analysis of related coverage, as discussed in Section 5.7 below.

5.4 Life 'Herstories' of Women Selling Sex

5.4.1 Recruitment and Participants - Women Selling Sex

The researcher recruited eight women selling sex via one of the participating NGOs, Ziteng, via snowball sampling. The study did not interview women who were currently being victimised through sex trafficking. It did not involve women from Mainland China who were incarcerated for crimes related to the selling of sex in Hong Kong, even though a previous study (Emerton, Laidler and Peterson, 2007) had managed to locate and interview women they considered to be sex trafficking victims by doing so. This previous study discovered that many women arrested for criminal or immigration offences while selling sex in Hong Kong were actually sex trafficking victims. The researcher felt that interviewing women who had very recently experienced force, coercion and/or violence and had received neither justice nor support would be too traumatic for herself to manage as a sole postgraduate researcher. She was concerned she may be prone to psychologically and emotionally react to their experiences, which may further traumatise these women. Instead, the information gained from the aforementioned study, which is commendable for proving the existence of unidentified sex trafficking victims amongst those considered illegal migrants and allowing them to share their voices, was used as a reference within the

discussion on sex trafficking in Chapter 8.

Eight local Chinese and Mainland Chinese women who were *both* legally in Hong Kong and selling sex were invited to share their life ‘herstories’. Each life history was given in roughly an hour, within the office of Ziteng. Not only were their life ‘herstories’ valuable in sharing their lived experiences, but they could provide insights into their attitudes and the community, which could potentially include unidentified victims. Table 5.1 shows their pseudonyms and basic descriptions.

Table 5.1: Table of Informants Selling Sex

Names	General Age Range	Marital Status	Situation
Ami	30-40	Divorced with a young child	Lack of childcare options and family-friendly jobs
Mary	50-60	Divorced with a university-aged child	Returning to selling sex even with other options
Feng	30-40	Single with no children	Plenty of choices but loves selling sex
Jiajia	30-40	Divorced with a young child	Labour trafficked as a teenager, now lacks childcare and financial options, the latter due to discrimination
Liana	50-60	Divorced with adult child who lives/lived with paternal grandparents	Having fun being a masseuse
Ping	60-70	Twice divorced, with one adult child who lived with paternal grandparents	Returned to selling sex by choice and proud of it
Sisi	30-40	Married, with a child from a previous relationship, lives with paternal grandmother, whom Sisi must pay monthly	Lack of financial options
Xiaoting	50-60	Divorced, with an adult child	Was paying off boyfriend's loan and is now saving for retirement

Instead of carrying out more interviews with women selling sex, the researcher

considered it more useful to spend time on other aspects of the ethnography, especially participant observation. This is mainly because, thanks to the NGO recruiting the women selling sex, their 'herstories' already covered a rich variety of both past and present experiences. Also, as the NGO, Ziteng, explicitly stated they did not have access to any sex trafficking victims, so more time had to be spent on collecting data related to this aspect of the research; as previously noted, the only NGO who focused on raising awareness on the issue of human trafficking was not in operation at the time this fieldwork was conducted, so sources were very much limited.

5.4.2 Data Collection - Women Selling Sex

The eight life 'herstories' were collected within the safe environment of Ziteng's office. The women were requested to tell their stories and provide whatever information they felt comfortable with providing, usually involving their pasts, their experiences in selling sex, their observations and opinions and their hopes for the future. This is reiterated in Appendix 1, which contains the interview topic guide used in the collection of the women's 'herstories'.

As per request by Ziteng, informants recruited by the NGO were provided with a small, monetary gift of 300 Hong Kong Dollars (roughly 23 British Pounds) in gratitude. Ziteng asks this of all researchers wishing to interview women selling sex, which is not a lot but considered enough to cover the time they set aside and transportation expenses involved. This did not seem to influence the informants' participation; at least one woman did not seem to be aware that she

would be given any amount and did not want to accept it after the interview, while others seemed to be more motivated by the desire to have their voices heard.

No formal translators were required as the author is fluent in English, Cantonese and Mandarin/Putonghua.

5.5 Semi-Structured Expert Interviews with NGOs

The recruitment of the five NGO participants was mainly carried out via emailing organisations. The aforementioned migrant worker NGO, MFMW, agreed to act as the local host organisation for the researcher, connecting her to both expert informants within the organisation and outside of it. Some of the organisations contacted via email also agreed to participate.

The five NGOs consisted of one organisation working with women in general, MFMW and Pathfinders, both of whom work mainly with migrant women, and Ziteng and AFRO, both of whom work with women involved in the sale of sex.

Semi-structured interviews with experts largely took place in NGO offices, although two of the five used in the research were held in informal settings.

These generally lasted for roughly an hour, although those conducted in informal settings tended to be lengthier. The main topic was the situation in Hong Kong regarding the sale of sex in general, including control by third parties, with respondents providing information on what they had seen or heard of while working on the ground. The interview topic guide for the expert interviews is presented in Appendix 2.

5.6 Content Analysis

Newspapers were chosen over other types of print media, because according to the EOC (2009), print media exposure was highest for newspapers, with 87.7 per cent of those surveyed reporting to spend a median time of five hours per week reading newspapers, with only 53.7 per cent reporting to do the same with magazines.

Specific newspapers were selected to cover people from a variety of different socio-economic backgrounds, and also based on the availability of online article databases. The six local newspapers chosen for the study were *Oriental Daily News*, *The Sun*, *Metro Daily*, *Sing Tao Daily*, *The Standard* and *South China Morning Post (SCMP)*. *Oriental Daily News*, *The Sun* and *Sing Tao Daily* were once considered three of the top five local newspapers (Breakthrough, 2002, and To, 1999, both as cited by Au et al., 2004). *Metro Daily* is one of the three highly-circulated newcomers (HKABS, 2011). The study also examined two English-language, local newspapers, *The Standard*, which is the top circulating one, and *SCMP*, considered to be the high-end one. Table 5.2 shows some information concerning the local newspapers used in this study.

Table 5.2: Information about the six newspapers analysed (source unless otherwise stated: School of Journalism and Communication, 2011)

Relative Credibility Ranking	Credibility Ranking*	Outlet Name, Language	Target Audience, Demographics	Description by others
1	1	SCMP, English	Their audience is well-educated, successful (SCMP Group, 2011). 40% of readers are university graduates, and 40% are postgraduate or above (SCMP Readership survey, 2007, as cited in SCMP Group, 2011).	Proprietors have substantial business interest in the mainland (Clarke and Hamlett, 2005).
2	5	<i>Sing Tao Daily</i> , Chinese	Middle-class readers (Sing Tao News Corp, 2011). Seen to appeal to professionals and others with higher education levels (Au et al., 2004).	Targets middle class (So and Choi, 2006). Mother company has substantial business interests in the mainland (Clarke and Hamlett, 2005).
3	6	<i>The Standard</i> , English	Business people and young professionals with high-quality lifestyles (Sing Tao News Corp, 2011).	Owned by the same company as <i>Sing Tao Daily</i> , which has substantial business interests in the mainland (Clarke and Hamlett, 2005).
4	9	<i>Oriental Daily News</i> , Chinese	Not available.	The pioneer of local news for local people (Clarke and Hamlett, 2005). High-circulation, comprehensive newspaper (Au et al., 2004). According to So and Choi (2006), these newspapers are usually pro-government and include common sayings and slang intended to bring it towards the masses. The paper is considered pro-Beijing (Clarke and Hamlett, 2005). One of two papers owned by Oriental Press Group.
5	11	<i>Metro Daily</i> , Chinese	According to Synovate (2011, as cited in <i>Metro Daily</i> , 2011), 70% of readers are aged 18-49, and 39% of <i>Metro Daily</i> readers went to University.	Leans towards neutral model of elite newspapers (So and Choi, 2006). Emphasises Hong Kong and International news, targeting more knowledgeable readers with little use of slang (So and Choi, 2006).
6	17	<i>The Sun</i> , Chinese	Younger audience (Oriental Press Group, 2011).	High-circulation, comprehensive newspaper (Au et al., 2004). Started by Oriental Press Group with the younger audience in mind, and pro-Beijing (Clarke and Hamlett, 2005).

Only articles from 1 January 2010 to 31 December 2010 were included, since 2010 was the year before fieldwork began. As a Communications scholar noted at the researcher's presentation of preliminary findings to the main migrant worker NGO, MFMW, articles are typically selected based on random dates or days of the week. For this research, however, all articles in the online databases were included for the entire time period; this was done in order to be able to locate more articles on this sparsely discussed topic. Code words related to the topic were used to search the newspapers' online databases,

Articles were copied from their online versions and pasted into a document, organised by source newspaper and dates. In cases where the researcher was unable to read a Traditional Chinese character, she employed the software, Textaloud, which reads out printed matter.

5.7 Survey

The survey was used to provide supplementary details to this primarily qualitative study. The study design was correlational. The survey was not designed to be statistically representative, as it would be impossible to sample the population randomly and reach members of hidden and/or excluded populations, such as women selling sex.

Respondents were obtained via purposive and snowball sampling. A large variety of respondents were reached, using as a starting point both the researcher's network and the networks of NGOs and other contacts she made while in Hong Kong. The survey was available in both Traditional Chinese and

English versions, in both paper and online copies, via SurveyMonkey.com. The targeted respondents were people living in Hong Kong and aged 18 or over, with a preference for those already working. The aforementioned organisations and individuals from the researcher's network assisted in the dissemination of the final questionnaire, using both the internet and paper copies.

The questionnaire contained items on independent variables, such as respondent age and education, and dependent variables. Dependent variables, related to attitudes, were rated on a seven-point Likert scale and contributed mainly to three different scales:

- the Gender Equitable Men (GEM) scale, which has been used with both women and men in countries such as Brazil, China, Ethiopia, India, Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda (Nanda, 2011);
- the Humanitarian-Egalitarian (HE) scale (Katz and Hass, 1988), which has been used in various studies studying inequality, such as gender and sexuality (Case, Fishbein and Ritchey, 2008); and
- the Trafficking in Women Perception (TWP) scale, which was constructed by the researcher specifically for this research.

Three items were used from the Protestant Ethic (PE) scale (Katz and Hass, 1988) as extra questions inserted into the section with HE scale items but were not included in the final PE score. The design allowed for the strength of correlation and association between different attitudes, experiential factors, socio-economic factors and demographic factors to be determined.

The researcher first created a list of over 30 questions based on her literature review, experience presenting the topic to others, and knowledge of common rape myths. She then used the face validity method to measure validity, asking fellow postgraduate students and others, such as Prof. W.T. Chan, who is a local expert on quantitative methods, whether the questions measure the concept they are intended to measure (Singh, 2007). Then the content validity (Lawshe, 1975) of the scale was ensured by asking five international experts on human trafficking, who were academics and/or community workers, to rate whether or not they thought items were essential; any item that was marked not essential by at least one expert was removed. The table below shows the 18 items used in this scale, noting the directions of their wording.

Table 5.3 The 18-item TWP scale

Item No.	Items	Wording Direction
1	Human trafficking exists in my city.	-
2	Human trafficking is just a criminal issue, not a social issue.	+
3	Human trafficking only exists in poor countries.	+
4	Women who have been tricked into prostitution by boyfriends are victims of trafficking.	-
5	Women who did not want to be in prostitution could just run away if they really wanted to.	+
6	It is a woman's fault for being greedy if she accepts a job offer to make more money as a model and ends up having to be a prostitute.	+
7	It is okay for agencies or employers to threaten women with violence towards them and/or their families.	+
8	It is not okay for a woman's wages to be paid by the employer directly to an agent.	-
9	It is okay for a woman's wages to be paid directly by the employer to her family back home.	+
10	It is okay for employment agencies to force workers to take on loans for high fees and then force them to work in order to pay back the loans.	+
11	It is not acceptable for domestic workers to be rented out to family and	-

	friends who need help with cleaning their homes.	
12	It is okay for a domestic worker to be rented out to karaoke bars or brothels when they don't have much housework to do.	+
13	It is okay for employers to keep employees' passports.	+
14	If a woman willingly goes to an agency for assistance with employment, she cannot say she is a victim of trafficking.	+
15	Prostitution is always a choice.	+
16	It is okay to buy sex from a woman who appears to be drunk.	+
17	It is okay to buy sex from a woman who appears to be on drugs.	+
18	Women who claim to be trafficking victims are often just prostitutes who made enough money and don't want to be stigmatised for having worked in the sex industry.	+

The scale has high reliability, with a Cronbach's alpha of 0.818, and it can be utilised in future research carried out in other locations⁶.

The instrument was professionally translated into Traditional Chinese, and this translated version was checked by a local educator, a layperson and the researcher, to ensure that the Traditional Chinese version matched the English version. Then both English and Traditional Chinese versions of the questionnaire were sent to the actual organisations participating in the study to (i) ensure suitability and (ii) request participation in pre-testing the instrument. Both language versions were pre-tested by ten individuals of various backgrounds, including domestic workers, employers of domestic workers, people who had purchased sex before and people who had sold sex; in total, 20 people participated in the pre-testing of the instrument.

Feedback for the Traditional Chinese version was received via email from the aforementioned local educator and layperson. Feedback for the English-

⁶ The Cronbach's alpha value was obtained from SPSS.

language version was discussed at a meeting with the migrant workers' NGO. Changes were made in accordance with the feedback received, mainly concerning awkward or ambiguous wording, especially with regards to the translation from English to Chinese. It was very important for the survey questions to be clear to respondents.

The online version was accessible via links provided by SurveyMonkey.com and was shared via social media and email for two months at the beginning of 2012. Paper versions were also distributed and collected by NGOs and the researcher. The data from 182 individual respondents was obtained. These respondents included a broad range of agents from different socio-economic backgrounds. To illustrate this range, respondents included working class Hong Kong Chinese, women selling sex, professional Hong Kong Chinese, migrant domestic workers and expatriate professionals. Also, in terms of age, respondents ranged from recent graduates to retirees.

5.8 Ethical Considerations

There has been much variation in the approaches different countries have taken to regulate social research in terms of ethics (Israel and Hays, 2006). The issue of ethical regulation is part of a larger social picture including the increasing need for individual and organisational accountability and the public's scepticism towards science (ibid.), which varies from country to country. As the researcher initiated the project with a university in Germany, in which the submission of a research ethics assessment form was not required, all that was required was the

approval of her former supervisor. Fieldwork was also conducted while the researcher was attached to the German university. For this reason, a reflective piece on ethical issues encountered in the course of the research, is necessary. This is especially important given that the topic researched is both a powerful and sensitive one. This piece utilises Israel and Hays (2006), the Economic and Social Research Council's (ESRC) Framework for research ethics (2015) and the British Sociological Association's (BSA) Statement of Ethical Practice (2002) as starting points for discussion.

5.8.1 The Importance of Ethics

Essentially, ethics are necessary for social scientists in order to maximise the good that can be done with research and help make positive changes in the world, while minimising the harm done to individuals, communities and other social environments (Israel and Hays, 2006). Potential risk refers to physical and psychological harm, stress, and discomfort or potential harm to social agents' reputations (ESRC, 2015). It also includes harm to the social well-being of a participant (BSA, 2002). It is important to act with more than good intentions and avoid hurting those we are seeking to assist through social research. Harm done to others in itself is undesirable, but it also leads to a lack of trust in the social researcher or even social researchers in general, making it more difficult to do future, emancipatory research with the same group (Israel and Hays, 2006). Individual social researchers must avoid any actions that may damage the reputation of the discipline and negatively impact researchers who come after them (BSA, 2002). Also, social research is not carried out within a research

vacuum, and all research contributes to a knowledge base; any research that has been acquired unethically or is inaccurate has the potential to affect other social research and contaminate the knowledge base (Israel and Hays, 2006). It would also not be desirable for efforts to assist any social group be thwarted on the grounds of unethical behaviour during the research process.

Research Ethics Committees are primarily responsible for protecting research participants' rights, dignity and welfare (ESRC, 2015). They must also consider the consequences of the research for individuals or groups, which are directly affected by it (ibid.). This includes responsibility to agents who do not participate in the research but may either benefit or suffer from it in the future as well as the safety of researchers (ibid.); they must consider that even though individual members of a group have given consent, it does not mean that the group as a whole will not be affected by the research (BSA, 2002).

5.8.2 When Full Ethics Reviews Are Required

In the U.K., there are various types of research that potentially demand a full ethics review, rather than a light-touch review (ESRC, 2015). This includes research involving potentially vulnerable individuals in dependent or unequal relationships and research on sensitive topics, such as experience of violence, abuse or exploitation and sexual behaviour (ibid.). This thesis includes, as participants and informants, those who are vulnerable individuals in dependent or unequal relationships, such as victims of domestic violence. Being about the sex trade, the topic is also very sensitive, and participants did share experiences of

violence, abuse and exploitation. As the fieldwork was originally carried out with the goal of including trafficking of women for domestic labour, the experiences of violence, abuse and exploitation shared include those experienced while working as foreign domestic helpers in Hong Kong. Ethics reviews are potentially needed when researchers are conducting fieldwork or working outside the U.K., to assess the risk to the researcher's safety (ibid). This applied to this thesis, which includes fieldwork conducted in Hong Kong.

5.8.3 Informed Consent

Informed consent is necessary to ensure that participants or informants understand that they are participating in research and voluntarily take part in such research (Israel and Hays, 2006). In this research, the NGOs involved were all informed of the nature of the research before they agreed to participate, and they conveyed this information to individual women who then decided whether or not to participate. Ziteng, the NGO working with women selling sex, further ensured that they completely understood the research format and researcher's attitudes before proceeding to invite women to share their 'herstories'. Those taking part in informal interviews, as part of the participant observation, were also aware of the nature of the research. There was no deception or manipulation involved; for example, the researcher did not pose as a journalist or social worker when conducting research. No written consent forms were made available, however, as this was not a requirement in Germany. As the research did not involve children and only imposed minimal risk on participants, as determined by the NGOs recruiting them and the support of NGO

workers for the participants, the researcher does not consider this to be a major issue. Furthermore, it was felt that physically recording consent would have made everyday interactions overly formal - as opposed to trust-based (ibid.) - and unnatural. At the same time, informed consent may be meaningless in some cases, or impracticable (ESRC, 2015). In the case of this research, it was not practical to inform every single person, with whom the researcher had contact with, of her role as a researcher. It would have made everyday interactions in public places unnatural, such as very brief interactions with store clerks, taxi drivers or passers-by.

Participation was voluntary, and not everyone who was invited to participate in the research responded. However, it is necessary to discuss whether or not participants or informants were influenced by coercion, manipulation or force, even those forms of control which are so subtle that the participants or informants themselves are not aware of them (Israel and Hays, 2006). This is especially difficult in cases of financial inducement (ibid.). This dilemma was faced by the researcher, as Ziteng requested that each woman be given roughly 28 British Pounds as a token of gratitude, which could also help cover time and travel expenses. However, small reimbursements for participants' time and expenses are allowed and are not considered financial inducement (ESRC, 2015).

5.8.4 Confidentiality and Data Management

The information revealed to researchers is private and offered in confidence, and

it is mandatory to protect respondents' and informants' confidentiality (Israel and Hays, 2006). This right to confidentiality is especially pertinent in cases of research on sensitive topics, such as this research on the sale of sex. Methods to safeguard confidentiality include not recording names and other identifying data, or by removing names and identifying details as early as possible (ibid.; BSA, 2002). In this case, all records are anonymous, with codenames used for all informants. There was also no digital recording of voice and/or video, from which it would be possible to identify informants should there be a security leak. Care must also be taken to ensure that informants are not identifiable via descriptions of them, such as unique characteristics (ESCR, 2015) or combinations of attributes (BSA, 2002). For these reasons, the gender of any children the participants had was also neutralised, and other attributes may have been omitted. To further protect the confidentiality of the women who shared their 'herstories', the presentation of their 'herstories' is different from the actual sequence of meetings. This means that the first participant listed in the thesis is not necessarily the first one who was interviewed. Even though Ziteng's premises are relatively secure, with a non-listed address in a secure building, the researcher felt it better to take extra precautions.

The ESRC (2015) specifies that researchers, especially when working with potentially vulnerable individuals or groups, should make it clear that confidentiality is limited, as the researcher is obliged to act upon any disclosure that a participant, or someone they have mentioned, is in serious danger. As interviews with potentially vulnerable women were conducted on NGO premises, with community worker support, this was not applicable; in the case that any

such information was revealed, the community worker would have taken over. However, if the researcher had attempted to locate sex trafficking victims who were not identified as such by law enforcement in detention centres, as in Emerton, Laidler and Peterson's (2007) study, then this would have been critical. This issue is further expanded upon in the following section on risk assessment and avoiding harm.

As for data management, proposals submitted to Research Ethics Committees should include how data is to be kept secure, methods of transferring data within teams and how data-sharing outside the research team is managed (ESRC, 2015). In the case of this thesis, data files have been kept secure on the researcher's two password-protected computers, which are kept in her home, and data was not transferred to anyone else.

5.8.5 Risk Assessment and Avoiding Harm

Researchers are expected to minimise the risk of any harm or discomfort to informants and respondents and maximise the benefits of conducting social research (Israel and Hays, 2006). Research proposals supported by Research Ethics Committees include potential risks to participants and other parties and what action is being carried out to minimise risks (ESRC, 2015). One of the ways researchers can minimise risk of harm is ensuring that there is a safety net of professionals who can provide support in case of emergencies (Israel and Hays, 2006). In the case of this research, the greatest risk was of causing emotional distress to the women sharing their 'herstories', and this risk was

minimised by the sharing sessions taking place within the NGO offices, where community workers they were familiar with could assist them in case of distress. Also, these women were all invited to be informants by the NGO, who had knowledge of which women were psychologically ready to share their 'herstories', especially in light of their perception of the researcher based on the previous meeting. Regarding the actual sharing of life 'herstories', risk of harm was also minimised by: (i) holding the sharing in a place these women felt safe, within the NGO's office; (ii) providing the women with a non-judgemental, relatively informal environment so that it would seem as though they were just chatting with a friend; and (iii) requesting the women tell whatever parts of their story they wished and not pressing them to tell more. Had any of the women shown signs of emotional distress or requested to stop sharing their 'herstories', the sharing would have ended immediately, and a community worker familiar to the woman would have been available.

Another way to minimise risk to participants is involving members of the community in the planning and carrying out of the research (ibid.). In addition to recruiting women through Ziteng, both Ziteng and the migrant workers' NGO assisted the researcher in testing the survey and approved of the interview questions, with the opportunity to provide feedback on any potentially ambiguous or suspect items.

In terms of the survey, the items did contain some questions about sexual behaviour, which had minimal risk of causing discomfort. However, the questions used non-judgemental wording, were presented in yes/no format and

did not have any follow-up questions, which could potentially be perceived as prying. Also, given the nature of surveys, the respondents could choose at any time to stop filling in a paper survey or exit from the online survey.

According to the ESRC (2015), researchers working with vulnerable groups in most cases need to secure a Disclosure and Barring Service (DBS) clearance, which allows organisations to check the criminal record of researchers to ensure they do not have any past offences, which would indicate they should not be working with children or vulnerable adults. As fieldwork was conducted prior to the transfer to a university in the U.K., this was not required of the researcher, who does not have a criminal record.

Researchers should also minimise any risk of harm to themselves (BSA, 2002). Research proposals submitted to Research Ethics Committees should include potential risks to researchers and how they will be protected, especially when carrying out fieldwork and/or conducting research outside of the U.K. (ESRC, 2015). In particular, they should share details about research to be conducted outside of the U.K. and information about contacts with institutions in the country of fieldwork (ibid.). In the case of this research, fieldwork was conducted in Hong Kong, where the researcher had previously worked and has a support network of friends and family, so there was minimal risk of harm. More controversial was whether or not the researcher should visit sites where sex was known to be sold; however, her previous supervisor pointed out the hazard of conducting research in this manner, given that criminal elements may be involved in the control of women in the sale of sex. Instead, NGO assistance should be sought. At the same time, it is not recommended for researchers to directly recruit women in the

sex trade, for interview, since brothel owners and pimps are known to use fake human-rights workers as tests, which results in punishment for women who do not 'pass' these tests (Kara, 2009).

Also, as mentioned in the previous section, the researcher considered it best not to attempt to locate sex trafficking victims, who were not identified as such by law enforcement, in detention centres, as Emerton, Laidler and Peterson's (2007) study had done. She felt that it would have been too traumatic for herself to manage as a sole postgraduate researcher. While the researcher has experience in interviewing sex trafficking victims, previous informants were women who were recognised as victims and had received rehabilitation services. If the researcher were to have interviewed women in detention centres, she would have been required to submit, for ethical approval, procedures for dealing with information shared during the fieldwork, including anything that raised significant concerns about the wellbeing and safety of participants and others (ESRC, 2015), such as their, potentially, being sex trafficking victims. The researcher would have needed to have established procedures and contacts to provide assistance in case of a disclosure (ibid.).

5.8.6 Benefits and Dissemination

Research proposals submitted to Research Ethics Committees are required to include information about expected impact and benefits of the research, as well as avenues towards achievement of these impacts and benefits (ESRC, 2015).

One expected outcome is to raise awareness in Hong Kong and shed light on the issues in order to help change social attitudes. To reach the general public,

alternative media channels will be approached in person or via email, such as Hong Kong Free Press. This must be done keeping in mind that researchers must keep the reputation of the discipline, Sociology or Social Sciences, in mind and avoid appearing to support conclusions without adequate evidence (BSA, 2002). Another outcome is to help inform the NGOs concerned with women. Preliminary findings have been shared with the NGOs, and once the thesis has been finalised and published online, a further information release will be sent to all the NGOs who participated, including a link to the thesis online. Another informal forum will then be held at MFMW, welcoming both the other NGOs who participated, participants and informants in the research and others who are interested. The third outcome is informing local policies. Aside from NGOs and other activists pressing the government for change, progressive politicians, such as Hon. Leung Kwok-Hung, will be approached via email with an information release, which will include a link to the thesis online. They can then take the findings and recommendations into consideration and put forward a discussion in the Legislative Council, for example. These three outcomes together could potentially benefit women in the sex trade, and perhaps even those in domestic work.

Beyond Hong Kong, the research will also contribute to the wider knowledge base on related issues. Once the final version of the thesis has been submitted and made public online, dissemination in the form of conference papers and journal publications should follow.

5.9 Data Analysis

The following sub-section describes the data analysis methods used for the ethnographic methods, including life 'herstories', expert interviews and participant observation. This is then followed by a subsection detailing the qualitative content analysis used for the newspaper articles. Afterwards is a third subsection containing information on the analysis of the quantitative data and the questionnaire.

5.9.1 Qualitative: Ethnographic Analysis

The analysis of the data gathered via the ethnographic approach, including expert interviews and the collection of the life 'herstories' of women selling sex, utilised an interpretive approach with the intent of improving theoretical understanding on the topic of the selling of sex by women, including sex trafficking, and evaluating the current legal and policy situation. In addition, the life 'herstories' were analysed together as a collection. Below is a description of the data analysis process that occurred, drawing upon Spencer, Ritchie and O'Connor's (2003) descriptions of qualitative analysis as a conceptual and organisational reference. The analytic process was iterative, not linear, as there was a need to revisit the original data (ibid.).

First, all field notes, including interview notes, were entered into a single word processing document. After becoming familiar with the raw data, and considering both current knowledge and the research questions, open coding was conducted. The codes were then arranged, hierarchically, into codes and

sub codes; for example, enjoying selling sex and perceiving the selling of sex as sharing and self-expression served as sub-codes for the code 'personal interest'. Themes were then allowed to emerge from the data inductively, by detecting patterns in the data as opposed to working with predetermined themes from a specific theory, as in the case of deductive reasoning. Codes were grouped together for this purpose. As an illustration, the codes related to lone parenting, supporting parents, lack of economic opportunities, lack of public housing or retirement pensions, personal interest and various addictions were organised into the theme 'factors leading to the selling of sex'. However, some themes eventually corresponded with specific interview questions. An example of such a theme would be 'experiences in the selling of sex', which arose out of the codes: feelings, the environment in which women sold sex, clients, the surrounding communities and interactions with the police. Data analysis software was not used as, after a brief trial, it was considered to be overly time consuming considering the volume of data gathered.

Data was then sorted by theme into three other documents. One of these was for the women selling sex; another one was for information related to human trafficking; and the third was for all the other field notes. While this data was being sorted, sections of data retained information on their sources, such as an interviewee, and the original document was kept intact to allow for returning to the original context if needed. The life 'herstories' of the women selling sex were summarised and presented, showing a wide range of diversity in terms of backgrounds and experiences.

As this process was iterative, there were also additional themes that emerged later in the analysis, or even after analysis had been carried out on other data, such as the media content. In these cases, the steps were repeated with the newly coded data.

In terms of descriptive accounts, after coding and the development of themes, there was the need to step back and note the range of experiences and views for each theme provided by the informants. For example, there were eight separate 'herstories' collected, and they provided a range of codes which came to be organised under the theme 'experiences before entering the sex trade'. These descriptive items were then reorganised after deepening analysis. There was also room for reorganisation of the arrangement of themes and codes, such as demoting a theme with its codes to being a code and sub-codes of another theme, or the division of codes into separate categories. For example, it was found that several experiences the women had before entering the sex trade could also be categorised under the theme 'factors leading to the selling of sex', and these became sub-codes under the new code, 'previous exploitation and abuse'. Themes could also be renamed if necessary.

Then, in order to give meaning to the descriptive analysis above, it was necessary to look for patterns, such as linkages or associations between themes. For example, the thesis looked at whether or not there was a link between the circumstances of women selling sex and their attitudes towards trafficking in women. There a link was established, and it became necessary to determine if there was a clear explanation and what this would be.

After that, it was necessary to look at different subgroups and see if they were attached to any particular views or experiences. Examples of subgroups in this thesis are migrant worker NGOs, NGOs working with women selling sex and women's NGOs. After identifying associations, it was necessary to see if the patterns exist across all the data, looking both at cases that fit and those that do not. Then an explanation had to be uncovered for each association or else the association itself would not be verifiable, given this small sample (Ritchie, Spencer and O'Connor, 2003). Explanations were developed drawing from a Feminist, Bourdieusian framework as well as current knowledge on the topic of women selling sex, including sex trafficking victims.

Afterwards, it was necessary to consider if any new ideas or theories could be developed, and how these could contribute to the current theoretical discussion and inform social policy.

5.9.2 Qualitative Content Analysis

This subsection describes the qualitative content analysis of the relevant articles within the six newspapers studied. In accordance with this type of analysis, data was purposively, not probabilistically, selected; and results were descriptive, not statistical. Similar to the above subsection, it also draws upon Spencer, Ritchie and O'Connor's (2003) content on qualitative analysis, both as a conceptual and organisational reference.

In terms of data management, after the researcher familiarised herself with the data at hand, some recurrent codes were noted, and initial themes were developed inductively from these. Examples included but were not limited to the following: (i) what the crime was described as; (ii) origin of victim; (iii) destination; (iv) how the perpetrators were described, (v) how victims were described, (vi) exploitation and abuse; and (vii) what the actual crime was. The researcher, as a single coder, then used these initial themes to code all the data. At the same time, there was room for codes to later be reorganised into themes determined by the research questions, or deductively. The benefit of this approach is that it explicitly acknowledges that researchers are unlikely to be working from completely objective perspectives (Hsieh and Shannon, 2005), which is in line with the ontological background of this research. To cut down the data and aid in the location of patterns, coded sections of content were summarised and then inserted into six separate tables. Each news outlet was given its own table, with the themes serving as columns and the dates serving as rows.

As for descriptive analysis, for each theme there were items from multiple newspaper outlets. It was necessary to note the range of codes across media sources and then reorganise these into different categories if necessary. For example, under 'what the crime was described as', two categories separated the codes into those that accurately labelled crimes as human trafficking and those that described it as lesser or other crimes. After this, the contents of these matrices were themselves analysed, iteratively returning to the data management stage. This was done referencing the original articles when necessary and using the themes developed out of the legal and policy analysis

chapter, Chapter 4, which were:

- lack of public acknowledgement of the existence and/or extent of the issue in Hong Kong;
- definitional issues, with the subthemes of ignoring control by third parties, focusing on sex and excluding domestic workers, and the need for transnationality;
- victim blaming; and
- migration scares, with the subthemes of a law enforcement model and Hong Kong as an origin.

Again, it was necessary to note the range of framing used and categorise the types of framing. For example, two categories separated those articles which mentioned the extent of the challenge in Hong Kong and those that did not.

Then, in order to give meaning to the descriptive analysis above, it was necessary to look for patterns, such as potential relationships between categories of codes within themes and also examine the different subgroups, in this case the news outlets, and see if they were associated with any specific framing. Explanations were developed drawing from both the knowledge of media framing of both Feminist and/or news considered undesirable by business and/or government interests and a Feminist, Bourdieusian theoretical framework.

Then, it was necessary to consider if any new ideas or theories could be found, and how these findings and explanations could contribute to the current theoretical discussion, and provide recommendations on social policy.

5.9.3 Quantitative Analysis of Survey

The data from the online survey was obtained from SurveyMonkey.com in Microsoft Excel format and imported into IBM's SPSS statistics software (version 19). Data from paper versions of the survey was entered manually. The summative scores for each respondent, for each attitudinal scale, were determined within the software. After this, the existence of significant correlations between the scores for the attitudinal scales was determined, along with their strength. Also, the existence of significant correlations and associations between subgroups, such as gender, were determined, along with their strength.

Just as in the qualitative analysis, it was necessary to provide an explanation for any relationships that existed. However, it was also to account for why certain expected relationships did not materialise from the data. Explanations were developed drawing from both current knowledge on both gender issues and the sale of sex by women, including sex trafficking. A Feminist 'appropriation' of Bourdieu's theoretical framework was also helpful in this analysis.

From these findings, it was necessary to see if any new ideas or theories could contribute to the current theoretical discussion, and provide recommendations on social policy.

5.10 Reflexivity

Before presenting the author's exercise, some general notes on reflexivity need to be introduced. Due to the personal nature of the exercise in reflexivity section, it has been written in the first person.

In reflexive research, there is a constant need to question one's own attitudes and prejudices (Ledwith, 2005). This involves thinking about and breaking through limits within **the habitus** that themselves generate one's biases, understandings, perceptions and categorisations that affect one's interpretation of the world and oneself (Brady and Shirato, 2011). A researcher must look objectively at the social world but also her/himself (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). This is critically important as the principle mistakes in the social sciences are usually rooted in the habitus, with its socially constituted fears and fantasies (ibid.). It is also extremely important in the pedagogy of liberation, because even when someone from the oppressor class joins the struggle of the oppressed, they always bring their original class habitus, including a lack of confidence in the people's ability (Freire, 1970). To become a real humanist, not a humanitarian, there is a need for constant reflection to ensure one is working in communion with the people and not as the keeper of revolutionary knowledge imposing one's will on others (ibid.).

5.10.1 Author's Exercise in Reflexivity

In this section, I list notes and/or requirements of reflexivity as described by Bourdieu and Spivak, who is a prominent post-colonial Feminist, and each note and/or requirement is followed by a reflexive piece. In general, an exercise in

reflexivity should, in addition to pointing at class location, social origins, academic background, race and gender, also include the objectification of one's position in the academic field (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). This includes the relation to suppliers of research funds, because this affects the topic and type of research that can be carried out (*ibid.*); since sociological research is more costly than other intellectual activities and does not see much revenue, it leaves practitioners financially vulnerable to the whim of funding bodies (*ibid.*). I would be considered as coming from an upper-middle class background and grew up in a relatively comfortable Hong Kong-Chinese Canadian community. Within this community, I rarely experienced racism but instead felt that being Chinese was the most wonderful thing. I was originally schooled in an ultra-conservative, Protestant environment, and went on to primarily study Life Sciences at the University of Toronto. After years of working in 'fun jobs' while travelling the world and giving birth to my son, I decided to pursue a socially-oriented path and returned to study. I am now a social activist in Hong Kong and PhD student in the United Kingdom. I have the good fortune of being privately funded, allowing me to study an unpopular topic.

Regarding one's historical position, similar to Bourdieu, Spivak argues that a researcher is not neutral but always carries her/his own baggage, and there is a need to explicitly situate oneself in one's historical and current background, including the position in which one has inserted oneself into the abstract circuit of capital (Spivak, 2010a). For this, autoethnography is sometimes used, connecting the personal to the cultural and political context (Ledwith, 2005). For example, one could ask whether or not the feminist intellectual has a mode of

living that is related or unrelated to the path she has chosen (Spivak, 2010a). After the early death of my mother, my family employed a string of domestic helpers, the last of whom provided much solace as I was growing up with depression and an abusive step-parent. I left home as soon as I finished university, becoming a 'world citizen'. During my years in various large cities, I met a variety of people, many of whom were more liberal and international; my view of the world broadened, and my political views shifted towards the left. I also had enough distance to look at the past and the misery I suffered, enough to disdain 'bourgeois morality', in the words of de Beauvoir (1997). At the same time, I experienced living in environments in which my race/ethnicity was looked upon differently and faced, first hand, gender, class and racial discrimination. Throughout most of the research, I have juggled being an activist and researcher with being a full-time mother to a child in school, which has given me more time to pursue my research than a mother in full-time work outside the home would have. During this time, I have also been employed on a six-month research contract in an unrelated discipline.

As for one's position in the field and cultural imperialism, just as resources are obtained from the 'third world' for consumption in the 'first world', Spivak sees international retrieval from the field carried out by Western university researchers in the South as another form of cultural imperialism (Spivak, 1990). This can be in the form of orientalisation in order to control 'the third world', or in the form of keeping the Western academy and its academics at the centre as producers of knowledge, using raw data from the South (ibid.). I have an interesting relationship with both the location of study and the location of my university, as

Hong Kong had previously been colonised by Great Britain; as mentioned in the Introduction chapter, this ceased to be the case in 1997. I do not consider this an attempt to control 'the South' as: (i) Hong Kong is a highly developed city state, hardly part of 'the South'; (ii) the research was carried out to see how Hong Kong society could eventually improve itself in this area, not be improved by an outside/colonial government; and (iii) I made sure to present the preliminary results with the local NGOs and other interested parties involved, such as the respondents to the questionnaire who requested further information. I do see how studying at a non-local university would seem to be keeping the Western academy at the centre of the academic field; however, my son and I are geographically located in Europe, and it makes more sense to study with a school on the same continent.

In terms of relations to the subaltern, Spivak clarifies that the subaltern can speak but nobody will recognise her speech as such (Spivak, 2006). She stresses that the easy identification with imagined subalternity, rather than getting into the hegemonic space in order to be oppositional, is something to think about (ibid.). According to Spivak, there is a global professional class who are Western-educated and prone to projecting Eurocentric ideology onto 'third world' subalterns they want to help (ibid.). In efforts to speak for the subaltern, enable her to speak or even listen to her have the potential to end up in speaking for or speaking about her, which Spivak considers silencing the subaltern and may end up reproducing the very power relations they had wished to stop and even exacerbating issues they are trying to address (ibid.). Due to the researcher's own discipline and positioning as an academic in the West, she/he

is complicit in the reproduction of forms of Western hegemonic power of the Third World (ibid.); there is an epistemic discontinuity between the advocate and those she/he is trying to protect (Spivak, 2004). As I am an ethnically Chinese woman who grew up in a Western context, I am not used to being seen as a member of the 'oppressors'. This is especially true, since my experience of living in European countries has taught me what it feels like to be an oppressed, visible minority. However, in Hong Kong, I may have been identified as one of the 'oppressors'. This was transcended by my ability to empathise with informants - partially due to my experiences of being oppressed as a child, a woman, a foreigner and a person of colour - and my progressive attitudes. These helped bridge the gap between myself and those being interviewed, whether they be community workers or women selling sex. My commitment to the oppressed via previous volunteer experience and role as a social activist, both of which reflect pursuit of non-financial things, were appreciated.

Concerning one's ethical relation to the other, Spivak suggests an educational approach, which would result in the development of a type of literacy that would allow the oppressed to critically understand the world around them (Spivak, 2009), training their ethical imagination on their own terms in order to allow them to become the subjects of human rights instead of remaining objects of human rights' good will (Spivak, 2004). She labels this type of education as the 'uncoercive rearrangements of desires' and states that it is the only point of teaching humanities (Spivak, 2004: 526). In relation to this project of establishing an 'ethical relation to the Other', Spivak points out the need for reflexivity in acknowledging and being vigilant in relation to one's complicities

with imperialism and the current global division of labour that has resulted from it (Spivak, 2009). She also suggests learning about the past injustices that have created the current positions of the researcher and the researched, and learning from the subaltern (Spivak, 2004). While recognising the historical differences that have created the current positions, it is important to right these wrongs together *with* them, instead of viewing them as objects of our 'benevolence' or burdens (Spivak, 2009: 152). Without this, human rights runs the risk of furthering class divisions (Spivak, 2004). During the research, I remembered and/or became aware of various stories I had heard in the past and was hearing around me, stories in line with hegemonic discourse, that I had previously taken for granted. For example, scripts including how Filipina women loved to steal people's things and husbands, and how Mainland Chinese women and women selling sex in general were 'so cheap' or 'hookers'. I admit that I used to hold these beliefs, too; it is important to always question old beliefs in order to not let them affect the present.

I identified with the subaltern, partially by sharing their beliefs, visiting their offices and attending some of their events. There were numerous times when I was mistaken for being a foreign domestic helper both during this research and beforehand, and I have also experienced being mistaken as a woman selling sex. As such, I have personally been able to experience - on a micro, temporary scale - the discrimination these women face on a regular basis and feel a certain level of camaraderie with these women.

Instead of seeing informants as persons in need of my assistance or 'rescue', I

rather see both informants and respondents in this research as the teachers or experts, helping me to understand the situation. Interviews were conducted as informal, guided conversations between individuals instead of structured interviews. From the beginning, the plan was to share and discuss the research findings with the community, in particular the migrant workers' group assisting me, in order to help shine some light on the situation and not just gather data to generate a paper; this sharing was carried out in 2012. As for trying to right wrongs *for* people instead of with them, I abhor top-down action, so there is no question of my trying to right wrongs *for* people.

I understand that the main reason I am a researcher and not selling sex is the 'birth lottery', being born in a Western country with the economic means to attend university and read many books, not via any special degree of intelligence, diligence or other attribute. Despite the abuses I have experienced in life, there is no question that a university-educated, native English speaker from Canada has a much easier time getting by than someone from 'the South'. Historical circumstances created these differences. For example, Hong Kong Chinese and Mainland Chinese are divided only by a border decided upon by colonial powers. Another example is that both Hong Kong and various Southeast Asian countries have experienced colonialism, and different locations have experienced both periods of prosperity and poverty at different times; as seen in Chapter 1. Hong Kong's development as an opium trading and hot money financial centre by its colonisers - rather than a source of natural-resources - and proximity to Mainland China, account for the different levels of development. The large income disparity both within countries, such as China and the Philippines, and between

countries has created this global inequality that has resulted in the difference between researcher and researched.

5.11 Reflection of Advantages and Limitations of Methods

The aforementioned methods were chosen in a pragmatic way, in order to answer the research questions. Each method is known to have advantages and drawbacks, and those particularly noted by the researcher in this research are listed in Table 5.4⁷.

Table 5.4: Some strengths and limitations of methods used

Methods	Strengths	Limitations
Life 'herstories'	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Opportunity to establish rapport ▪ Opportunity to clarify both questions and responses 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Low perceived anonymity ▪ Difficulty gaining access to informants
Expert interviews	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Sources led to other data sources ▪ Trust allows for insights to be revealed 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Susceptibility to informant bias
Participant observation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Flexibility, especially the ability to follow new leads 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Hawthorn effect ▪ Time consuming
Qualitative content analysis	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Availability of texts ▪ Goes beyond merely counting words 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Susceptibility to researcher bias
Survey	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Anonymity ▪ Ability to reach more participants (relatively large sample) ▪ Low costs ▪ Less time involved than interviews 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Volunteer bias (representativeness) ▪ Inability to clarify questions

⁷ Table 4.5 and the subsequent reflection mainly Rubin and Babbie (2010) as a starting point. Hsieh and Shannon (2005) was used for the reflection on qualitative content analysis.

Overall, the strength of using a mixed-methods approach involving so many types of data was the ability to study different aspects of the larger context. Particularly in the case of exploring social attitudes, this plurality of methods allowed compensation for the weaknesses of different research methods. For example, the survey's anonymity and ability to reach more participants made up for other methods' low level of perceived anonymity and smaller sample size. The major drawback was that it was time consuming to collect and analyse so much data, and an amount of depth may have been lost in the quest for breadth.

5.12 Summary

This chapter has provided the design of this study, starting with the methodological issues, and a discussion of reflexivity followed by the researcher's exercise in this activity. The rationale and aims behind the research have been detailed. The chapter has also explained the collection of both quantitative and qualitative data used to address the research questions. In addition, it has discussed the ethical issues relevant to this research, the data analysis used for this thesis and some reflections on the strengths and limitations of the research design.

Chapter 6: 'Herstories' and Factors in Hong Kong Contributing Towards These

6.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the 'herstories', the lived experiences of eight women selling sex in Hong Kong, all of whom are either originally from Hong Kong or are from Mainland China and legally residing in the territory. It answers the first research question, 'What are the women's experiences, and what do they reveal about the local environment?' Each section contains the story of one woman - Ami, Mary, Feng, Jiajia, Liana, Ping, Sisi and Xiaoting - and the title of each subsection includes both her pseudonym and a short explanation of why she is selling sex⁸. Then, in two separate sections, the chapter then discusses these women's (i) experiences prior to selling sex and the reasons that led them to sell sex and continue selling sex; and (ii) their experiences in selling sex.

6.2 'Herstory' 1 - Ami - lack of childcare options and family-friendly jobs

Born in a village in China as the oldest child in a large family, she had to drop out of elementary school to take care of the other children, do chores and make money for the younger ones to go to school. Her mother was always yelling at her. She eventually married a man from Hong Kong, and they had one child together in the territory. She was a housewife. However, since their divorce, her husband has not provided any assistance, financial or otherwise. She tried doing domestic work but found it difficult to accommodate her child's schedule.

⁸ Please note that the short summaries cannot reflect the true complexity of the 'herstories' but aim to introduce the women who have shared their time and experiences.

She has only been working in a one-woman apartment for a year. Her biggest fear is of being robbed at knifepoint; for this reason, she feels more secure knowing the other women working on the same floor as her. She does not tell her friends and family what she is doing. There are some friendly customers, while others are mean to her. The neighbours who are housewives often make eyes at her.

She would like to work in the beauty field, for which she has training, or in housekeeping, once her child is more independent. Rent for private housing is always increasing, and there is too much pressure on her; it would be a lot better if she could get public housing.

6.3 'Herstory' 2 - Mary - going back to selling sex even with other good options

Born to a skilled factory worker who moved around to many major cities in China, she graduated from high school and also became a skilled factory worker. Due to social pressure, to get married and have a child, she found a poor soldier who worked on railroads and was away quite often. He had a 'village mentality' and bad temper, hitting and yelling at her all the time. He felt housework and taking care of their child were her responsibilities. She sent their child to live with the child's godmother for six years; in the meantime, he ran off with a younger woman. He told her to wait, and she waited four years. Finally, they got divorced, and she continued to care for their child.

Through an introduction from friends, she found a husband from Hong Kong. While living in Shenzhen, she did some stock trading. Her husband was caught smuggling pornography there, and she had to pay tens of thousands of dollars to help get him out of jail. After moving to Hong Kong five years later, with her child, she worked in housekeeping and massage. Her husband said they could only live with him if they paid all the rent, so they divorced.

Her child is now grown up. She continues to do massages and perform 'handjobs' and other sexual services in order to support herself and her parents, who must be hospitalised multiple times a year. She likes being able to provide for others and would like to start her own business outside of the sex industry if she can save up enough money.

6.4 'Herstory' 3 - Feng - plenty of choices and loves selling sex

Feng is a transgender woman who, originally from Mainland China, moved to Hong Kong with her father in the 1980s. She attended the Chinese University of Hong Kong and was involved with lots of NGOs, especially labour organisations. She previously worked for multiple NGOs.

She first sold sex as an experiment to see if she could morally accept it. She loves her job and feels that it allows her to express herself, and share with her clients. She tells everyone about what she does, except for her family. The owner of the guesthouse charges her 200 HKD per day. She does not feel discriminated against since she does not bother being friends with anyone who

does not accept her. It is her own business, so she can turn customers away. Most of her customers are polite, but she had two rich expatriates once who were horrible and even wanted to pay less after receiving sex. She is also going to graduate school part-time.

6.5 'Herstory' 4 - Jiajia - trafficked for labour as a teenager, now lacks childcare and financial options due to discrimination

Born in China, she had many siblings, and life was hard. She eventually left school at the age of 13 to work with her brother-in-law at a factory; he raped her, beat her up if she tried to leave and took her pay for a few years. She finally escaped when one of her sisters came to visit.

She then found a factory job in Guangzhou, where she met a pattern cutter, with whom she moved back to a small town to start a hairdressing salon. Afterwards, she went back to Guangzhou to learn to be a hairdresser and a beautician. Eventually, she then started a job in another city, which is where she met a man from Hong Kong. After 1.5 years together, he asked for a large sum of money to repay his loan, and to encourage her to pay back his loan for him, he married her. They had a child together, and after five years, she wanted to move to Hong Kong. He pretended he had lost the marriage certificate and started ignoring her. After he found out she had come to Hong Kong in search of him, he called and asked to be paid thousands of dollars for the marriage certificate he had 'found' and a photocopy of his Hong Kong ID.

After moving to Hong Kong, she tried looking for work in hairdressing salons, but they discriminated against new immigrants from Mainland China, only offering her an internship with long hours and low pay, which would not have allowed her to take care of her child. She now sells sex on the streets, where the police are always chasing after women selling sex, especially ones like her, from Mainland China. The customers are better, but there are those who are awful and do not even pay. The neighbours call them names and yell at them. She needs to take care of her child, and when the child is older, she intends to find another way to make a living.

6.6 'Herstory' 5 - Liana - having fun as a masseuse, including selling sex

Born into a happy, middle-class family in Hong Kong, she got pregnant on purpose as a teenager so that her family would let her get married. She and her husband were very poor, and her family no longer took care of her. Her husband gambled and was abusive, and they finally divorced after she caught him cheating on her. They have two children, of whom she allowed her ex-husband's family to take custody.

She went to work at a nightclub for fun, with a friend, and after only a few days, the madam took money from a client and wanted to force her to sell sex to him; she pretended to go on sick leave and never went back. She went with the same friend to learn to do massage at a hotel; after the course was finished, they were told that they either had to work at the hotel's sauna for three months to 'pay back' for the classes or give the hotel money. This was before there was selling

of sex in saunas.

Since then, she has worked in two more saunas. She has also sold sex in a one-woman apartment, which is when she experienced getting robbed, and in a foot massage parlour. Now, she has her own foot massage parlour; she likes the freedom, her ability to choose clients and having a nice income.

She finds working class customers to be more respectful, whereas white-collared workers disrespect her and try to sexually assault her, saying she is just a working girl anyway. She plans on working until she can work no longer and would like to take on apprentices.

6.7 'Herstory' 6 - Ping - returned to selling sex by choice and proud of it

Born in China to a family full of boys, she was poor but treated well. After she finished A-level education, she got married and had one child. After the divorce, their child stayed with her paternal grandparents, and she moved to Guangzhou. There, she met a man from Hong Kong and got married. They moved to Hong Kong, but after they got divorced, she couldn't find a job; she was forced to work in a dancing club. Following this, she worked as a hotel cleaner, and during that time, she obtained her insurance license. She then chose to go back to selling sex since she felt that other occupations neither pay fairly nor give enough freedom.

She now sells sex out of her home, which serves as a one-woman apartment,

and even has a 'substitute', or other woman selling sex, working for her at times. Most customers are twenty to thirty years old, and she meets them online; they chat with her as if she is their mother, and they even watch TV together. She gets to choose clients and feels like she is just meeting up with friends at her place. If she gains access to public housing, she wants to stop selling sex or perhaps visit hotels, only with her close clients, and teach classes on sex. She is active in the community of women selling sex.

6.8 'Herstory' 7 - Sisi - lack of financial options and trapped in an abusive marriage

Born in rural China, she had to do all the work around the house and on the farm. At the age of fourteen, she left to work in a factory and sent home the majority of every month's income, roughly 200 yuan out of every 220. Eventually, she met a Hong Kong man, and they had a child together, but after a year, he left them and refused to provide any support for the child. She then met and married another Hong Kong man, and in order for her child to be able to also come to Hong Kong at the same time rather than waiting five years, she gave custody to her ex. She now has to pay the paternal grandmother to take care of the child.

She and her husband now live across the border, in Mainland China, though she has to sell sex in Hong Kong every day. He is controlling and physically abusive. Since neither of her partners has financially supported her or her child, she has had to sell sex to support, not only her child, but also her paternal grandparents. She pays the hotel 50 HKD per client so that they keep an eye out for the police.

There are a variety of clients, including both good and bad ones; for example, there are those who claim that since she is aged 30-40 and has had a child anyway, they should not have to use condoms. She feels bad and cannot tell her family. Neighbours, shopkeepers and passers-by verbally abuse her, threaten to call the police and even do call the police; some are nice and warn her though. Other passers-by touch her and other women selling sex and look down their shirts, and if they resist, these men sometimes call the police to accuse the women of bothering them. They are treated like criminals, and the police typically believe the clients or harassers. They are always threatened with not being able to obtain permanent residency.

She wants to save enough money to get her child back, get a divorce and eventually work in a restaurant or in sales.

6.9 'Herstory' 8 - Xiaoting - was paying off a boyfriend's loan, is now saving money for retirement

Xiaoting was born in Hong Kong to small business owners. She experienced much discrimination in the work place and found that women were expected to sleep with their bosses. She ended up having to work at a karaoke club after her boyfriend asked her to pay off his gambling debt.

She eventually married another man and had a child, who is now an adult; they eventually got divorced. She has sold sex in different venues, such as in one-woman apartments and in 'fishbowls', in which she and other women waited to

be selected by clients through a window. She has seen many bad clients, including those who refuse to pay women who have accents or even call the police to avoid having to pay them. Since the police are biased against them, they are not able to report crimes, giving criminals impunity.

She is now saving money for retirement since there is no universal pension plan in Hong Kong.

6.10 Factors Leading to the Selling of Sex

Women selling sex come from a variety of backgrounds and start selling sex for different reasons. In general, there may be a lack of economic, social and/or cultural capital. The factors involved in women selling sex in Hong Kong were found to be previous exploitation and abuse, single parenting, having to support parents, lack of economic opportunities, lack of public housing and retirement pensions, enjoyment of selling sex and various addictions. This section discusses these factors, using examples from the women's 'herstories' complemented by information from the expert interviews.

6.10.1 Previous Exploitation and Abuse

As noted in the women's stories above, some women have previously experienced exploitation under human trafficking, such as Jiajia, or situations of debt-bondage, such as Liana. There are also those who have experienced some form of abuse as children, such as Ami. Others have experienced domestic

abuse, such as Mary and Liana. A few women have been financially exploited by romantic partners before, such as Mary and Jiajia, as explored below.

The fact that Hong Kong men are sometimes the ones financially exploiting these women challenges symbolic violence against Mainland Chinese women, which stereotypes them as 'gold diggers'. In Jiajia's case, a Hong Kong man married her just to get her to loan him 100,000 HKD. Then, even though they had a child together, the man refused to bring the baby to Hong Kong, forcing them to wait five years before applying for Hong Kong residency. At that time, he claimed to have lost his copy of the marriage certificate and after he learned that she had come to Hong Kong to search for him, he called and requested 20,000 HKD for the marriage certificate he had managed to 'find' and another 5,000 HKD for a photocopy of his Hong Kong resident's card. Mary was also financially exploited by an ex-husband, who was also from Hong Kong. She once had to pay 20,000 HKD of a 45,000 HKD fee to get this man out of jail in Mainland China for smuggling pornography, with his other ex-wife paying the other 25,000 HKD. Then when she moved to Hong Kong and wanted to live with him, he said it was mandatory for her to pay for the rent. Even though these women are the ones who have had their economic capital decreased by Hong Kong men, they are the ones cast as 'gold diggers'. These stories of financial exploitation do not cover the fact that these men do not pay child support, as in the cases of Ami, Jiajia and Sisi. This brings to the discussion to the issue of lone parenting below.

6.10.2 Lone Parenting

According to Jiajia, a large factor pushing women into sex work is becoming a lone parent, and many women selling sex that she knows of are in such a situation, with some having two or three children. Sisi lamented that even though she sells sex on the streets, she still is not able to make enough money for her child to live with her. For those women with children in Hong Kong, it is impossible for them to care for children and have another job due to the lack of affordable day-care facilities and family-friendly jobs; Ami is in a similar situation and had tried to be a domestic helper before. Both Jiajia and Ami mentioned that they wanted to stop selling sex when their children were older and more independent. This points to the structural inadequacy of Hong Kong in providing assistance to women with children and a symbolic devaluation of both motherhood and provision of caring labour, challenges which are not unique to Hong Kong.

6.10.3 Supporting Parents

According to Jiajia, there are many women selling sex who need to financially support elderly parents. For example, although Mary's child is grown up and no longer requires her financial support, she must still send money home for her parents, as they both require hospitalisation multiple times per year. Sisi is not only responsible for her parents but also her grandparents, because her father has a gambling issue. For others, even though their parents are not living in the countryside, they feel pressured to give money to them. This issue is related to

the lack of adequate resources and infrastructure allocated to caring for the elderly, which is also a challenge in Hong Kong. It also points to the lack of value attached to caring, which is just another service society feels entitled to be provided with by women.

6.10.4 Lack of Economic Opportunities, Both Back Home and in Hong Kong

Many women selling sex, who are legally allowed to work in Hong Kong, are new immigrants from Mainland China who find it impossible to find decent paying jobs in Hong Kong, due to discrimination. People try to take advantage of their situation and offer them extraordinarily low wages, such as internship pay for long hours. This was the situation Jijia encountered upon arriving in Hong Kong. Even though she had experience in hairdressing and had even had her own salon in Mainland China, hairdressing salons only offered her such 'internships'. Sisi also felt that it was difficult to get a job in Hong Kong due to discrimination, and even if she could obtain one of those 'jobs', such as being a dishwasher, the long hours and low pay would not allow for her to take care of her child.

There is currently a lack of decent, economic opportunities for young women. Even local Hong Kong Chinese women have difficulty finding proper jobs, let alone new immigrants, who suffer from discrimination. According to Feng, 'There is a lack of proper alternatives, choices, since some other jobs nowadays have bad conditions and do not offer any future. They don't have any proper choices and turn to sex work'. This applies to Ping's situation; she had obtained her

insurance license and attempted to work in the industry, but she feels that only by working in a one-woman apartment can she make more money by working harder, unlike in the insurance industry. In Xiaoting's case, the issue was not discrimination against Mainland Chinese but against women. Her previous experiences include getting fired from her summer job for not 'going on a car ride' with the manager, and then working in an office and finding out that lots of girls needed to 'sleep with their bosses' in that world, too. From these experiences, Xiaoting has concluded that 'any work needs the same thing as sex work, but for *free*; with this job, there is more freedom'.

This issue alone calls for the discussion of not only structural issues tied to neoliberal policies, but also the financial constraints experienced by women from Mainland China, due to the symbolic violence against them. It also makes it necessary to discuss agency and structure; as Feng and Xiaoting's opinions show, there are times when selling sex is just the best financial option, despite its stigmatisation, due to the exploitation inherent in many working class jobs. This is nothing new, as women selling sex have historically just been members of the working class, although political policies have aimed to separate them from other members of this class as 'whores'.

6.10.5 Lack of Public Housing, Lack of Retirement Pensions

Also reflecting local policy inadequacies is that women selling sex continue to do so due to the dire lack of public housing in the territory and a lack of a universal pension plan. Ping says that she would like to get access to public housing so

that she can stop selling sex or perhaps only work with close clients at hotels. Ami also mentions that gaining access to public housing would make her financial situation much better, which would allow her to stop selling sex. Xiaoting is now just selling sex in order to save money for retirement since Hong Kong lacks a universal pension plan, which would make life easier for the elderly, including women selling sex.

6.10.6 Personal Interest

There are also those who sell sex out of personal interest, although considering both the 'herstories' and the information given by Fran (pseudonym) from AFRO, an NGO working with women selling sex, and Belle (pseudonym) from Ziteng, another NGO working with women selling sex, they would be a minority. One example is Feng, who graduated from a university in Hong Kong and was involved in civil society. She started selling sex as an experiment to see if she really was accepting of women selling sex and now feels it is part of her identity. Also, while Ping originally entered sex work for financial reasons, she went back to it after trying alternatives since she felt financially exploited in those positions; now, according to Ping, 'They say they should charge me since I enjoy it more than they do!' Feng's and Ping's enjoyment of selling sex as a form of sexual expression and entrepreneurship points also to their being on the opposite end of the control spectrum from those in sexual slavery.

6.10.7 Various Addictions

According to Ping, some women selling sex have gambling issues, drug addictions or enjoy 'playing' with 'dancing boys' in Shenzhen, who are trained, young dancers. Perhaps these addictions are a way in which some women selling sex numb themselves. Not only is this a vicious cycle, it can potentially serve as an avenue allowing for increased control by third parties over women selling sex. For example, gambling issues can lead to debt, which makes one more vulnerable to being controlled by third-parties via debt.

6.11 Experiences in Selling Sex

This section uses the 'herstories' of the women selling sex interviewed to illustrate a variety of experiences in the selling of sex, complemented by information obtained from expert interviews. It presents their feelings, environments, clients, surrounding communities and the police.

6.11.1 Feelings

Many different types of women sell sex in Hong Kong, which makes for a variety of experiences, both positive and negative. Some, such as Mary and Ping, enjoy selling sex. As Jiajia mentions:

Many don't want to work. Many end up going crazy. If there is business, they are abused by clients. If there is no business, they are chased around and exploited by police and get no money.

Jiajia's observation cast light not only on the effects sexual exploitation has on these women, but also how they are abused by both clients and the police. This situation of police chasing women selling sex around and arresting them on a whim contradicts the government's official stance, which is that the government does not discriminate against women selling sex and is trying to provide them with assistance. Instead, police are seen as a further source of victimisation, as is discussed in a later section.

Jiajia also does not like selling sex and thinks it is bad for her health. Other women selling sex also reported having negative feelings. Ami stated that it was hard to accept selling sex at first, but now her biggest fear is of being robbed at knifepoint and feels more secure knowing that other women are working on the same floor as herself. Sisi shared that she felt bad and could not share the nature of her work with her family.

It appears that those who do not have financial constraints and choose to sell sex out of enjoyment, Feng and Ping, have more positive feelings towards the selling of sex. Although Liana did not report actually enjoying the sexual aspect, she did state that she enjoys the job since it is her own business - an upstairs foot massage parlour - providing her with much freedom and a good income.

6.11.2 Environment

As the women's 'herstories' show, there are a variety of work environments,

arrangements and levels of control by third parties. A few have worked in foot massage parlours run by others, such as Liana. Others have worked in 'fishbowls' - which are venues in which women sit in a room with a large window, from which potential customers can choose one of them - also run by others, such as Xiaoting. There are also those who worked on the streets and pay hotels on a per client or daily rate, such as Sisi. For example, some hotels are also known as 'love hotels' - they rent rooms out on hourly rates, and in case someone would like to rent the room for a whole day for receiving customers, that is also possible. Others, such as Feng, take private clients and pay a venue a set amount per day. Also, there are women who sell sex in bars and private 'villas'.

6.11.3 Clients

As mentioned in the 'herstories', there are a variety of clients. According to Ami, some customers are friendly and may eventually become friends with her, while others are mean and yell at her, such as the ones who do not want to use condoms. Feng shared that many clients go to her to 'do things that they don't think their partners will accept'. Sisi reported being repeatedly verbally assaulted for being a middle aged mother, with customers claiming that with her, they should not need to use condoms. That is, they point to what, in their eyes, is her low level of femininity, a form of cultural capital, and devalue her, telling her that she is not worthy of being protected by condoms. They often do not pay at all or pay less, swear at her and/or take off their condoms without her noticing, which is a form of sexual violence. In term of socio-economic status, Liana reported

that working class clients were more respectful, while the more 斯文 (proper and respectable) ones are worse, verbally abusing her for being 'just a working girl'. Similarly, Feng also stated that the worst customers she ever had were two rich expatriates who even wanted to pay her less afterwards. On the other hand, Ping feels that her clients - who are generally much younger than her - respect her.

This suggests that men higher on the socio-economic hierarchy may feel an even greater sense of entitlement and be more demanding as paying customers. It also suggests that women devalued for being sexually 'used goods', such as mothers, are viewed by clients as dehumanised objects to be dominated. Perhaps clients who are seeking a sexually experienced woman to teach them about sexuality do not feel the same way. In a way, this has certain similarities to the relationship between researchers and the researched, in which some researchers view research subjects as objects to be analysed and others view research subjects as co-creators of knowledge and/or teachers.

6.11.4 Surrounding Communities

The women also have to deal with neighbours, some of whom are nice to them and others of whom are not. Ami and Jiajia reported neighbours either making faces at them or calling them names. Sisi stated that:

Neighbours, shopkeepers and people walking by say I have a bad character and threaten to report me to the police - some

actually do. ... Some passers-by touch us, and when we resist, they call the police and say the girls are bothering them. Many passers-by come to look down our shirts.

In terms of negative experiences, Mary reported that neighbours who are housewives and other married women often make eyes at her. According to Jiajia, neighbours are always calling them 'chickens' - a derogatory term for women selling sex in Cantonese - and yelling at them. At the same time, Sisi adds that there are nice neighbours who warn her and her friends about police.

This is linked to the symbolic violence against women selling sex, aimed at separating them from other women, who are supposed to be more 'virtuous', and the general working-class population. It is hopeful to note that some people recognise the humanity of these women and treat them as regular people, while others view them as a source of immorality and a public nuisance, which must be controlled. A number of these even go so far as to dehumanise them as 'used' sexual objects and feel entitled to sexually harass or molest them. Since they have stepped outside the socially-defined boundaries of 'virtuous' womanhood - 'others' to the married women who do not sell sex - they are just 'whores' who should be available to all men under public patriarchy, especially if they dare to step out into public spaces.

6.11.5 Police

As noted previously, the police are not known to be helpful to women selling sex.

In Xiaoting's opinion, the police discriminate against women selling sex and make a clear virgin/whore distinction. She believes that since the police are biased against women selling sex, they cannot report crimes against them, which in turn indulges criminals who exploit them. According to Jiajia, the police are even worse than the clients. Sisi claims to have had many bad experiences with the police, and below is an excerpt from her interview:

I have many police stories. Some curse us; others check our IDs. We are constantly threatened that we won't get our 3-star IDs. Somehow, the police will search our bags even though we were the victims of robbery. They also ask us to sign documents without reading/knowing how to read them, and then we are fined \$500. Then there are sting operations; and the police believe customers and arrest the women instead.

The attitude and behaviour of the police towards women selling sex matches that mentioned in Chapter 4. The system of quickly processing these cases and exacting fines is evident in the lack of time allocated to allowing them to read documents before signing or providing them with Simplified Chinese versions. Due to discrimination against Mainland women, they are subjected to an added layer of discrimination against women selling sex. Despite rhetoric about the government's willingness to help women stop having to sell sex and laws stating that they are not to be excluded as victims, the focus is clearly on penalising them, instead of viewing them as in need of assistance, even when they are the victims of robberies.

6.12 Discussion on Findings

The findings of this chapter answer the first research question, 'What are the women's experiences, and what do they reveal about the local environment?'

The 'herstories' show that several governmental and local factors are pushing women into selling sex in the territory, contributing to their negative experiences and causing them to continue selling sex. This includes the legal and policy situation, including stereotyping and 'othering', and social attitudes reflecting government views. These have resulted in discrimination against and even abuse of them by other members of the public and police. The lived experiences of these women contradicts the government's claim to be concerned with giving women selling sex alternatives and to not exclude women selling sex from being victims of crime.

Also, the results presented in this chapter support much of the previous research concerning women in the sex industry, both in Hong Kong and abroad, which was documented in the literature review. The findings support those utilising pragmatic frameworks by showing that women selling sex come from a variety of backgrounds and have different experiences, instead of fitting into either the best case or worst case scenarios. See for example, Campbell and O'Neill, 2006; Chapkis, 1997; Comte, 2013. They also support previous research showing that women with lower levels of social and economic capital generally experience more violence and sell sex in more marginalised forms (Phoenix, 2012).

Previous exploitation and trauma, lack of other economic opportunities, lack of access to housing, the lack of children-friendly jobs, having financial dependants

- whether this be children, parents or grandparents - and avoidance of exploitation in jobs outside the sex industry are factors reported in this chapter involved in women's decisions to enter and stay in the sex trade. In this way, the findings support those of other studies, for example, 陳, 陳 and 黎, 1999; Farley *et al.*, 1998; May and Hunter, 2006; O'Neill and Campbell, 2011; Mai, 2011; and Wiechelt and Shdaimah, 2001. The negative experiences originating from the police, customers and the public described in this chapter also support previous findings, as do findings linked to the use of drugs. See, for example, 陳, 陳 and 黎, 1999, Farley *et al.*, 1998, and Hubbard, 2006. Sadly, despite improvements to gender equality over the past decades, according to Phoenix (2012), the 'herstories' in recent studies on women selling sex are congruent with those documented within the past two hundred years. Poverty, homelessness, different types of addiction and deficient social welfare continue to cause women to sell sex, primarily to men (*ibid.*). The long-term nature of these challenges shows that most governments have continuously neglected to provide support for women in need, despite knowing that this pushes women into selling sex and increases their vulnerability to control by third parties. This recalls Dworkin's idea that economic degradation is the best way to keep women available as sex objects (Dworkin, 1993).

As for the role of the police as oppressors, the findings of this chapter supports previous research both abroad and in Hong Kong. This is especially true of their focus on arresting women, especially those who are illegally in Hong Kong, and quickly processing their cases. Please see: 陳, 陳 and 黎, 1999; AFP, 2012; Emerton, Laidler and Peterson, 2007; and Ziteng, 2010. The police are seen as

biased towards perpetrators of robbery and other crimes against these women, and they are viewed more as a source of verbal harassment, crackdowns and fines than allies that women selling sex can turn to in times of trouble. See, for example, Farley *et al.*, 1998, and Hubbard, 2006. In this environment, women are vulnerable to control by third parties, who can act with impunity knowing the police are not on the women's side.

While previous research deals with women selling sex as an alternative to working in financially exploitative jobs (陳, 陳 and 黎, 1999; Mai, 2011), this research has linked the decision to enter or re-enter the sex industry with sexism in the workplace. For some women, it is discrimination against them for being not only from Mainland China but also women that limits their options; they are offered very low wages and long working hours. They are expected to financially get by in these conditions and are blamed for being 'whores' if they need to sell sex in order to take care of themselves and their families. For other women, it is the sexual harassment and sexual expectations some bosses have towards female employees in the workplace that makes selling sex seem more like a reasonable option.

Also, this study has added to current knowledge by looking at the issue through the lens of a Feminist, Bourdieusian framework. Not only has it foregrounded class and taken into account structural issues, it has also highlighted symbolic violence. This chapter supports Coy, Wakeling and Garner's study (2011), which found that symbolic violence in Western popular culture was being used to deny the harm that women who are controlled in the sex trade face. However, this

thesis extends the discussion into this non-Western context and beyond popular culture to include symbolic violence from the government. The government has symbolic power and can hence establish classifications and have social agents accept these (Bourdieu, 1991). One way the government can issue this symbolic violence is via the media, which is discussed later in Chapter 9, and another way is via laws and policies. Legal discourse brings whatever it enunciates, including labels, into existence (ibid.), and laws and legal acts are grand expressions of the symbolic power, which is exercised by governments (Swartz, 2013). As mentioned in Chapter 4, the government believes that almost all illegal immigrants and 'prostitutes' arrested 'came to Hong Kong voluntarily to take advantage of the economic prosperity of the HKSAR' (HKSAR, 2006: 1). Also mentioned in Chapter 4 is that women selling sex are separated from the rest of the population by laws, such as Section 147 of the Crimes Ordinance, which prohibits 'soliciting for an immoral purpose... in a public place or in view of the public' (Department of Justice, 2013: Ch. 200, p. 45). These laws serve to 'other' these women and separate them from other members of the working class, as women associated with 'vice' and 'immoral purposes', just as in the days of the Contagious Disease Acts (Walkowitz, 1982). This symbolic violence against them as 'dirty' or 'gold diggers', especially in the case of those from Mainland China, obfuscates the lived reality of these women, who are sometimes robbed by customers, 'milked' by pimps and drug dealers, and denied financial support from the fathers of their children. In addition, they are sometimes asked to provide loans to, give money to, repay the loans of and pay the fines of the Hong Kong Chinese men from whom they are supposedly 'digging for gold'. In reality, many of these women must be 'materialistic' in a different way; in order to take

care of themselves and their families, they must act as capital-accumulating agents and choose the capital-accumulating strategy which makes the most sense for them in their individual situations. Even for those who enjoy selling sex, they must still materially support themselves and save for retirement, in the absence of a universal pension plan, which is far closer to the lives of the other members of the general public. So this symbolic violence serves to shift the attention and blame away from the men involved, the system and 'other' the women. It also suggests that it is acceptable and in the natural order for men to exploit women, both financially and otherwise, but not for women to do the same to men. It seems that the idea of women exercising agency may be frightening, and social attitudes linked with blaming women selling sex for being 'greedy' are used to sexually control women.

In addition, this chapter has also contributed how social agents whose habitus have been affected by the aforementioned symbolic violence can harm women selling sex, which is also related to social class or levels of various forms of capital. Symbolic violence against women selling sex associating them with 'vice' and 'immoral purposes' or labelling them 'gold diggers', affects not only law enforcement agents, but also others in the community, passers-by and neighbours who are women - 'virgins' in contrast with 'whores' - feel a great sense of entitlement towards being able to both verbally and sexually assault these women. So they are seen as 'safely debased outlets' by not only clients but also various other social agents. Hierarchies, such as 'virgins'/'whores', are not ahistorical but are reproduced using weapons of symbolic violence (Bourdieu, 1998a), as discussed. However, this chapter has also sought to

explain how negative attitudes, held within a social agent's habitus alone, do not result in abusive or discriminatory action. Rather, these attitudes are more likely to cause such negative practices when they are combined with an unchanged social arena and a perception that one has more capital than a specific woman selling sex, as per the relational formula [(habitus)(capital) + field = practice] (Bourdieu, 1984). So when a social agent (a) possesses attitudes in line with the dominant agenda via symbolic violence, (b) holds a higher level of overall capital than a certain woman selling sex and (c) remains in the social arena of Hong Kong, they may feel entitled to abusing or discriminating against these women. In terms of capital, women selling sex who come from outside of Hong Kong are especially disadvantaged in terms of capital as their living in a new city and different social environment - or field - means that cultural capital in the form of previous skills and work experience cannot be easily translated into economic capital. Bringing the discussion back to symbolic violence by the government, it is also important to note that practice refers both to actions or 'performances' and also to practice as a 'coordinated entity' (Warde, 2004: 18), emphasising how practice can be institutional and the need to analyse the institutions behind individuals' performances.

6.13 Chapter Summary

This chapter has introduced the 'herstories' of the eight women selling sex, who are residing in Hong Kong legally. While these women and their stories are complex, included here is a brief review of who these women are. These women are Ami, who is in need of childcare and employment options; Mary, who has returned to selling sex despite other options; Feng, who views selling sex as an

expression of herself; Jiajia, who was trafficked as a teenager and now lacks childcare and employment options; Liana, who enjoys being a masseuse; Sisi, who lacks financial options; and Xiaoting, who originally started selling sex to pay for a boyfriend's debt and is now saving money for retirement. The stories they shared have shed light on the amount of variety in the lived experiences of women selling sex in Hong Kong.

Through exploring the lives of these eight women, this chapter has revealed various aspects of the local environment, in addition to other factors in the women's lives. In many ways, its findings support the current literature covered in Chapters 2 and 3, such as in terms of lack of financial alternatives, social services, lone parenting and discrimination by police, who are known to take sides with perpetrators and treat the women, by default, as criminals. Through using a Feminist, Bourdieusian framework, it has linked the structural and symbolic by highlighting symbolic violence and the embedding of questionable views and definitions in line with the government's within the habitus of the general population, via laws and legal definitions. This chapter has shown how these attitudes have hidden the lived reality of these women's lives and negatively impacted the experiences of women selling sex, even increasing their vulnerability to social agents who would like to control and exploit them. While doing so, by using a Feminist, Bourdieusian framework, it has also foregrounded class by using the concept of capital, explaining how the difference in levels of capital between women selling sex and other social agents plays a part in their experiences. In this way, the chapter has answered the first research question, 'What are the women's experiences, and what do they reveal about the local

environment?' and contributed towards the research aim of explaining the persistence of control of women by third parties in the sale of sex in Hong Kong.

Chapter 7: The Sex Trade and Oppression as Viewed from the Ground - Civil Society

7.1 Introduction

This chapter answers the second research question, 'What is the local context in which women sell sex, and how is this understood by the NGOs supporting the women?' It reveals what was learned about the situation on the ground from NGO individuals, including those working with women selling sex. At the same time, this chapter shares the wider context of gender and other oppression as viewed from the ground, to further explain the larger context of Hong Kong, in which the sex trade operates.

Four specific areas in terms of views of NGOs specifically working with women selling sex are discussed i) their views on trafficking in women and control by third parties; ii) harm minimisation; iii) improving the legal environment and iv) fighting violence against women. The sections discussing the latter three areas also include information concerning the following respectively: class oppression, racially- or nationality-motivated oppression and gender oppression. Of course, it is easy to see how these forms of oppression exist concurrently in the lives of these women, but for the purposes of organisation, they are discussed after presenting the views and concerns of sex work NGOs especially pertaining to them.

7.2. Sex Work NGOs' Views on Trafficking in Women and Control by Third Parties

Informants working with migrant workers are much more emphatic about the existence of trafficking in women in Hong Kong, when compared with those working in NGOs concerned with the sex trade. It appears they had the most information about trafficking in women and have worked with victims. Belle (pseudonym) from Ziteng, a sex work NGO, and Fran (pseudonym) from AFRO, another sex work NGO, were more hesitant about talking about trafficking in women but have confirmed that sex trafficking does indeed exist in Hong Kong. They stated that they do not work with sex trafficking victims, however, because of their inability to reach them. As Fran shared, there is a low chance of them meeting these women. The ones working indoors do not open their doors to outreach workers, but those working on the streets on travel visas, for example, will visit their organisation. For example, Ziteng does outreach work but cannot reach victims who are unable to respond to their flyers or allow them to enter as visitors when they knock. Their relative reluctance to speak of trafficking in women is understandable considering that there are agents who would like to cast all women selling sex as sex trafficking victims and 'crack down' on all women selling sex. The topic of sex trafficking has been used internationally to serve those who would like to further limit women's rights and control over their own bodies. This includes the U.S. government, which is known to be using the fight against sex trafficking to forward its anti-'prostitution' agenda (Gozdziak and Bump, 2008; Weitzer, 2005b).

Fran and Belle from the sex work NGOs did acknowledge, however, that there

are women who are not legal residents of Hong Kong selling sex and organised by third parties. Many of these are in arrangements with a middle-person who takes high commission from them. There are both pimps and *mamasans* (female pimps, usually in hostess clubs), and power relationships and dynamics differ widely in the sex trade. Fran from AFRO revealed that there are good pimps and *mamasans*, who act as protective managers and help screen out bad customers. Penelope (pseudonym), a community worker with a women's organisation, shared that some pimps act as personal assistants or even servants for the women. Bad pimps or *mamasans*, on the other hand and as explained by Fran, give the women 'bad customers', or in the case of hostess clubs, no customers; they may even take all the money, especially in the case of women who are not legally residing in Hong Kong.

This awareness of various forms of control by third parties but reluctance to frame them as sex trafficking, without denying or ignoring the existence of sex trafficking altogether, is also seen in one of the publications they shared with the researcher, *我走我的路 (I Walk My Own Road)* (Ziteng, n.d.), which was published some time after 2008. This 32-paged information pamphlet published in Simplified Chinese targets women from Mainland China who intend to work in Hong Kong or Macau or are already working in those places. The first seven pages lists the 六大工作骗局 or 'six biggest job scams', which are listed as job opportunities, debt bondage, being tricked by friends or fellow villagers to go abroad, false documents, finding out after arrival that they will be selling sex and 'the lover boy' trap, all of which have been recognised as a part of human trafficking in international literature. It includes some cases and practical ways to

protect oneself, such as information one must have before accepting an offer and getting official documents from official institutions or through official channels. Then, after 11 pages of related health information and two pages on how to prevent loss of property, there is one page, on page 27, that lists the international definition of human trafficking and two Hong Kong laws related to human trafficking, Sections 130 and 131 under the Criminal Ordinance. As presented in Table 4.1, these correspond to the laws against 'control over persons for the purpose of unlawful sexual intercourse or prostitution' and 'causing prostitution'. On page 28, there is a short five-line summary about Macau's laws against human trafficking. So it is not that the NGO is ignoring that control by third parties and sex trafficking exist, rather that it uses framing in line with 'sex as work' feminism instead.

As Hong Kong does not recognise itself as a human trafficking hub, there are inadequate local services geared towards victims. According to Judy (pseudonym) from Pathfinders, Penelope from a women's NGO and Thea (pseudonym) from MFMW, there was no organisation dedicated to working with victims of human trafficking in general, victims of sex trafficking or women seeking to leave the sex trade in general. Instead, a variety of NGOs working with different communities of women assist victims of sex trafficking if they happen to come into contact with them, sometimes contacting one another for assistance, depending on the demographic group a particular woman belongs to.

7.3 Sex Work NGOs and Harm Minimisation

As Belle from Ziteng and Fran from AFRO revealed, NGOs providing services to women selling sex are aimed at improving women's conditions while selling sex. Their agenda is not to help women exit the sex industry. Without knowledge of the local situation and the context within which these women live, this may be confusing, but given the lack of governmental services available to assist women and the difficulties women face in making a living in Hong Kong as new immigrants, as explored in 'Herstories', the NGOs' position is understandable as there are few opportunities for the women should they leave the sex trade. The following section continues to shed light on the difficult economic situation in Hong Kong and the economic oppression that exists there, which makes it difficult for the women to access alternative employment opportunities.

7.3.1 Big Businesses Taking Away Livelihoods

Hong Kong is known as a 'shopping heaven' and a 'gourmet heaven'. Foreigners usually associate the territory with sparkly high-rises, gigantic shopping malls and luxury residential complexes. Perhaps they think of the numerous Michelin-starred restaurants available. It is easy to miss the people left behind by economic development and gentrification. While it used to be possible to make a decent living as a vendor or small store owner, large corporations and government policies have combined to make it so that it is now difficult to do so.

According to one taxi driver, 'back then', one could make a decent living off a

noodle stall or chestnut-frying cart, but the government has swept away all these opportunities in favour of big businesses. In fact, being a taxi driver was once a small business that provided taxi drivers with good livelihoods, but government policies and the interests of big businesses have made it so that it is difficult for a taxi driver to make a decent living. One elderly snack vendor shared that he could also do quite well, until the large convenience store chains and other corporations rapidly expanded and lowered the prices of their goods. Now people complain that the food and drinks he sells are too expensive. Sophie (pseudonym) from a socialist group also mentioned that the luxury malls are part of the mass gentrification pushing former small-business owners into poverty. Figure 7.1 shows what one former store owner thinks of the situation, as shown in the notes he left behind when his store had to be closed. In this district, rents have been soaring due to the opening of new MTR stations.

Figure 7.1: Photo of former store in the Western district



The main message in these notes is that there is collusion between the government and businesses (官商勾結), creating an unfair system. For example, one note reads, 'An erroneous system, laws exist but are not fair; I knocked on the door in appeal, but they are shielded due to interests/benefits' (制度错漏, 有法不公, 申诉叩门, 利益包庇).

7.3.2 Lack of Adequate Social Services as Viewed from the Ground

Public housing, childcare services, hospital services and other social services are severely inadequate, and even local Chinese persons who go on welfare are looked down upon as lazy, let alone new immigrants. Symbolic violence against those who receive any form of social security is commonplace. For example, on 12 December 2011, when the researcher's grandma happened to be watching TV, a random comedy was on and communicated that going on welfare was 'not being self-reliant'. This is similar to symbolic violence in Western countries concerning a 'dependency culture'. According to Vince (pseudonym), who is also involved in an unrelated non-profit organisation, the generation now in power think it is acceptable to treat workers poorly, as if Hong Kong were still in the post-WWII era. During that time, a devastated Hong Kong was, in the words of Vince, 'a refugee camp'. A former colonial policeman, Kyle (pseudonym) remembers life being horrible in Hong Kong before its rapid development in the 1980s, a time when poor people had to rely on relatives or churches as there was not yet welfare. He does not see anything wrong with the current social situation, perhaps because it is much better than post-war Hong Kong.

In the absence of adequate childcare services, women who cannot afford to stay at home to look after their children are being pushed into selling sex or are forced to work long hours for small amounts of money to be able to hire foreign domestic workers to take care of their children during the day. According to Fran from AFRO, many women choose to sell sex in private flats as it gives them the flexibility to take care of their children and families, even though rates have stayed the same or even dropped in an environment of high inflation. Both she and Belle from Ziteng shared that while there are women selling sex who make more money, most are saving money for their families and just making ends meet. While carrying out outreach with Sophie from a socialist organisation, there was a lady selling newspapers on the side of the street who shared with the researcher how she had to wake up at three a.m. every day to start up her stall, while her husband worked as a newspaper delivery person, just to make enough money to hire an Indonesian domestic worker to look after her three-year-old daughter.

Within this environment of class oppression and in the absence of any universal pension plan, elderly persons suffer, especially women. In a culture known for filial piety, in which grown children often give their parents allowances or spending money, it may be surprising that there are many elderly people, the majority of whom are older women, who must work as rag pickers, picking out cardboard from garbage cans and storefronts to put in their trolley carts and sell to recyclers for 10 HKD per cart. Figure 7.2 illustrates the difference between Hong Kong's global image and the lives of those left behind by gentrification and economic development.

Figure 7.2: Collage comparing Hong Kong's global image to an image of a rag picker in front of a housing complex in Tuen Mun, New Territories (photo in Tuen Mun taken by Christopher Button, a photographer the researcher met during the course of her fieldwork, in 2015, and used with his permission)



The lack of adequate levels of public housing combined with high rental costs in Hong Kong, has caused some elderly persons and others to have to live in cage- or coffin-homes (Ngo, 2014). In these cage- or coffin-homes, they must pay rent and live in something similar to a bunk bed, with each bunk surrounded by either a wired mesh or wooden boards, to prevent people from stealing belongings from one another. As Sophie from a socialist group pointed out, there are many of these types of housing found in older areas, such as Sham Shui Po. Some elderly people have been pushed to the point that they even have to find food in

garbage cans, as witnessed by Yoyo, a Thai domestic worker, in the Western district. Others have been pressed to steal food from small markets. In a market in Mongkok, there was a shamefaced old man who was being physically restrained and verbally assaulted for being caught stealing fruit from a fruit vendor, and a nearby stall keeper revealed to the researcher that she saw this happen all the time.

7.3.3 Lack of Career Options for Young People

It is easy to dismiss the poverty of the elderly as simply a case of children becoming more focused on the individual rather than family, which would traditionally be the case, but the reality is much more complex. Vince stated that:

The older generation of working class feel like they've been lied to all these years into thinking their children would have better lives as long as they worked hard, saved and studied. Some parents had to borrow money from loan sharks just to pay for university, only to find out there were no jobs on the market afterwards. ... Many 50-60 year olds feel like they are just waiting to die.

The field has changed, and cultural capital in the form of academic credentials no longer translates as readily into economic capital in the form of good jobs. Even many middle-class people with overseas university educations have been unable to find decent-paying jobs, leading to what another taxi driver called a generation

of ‘废青’ (useless youth). He explained that this derogatory term was used to describe a generation whose parents told them to wait for the economic situation to improve and decent jobs to reappear before working, and then ended up never doing anything with their lives. That does not apply to those young people who have studied abroad and then lower their expectations greatly and take on low-paying office jobs, some having graduated from prestigious institutions and/or after receiving postgraduate professional degrees. For the majority of youth in the territory, who do not have any university education at all, one can imagine their prospects in such an environment.

7.3 NGOs: Fighting for a Better Legal Environment

Part of the harm minimisation approach is improvement of the legal environment for all women selling sex, which will benefit women who are controlled by third parties and sex trafficking victims. They must fight, not only for better laws, but also against the discriminatory, victim-blaming mentality towards women in the sex trade within the criminal system. This includes full decriminalisation of the sale of sex by lawmakers in order to allow for women to sell sex together, within the same flat, for safety purposes and avoid exploitation and control by others. It also concerns other aspects of the legal system regarding the sex trade.

7.3.1 Issues with the Current System

Before discussing some points in more detail, an informal poll concerning foreign women in the sex trade, taken by Ziteng, is shown in Figure 7.3.

Figure 7.3: Informal poll with women selling sex in Ziteng's offices



This poll illustrates that many women are concerned with the following:

- Judges believe only the testimony of the police;
- When judges are dealing with cases involving women selling sex, they do not maintain a fair, just and open attitude;
- Judges do not read in detail the plea letters written by the women selling sex;
- The public defender on duty and court supervisor are only interested in ending the case quickly with a guilty plea;
- If the women are illegal immigrants, they must be incarcerated until their case is heard;
- The women cannot easily obtain brochures and flyers containing information about the legal procedures; and
- The courts do not actively protect the personal information of the women (name, age) when they are the victims.

In this environment, it is difficult for women who are robbed, sexually assaulted, or experience other forms of crime to come forward, and also difficult for women who are sex trafficking victims to seek assistance from the police. They risk having their identities exposed and being incarcerated before trial and not having an income for that period. So the NGOs are pressing for changes in the legal system to make it easier for women who are victims of crimes to get justice, including those who are not legally residing in the territory.

There is a concern for women selling sexual services in 24-hour foot massage parlours due to various layers of legal infractions. On one hand, more and more girls without Hong Kong IDs, from Mainland China and Thailand, are working in

these venues while on tourist visas or after being smuggled to Hong Kong. On the other hand, even though many of the women from Mainland China have residency and are trained and licensed by the Hong Kong government to give massages, since massage parlour licenses are difficult to obtain, they are working in illegal establishments. Not only that, massage in the area between the shoulders and knees and selling sex are both against the law, even within licensed massage parlours, but as Fran from AFRO explained, 'Due to the bad economy, foot massage parlours now offer the full range of sexual services, and it is difficult to tell which is which'. So women are selling sex, against the law, in licensed/unlicensed massage parlours as legal/illegal immigrants, and in this situation it is not difficult to see how vulnerable these women are to criminals, including those who would like to control them. Fran also shared that 'it is easy for these women to be blackmailed, and they do not know who to call for help'.

Other laws criminalising aspects of the sale of sex, but not the sale of sex itself, are also harmful to women selling sex. For example, as Fran from AFRO shared, even those who are selling sex individually, which is legal, are vulnerable to exploitation by landlords, who can raise rents at whim. This is because the women are not given rental contracts as it is against Section 137 of the Crimes Ordinance to live on the earnings of 'prostitution' of others and against Section 143 of the Crimes Ordinance to let 'premises for use as a vice establishment' (Department of Justice, 2013: Ch. 200, p. 45). The very safety of women is compromised by these laws and Section 139, which criminalises the 'keeping of vice establishments' (ibid.). They do not allow women to work in buildings with security guards, hire security assistance or work in the same flat, making it easier

for perpetrators to victimise them without anyone noticing. According to Belle from Ziteng, many women have now turned to using video surveillance as an alternative.

Instead of being seen as helpful, the police are seen as oppressors. According to Fran, the police are always doing 'yellow sweeps' (police raids targeting the sex trade). They often pretend to be clients to catch women who are not selling sex legally, in a massage parlour for example. Belle from Ziteng shared that police are even known in some cases to 'beat up' women selling sex and, in other cases, obtain free sexual services in the name of 'collecting evidence'.

Fran also reported that some police have been known to obtain sexual services before arresting women, even though the law only requires verbal consent. She further shared that even if the police are the ones soliciting the women, the women do not feel they can fight the cases against them made by police officers claiming to have been solicited. This is because there are no witnesses, and they perceive that judges only believe the police anyway. They often feel pressured to sign documents without knowing how to read Traditional Chinese script, as they use the Simplified Chinese script in Mainland China. According to Fran, at least 'they convince women to sign instead of beating them up nowadays'.

7.3.2 Racial- and Nationality-Based Discrimination

The treatment women selling sex receive within the legal system is not only related to the fact that they sell sex, however, but also to the fact that they belong

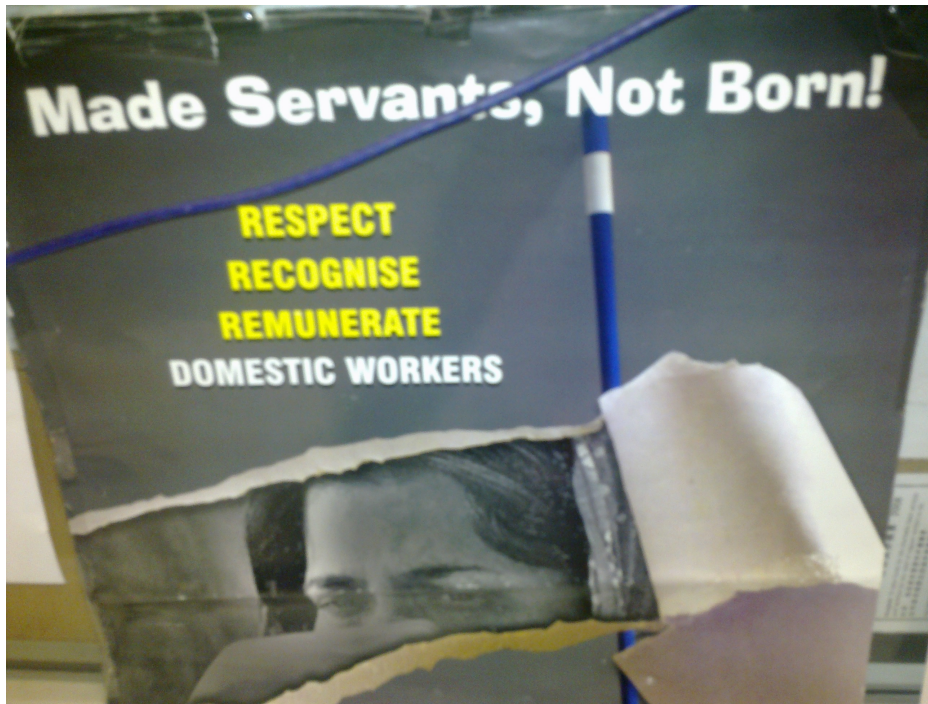
to the two largest groups that suffer from nationality- and racially-based oppression in Hong Kong, the Mainland Chinese and Southeast Asian. It is necessary to discuss this type of oppression, including that of foreign domestic workers, as they are predominantly Southeast Asian; it explains the larger context in which women selling sex live.

With regards to discrimination against Mainland Chinese, a housewife who employs one foreign domestic worker mentioned that in post-colonial Hong Kong, the majority of Hong Kong Chinese feel that they are still sitting at the bottom of the 'racial' hierarchy, with Westerners on top of them. However, since China's economic boom and the return of Hong Kong to China in 1997, they increasingly feel that there is another layer on top of Westerners now, and that is the affluent Mainland Chinese. At the same time, these affluent Mainland Chinese are seen as *nouveau riche*, inspiring both jealousy and disdain. Mainland Chinese with lower levels of economic and other capital, on the other hand, are seen as a bunch of 'country bumpkins' who are unhygienic and rude. With examples of poor behaviour of individuals on the MTR, for example, being filmed via camera phones and broadcasted over the internet, it is easy to perpetuate negative stereotypes and reinforce the 'racial' hierarchy. Those that try to or have newly immigrated into Hong Kong are seen as wanting to 'take advantage' of the territory's social and other services, such as hospital maternity services. According to Sophie from a socialist group, ten years ago (from October 2011), the mainstream media started helping to spread government rumours that Mainland Chinese were coming to 'sink' Hong Kong. Apparently, much symbolic violence has been put into place to construct 'classes' of women

who are below local Hong Kong Chinese women, who may otherwise feel they are on the very lowest rung of the ladder. Just as 'micropatriarchs' are comforted by being able to oppress women, some local Hong Kong Chinese may feel comforted in being able to oppress Mainland Chinese women or migrant domestic workers.

Although not every Hong Kong Chinese employer behaves badly towards foreign domestic workers, negative, 'othering' attitudes abound. For example, a storekeeper in Western District once voiced that a certain dishwashing detergent was of good value, unless it was being used for '*those people*'. Another time, a local Chinese woman complained on her phone about how 'it takes time to train '*those people*', because ethnic groups like theirs are more stupid'. Once, at the beginning of a march for domestic workers, an elderly local Chinese man shouted, 'You are stupid! You are slaves from a servant country!' So while China was seen as a 'slaving nation' at one point in history, countries from which foreign domestic workers originate are now seen by Hong Kong Chinese as 'slaving nations'. Figure 7.4 shows a poster at MFMW's offices protesting this lack of respect for foreign domestic workers as workers.

Figure 7.4: Poster at MFMW's offices



Domestic workers are treated in a feudalistic way, as if they are servants or even *mui jai*, instead of workers. However, they do not only get treated as 'others', there is outright racial segregation. Gloria (pseudonym), an active volunteer with a socialist organisation and foreign domestic worker from the Philippines, shared that people do not want to come into physical contact with migrant women and express much discontent when they accidentally bump into one another in elevators, on public transportation or on the crowded streets of Hong Kong. Others prefer to pretend they are invisible and walk right 'through' them without acknowledging their existence. Furthermore, she revealed that there are buildings in which they must use a separate elevator from other residents, unless they happen to be walking the owners' dogs, as if even dogs are more worthy of respect than them. Gloria also reported that they are also discriminated against

by service providers, such as hospital and restaurant staff. This was also witnessed at the court the researcher visited, in which the clerk registering persons in need of public defenders rudely and loudly reprimanded the foreign domestic worker she was accompanying. He scolded her as if she were a young child for not writing her numbers the way he wanted and saying he did not believe her 'excuse' for not having applied for assistance earlier. This ill treatment extends to employment situations, in which many employers do not let migrant workers use their telephones or sit on their sofas or chairs, allocating specific seating and other items for their use. Gloria laughed that a friend of hers, who once worked in Hong Kong as a foreign domestic worker, was in such a situation before she moved to Canada; now she manages a department store and can 'sit on any sofa she wants'. Nidia (pseudonym), an Indonesian community organiser, was at one time employed in Hong Kong as a domestic worker, and she remembers having to buy her own mobile phone in order to make phone calls and not being allowed to wash her clothing in the same washing machine as the employers for fear of 'contamination'. She also shared that some employers do not even lend or provide winter clothing to foreign domestic workers, many of whom come from much warmer climates. Indeed, MFMW takes donations of winter clothing and gives them to migrant women who need them, as witnessed by the researcher.

7.3.4 Sexual Control

Just as Mainland Chinese women are perceived as a source of competition by local women, so are migrant domestic workers, and there is an element of sexual

control. Perhaps added to this 'threat' is that some of these women have higher cultural capital in the form of education credentials and/or English-language proficiency than their employers. While these domestic workers are expected to do the 'women's work' of domestic chores and caring, they are expected to remain 'asexual' by hiding their femininity capital, at least that which is associated with sexual attractiveness. Gloria shared that in order to 'protect' migrant women, employers give them a 'curfew'. Indeed, one excuse for the current rule stating that foreign domestic workers must live with employers and the curfews that employers impose - which, according to Thea from MFMW, has been in effect since 2003 - is that the employers want to 'protect' these women. This echoes the views of private patriarchy, in which women must be kept at home with male guardians in order to 'protect' women. According to Nidia, the Indonesian community organiser mentioned in the previous section, this is further reinforced by the Indonesian government's conservative view that women need to be 'protected' by men and agencies, furthering their reliance and ties to exploitative agencies. Yoyo, the Thai foreign domestic worker mentioned in the previous section, shared that she knew of many cases in which female employers got jealous of workers and either fired them or forced them to dress asexually. She also stated that many employers actually preferred unattractive workers. This was also reported by others, such as Gloria, who further revealed that there have been several suspicious 'suicides', when jealous female employers who suspect the migrant women of having affairs with their husbands push the migrant women off the balcony. She knows of cases where their bodies have been sent home without autopsies, and also a case in which the autopsy showed signs of rape and cigarette burns but was kept quiet. Thea from MFMW

also echoed this concern.

7.4 NGOs: Fighting Violence against Women

Women who are not legally residing in Hong Kong and selling sex come mostly from Mainland China, although there are some from South-East Asia, Russia and Africa. They are not necessarily controlled by third parties or sex trafficking victims, but again, due to their illegal status, they are most vulnerable to criminals of all kinds. According to Belle from Ziteng, 'the worst things happen to this group of women selling sex, such as getting their faces cut up before robberies'. A robbery can be seen as a financially-motivated crime, but the cutting up of a woman's face is purely violence against women. These women - debased and devalued by symbolic violence against 'whores', those in poverty and Mainland Chinese or Southeast Asians - are not only seen as 'safely debased outlets' for sex but also for violence that misogynists feel they cannot commit against other groups of women. As these women are illegal immigrants, they are outside of the protection of the law, and perpetrators of all kinds feel an additional sense of impunity beyond that which they would feel with the same woman who had legal residency. Belle also shared that when these women do call the police to report these crimes, they are arrested and either immediately deported or deported after spending a couple of months in jail. This is not surprising, in light of the information presented in 'herstories' and the informal poll mentioned in Section 7.2.2.

Another issue related to safety is the increasing awareness of women's right to

have customers use condoms. Figure 7.5 shows an art piece saying, 'I want condoms'.

Figure 7.5: Art piece at Ziteng's offices



As shared in Chapter 6, getting customers to use condoms is difficult in some cases. Even if sexual intercourse starts with the use of condoms, customers are known to sometimes remove them without the women's consent, as if their consent is not necessary as they are 'safely debased outlets'. This is actually a form of sexual assault, which is a form of sexual violence. As shared by Penelope from a women's organisation, clients in 'suits and ties' are ruder and 'try to get their money's worth', whereas working-class clients are generally more respectful of women selling sex.

7.4.1 Gender Oppression and Rape Myths

These types of violence, along with the treatment of women selling sex in general, are related to gender oppression, namely misogyny, sense of

entitlement towards women's bodies, victim blaming and virgin-whore mentality. Symbolic violence against women seems to permeate the environment, reinforcing the gender hierarchy. For example, on 12 December 2011 a comedy show on the television showed a 'nerdy', unmarried woman for whom everyone else on the show was trying to find 'a husband'. The TV show not only sent the message that all women needed to get married, in line with the 'leftover girl' framing, it even conveyed that it was 'insulting' for a woman to be alone with a man and not get raped. This perpetuates the rape myth that women secretly want to be raped, especially 'unattractive' ones.

In terms of symbolic violence in the form of victim blaming, it is strong in Hong Kong. The awareness-raising stickers on buses target not perpetrators but women who are sexually harassed or molested. This can be seen from Figure 7.6, which was taken on a bus in Hong Kong.

Figure 7.6: Photo taken on the bus (13 Nov 2011)



The message, according to this sticker, is to avoid silently tolerating (啞忍) being victimised or being a 'silent victim', because it will just lead to other women being victimised. This, in essence, blames women who have not reported their victimisation for the sexual assault of others. It also frames the issue as one of law enforcement, not one involving culture and society.

According to Penelope from a women's organisation, one of the reasons for this strong culture of victim blaming is the 'whore culture'. Victims of sexual violence experience this victim blaming from various agents, from judges to the media. One of Penelope's past Criminology professors actually taught the class that there were more rapes in the summer, because women tend to wear less clothing in the summer, essentially spreading the rape myth that women's clothing causes rape by causing men to lose sexual control of themselves. At an outreach event with Sophie, again in Cheung Sha Wan, a friend of a volunteer, Bob (pseudonym) pointed to her having a sticker on her collar bone, saying that she was '引人犯罪' (tempting others to commit crimes). The entrenched nature of victim blaming attitudes within the habitus was even more pronounced at a sharing session with volunteers at a women's NGO, who were of both genders, mainly college students and interested in the issue of sexual violence. Many volunteers expressed belief in rape myths, such as how women could protect themselves from sexual assault by dressing conservatively or pretending to be sick, and hence unattractive. One woman expressed the belief in the rape myth that sexual assault is caused by men who lose control of themselves - she believed that some rapes were caused by men watching too much porn and not

being able to calm themselves down afterwards. It was not expected that this relatively concerned group would continue to hold such beliefs.

7.4.2 Gender Oppression, Virgin-Whore Dichotomy and Sexual Double-Standard

At the same sharing session, it was obvious that the virgin-whore dichotomy was very pronounced, even amongst a relatively more gender-aware population, and there was general agreement that sex itself was still a taboo topic in Hong Kong. While advertisements of women clad in bikinis and lingerie are plentiful on the MTR, advertisements raising awareness of sexual harassment are so obscure and non-sexual that it is difficult, at first glance, to understand what the advertisements are about. For example, in 2011, the EOC ran one such advertisement on the MTR, and this can be seen in Figure 7.7.

Figure 7.7: 2011 EOC advertisement (EOC, 2011)



Figure 7.7 states, in Chinese, that 'going to work every day was a nightmare'.

Then in the peach-coloured print, it again asks women to 'speak up against sexual harassment', in English, instead of telling perpetrators not to sexually harass women in the first place. In Chinese, it says, 'Say no to sexual harassment', which is more neutral. Not only do advertisements like this show that the onus is placed on women to fight sexual harassment, supporting the rape myths, the vagueness of the advertisement seems to hint that 'true victims' are virginal, not sexual beings. In schools, there is no proper sexual education teaching what respectful, consensual relations should be; at home, parents either prefer not talking about sex at all or just tell their children not to 'do it'. Two of the volunteers expressed that young women were still taught to remain virgins until marriage and that nobody was taught what to do if they did in fact do 'the wrong thing'. The fact that a woman losing her virginity before marriage is considered doing 'the wrong thing' illustrates what Penelope from a women's organisation called 'whore culture'. There are no such efforts to sexually control men.

According to Penelope, these attitudes are thanks to both conservative Christian schooling and traditional patriarchal attitudes, and there is a large amount of body shame. Women who enjoy sex are thought of as 'sex addicts'. At an aforementioned outreach event with Sophie from a socialist organisation, Bob, who was apparently friends with another volunteer, mentioned that he had so many girlfriends, and that they were like '公厕' (public toilets), which is just one example of a derogatory term used for sexual women. In line with the sexual double standard, he was not stigmatised for having multiple sex partners. However, that is not to say that other people in Hong Kong are aware of the origin of their conservative values. At the same sharing session discussed in the

previous paragraph, the volunteers seemed unaware of the effects of conservative Christian schooling and blamed 'Chinese culture', with one student even asking whether or not such attitudes could possibly ever change since 'we are Chinese'. This not only reveals the beliefs within the general habitus but also suggests the existence of symbolic violence against feminist values as 'Western' or 'foreign'.

7.5 Discussion

This chapter has answered the second research question, 'What is the local context in which women sell sex, and how is this understood by the NGOs supporting the women?' It has supported the results in Chapter 6, such as in describing the structural aspects of Hong Kong that need to be improved, namely social services, laws and law enforcement. Hence, it has also supported much of the previous research discussed in Chapters 2 and 3, and recalls Phoenix (2012), who states that the situations of women selling sex within the past two-hundred years has not changed much, as poverty, homelessness, different types of addiction and deficient social welfare continue to cause women to sell sex to, primarily, men. However, this chapter has also provided more contextual details, which allow for a broader understanding of the environment in Hong Kong, and extended the discussion.

One contribution to the knowledge base is that 'sex work NGOs' in Hong Kong are reluctant to talk about sex trafficking or use the human trafficking framework. Though not a well-documented phenomenon, this should not be surprising,

because they are in a symbolic struggle against the symbolic violence of some powerful agents who are trying to control the bodies of women, especially sexually, under the pretence of fighting sex trafficking. As noted in Chapter 2, this includes the U.S. government. See, for example, Weitzer, 2005b. There are those that would like to see all selling of sex labelled as sex trafficking, which itself would be an act of symbolic violence, similar to how labelling women who sell sex as 'whores' is. Again, the U.S. government is a good example. See, for example, Gozdziaik and Bump, 2008 and Weitzer, 2005b. Given the sexually conservative environment of Hong Kong, in which the virgin-whore dichotomy, victim blaming and other aspects of sexual control of women's bodies and sexuality is strong within the government and powerful Christian organisations, these NGOs are fighting a tough battle to provide women in the sex trade with services and help them fight for a better legal environment. 'Sex as work' NGOs working towards increasing women's choices within this local environment naturally have a disinclination to discuss trafficking in women, which could potentially support the symbolic violence against these women by labelling them all as sex-trafficking victims and taking away their option to sell sex.

Another contribution to the knowledge base is that although local NGOs working with women selling sex are informed by the harm minimisation paradigm used in other countries, they have not been moving towards exiting the sex trade as the main focus, as organisations in the U.K. and other countries are doing. For mention of organisations abroad moving towards this focus, see Sanders, O'Neill and Pitcher, 2009. Using Bourdieu's relational formula [(habitus)(capital) + field = practice] (1984), one can see that although women selling sex have agency,

even if they want to leave the sex trade, whether or not they can do so also depends on the larger social environment and capital. With the lack of an adequate social safety net and proper economic alternatives in this incredibly neoliberal environment, the question is how these women would make a living if they lost the option of selling sex. This also recalls Sanders, O'Neill and Pitcher (2009), who note exiting the sex trade, also known as desistance, has been linked to both structural factors and the availability of necessary support, in addition to motivation and cultural factors. Without the adequate financial and other support of social services, instead of selling sex, perhaps they would have to compete with other economically oppressed women, such as the older women who are rag picking and living in 'cage' or 'coffin' homes, but it is difficult to see how it would be possible to raise a child or children as a lone mother and/or send remittances home to family members in need. As seen in the case of the woman who worked long hours to operate a newspaper stall on the side of the street, even with a double income, she could barely hire an Indonesian domestic worker and make ends meet. This situation brings to mind Dworkin's idea that economic degradation is the best method for guaranteeing that there will be women available as sex objects (1993). Using the language of capital, this would mean that denying women access to economic capital is the best way for guaranteeing that men will have access to sexual services. However, instead of having understanding of their situation and displaying compassion for them as fellow human beings, agents within the police, the judiciary and various other institutions expected to assist victims of crimes, act as oppressors of women selling sex. It seems that to them, these women are just 'whores' who should be 'swept' away to rid the territory of 'vice'.

The findings of this chapter also support previous research highlighting victim-blaming attitudes within Hong Kong, such as that carried out by the Association Concerning Sexual Violence Against Women and Department of Social Work at the Hong Kong Baptist University (2011). The blaming of victims of sexual violence is systemic, involving both the judicial system and police, both of whom are biased against women selling sex. This is related to the high levels of sexual conservatism and sexual control of women in Hong Kong documented in this chapter, which supports previous literature. See, for example, Chang, 1999. Not only do these women get blamed when victimised, the police actually play a role in further victimising these women, as in the case of those who obtain sexual services from women before arresting them. Victim blaming has been documented to cause rejection, lack of support and lead to further sexual and other violence in the case of victims of sex trafficking, such as IOM, 2010 and Revenco, 2006. It is important to consider this from a Feminist, Bourdieusian perspective and see that practice is a 'coordinated entity' (Warde, 2004: 18). There is a need to problematise the institutions behind agents who blame women selling sex for being victimised and consider who has the symbolic power to keep women divided into 'virgins' and 'whores', the latter of whom are considered to 'deserve' their negative experiences.

In addition, this chapter has also contributed more information on the wider environment in terms of nationality- and race-based discrimination, supporting recent documents that have exposed this aspect of Hong Kong. See, for example, Liljas, 2014, which is titled 'Beaten and Exploited, Indonesian Maids

are Hong Kong's "Modern-Day Slaves". The local society, in general, is openly racist and hostile to Mainland Chinese and Southeast Asian women, and looking at this from a Feminist, Bourdieusian perspective allows for an analysis that takes into account both the symbolic and the structural. Formal citizenship is a legal category that is created by a national community or political elites, who claim to represent this community (Bauder, 2008), and as previously discussed, legal categories are created via the symbolic power of the dominant. Adopting Bauder's extension of Bourdieu's forms of capital to include citizenship as capital (ibid.), for the purpose of this thesis, this form of capital shall be referred to as 'nationality capital'. One's level of 'nationality capital' can be conceptualised as being higher or lower depending on the desirability of the nationality one holds within the current world order, or world field. Indeed, it is not migrant workers from Australia or Canada, for example, who are suffering from nationality-based discrimination; rather, they are seen as 'expatriates' and perceived as more 'desirable' than even most local Chinese, in part due to the post-colonial environment in Hong Kong. In contrast, migrants from Mainland China, Southeast Asia and other 'undesirable' places are seen as unwanted migrants. As seen in both Chapter 6 and this chapter, women's lack of 'nationality capital' - or in the case of Hong Kong, permanent residency - excludes women from the employment market and makes them more vulnerable to abuse and exploitation by various social agents, including the police. Upon detection by the police or the Immigration department, these woman are generally considered ineligible for victimhood due to negative attitudes against them as women who have come to 'Hong Kong voluntarily to take advantage of the economic prosperity of the HKSAR' (HKSAR, 2006: 1). This symbolic violence can also give rise to physical

or sexual violence, as mentioned in both Chapter 6 and this chapter. If symbolic violence against women from Mainland China and Southeast Asia and the resulting 'othering' and even dehumanising attitudes, within the habitus of the general population and government agents, has caused unsolved murders to be systematically overlooked, then it is not hard to imagine how the same could allow criminal treatment of these women, especially those in the sex trade, to exist with impunity.

The rampant racism and anti-Mainland Chinese sentiment discussed in the above paragraph and the strong sexual control of women in the territory can, together, help explain why the Hong Kong government continues to view women selling sex as criminals by default, even though, as mentioned in Chapter 4, Western governments have defined women in the sex trade as victims in recent decades. Although labelling all women in the sex trade as victims can also be seen as a form of sexual control, the victim blaming linked with viewing women in the sex trade as greedy 'whores' is also not helpful towards improving the legal system and developing policies which would be beneficial to both those wishing to exit from the sex trade and those who wish to sell sex. In light of the fact that legal definitions are imposed by governments through their symbolic power, and taking into account that informants revealed that the Hong Kong government has been using the Mainland Chinese and foreign domestic workers from Southeast Asians as political scapegoats and diversions, one could see why painting these women as victims may not be in the local government's best interests. This supports literature that has pointed out this political agenda behind related coverage by the Hong Kong media. See, for example, Yu, 2012. Also, given

that the system has been streamlined to quickly process the cases of women caught selling sex, the government would have to spend much more money on properly investigating every woman's case and potentially pursuing them in court, not to mention any social services that may be required. On top of this, it would not be in the government's best interests to cause men in the territory to lose access to 'virgins'.

The findings in this chapter also support previous research showing that women selling sex who generally have lower levels of social and economic capital sell sex in more marginalised forms and experience higher levels of violence. See, for example, Phoenix, 2012. From a Feminist, Bourdieusian perspective, it is not only that they have lower levels of capital than other women selling sex, but that they also have lower levels of capital relative to clients and other social agents; the larger this difference is, the more these agents may feel entitled to exploiting them. That being said, this chapter extends the discussion beyond social and economic capital though, and includes cultural and 'nationality' capital. Although a variety of women sell sex in Hong Kong, most have lower levels of overall capital, especially as they have changed to the social environment of Hong Kong, in which their previous social or cultural capital is not similarly valued. As noted in Chapter 6, even for those with Hong Kong residency, the absence of financial options or financial capital is linked to selling sex on the streets and more negative experiences, such as in the case of Jiajia and Sisi. Those with even lower levels of capital, particularly 'nationality capital', are more vulnerable to exploitation by clients and third parties due to their illegal status, be they illegally in the territory or selling sex without being residents. The worst things

happen to these women, such as getting their faces cut up before being robbed. These women - devalued by symbolic violence against 'whores', those in poverty and/or Mainland Chinese or Southeast Asians - are not only seen as 'safely debased outlets' for sex but also for violence that misogynists feel they cannot commit against other groups of women. These men, including members of the police force who obtain sexual services in the name of 'collecting evidence' and even beating-up women selling sex, feel entitled to do so due to their having higher levels of capital relative to these women.

7.6 Summary

This chapter has presented some of the views and priorities of NGOs working with women selling sex and other members of civil society. It has also explored the local environment as viewed from the ground. Much of it echoes what the women selling sex in Chapter 6 have shared about the local situation, in terms of, for example, lack of social services, limited opportunities in a highly neoliberal economic environment, discrimination by the public and oppression by the police. It has also explored some forms of oppression and how they manifest in the local environment in Hong Kong to explain the local context in more depth.

Using Feminist, Bourdieusian framework, which highlights class issues while discussing both structural and ideological factors, this chapter has explained various aspects of the local environment. One is that NGOs working with women selling sex are understandably reluctant to discuss sex trafficking as they are in a symbolic struggle against symbolic violence against women selling sex, which

labels them all as victims. Another is that these NGOs do not focus on assisting women in leaving the sex trade, because the highly neoliberal environment has resulted in little opportunities, even for local graduates, and social services are inadequate in the territory. Rather, they focus on improving the local environment, such as by fighting for better laws and for government agents to be more helpful to women selling sex, including those that are working illegally; the current conditions cause women to be vulnerable to exploitation by third parties as the police, judges and other government agents are known for discriminating against these women. The high level of sexual control of women and victim blaming in Hong Kong adds further knowledge on the context in which women selling sex there live. The concept of 'nationality capital' has also been proposed to help explain the racism and anti-Mainland Chinese sentiment and official attitude towards foreign women selling sex in Hong Kong as 'taking advantage' of the 'prosperity' of Hong Kong. In an environment which is highly anti-immigration, it would be more politically beneficial to the local government to keep viewing all women from abroad selling sex in Hong Kong as criminals, rather than follow the footsteps of other countries, which treat all women from abroad selling sex as victims, which would be another form of sexual control. A more pragmatic approach is needed by policymakers. It has also included a discussion on these findings using a Feminist, Bourdieusian framework.

While Chapter 6 revealed various factors related to women's lived experiences and their surrounding environments that help explain why control of women by third parties persists in the sale of sex in Hong Kong, this chapter has further shed light on this persistence of control by answering the second research

question, 'What is the local context in which women sell sex, and how is this understood by the NGOs supporting the women?'

Chapter 8: Lessons Learned about Trafficking in Women in Hong Kong

8.1 Introduction

This chapter presents information from interviews and the eight 'herstories'. It examines research question three, "How does the information about trafficking in women learned from the informants compare with the local Hong Kong government's official position?" The first section of this chapter explores the experiences and environments that women selling sex facing control by third parties may encounter, including the migration of those from outside of Hong Kong. The second section discusses sex trafficking in Hong Kong in relation to other types of trafficking in women there. The final section uses a Feminist, Bourdieusian framework to argue that Hong Kong's trafficking in women situation is more serious and widespread than the government acknowledges.

8.2 Experiences and Environments

This section first presents the migration situation of transnational trafficking victims; the methods of recruitment used to coerce women into selling sex in Hong Kong; and the different immigration situations involved. It then discusses the women's experiences in terms of the forms of control by third parties faced, the environment in which they had to sell sex, their clients, and the police, along with the results of these experiences.

8.2.1 Migration Situation of Victims Not from Hong Kong

In terms of countries of origin, Marion (pseudonym) from Pathfinders mentioned that women selling sex in Hong Kong hail from diverse countries, including but not limited to Columbia, Mongolia, Southeast Asia, Mainland China, India, Africa and Russia. However, source countries are not exclusively those considered developing countries, and human trafficking does not necessarily require transnationality. Jiajia, one of the women who shared her 'herstory' had been trafficked for labour and personal use as a sex slave by a relative within Mainland China.

Concerning recruitment, some come to Hong Kong to work legally, such as in domestic work, and then end up being forced into selling sex to pay off their debts when their employment is terminated, as revealed by both Penelope from a woman's NGO and Thea from MFMW. Others are deceived by acquaintances into believing they will make a decent living as, for example, teaching assistants in Hong Kong, revealed Judy from Pathfinders. Not only do they receive false job advertisements but also false marriages. Penelope shared that this is a popular method used for the recruitment of Mongolians, and Judy stated that it is also used for the recruitment of Indians.

There are different ways in which victims from outside Hong Kong enter the territory. Judy from Pathfinders revealed that women selling sex in Hong Kong, including trafficking victims, enter the territory on holiday or domestic worker visas, or without visas at all. Fran from AFRO shared that the local sex trade is

growing, and more and more women from Mainland China and Thailand, for example, who are on tourist visas or have been smuggled into Hong Kong are selling sex in Hong Kong. Penelope explained that there is an increasing number of women who understand they will be selling sex in the territory but arrive to find that they were lied to about the conditions under which they would be selling sex. Other women may have legally entered Hong Kong but become undocumented after overstaying their visas due to pregnancies. Judy and Nidia, an Indonesian community organiser, also stated that there are numerous cases of foreign domestic helpers who enter relationships and become pregnant, facing the options of returning home to communities which would ostracise them and their children or remaining in Hong Kong underground with their children's being undocumented⁹.

8.2.2 Some Forms of Control by Third Parties

One method of control by third parties was discussed in the previous subsection, that of using a woman's non-resident or illegal status. Their status allows those controlling them to use the police and immigration officials to threaten them into compliance and prevent them from leaving. This is especially true for those who hold forged documents, as under Section 42 of the Immigration Ordinance, which was previously discussed in Chapter 4, the use and possession of forged documents carries a maximum imprisonment term of 14 years (Department of Justice, 2013). This is especially serious, considering that 14 years is also the

⁹ Only persons born in Hong Kong who are eligible for Chinese nationality or have at least one parent who is a permanent resident are entitled to right of abode in Hong Kong (Community Legal Information Centre, 2012).

maximum term for those convicted of trafficking in persons under the Crimes Ordinance, and women who are legal residents of Hong Kong and convicted of soliciting for immoral purposes face a maximum of 'only' six months in prison (ibid.).

Another method of control by third parties is debt bondage. Penelope from a women's NGO also revealed that it used to be common that sex trafficking victims from Southeast Asia and Mainland China were forced to work off their 'debts' and then 'kicked' to the police in order to avoid ever having to pay them. In her opinion, this type of sex trafficking has decreased, for women from Mainland China at least, since 1997 due to the relaxation of the border with Mainland China. However, debt bondage does not only affect women from overseas.

Drug addiction is also a method of control used by third parties. Sisi, a woman selling sex whose experience is presented in Chapter 6, mentioned that she had seen a local girl who appeared to be a drug addict with her pimp. A local, religiously-affiliated NGO works with women selling sex who are addicted to drugs, but the NGO declined visits or interviews. However, this example does not suggest that every woman selling sex who is addicted to drugs is a sex trafficking victim, but rather suggests the possibility that a percentage of them are indeed in this situation.

8.2.3 Environments

The Mongkok area seems rife with sex trafficking, although this does not suggest that all women selling sex in the area are trafficking victims. This area was also highlighted by Thea from MFMW, who stated that there are many pimps 'selling girls' on Temple Street, north of Jordan. It was also mentioned by Sisi, the woman selling sex, referred to in the previous section, who stated that there are the most pimps in that area, and the women are usually on tourist visas and receive the worst customers. So some of the women who are not residents of Hong Kong are placed at the lowest rung of the local sex trade ladder by having to work in Mongkok, which residents who are selling sex try to avoid. Sisi, one of the women who shared her 'herstory', revealed that the Temple Street area also happens to be highly populated by tourists and shoppers, with many of these being one time customers. She shared that, in this area, clients are arriving non-stop. This translates into there being a high demand for sex and lack of local supply of women willing to sell sex in this area, with traffickers eager to fill this gap and reap profits.

8.2.4 Police

As Judy from Pathfinders mentioned, many people are exploited under various types of human trafficking in Hong Kong, but the government does not officially believe these occurrences to be wrong, let alone classified as human trafficking. Instead, the government ignores the exploitative aspect of sex trafficking and focuses on controlling women selling sex, by arresting and deporting those who

are not residents of Hong Kong and harassing those who are legally residing in the territory. Victims are reluctant to report the incidents, because many are afraid of their families back home finding out and the confiscation of all earnings by their governments. Examples listed by Penelope from a women's organisation include trafficking victims from Mongolia and Mainland China.

8.2.5 Mental Health Issues

Women who have gone through human trafficking experience a very high level of trauma in their lives, sometimes post-traumatic stress disorder, and require professional treatment. This link between selling sex unwillingly and mental health is also supported by Jiajia's observations of those around her, who are not necessarily sex trafficking victims. She states that she has seen many other women selling sex in Hong Kong who do not want to do so and end up 'going crazy'. By pitting blame and shame on women selling sex in general, the government neglects to provide them with the assistance they need to recover from traumatic experiences. The lack of provision of mental health services is a structural inadequacy as well as an ideological obstacle.

The system of arresting and deporting women selling sex, including sex trafficking victims, does not foster rehabilitation but instead results in even more symbolic violence against them. They are labelled by the court of law as 'whores' and stigmatised as a result. Similar to the days of the Contagious Disease Acts, formally declaring someone as a woman selling sex has served only to force women to be even more vulnerable, as the label makes it difficult for

them to fit in with working class women and men who do not sell sex.

8.3 Overlap with Other Types of Trafficking

When talking about sex trafficking, it is also necessary to note the types of human trafficking that are *not* being discussed. This is to avoid supporting the questionable definition the local government holds of human trafficking, which as evidenced in Chapter 4, focuses on women selling sex at the expense of other types of human trafficking which exist and/or may be even more prevalent than sex trafficking in the territory. These include trafficking of women for domestic work and child trafficking, both of which are actually connected to sex trafficking.

8.3.1 Trafficking for Domestic Work

Not only do multiple expert informants, such as Thea from MFMW and Penelope from a women's NGO, consider this type of trafficking to be much more prevalent in Hong Kong, and even systemic, it is actually also connected to sex trafficking. As mentioned previously, according to Penelope, there have been cases of Indonesian workers being fired from their domestic worker jobs in Hong Kong and then forced to work their debts off by selling sex in Macau and Mainland China. Thea also confirmed that there have been cases of persons being hired as foreign domestic helpers in Hong Kong and then forced to sell sex. However, sex trafficking of domestic workers does not occur anywhere near as frequently as the trafficking for domestic servitude, which is usually linked to debt bondage. Nonetheless, it illustrates how the entitlement felt towards women's provision of

sex and caring are actually linked; both are caused by the objectification of women as tools, mainly for men in general.

8.3.2 Child Trafficking

Also not discussed by the Hong Kong government is trafficking of children, which is linked to sex trafficking. As previously mentioned, some female migrant workers become pregnant in Hong Kong and choose not to have abortions. If the mothers cannot return to their home countries due to the severe social persecution they and their children will face upon return, they remain in Hong Kong as undocumented migrants. The mothers are forced to do 'black market' work, including selling sex, while these children are not only used as pawns by third parties to control their mothers, some of them are also trafficked. Judy from Pathfinders revealed that traffickers approach vulnerable mothers with false promises to provide a better future for these children, and sometimes the mothers agree to let their children go, not knowing that the children just end up being exploited in trafficking. This is yet another method of objectifying women as child bearers; echoing the time of trans-Atlantic slavery of Africans, children born by slaves are also to be slaves in the future. The current laws in Hong Kong do not protect the children of unwanted immigrant women, making it possible for these children to become as vulnerable as they are to exploitation, including human trafficking for various purposes.

8.4 Discussion on Findings

The chapter answers the third research question, 'How does the information about trafficking in women learned from the informants compare with the local Hong Kong government's official position?' The findings support previous research in Hong Kong documenting the existence of sex trafficking victims in Hong Kong and their lack of recognition as such by authorities, namely Emerton, Laidler and Peterson, 2007. Instead, as noted in Chapters 6 and 7, women selling sex in general are disqualified from victimhood by police and other government agents, no matter if their cases involve robbery, rape or sex trafficking. Recalling that the local government official believes that all foreign women selling sex in Hong Kong have come voluntarily to 'take advantage' of the 'prosperity' of the territory, it is not surprising that government agents' habitus and actions reflect this viewpoint. Results point to the fact that the government does not officially 'believe' exploitative situations to be wrong, let alone classify them as trafficking. Instead, law enforcement in Hong Kong police force is focused on controlling women selling sex in general, especially those who are not legally in the territory or are selling sex while on tourist and other visas; this was noted in Chapter 7 and also supports Emerton, Laidler and Peterson, 2007.

From a Bourdieusian, Feminist perspective, the symbolic violence documented in Chapter 7, that against women in general, women selling sex in particular, Mainland Chinese women, Southeast Asian women, 'unwanted migrants' in general and those with less capital in general has resulted in these actions. Women who act as subjects, whether by taking better job opportunities or

marrying to urban areas or developed countries, are seen as 'greedy' and deserving of any negative consequences they experience. This victim blaming suggests women in general should stay in their 'place' within the current race, nationality and class hierarchies, and is one way to control women's bodies. In order to improve the situation, it is necessary to problematise such symbolic violence and question the institutions behind this symbolic violence and resulting actions by law enforcement agents and others.

The findings of this chapter also support the U.S. Dept. of State's annual reporting on Hong Kong, which has found trafficking for domestic servitude to be a challenge in the territory (2010; 2011; 2012; 2013; 2014a). However, the findings suggest that this type of trafficking may actually be more prevalent and even systemic in Hong Kong. From a Feminist, Bourdieusian perspective, the government's decision to not include foreign domestic workers within its definition of human trafficking is an act of symbolic violence against these women. It separates them from other women, including women selling sex, rendering them invisible, and takes away their eligibility to be considered victims, even if just on paper. This is both a reflection of the government's economic agenda of keeping a large number of dispensable carers in precarious conditions in order to supplement their vastly inadequate caring infrastructure and perhaps a method of dividing women. There may also be a false dichotomy between the two types of trafficking in women, as women who enter Hong Kong to work as foreign domestic workers have both been forced to sell sex immediately upon arrival or after they lose their jobs as domestic workers. This illustrates how the entitlement felt towards women's provision of sex and caring are actually linked;

both are caused by the objectification of women as tools, mainly for men in general.

An unexpected finding this chapter contributes to the knowledge base is the fact that some women legally enter Hong Kong but become undocumented after overstaying their visas due to pregnancies, with their children becoming undocumented children. Their fear of returning home to communities which would ostracise both them and their children is an issue of sexual control of women. This situation results in added vulnerability to trafficking in women - both their illegal situations and their stateless children can be used by third parties to control them. Their status, which can be thought of as having no 'nationality capital', allows those controlling them to use the police and immigration officials to threaten them into compliance and prevent them from leaving. A related, and perhaps more shocking finding, is that child trafficking exists in Hong Kong, a highly developed territory. Traffickers approach vulnerable mothers - those who are unable to return home due to pregnancies and become undocumented - with false promises to provide a better future for these children.

Using a Feminist, Bourdieusian perspective, this section discusses the theoretical implications of the findings in this chapter concerning trafficking in women in Hong Kong. Trafficking in women itself can be seen in many cases as traffickers taking advantage of women with lower overall capital - not necessarily 'nationality capital', as discussed in Chapter 7 - to accumulate capital for themselves. This chapter has shown that women who do not have residency in Hong Kong being forced or coerced into the sale of sex in Mongkok, which

women with higher levels of 'nationality capital' usually try to avoid. No matter if they entered Hong Kong believing they would be given visas - due to false job offers or false marriages - or have overstayed their visas due to pregnancy, their having low levels of 'nationality capital' or not having any 'nationality capital' at all, makes them more susceptible to control by third parties and exploitation. Even if these women escape and contact their consulates, as this chapter shows, their consulates may be unwilling to help due to negative dispositions within their habitus, reflecting the governments of their home countries. While wanting to work or get married in Hong Kong does not necessarily label a woman a 'gold digger', as some women have lower 'nationality capital' and are considered 'unwanted migrants', they are perceived as 'deserving' victims. Extending this discussion to debt bondage, it utilises women's lower levels of economic and other capital to keep them in perpetual debt. A woman with higher levels of capitals would have more options to begin with - for example, being able to travel to Hong Kong to search for a job on their own instead of using an agent - and in the case of a debt being forced upon them, they would be able to mobilise the resources to either pay the debt or legally fight it. In the case of emotional control, it would more difficult, though not impossible, for traffickers to socially isolate women who had higher levels of social capital. Of course, there are exceptions, such as cases in which women are kidnapped, physically confined and/or controlled via drug addictions. The symbolic violence towards and negative attitudes against women, especially those with lower levels of capital, gives rise to a sense of entitlement felt towards their bodies and, in the case of migrant workers who have overstayed their visas, that of their children. No matter if it is a sense of entitlement to a woman's body for sexuality, for

caring, for labour or for childbearing, this sense of entitlement plays a part in trafficking in women.

8.5 Chapter Summary

This chapter has explored different experiences and environments that sex trafficking victims may face in Hong Kong. The second section has discussed sex trafficking in Hong Kong in relation to other types of human trafficking in the territory. The findings point to a much more serious situation, in terms of trafficking in women, than the local Hong Kong government publicly acknowledges. Sex trafficking exists, but the women are not recognised as sex trafficking victims; instead, they are considered criminals or illegal immigrants and systematically arrested, detained and deported when found. Trafficking for domestic servitude appears to be an even more prevalent type of trafficking in women in the territory, although its very existence is not acknowledged by the government, as the definition of human trafficking in Hong Kong does not include trafficking for domestic servitude. This chapter also found that some women enter Hong Kong legally and become undocumented after overstaying their visas due to pregnancies. These women and their children, who have no 'nationality capital' are vulnerable to human traffickers, and child trafficking shockingly exists in the territory. Symbolic violence against women and various other groups, as well as some women having relatively lower levels of capital than other social agents, is tied to a sense of entitlement towards these women's and children's bodies.

So Chapter 6 and Chapter 7 have shed light on the persistence of control of women by third parties in the sale of sex by exploring the life 'herstories' of women selling sex and the local environment and sex trade as viewed from the ground and in civil society, and then analysing these to explore what information they reveal. This chapter has further illuminated the situation of control by third parties in Hong Kong, not only of women selling sex but also foreign domestic workers, and highlighted the mismatch between the government's views and reality on the ground. In doing so, it answers the research question 'How does the information about trafficking in women learned from informants compare with the local Hong Kong government's official position?' and contributes to the overall research aim of uncovering reasons for why control persists in the territory.

Chapter 9: Press Coverage

'The media are, overall, a factor of depoliticization...' (Bourdieu, 1998a: 73)

9.1 Introduction

Given that only those with economic capital can buy symbolic capital, this chapter examines local print media's coverage of trafficking in women. It research question four, 'How is the press coverage of human trafficking-related issues, and how is it similar to or different from the government's attitude?' As mentioned in Chapter 5, this chapter does so by using relevant 2010 articles from six newspapers, which were the following, in order of descending, relative credibility: *SCMP*, *Sing Tao Daily*, *The Standard*, *Oriental Daily News*, *Metro Daily* and *The Sun*.

Before discussing the relevant findings, however, it is important to provide some context about the media in Hong Kong, in terms of the print media, the general press freedom background, and gender within the press. Regarding the local print media, according to Clarke and Hamlett (2005), Hong Kong has very high rates of newspaper readership and supports an unusually large number of newspapers when compared to other cities of the same size. Unlike contexts with low levels of literacy, print media plays an important role in territories with high literacy rates (Luttwak, 1988), such as Hong Kong. Overall, the newspaper industry in Hong Kong does not have a high standard of journalism ethics, because media organisations tend to protect advertisers and hence discourage

investigative reporting of senior reporters (Clarke and Hamlett, 2005). Aside from four newspapers, *Apple Daily*, *Sharp Daily*, *AM730* and *Metro Daily*, all have been co-opted by either or both the local government and the Central Chinese one (HKJA, 2013), although this is not to suggest that those four outlets are of particularly high quality.

In terms of press freedom, media control and self-censorship permeate all levels of employees within media companies, regarding not only issues related to the PRC, but the local government as well¹⁰ (Zhang, 2006). However, obviously biased reports or blatant self-censorship will raise questions amongst the public concerning the neutrality of the media (ibid.). Instead, tactics such as the following are used: neglecting to report about certain subjects, reporting lightly or casually on unwanted news so as to avoid attracting attention and criticising the government only in issues of minor importance (ibid.). Methods the government uses to influence the media include appointing media owners to national bodies - half of media owners are members of the National People's Congress and the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (HKJA, 2013) - granting owners and news heads awards, and although violence against journalists is not widespread in Hong Kong, there have been increasing reports of this in Hong Kong coupled with government apathy in dealing with these cases (HKJA, 2013; Freedom House, 2013).

¹⁰ According to Reporters without Borders (2013), Hong Kong has fallen to a rank of 58 out of 179 countries in the Press Freedom Index, just below Italy at 57 and above Senegal at 59; it has fallen four places from 54 in 2011-2012 and 24 places from 34 in 2010. Freedom House (2013) has determined Hong Kong to be a 'partly free' media and ranks it 71 out of 197 countries, tied with East Timor and South Africa, stating that media self-censorship has been threatening freedom of expression.

As for the way gender is presented in the press, the Equal Opportunities Commission (EOC) (2009) has noted that although gender stereotypes have decreased with the media, they have not disappeared. Men are most often being associated with leadership and assertiveness and women with gentleness, shyness and level of understanding and sympathy (ibid.). However, there is actually an imbalance between current media portrayals of gender roles in local media and what the public finds acceptable (ibid.).

With this in mind, in the context of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region, this chapter explores the following issues regarding media representations of human trafficking, which emerged from the qualitative content analysis: (i) existence and extent of trafficking in the region, (ii) definitional issues related to trafficking, (iii) victim blaming of trafficked women, and (iv) furthering migration scares.

9.2 Lack of Public Acknowledgement of the Issue in Hong Kong by both the Government and Media

As noted in Chapter 4, the government of Hong Kong does not publicly acknowledge the existence and severity of the issue of human trafficking in Hong Kong. Within media coverage, this mirroring of the local government's lack of acknowledgement is evident in the sparse mention of Hong Kong's role as a major transit and destination point in trafficking, as noted in the U.S. Dept. of States' *Trafficking in Persons* (TIP) reports (2009, 2010, 2013, 2014a), and even source (U.S. Dept. of State, 2011, 2012, 2014a).

When it is mentioned, framing and contextualisation are generally questionable. For example, in November 2010, the senior superintendent of the Organised Crime and Triad Bureau was quoted in *The Standard* (Lee, 2010) denying Hong Kong was a trafficking hub, saying there was no reason to believe that Hong Kong played a major role in human trafficking. Moreover, as *The Standard's* article focused on organised crime in general, the lack of official acknowledgement was embedded in an organised crime news frame, thereby absolving, minimising or obfuscating the role of social issues related to the issue and supporting the agenda of limiting migration.

Another example is the coverage of The Body Shop's awareness and fundraising efforts for the organisation, End Child Prostitution, Child Pornography and Trafficking of Children for Sexual Purposes (ECPAT). As part of this campaign, The Body Shop sold special products, from which proceeds would be donated to ECPAT. The articles mentioning this campaign illustrate the use of various tactics to avoid drawing attention to Hong Kong's role in trafficking. Table 9.1 below shows the four newspapers in this study which covered this story.

Table 9.1: Articles on the 'Loving Heart Hand Cream'

Date	Newspaper	Title
9 July 2010	<i>Sing Tao Daily</i>	愛心手霜 (Loving Heart Hand Cream)
20 July 2010	<i>Oriental Daily News</i>	愛心手霜義賣 (Loving Heart Hand Cream Fundraising)
12 July 2010	<i>Metro Daily</i>	愛心手霜 (Loving Heart Hand Cream)
7 August 2010	<i>The Sun</i>	港淪販童妓中轉站 (Hong Kong reduced to transit point for trafficking in child prostitutes)

Sing Tao Daily's piece was titled 愛心手霜 (Loving Heart Hand Cream), and

although it did state that Hong Kong was a transit and destination point (Sing Tao Daily, 2010a), it was not located within the serious news section but in the 'Lifestyle' or similar one; both the title of the article, its location and the inclusion of product prices suggest that the article is more of a product placement than actual news. This can be seen from the latter half of the article:

品牌提供查詢：25426300

a. 特別版愛心潤手霜能滋養雙手，亦可幫助世界上無數受傷的兒童及青少年。(\$79)

b. 品牌每售出一個限量版愛心環保袋後，將會撥捐部分收益予ECPAT，支持「遏止兒童及青少年色情人口販賣」運動。(\$35)

WaWa Editor's Choice 美容苑 (ibid.)

This can be translated into the following:

Infoline provided by brand: 25426300

a. Special edition of loving heart hand cream can nourish hands, as well as help countless child and youth victims around the world. (\$79)

b. The brand, for the sale of every limited edition loving heart, reusable shopping bag, will donate a portion of earnings to ECPAT to support the movement to 'curb child and youth sex trafficking'. (\$35)

WaWa Editor's Choice, Beauty Court

The first concern is the location of the story, and its being a story about 美容 or 'beauty' products; it points to the tactic that the popular press use when they need to cover a story that is undesirable to media owners, large advertisers and the government, which is to hide articles in sections with low readership (Ashley and Olson, 1998). The second concern is the 'light', as opposed to serious, tone used to avoid attracting attention, which is noted to be a local, Hong Kong media

tactic noted Zhang (2006). This 'light' tone has also been associated with the mainstream media in general, in their sparse coverage of the women's movement and related issues (Ashley and Olson, 1998), which trivialises women's issues and suggest they are not worthy of being considered serious news. This is a type of symbolic violence against women in general, by the holders of symbolic capital who control news production, which are typically rich and powerful men (Kitzinger, 1998).

Similarly, as the table also shows, *Oriental Daily News* and *Metro Daily* also covered the story using titles related to hand cream. They neglected to mention Hong Kong's role at all, implying to its readers that the issue is not related to the territory at all (伍, 2010, and *Metro Daily*, 2010a). This matches another local Hong Kong media tactic noted in Zhang (2006), that of avoiding certain subjects. Just as with *Sing Tao's* article, the *Oriental Daily News* one also appeared in a 'Lifestyle' type of section. As seen above, *Oriental Daily News's* article was clearly a product placement, as it included prices for a hand cream and a reusable shopping bag (伍, 2010). *Metro Daily's* short piece, while not including prices, still managed to introduce the products, as seen from the contents of the article below:

The Body Shop為支持「遏止兒童及青少年色情人口販賣」運動，特別推出愛心潤手霜及環保袋，籌得的淨收益將撥捐部分予「國際終止童妓組織」(*Metro Daily*, 2010a).

This translates into: 'The Body Shop, in order to support the fight against

trafficking in children and youth for sexual exploitation, is especially launching loving heart hand cream and reusable shopping bags, with a portion of net profits being donated to ECPAT'.

The subjugation of such an important issue to a one-sentenced 'article' promoting hand cream could be considered a major act of symbolic violence against victims of trafficking, suggesting that: (i) they are only passively worth mentioning when a large business and potential or existing advertiser, Body Shop, requests it in the form of a press release, and (ii) their plight is only important to readers when attached to consumer products.

In this 'hand cream' series, considering that *The Sun* has the lowest reliability out of the six newspapers examined, as noted in Chapter 4, it was surprising that its piece seemed to be more informative than the others, even mentioning Hong Kong's role as a transit point and destination for trafficking victims and citing ECPAT, the U.S. Department of State and a local organisation fighting child abuse (*The Sun*, 2010). This could also be hypothesised that they just published an entire press release, which *SCMP*, a relatively reputable paper may be less inclined to do. That being said, *SCMP* did not mention Hong Kong's role at all, suggesting a reluctance to put the government in a negative light. However, returning to *The Sun's* article, it was titled, 港淪販童妓中轉站 (Hong Kong reduced to transit point for trafficking in child prostitutes) and textual content reveal an emphasis on characterising Hong Kong as a transit point, not a destination.

9.3 Definitional Issues:

As mentioned in Chapter 4, there are a number of factors which make the government's definition of 'human trafficking' questionable. According to the Department of Justice, human trafficking is defined as when a person 'takes part in bringing another person into, or taking another person out of, Hong Kong for the purpose of prostitution' (Department of Justice, 2013; Ch. 200, p. 40); it does not take into account possible control by third parties, focuses on sex, excludes those trafficked for domestic work from being included as victims of trafficking and requires transnationality. The news coverage of the issue also reflects these issues; in all newspapers, there were articles about crimes that fell into the international definition of human trafficking but were not labelled as such. Instead, as acts of symbolic violence, they were merely described as unwanted selling of sex, illegal immigration or migrant smuggling. This is reminiscent of the rape myth which considers rape to be 'just' unwanted sex instead of a violent crime. The obvious implication here is that women selling sex due to deception, coercion and/or force, aside from those in the most extreme situations, women trafficked within Hong Kong or women trafficked for non-sexual types of exploitation do not meet the Hong Kong government's threshold for categorisation as trafficking victims, when the experiences of the victims fit the international definition of human trafficking.

Below is an examination of a few definitional issues mentioned previously in Chapter 4, the ignoring of control by third parties; the focus on the selling of sex and exclusion of domestic work; and the need for transnationality.

9.3.1 Ignoring Control by Third Parties

Aside from the *SCMP*, media outlets often did not frame a crime as human trafficking, disregarding the element of control by third parties in the cases. As noted in Chapter 1, control can be thought of as an axis, of which one end is 'enslaved' and the other is 'self-employed' (O'Connell Davidson, 1998) and along which there are many points, not just the two most extreme ends. In the media, there are various references to victims being blackmailed, tricked or forced into selling sex or perpetrators attempting to control and exploit others. For example, an article in *The Standard* concerned women from Mainland China who were controlled by 'a syndicate' in Macau (Ho, 2010), and one in *Oriental Daily News* (2010d) even explicitly states that '有部分女教師是到台灣後才被迫賣淫的' (a portion of women teachers were forced to sell sex after arriving in Taiwan). However, it appears that unless the victims suffer from extreme physical confinement and abuse, they are not deemed eligible for consideration as actual trafficking victims. Examples of such cases include that of the mentally disabled people who were trafficked from a shelter in Mainland China all over China for labour exploitation (*Oriental Daily News*, 2010b; *The Sun*, 2010e) or the little boy in Mainland China who was thrown in front of an oncoming vehicle for compensation when the traffickers could not find a buyer for him (*Oriental Daily News*, 2010f; *The Sun*, 2010d). This is reflective of not only the local government's stance on the issue but also the comparing of situations against the stereotypical, worse-case-scenario of extreme physical confinement and abuse as the determinant of whether or not someone has been trafficked (Baye

and Heumann, 2014). This is true not only for human trafficking but also sexual violence in general as victims are dismissed by those who have internalised rape myths if they have not suffered enough physical injury to suggest that they 'really fought back'.

While using the stories of extreme cases in anti-trafficking awareness raising is useful for generating public sympathy for victims, it does not capture the true diversity of experiences. This 'sensationalism' for the purpose of changing public attitudes is not a new phenomenon, as similar criticism could apply to the activists who fought the Contagious Disease Acts mentioned in Chapter 1. Stories of victimhood, from instrumental rape to suicides, helped change public opinion, but they ignored the lived experience of the majority of women (Walkowitz, 1982), who experience differing levels of control by third parties. However, its resulting in the exclusion of victims whose situations do not match the most extreme cases of sexual slavery, such as those who are perceived to have been able to physically escape, from being considered as true victims serves as an obstacle (Baye and Heumann, 2014). As per the UN definition of trafficking, deception, coercion and abuse of position of vulnerability are also modes of trafficking.

9.3.2 Focus on Selling of Sex and Exclusion of Domestic Work

Within the articles that were related to exploitation or trafficking-like conditions, there was largely a focus on the selling of sex. Other than *SCMP*, the papers in the study all excluded stories linked to trafficking for exploitation within domestic

work in Hong Kong. *SCMP*'s story by Martin (2010) is about the abuse and confinement Indonesian domestic helpers bound for Hong Kong experience during training back in Indonesia and links their plight directly with human trafficking. Again, this reflects the mainstream media's use of the tactic mentioned by Zhang (2006), that of neglecting to report on unwanted topics.

While *Oriental Daily News* (2010e) and *The Sun* (2010c) both touched upon the topic of domestic workers in a handful of articles between them, this was done within the context of organised action by domestic worker organisations and other groups. These articles were titled 家務助理及外傭 遊行爭權益 (Domestic assistants and foreign domestic workers march for their rights) and 外傭遊行促政府增保障 (Foreign domestic workers march to urge the government to increase security). As noted above, these articles did not use the actual term 'human trafficking' (人口販賣/販賣人口). The other three out of six newspapers included in this study did not cover the topic of exploitation of domestic workers.

Although the *SCMP*'s mentioning of domestic workers as victims may be perceived as hopeful, the NGO to which the preliminary results were presented highlighted that, in recent years, even this paper has become increasingly conservative and less willing to cover the trafficking of women for domestic work and related issues. This is not surprising considering that the Hong Kong economy is heavily dependent on the domestic servitude of women from developing countries, as the local system does not provide adequate levels of affordable day care or elderly care. It is in the interests of those with high economic capital and hence symbolic capital to preserve the status quo, instead

of spending money on these much needed services; and according to Herman and Chomsky (2008), one of the mass media's main purposes is to ensure the general public holds attitudes in line with the agenda of these privileged, dominant groups. More recently, however, international attention to the case of the Indonesian domestic helper, Erwiana Sulistyarningsih, who was severely abused by her Hong Kong employer for months, has been shedding light on modern-day slavery in Hong Kong (Liljas, 2014). However, most existing local coverage has not placed the case within a larger context, implying that it is a special case. For example, Siu (2014) in *The Standard* mentions the abuse experienced and the horrific wounds sustained by Erwiana- 'most of them black as a result of oozing blood' - but does not link the story with less-known abuse by other employers. In another example, Zhao and Chan (2014) in an article in *SCMP* similarly focuses on Erwiana's case, although it does mention that two other helpers were also alleging abuse by Erwiana's former employer. By not linking this case with the wider context of exploitation by other employers, this article gives the impression that this is a special case of a crazy employer.

As such, aside from readers of *SCMP*, who typically have high English-language literacy and are from higher socio-economic backgrounds, most may not have much awareness that trafficking occurred for domestic work anywhere, including Hong Kong, leading them not to consider the plight of foreign domestic worker here. Again, this would prevent understanding and sympathy for foreign domestic workers in Hong Kong, which would itself lessen the racism towards them. This is also expected given that, according to informants, such as Sophie from the socialist organisation and Thea from MFMW, the government is keen on

increasing social division in order to distract the population from other issues of inequality and perhaps prevent working class solidarity, which was also mentioned in the previous chapter.

9.3.3 Need for Transnationality

The requirement of transnationality and general lack of coverage of internal trafficking, except within Mainland China, is linked to the government's agenda of pitting local Hong Kong Chinese against migrants. They are reported to do so in order to distract the general public from government inadequacies, prevent social cohesion and hence solidarity and rationalise their agenda of fighting illegal border crossings (Yu, 2012).

Here, it should be mentioned that there were cases of sex trafficking within Hong Kong, although they were not labelled as trafficking at all, in part because they did not include the element of transnationality. These stories appear to serve more as public awareness-raising articles for youth looking for jobs or friendships online, without linking the stories with society in Hong Kong, let alone the broader issue of trafficking in women around the world. For example, an article in *Oriental Daily News*, carried a warning from the police to youth, especially young women, to be careful when seeking summer jobs (鄭, 2010). Another article, appearing in *Oriental Daily News*, contains a story of a teenaged girl who was tricked by someone claiming to be an important contact within the entertainment industry (*Oriental Daily News*, 2010a). It can also be seen as a form of sexual control, as it has been noted that the mainstream media in general has a

tendency to use coverage of sexual violence to serve as warnings to women and girls not to step out of boundaries society has set for them (Carter, 1998).

9.4 Victim Blaming

In the case of victims of internal trafficking within Hong Kong, who were not identified as such, three of the six newspapers in this study were found to exhibit victim blaming attitudes. This ranges from blaming victims outright for being greedy and vain, to using derogatory labels. The other three of the six newspapers also exhibited victim blaming attitudes when describing Mainland Chinese women selling sex arrested in Macau, Taiwan and Hong Kong. So it seems that symbolic violence in the form of blaming victims was not limited to either high-end or lower-end, English-language or Chinese-language newspapers.

One of *SCMP*'s articles, Susan (2010), explicitly blamed young girls selling sex in Hong Kong for being greedy for luxury goods:

It is ironic that in modern Hong Kong, young girls think so little of themselves that they will sell their bodies for designer goods.

They literally gamble with their lives for a handbag which will be out of fashion in a few months. Is this really what they think their lives are worth? Have we swapped the slavery of poverty for the slavery of fashion?

This statement is questionable on many levels. The first issue is the symbolic violence it uses against young women in Hong Kong, who are labelled as a group selling sex for designer products. Consumerism is indeed a large issue which puts much pressure on the women of Hong Kong. However, consumerism itself is a type of symbolic violence enacted upon the general population by business interests. Perhaps some of them are selling sex, but it is far from accurate to state that 'young girls' as a category are all selling sex to buy items of fashion.

The comments are also framing women selling sex in Hong Kong as 'young girls' who sell sex just out of vanity and greediness. This infers that they have families that are taking care of them and putting them through school, but instead of working part-time at a fast food restaurant and saving money, for example, they just want to make quick money via selling sex to buy extra status symbols. This follows both the government's construction of these women as 'gold diggers', as evidenced by their claim that women who come to sell sex in Hong Kong do so out of their free will in order to exploit the prosperity of the territory (HKSAR, 2006: 1), which was discussed in Chapter 4. It is also related to the corresponding framing of the issue in the news, as is discussed under the topic of victim blaming in this chapter, and popular culture, such as the 2010 movie 囡囡, whose telling, English-language name is Girl\$. Girl\$'s poster claims in Chinese text that it is about girls involved in compensated dating in the modern generation me and asks in English text 'What is your price?'. According to Fran from AFRO and Penelope from a women's organisation, the local media has made a 'big deal' out of 'compensated dating', which they attribute to teenagers;

in reality, the term applies to women of all ages, theoretically including a percentage of teenagers, selling sex by using the internet as a form of marketing in order to avoid soliciting in public places, which is against the law. This construction obscures the fact that most of those in Hong Kong legally are women who have severe financial constraints and lack of alternatives, and of those who are not allowed to work in Hong Kong, many are actually trafficking victims from abroad, as illustrated by Emerton, Laidler and Petersen (2007). It also denies the fact that many teenagers in the territory are blackmailed into selling sex to profit others, as mentioned in other news stories, which is internal trafficking but not considered as such; this again follows the local government's questionable definition, which excludes trafficking victims from being considered as such due to the lack of transnationality.

Another point is the article's lack of acknowledgement of structural issues in Hong Kong and their being a major cause of women having to sell sex in the territory. In doing so, it obfuscates the poverty, dire lack of social services and other challenges pushing women in the territory into selling sex. In reality, Hong Kong has a rampant poverty issue and an extremely large income disparity; as mentioned in the Introduction, Hong Kong has one of the region's largest rich-poor disparity (Ibrahim, 2010).

Symbolic violence which blames women selling sex for being greedy serves to separate them from the general working class, just as the Contagious Disease Acts did in the nineteenth century. It stigmatises them and prevents other working class people from identifying with them; it also separates them as

'whores' from other women, preventing sympathy and solidarity. This seems to be just another wedge to drive between the populace, distracting them from common challenges stemming from government inadequacies by spotlighting a group to attack. In addition, it supports the current class hierarchy by suggesting that it is wrong for poorer women, or even poor people in general, to want to economically better their lives; instead, they should work hard but not aim too far away from their allotted 'stations' in life. This one again recalls Dworkin's idea that economic degradation is the best way to keep women available as sex objects (1993).

Another article, in *Oriental Daily News*, similarly blamed young local job seekers trafficked internally via false job offers for being greedy and vain. '警方提醒青少年特別是少女們，搵暑期工時切勿貪慕虛榮，以免跌進這些色情陷阱而抱憾終身' (鄭, 2010). This translates into: 'Police remind young people, especially young women, that when looking for summer jobs to avoid being greedy and vain, in order to prevent falling into these sex traps resulting in lifelong regret'. This article tries to appear as a neutral public notice, but in reality, it contains both judgements and inferences which reflect both the paper's position towards women selling sex and, as it claims, the police's. Similar to the *SCMP* article mentioned above, it reflects the official government position, using symbolic violence to label women who end up selling sex as young and then 'greedy and vain' and also neglecting to mention that the victims have suffered from internal trafficking, which is excluded from Hong Kong's definition of human trafficking. Again, this ignores the poverty and other structural issues in Hong Kong, which cause many to sell sex, reinforces the government's labelling of women selling

sex as 'gold diggers' and separates these women from other women in general. Also, as the message was said to originally come from the police, it again reinforces the idea that this is just an issue of crime by perpetrators and punishment by police, instead of a social issue located within a much broader context. Again, stories concerning sexual violence within the mainstream media, such as these, are covered to sexually control women and girls, warning them not to step outside the boundary separating 'madonnas' and 'whores' (Carter, 1998), or in this case, 'greedy and vain'.

In a separate story covered by the same outlet, which concerns a fifteen-year-old girl who was raped after being tricked by someone claiming to be an entertainment company owner into going to a hotel with him, the title labels the victim '明星夢女生', which is derogatory and roughly translates into 'a girl who dreams of being a star' (*Oriental Daily News*, 2010a). The title chose to label her as such, instead of framing her as a potential internal trafficking victim who called the police before being coerced to sell sex, or a teenager who was tricked by false job promises, reinforcing the idea that young women are 'greedy and vain'. The victim blaming and even ridicule expressed by the framing of the issue is harmful to the victim mentioned in the article and also any future victims who encounter similar situations and do not seek assistance from authorities for fear of media attention and being labelled in a related fashion. It has been reported that some programmes ignore victims whom they consider complicit in their own exploitation (Baye and Heumann, 2014). It also perpetuates rape myths and the sexual control of women's bodies, sending the message that women, especially young and attractive ones, should not feel safe when talking to strangers or

going to interviews, and if they are victimised in those situations, it is their fault. As an extension of this message of control is that women should not feel safe when migrating and/or selling sex, and if they end up in trafficking situations, the fault is their own.

In an article concerning Mainland Chinese women found to be selling sex in Taiwan, *The Sun* (2010b) describes the 'mastermind' behind the 'prostitution ring' as being a former elementary school teacher from Fujian who married over to Taiwan just because she could not tolerate her low salary and inability to buy Louis Vuitton handbags and that of other similar brands. It then goes on to detail how, after she turned to selling sex before working with human smugglers to organise for over a hundred female teachers from Mainland China to sell sex in Taiwan, via fraudulent marriages, she was found in a luxury villa full of Louis Vuitton handbags. This story not only emphasises greed and vanity concerning luxury goods, but it contains the element of marriage, suggesting that she was a 'gold digger' in her former marriage. It does not explore the possibility of control and coercion by third parties, but stresses how '大多數藉重金利誘' (the vast majority were induced by financial motivations) and were bringing in high earnings. Specifically, it states that '每名小姐月均生意額上百萬元新台幣 (約二十四萬港元)', which roughly translates into 'each escort's average revenue being more than one million New Taiwan Dollars (around 240 thousand Hong Kong Dollars), with the equivalent amount in British Pounds being around 19 thousand. As they used fraudulent marriages to reside in Taiwan, the article also alludes to these women being 'gold diggers' instead of potential victims.

Covering the same story concerning the Mainland Chinese women selling sex in Taiwan, *Oriental Daily News* (2010d) goes a step further in describing a 'gold digger'. It does this by detailing the following: '她的第一任丈夫是個退役老兵，但隨後又改嫁給開彩券店的張姓男子。六年前，她取得台灣的身份證後，立即與張姓男子離婚，開始下海賣淫' (her first husband was an old, retired army man, then she remarried a lottery store owner, a man with the surname Zhang; six years ago, once she received her Taiwanese ID, she immediately divorced this man and started selling sex). It also describes how this 'mastermind' earned large profits by taking commission on the high earnings of these women and bragged about how all the Louis Vuitton bags in her villa were real and that she had wanted to surpass the famous Taiwanese pimp, 'Mrs. Chen'. Similar to *The Sun's* article, it explicitly states the assumption that the vast majority were lured into selling sex by the high earnings - '大多數藉重金利誘'- and hence blaming the women for being greedy when they could have stayed in their teaching jobs in Mainland China.

Using derogatory labels is also linked to victim blaming. By dehumanising victims, responsibility can be attributed to them (Romito, 2008). While not excusing the perpetrators, *Sing Tao Daily* refers to a 12-year-old victim of internal human trafficking as a '12歲援交女' (12-year-old compensated dating girl), as if 12-year-old girls were old enough to consent to being escorts (*Sing Tao Daily*, 2010c). The article then proceeds to mention that the plaintiff filed the case after not receiving financial compensation for her 'sexual services', as if the fraud, sexual assault and control she experienced were any less due to this point. This is reminiscent of the rape myth that women selling sex cannot be

raped, but rather, those who claim to have been raped are only those who did not get paid.

Similarly, an article in *The Standard* also uses dehumanising language, employing the label 'hooker' both in its title 'Hooked: 100 Venetian Hookers' and main content (Ho, 2010). Although the article does mention that the women from Mainland China were controlled by third parties in Macau, it also describes how a percentage of these women were 'illegal immigrants'. The combination of dehumanising the women as 'hookers' and then 'othering' them as Mainland Chinese 'illegal immigrants' indirectly blames the women for being in Macau in the first place. Similarly, an article in *Metro Daily* (2010b) labels and dehumanises Mainland Chinese women illegally residing in Hong Kong and found attempting to depart via marine transportation as '北姑' (northern ladies), which is a derogatory term used to describe women from Mainland China selling sex in Hong Kong and Macau. The article explicitly states that these women were looking to '搵快錢' or 'make fast money' in Hong Kong, pointing to financial greed.

9.5 Fighting Unwanted Immigration

In terms of coverage, it appears that the four Chinese-language papers, *Sing Tao Daily*, *Oriental Daily News*, *Metro Daily* and *The Sun* also focused largely on illegal immigration, migrant smuggling and/or working illegally. *Sing Tao Daily*, *Oriental* and *Metro Daily* all stressed 'snakehead' or smuggling groups. *The Standard* - which is one of the English-language newspapers - *Metro Daily* and

The Sun had an emphasis on criminal groups in general. This reflects both the conflation of the terms 'human trafficking' and 'human smuggling' and also reflects the local political agenda, which as discussed in Chapter 4, prioritises fighting illegal immigration.

9.5.1 Law Enforcement Model

Framing within the law enforcement model was conspicuous in related stories within the six newspapers in this study. This includes using themes of both organised crime - such as national or international criminal groups, 'snakeheads', traffickers, smugglers and pimps - as the 'bad guys' and law enforcement as the 'good guys'. This framing suggests that the stories were sourced from law enforcement contacts, perhaps in the form of press releases and press conferences held by the police. However, before discussing what is questionable about this framing, below is a discussion of a couple of examples of articles using this framing.

Using the example of this is Lee's article (2010) in *The Standard*, with its telling title, 'Cross-border crime blitz nets 1,000', the message is clear to readers that human trafficking should be seen as a cross-border issue, just like the trafficking of drugs and weapons. This suggests that unwanted migrants are similar to dangerous goods, such as the ketamine, imitation guns, knives and tasers that were among the items mentioned in the article. The crime of human trafficking dehumanises people, and the symbolic violence in this article also does so by grouping them together with unwelcomed, inanimate objects instead of

individuals with a variety of stories. It also ignores the fact that even the trafficking of drugs and weapons exists within a much larger geopolitical and social context, let alone the exploitation of human beings.

Similarly, a *Metro Daily* article (2010b) is a fitting example of an article using the law enforcement model. This framing is evidenced by its title, '水警破人蛇專線 拘15人', which translates into 'Marine police break human smuggling route and arrest 15 persons'. The article's content also casts law enforcement against the snakeheads or smugglers operating along a human smuggling route and the greedy 'criminals' they were transporting. The article also includes an exciting, detailed account of the chase of the criminal vehicle by the marine police and the abandonment of the passengers and ship by two men believed to be snakeheads.

Sing Tao Daily's article by 李 (2010) is also a suitable example of framing using the law enforcement model. The article is titled, '深搗賣淫集團拘三港要員 州港澳掃黃搜二千夜場', which translates into 'Hitting a prostitution ring hard, arresting three important Hong Kong members, Guangdong-Hong Kong-Macau anti-vice sweep of two thousand night-time establishments'. About a large-scale, law enforcement operation against cross-border crime, the story pits the police forces of the three Cantonese-speaking areas against organised crime, a cross-border 'prostitution ring', structural or important members of such syndicates, and a mastermind. The victims are women who suffer confinement, beatings, rapes and blackmailing via nude photos, and although they are described as sex slaves in quotes, the article does not mention human trafficking.

Another example is *The Sun's* (2010b) and *Oriental Daily News'* (2010d) coverage of the case of Mainland Chinese teachers who were found to be selling sex in Taiwan. The articles both included multiple persons involved in organised crime, specifically a 'prostitution' ring, a criminal mastermind and a human smuggling organisation. In contrast, they both feature the police as the moral heroes, who responded as follows to the mastermind, who was formerly a teacher in Mainland China: 其拜金主義及師德淪喪，令辦案警員不禁搖頭 (her money worshipping and debasement of a teacher's moral values, made investigating police unable to keep from shaking their heads) (*Oriental Daily News*, 2010d) or 其拜金主義及師德淪喪，警員也不禁搖頭 (her money worshipping and debasement of a teacher's moral values, police could not keep from shaking their heads) (*The Sun*, 2010b). *The Sun's* article neglected to explore the possibility that some of the women selling sex were victims of fraud, control by third parties or coercion, but pointed instead to human smuggling and illegal immigration. In contrast, *Oriental Daily News* did mention how a few were forced into selling sex upon arrival in Hong Kong but neglected to link the story to human trafficking or traffickers.

The use of this framework is questionable, because it suggests to the public that human trafficking does not concern them, as only the authorities, mainly law enforcement, can fight this issue. The issue is not seen as a socially embedded one, and there is no mention concerning the demand-side of the equation. Also lacking is any message of how people should show more compassion and offer assistance to workers, including migrant workers, who may be victims of

exploitation, for example.

9.5.2 Hong Kong as an Origin?

Data from the media analysis of coverage in 2010 shows that there were cases of women from Hong Kong being trafficked for sexual exploitation to other countries. For example, a short article by *SCMP* described sex trafficking to Canada (Mok, 2010), and a *Sing Tao Daily* article (2010b) concerned sex trafficking to the United Kingdom. There was also an investigation into an attempt to smuggle women from Hong Kong to Canada for sexual exploitation, as reported in *Oriental Daily News* (2010c). However, these three outlets covered Hong Kong as primarily a destination of victims, while the other three outlets - namely, *The Standard*, *Metro Daily* and *The Sun* - neglected mentioning that it was also a place of origin of sex trafficking victims.

This again reflects the official agenda, which is to combat unwanted migration into Hong Kong. It also supports the stereotype that human trafficking is always from a developing country to a developed one or an emerging economy. This implication is that Hong Kong is not a part of the global trafficking in humans, and even if it is, it is merely a destination for unwanted migrants. This is simply not true, given both the aforementioned stories about Canada and England and the *SCMP*'s recent report that women were being trafficked from Hong Kong to Australia using deception and then controlled by third parties using both forced drug addiction and physical restriction, which was partially based on a study by the University of New South Wales (Harris, 2014).

9.6 Discussion

This chapter has argued that the local media's coverage of human trafficking-related issues is largely a reflection of the dominant discourse in Hong Kong, as seen in policy documents. This may be due to the government being the mainstream media's main source of information on human trafficking and related stories, and perhaps the media has been inadequate in critically assessing the information provided. However, as mentioned earlier in this chapter, the media's ownership and leadership largely have ties with the government and big businesses, beyond just the typical ties to advertisers; local reporting is not of high quality, and criticisms of the local government are minimised and only mentioned very lightly so as to avoid accusations of censorship.

There has not been much research done concerning media coverage of human trafficking, but this chapter's findings support those of previous studies. Findings support the reliance on official sources and framing, which mirrors the attitudes of those in power, with any remarks contradicting or criticising current policy being marginalised. See, for example, Gulati, 2010. Another point of concurrence is the focus on border security and illegal immigration, with the terms human smuggling and illegal immigration being used much more often than human trafficking. See, for example, Isgro, Stehle and Weber, 2013. Also, the lack of context has been previously documented, as in Gulati, 2010. Aside from criminal motivations, social and policy causes and solutions were rarely discussed. The exception would be that of victims' greed, which is actually victim

blaming and serves as symbolic violence against victims of human trafficking. In addition, this study has supported previous studies, which have found that sex trafficking and related issues were covered much more frequently relative to labour trafficking. See Gulati, 2010. This is symbolic violence against victims of human trafficking for labour. As symbolic violence is linked to the state, which has the symbolic power to impose definitions and categorisations via both laws and the media, it is not surprising that the media coverage matches the local government's attitudes. Also, coverage seems to support the anti-migration and anti-'prostitution' agendas, which previous literature has suggested are the true political agendas behind the fight against human trafficking. See, for example, Rothschild, 2009. This could partially be due to the fact that *SCMP* needs to compete or at least share an audience with international, English-language news outlets, such as CNN, which even held a campaign against human trafficking in line with the U.S. agenda. That being said, even this outlet demonstrated a reluctance to focus on Hong Kong as a human trafficking hub.

Although previous literature has noted that 'light tone' of reportage and sparse coverage have been used to trivialise the women's movement and related issues - see, for example, Ashley and Olson, 1998 - this study has extended this to include the issue of human trafficking in general. The few mentions of the extent, or even existence, of human trafficking in Hong Kong were either framed as official denial or reported very lightly upon and placed within the Lifestyle section, instead of news. This again is a type of symbolic violence against victims of human trafficking by powerful holders of symbolic capital and hence have symbolic power. This could be explained when considering the finding that

coverage of sex trafficking, in particular in Hong Kong, can serve as symbolic violence to strengthen sexual control and scare women and girls into limiting their choices. The use of news concerning sexual violence to scare women and girls into staying within 'virgin' boundaries has been previously documented - see Carter, 1998 - and this study has extended this to include news concerning sex trafficking in particular.

This chapter has noted that while media coverage in the U.S. and Europe, in which migrant women from developing countries or Eastern Europe are constructed as victims - victims of traffickers from Asia, Africa or Eastern Europe in need of 'saving' by North American or European agents, including male clients (Isgro, Stehle and Weber, 2013) - symbolic violence against women in the Hong Kong media's coverage of related issues takes a different form. Instead of being labelled victims, migrant women from developing countries and women selling sex are blamed, including those who should be considered victims of sex trafficking, as 'greedy' women. This is related to the virgin-whore dichotomy, and both forms of symbolic violence serve to socially control the bodies of women. This chapter has found that the Hong Kong media uses symbolic violence in the following ways: ignoring and distracting from the structural issues women selling sex face; not acknowledging internal trafficking; separating women selling sex from the working class and the category of women in general as 'others'; and supporting current class hierarchy by vilifying the poor who would like to better their lives. It also perpetuates rape myths and the social control of women's bodies, sending the message that women in general should not feel safe when going to interviews, let alone migrating and/or selling sex, and it is their own fault

if something bad happens to them when they disobey this control.

Related to the question of who 'deserves' to be considered a human trafficking victim, this chapter's findings support literature reporting that Western coverage casts victims in overly simplistic, stereotypical moulds, usually counting on the most extreme cases count. See Baye and Heumann, 2014, and Dowman, 2013. In this chapter's findings, the persons who most 'deserved' to be covered as actual human trafficking victims were disabled persons who had been left at a shelter in Mainland China, trafficked by this shelter for labour purposes and experienced extreme physical confinement and abuse. Another victim who 'deserved' to be covered as such was a young boy who was killed by traffickers in an attempt to blackmail a driver for compensation. Those who were often not included as human trafficking victims included, for example, women migrating from Mainland China, women selling sex and local Hong Kong Chinese women who go to job interviews. This is again symbolic violence used to socially control women, separating victims into those who are 'innocent' and those who 'deserve' to be victimised.

As a solution, it is suggested that more investigative reporting on the issue needs to be promoted (UN.GIFT, 2014; Gulati, 2010), and the findings of this study further support this recommendation. However, given Hong Kong's restrictive media environment and lack of support of investigative reporting, this would most likely have to come from an alternative media source in the territory, such as Hong Kong Free Press. This would help in the symbolic struggle against symbolic violence which ignores or trivialises the issues or reports on the issue in

line with the local or other government's political agendas. Although, from a Feminist, Bourdieusian perspective, this would be a long-term struggle as it takes time to change both social attitudes within social agents' habitus and the larger social structures, which have structured those social attitudes and are affected by the attitudes.

9.7 Summary

The findings of this chapter answer the fourth research question, 'How is the press coverage of human trafficking-related issues, and how is it similar to or different from the government's attitude?' This chapter has argued that the local media's coverage of human trafficking-related issues is largely a reflection of the dominant discourse in Hong Kong, as seen in policy documents of the local government's position on this issue. Coverage is sparse, uses a 'light tone', relies on official sources and framing, focuses on border security and illegal immigration, lacks social and political context, focuses on sex trafficking over labour trafficking and uses victim-blaming stories to scare women and girls into staying within social boundaries. In contrast to Western media coverage, migrant women by default are framed not as victims but as 'greedy' women or criminals. Similar to Western media coverage, however, is how only victims who fit stereotypical moulds are considered true victims, as opposed to 'deserving' victims.

Previous chapters have explored and shed light on the sex trade, the local environment and the local situation concerning trafficking in women. This chapter has added to the analysis of the local environment and the persistence of control of women by third parties in the sale of sex by answering the fourth

research question, 'How is the press coverage of human trafficking-related issues, and how is it similar to or different from the government's attitude?' It has done so by analysing how symbolic violence is used by the mainstream news media in their human trafficking-related coverage, which appears to correspond with the local government's views.

Chapter 10: Survey and Social Attitudes

10.1 Introduction

Attitudes are important to the way societies function. In line with this, Chapter 10 explores research question five, 'What are relevant attitudes that exist in other agents' habitus, and how are these similar to or different from the government's attitude?' It first presents findings from a survey of 182 individual residents of Hong Kong, before further discussion, which incorporates results from the 'herstories' and participant observation.

The chapter suggests that a mirroring of the dominant discourse in Hong Kong, as reflected in policy documents, by social agents in the territory can be seen in the lack of consensus around whether or not human trafficking even exists in Hong Kong, let alone whether or not it is a major hub and destination. It can also be seen in definitional issues, namely the focus on transnationality and smuggling, the disqualification of certain people from human trafficking and even placing the blame on their shoulders, and the lack of recognition that domestic workers can be human trafficking victims, too.

10.2 Presentation of Survey Findings

This section presents the findings from the survey of 182 respondents. While the survey is not representative of the general population, as the study design is correlational, it is worth examining the results of these self-selected participants. A wide variety of individuals were reached via snowball sampling, starting from the researcher's network, and that of the participating NGOs and other contacts

she made while attending civil society events. However, for this reason, it is also expected that the participants' views are more liberal than that of the average person in Hong Kong.

The percentage of respondents that chose to complete the questionnaires in either Chinese or English language were almost equal, with just over 50 per cent choosing the Chinese-language version. Table 10.1 displays some demographic information of the survey participants, while Figure 10.1 shows some of the same information in the form of frequency tables. Figure 10.2 then goes on to show the frequency table for items related to trafficking in women. After that, Figure 10.3 presents the frequency findings for scores on the Gender Equitable Men (GEM), Humanitarian-Egalitarian (HE) and Trafficking in Women Perception Scale. Then Figure 10.4 illustrates the correlations between scale ratings. This is followed by the correlational statistics between the scales and socio-economic markers in Table 10.5.

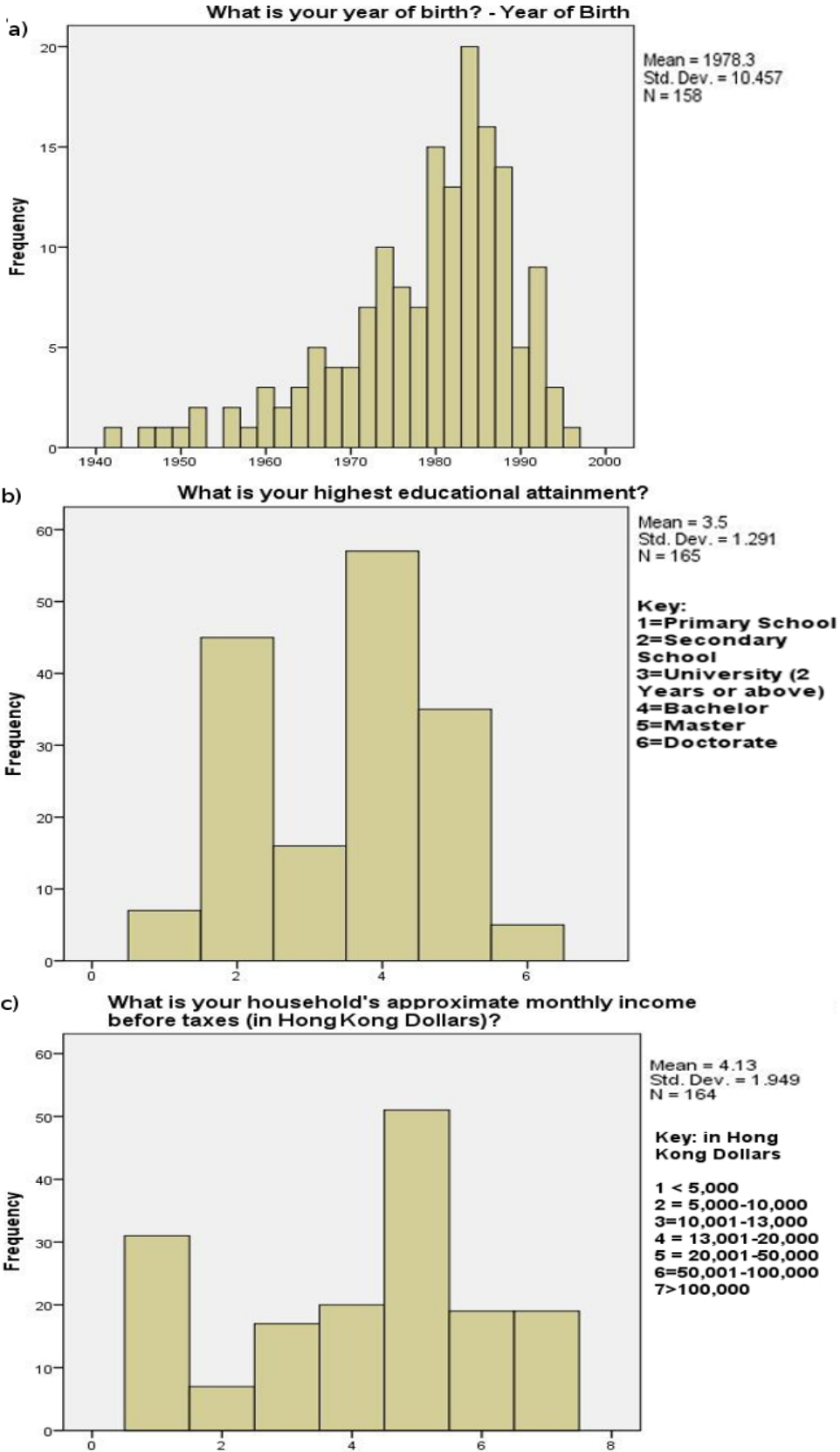
10.2.1 Information about participants

The table and figure below show some basic demographic information about the respondents to the survey.

Table 10.1: Demographic information about participants - averages

	Average
Year of Birth	1978
Gender	60% = women, 30% = men (1 respondent = other; 10% = no answer)
Household Income Per Month, Before Taxes	13,001-20,000
Highest Educational Attainment	Undergraduate University Degree

Figure 10.1: Demographic information about participants - frequency tables



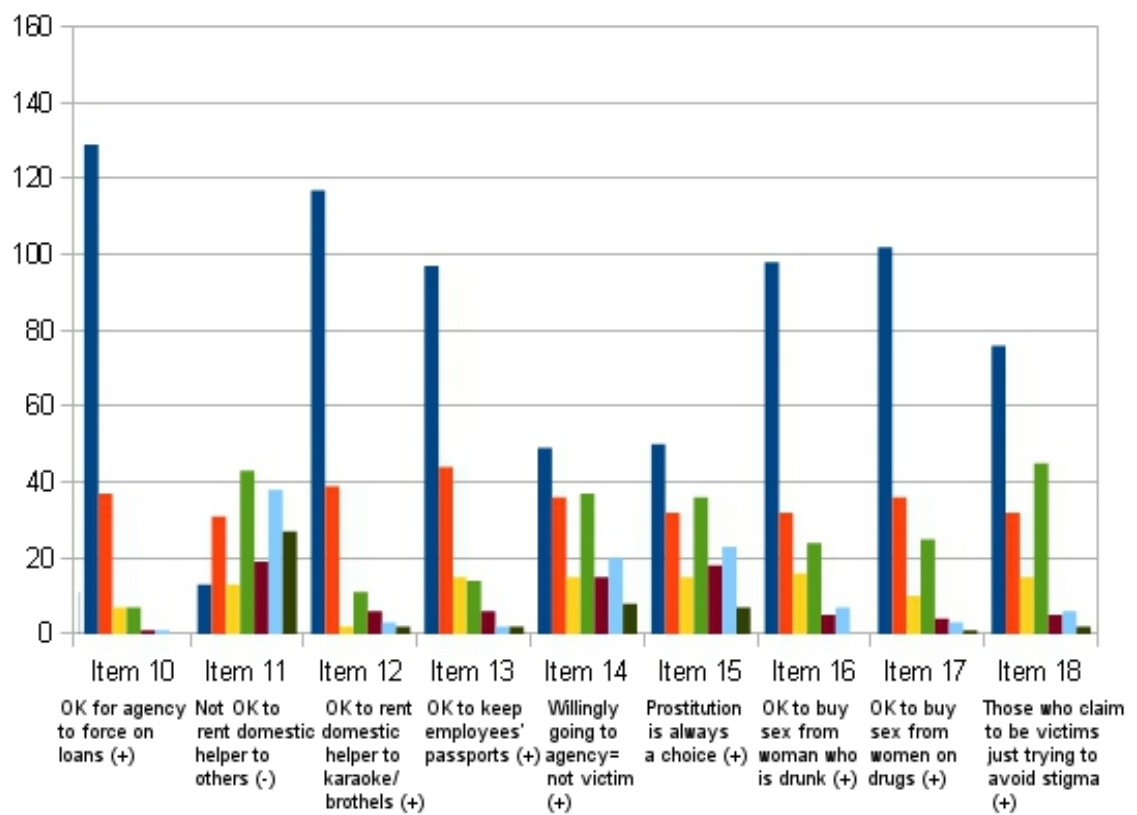
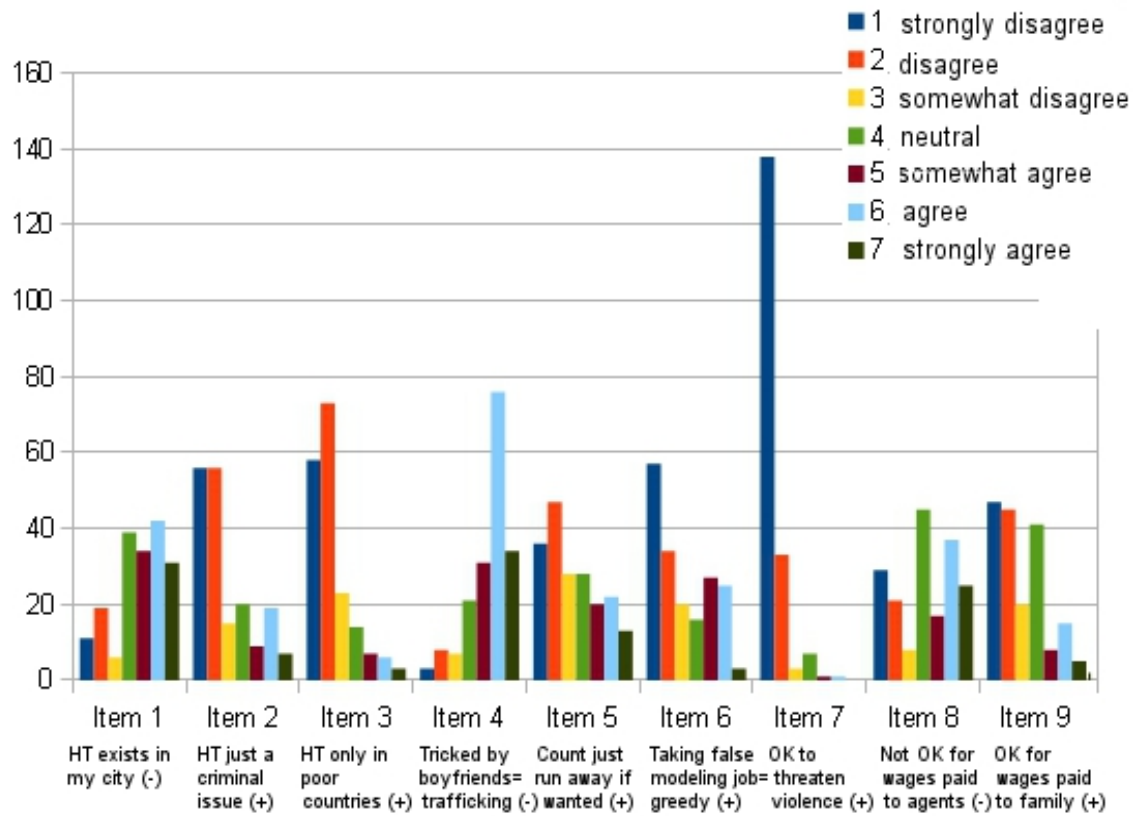
Comparing this information to the recent government statistics (Information

Services Department, 2014), the average survey participant is currently within the median age range of 35 to 44, albeit at the lower end of this age range. In terms of gender, 60 per cent of respondents identified with being women, as compared with 53.7 per cent within the general population (ibid.). The average household income of 13,001-20,000, when compared to the same set of statistics, is just below the median monthly household income of 20,000 to 24,999 Hong Kong dollars (ibid.). The average education attainment of survey participants, which is that of an undergraduate university degree, puts them at the top 29 per cent of persons aged 15 and over (ibid.).

10.2.2 Frequency distribution of TWP scale items

Figure 10.2 presents the frequency distribution for the 18 items that together comprise the TWP scale. As Table 5.3 has already listed the questions, this figure only contains a brief summary of items and directions. Please note that the directions of the questions does not affect how the chart is to be interpreted, as the scores for these questions were reversed when determining scale scores. For example, the left-most column for each item indicates that a respondent strongly disagreed with this item.

Figure 10.2: Presentation of item scores from the TWP scale



In this figure, one can see that there is a high level of consensus amongst the respondents concerning items 7, 10, 12, 13, 16 and 17. These items correspond with the question concerning agencies threatening women with violence towards themselves or family members, debt bondage, renting out domestic workers to karaoke bars or brothels, employers keeping passports, buying sex from women who appear to be drunk and buying sex from women who appear to be on drugs. This indicates that there was a high level of agreement in terms of views in line with current research regarding trafficking in women. Other items were also skewed towards more accurate views concerning trafficking in women.

However, items 1, 5, 6, 8, 9, 11, 14 and 15 indicated more varying views. These items correspond with questions concerning whether or not human trafficking exists in one's city, whether or not women who did not want to be selling sex could just run away if they really wanted, whether or not it is a woman's fault for being greedy if she accepts a job offer to make more money as a model and ends up having to sell sex, whether or not it is okay for a woman's wages to be paid directly by the employer to an agent, whether or not it is okay for a woman's wages to be paid directly by her employer to her family back home, whether or not it is acceptable for domestic workers to be rented out to family and friends who need help with cleaning their homes, whether or not a woman can be considered a victim of human trafficking if she willingly went to an agency for assistance with employment and whether or not 'prostitution' was always a choice.

10.2.3 Attitudinal scales

The figure below shows the frequency distribution for the scores on the three attitudinal scales used in the survey, the GEM, HE and TWP scales.

Figure 10.3: Scores on attitudinal scales

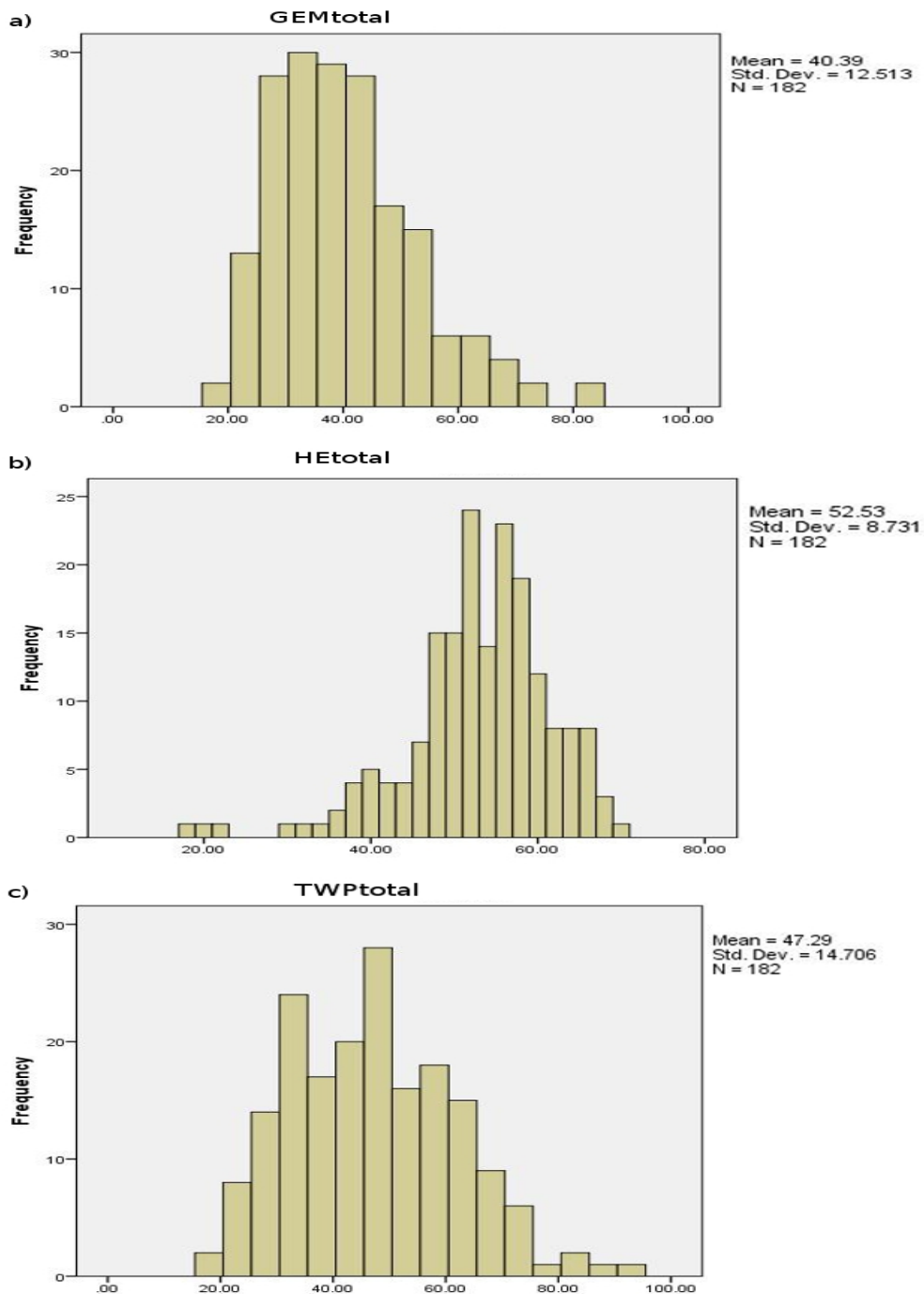


Figure 10.3 illustrates how the distribution of scores for the GEM scale are skewed towards lower scores, which reflect higher gender-equitable views. The distribution of scores for the HE scale is skewed towards higher scores, which reflects a higher level of egalitarian attitudes. As for the distribution for the TWP scale, it leans slightly to the left side, indicating slightly more accurate levels of attitudes towards trafficking in women.

10.2.4 Correlational information

The figure below, 10.4, shows the correlation between these three attitudinal scales.

Figure 10.4: Correlations (r_s) between ratings from attitudinal scales¹¹

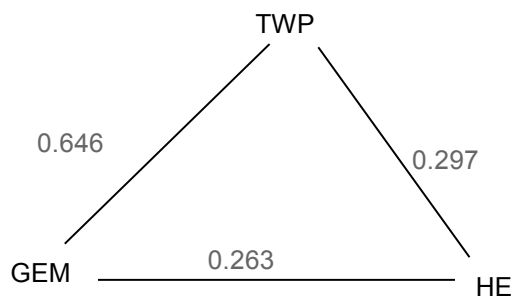


Figure 10.4 displays the Spearman's rho (r_s) correlations between the different attitudinal scales, significant to the 0.01 level. Higher levels of egalitarian views on all scales are correlated with higher levels of egalitarian views on the other

11 Please note that the values are shown in absolute value to avoid confusion.

scales. However, the results suggest that although the three sets of attitudes are related to each other, trafficking in women is more of a gender issue than one of general human equality. This supports the premise of this thesis that gender oppression at various levels is associated with trafficking in women and points to the need for improving gender equity in the fight against this form of exploitation. It also brings to mind MacKinnon's theory, as stated in *Are Women Human Yet* (2006: 42), that women do not really have full human status, as the Universal Declaration not only uses sexist language excluding women, such as 'brotherhood', but also ignores how women are deprived of rights by performing unpaid labour within a household, such as the right to have enough money to support 'himself and his family'.

The research also found that those with higher parental income, personal income and personal education have more gender-equal attitudes and attitudes towards trafficking in women more in line with current research.

Table 10.2: Correlation (r_s) between the scores for attitudinal scales used and socio-economic markers, with results significant to the 0.01 level.

	TWP score	GEM score	HE score
Parental Income	0.409	0.251	not significant
Parental Education	0.299	not significant	not significant
Respondent Income	0.389	0.322	not significant
Respondent Education	0.353	0.246	not significant

Table 10.2 shows the correlations between the scores on attitudinal scales and

socio-economic markers.¹² The correlations are moderate, and there is no significant correlation between HE scores and socioeconomic status. The findings can suggest that the attitudes of those with lower socioeconomic status are not related to a lack of humanitarian-egalitarian attitudes in any particular social class. It can be hypothesised that both the liberalising effects of higher education and the different quality of media people that different social classes are exposed to play a role in explaining this relationship. In terms of human trafficking, in recent years, international media sources, such as the U.S.-based CNN, have been involved in awareness raising regarding human trafficking in line with their own political agendas. Seeing as those with higher economic status in Hong Kong would be the ones with exposure to such news sources, it is likely that their attitudes towards the issue would be influenced to be more modern.

As for other factors, the study did not find any significant association between the attitudes measured and variables such as gender, experience in selling sex, experience in buying sex, language preference for the survey (English, Chinese) and marital status. Although both the host NGO and the researcher initially found this surprising, this is a finding itself. This supports the idea that sexist views, including those relating to trafficking in women, affect everyone, not just men. Also, just as attitudes related to rape culture permeate society so that male rapists do not necessarily have different views from others within the same culture, the finding that whether or not a man has experience in buying sex is not associated with different attitudes suggests that men who buy sex do not necessarily hold attitudes different from others within the same society. The

12 Please note that the values are shown in absolute value to avoid confusion.

finding that experience in selling sex also suggests that, contrary to the Victorian era view, women who have experience in selling sex are not different from others in terms of attitudes.

The following sections discuss specific attitudinal issues explored in the previous chapter, in light of the survey findings and the information gathered from the ethnography. These issues specifically include the lack of recognition of Hong Kong's role as a human trafficking hub, definitional issues and victim blaming.

10.3 Lack of Acknowledgement of Hong Kong's Role as a Human Trafficking Hub

As previously discussed, the fact that Hong Kong is a major hub for human trafficking activities goes unacknowledged by the government. Concerning women selling sex, they did not appear to have different attitudes than others on the existence and level of human trafficking in the territory. The researcher had expected to find that women selling sex had attitudes towards the issue that were more in line with current research. However, the survey results did not show any significant correlations between experience in selling sex and the attitudinal scales, suggesting that the attitudes of women selling sex do not necessarily differ from others within the local population. The 'herstories' also support this. Xiaoting mentioned that sex trafficking, or what she terms 'girls trapped in a flat', does not exist in Hong Kong, because competition within the sex industry is so high in the territory that local clients demand good services, which someone forced to sell sex would not be able to provide. Ping stated that those who claim to be victims are just pretending so as to avoid discrimination;

she does not believe that anybody is unable to find a job in Hong Kong, so there cannot be anyone who is working just to survive within the territory. A third woman, Mary, stated that some women leave the sex trade and then lie about having been forced or tricked into it.

When the above views are compared with the survey items, it can be seen that the first two views correspond with items 1 and 15 on the TWP scale. As shown earlier in Figure 10.2, there was less consensus amongst respondents concerning items 1 and 15. However, the third view - that women are just pretending to be victims to avoid stigmatisation - corresponds to item 18, which was skewed towards a more accurate picture, albeit with over 40 respondents electing to remain neutral about the item. So, contrary to the researcher's expectations, women selling sex can also possess attitudes less in line with current research than that of the average person. This supports the view that women selling sex are just like other persons and should not be considered as separate from them. As persons strongly embedded in the everyday reality of the social field of Hong Kong, their habitus is reflective of this social field. In comparison, NGO workers tend to have higher levels of financial, cultural and/or social capital and are able to temporarily change their fields, or social environments, by attending international workshops, courses or conferences, prompting reflexivity in this area. For example, they typically possess at least a working level of fluency in English and have access to a wider social network with other community groups, both inside and outside of Hong Kong. In order for the attitudes of women selling sex to change, it would be necessary for them to move to a different social environment or field, which would prompt reflexivity on

related issues. Some may have the financial, cultural and/or social capital necessary to temporarily change their fields. Others may require awareness raising programmes, courses or workshops delivered by other social agents, such as community groups.

Regarding whether or not human trafficking exists in Hong Kong, there is not much consensus as to what extent it exists there. This can be seen by looking at item 1 in Figure 10.2, although the majority do at least somewhat agree that human trafficking does exist in the territory. There was also relatively little consensus as to whether or not 'prostitution' is always a choice (item 15), again indicating that many believe that sex trafficking might not exist at all. If, for item 1, it is assumed that only those who answered 'agree strongly' to the existence of human trafficking within Hong Kong consider the territory to be a human trafficking hub, then only 31 respondents or 17 per cent would believe this to be the case.

However, survey respondents displayed a high level of consensus on human trafficking in some items, such as items 7, 10, 12 and 13, and hence agreeing that violence, debt bondage, renting out domestic workers to brothels or karaoke clubs and keeping employees' passports were not acceptable. Other items in general were also skewed more towards answering in line with current research. This is contrary to the information given by NGO informants, who shared that most social agents in Hong Kong have low awareness about human trafficking, but perhaps this higher level of awareness in respondents could be attributed to both their higher-than-average level of education and respondent bias.

Specifically, their being within reach of the researcher's and NGO's networks and willingness to answer a survey on this topic indicates that they are inclined to be more liberal and at least care somewhat about the topic.

As Table 10.2 shows, the research suggests that those with higher socio-economic status within the general population hold attitudes towards trafficking in women that are more in line with current research. For example, one male member of the local elite even warned of the danger of conflating women who choose to sell sex and those that are trafficked. This could be supported by the fact that the average respondent to the survey was more highly educated than the general population, although it is also true that the average respondent earned less per month than the general population.

These findings do not suggest that people with low cultural and/or economic capital are genetically predisposed to have attitudes that reflect gender inequality or myths about trafficking in women. Rather, as in the case of some women selling sex, persons in general with less cultural, social and/or economic capital may not be able to change their social environment or fields in a way that would prompt gender reflexivity. As part of the precariat, people with lower levels of economic capital are neither 'well fed' nor 'secure' enough to dispute the status quo (Luttwak, 1988: 30) or question the symbolic violence issued by the state and mainstream media. They have limited access to higher education, which has a liberalising effect, and even if they have enough cultural capital to be politically active, they do not have the leisure time (Bourdieu, 1991). They also have limited access to social capital, because having less leisure time and sense

of financial security also means having less time and energy to invest in broadening networks.

10.4 Definitional Issues

According to Judy from Pathfinders, a lot of 'bad things' happen in Hong Kong, such as trafficking of babies born illegally in the territory, but the government neither views these as issues, nor defines these crimes as human trafficking. She also listed the Indian consulate as an example of a foreign consulate telling women to just go home since human trafficking happens to 'everyone'. Similarly, Penelope from a women's NGO also mentioned that foreign consulates, such the Indonesian consulate, do not view assisting women who may have been trafficked as their concern. This is not surprising considering that the Director of Indonesia's Manpower and Transmigration Department considers confinement against the migrant women's wishes to be necessary due to their lack of education and being away from home (Martin, 2010). Specifically in Hong Kong, however, as mentioned in Chapter 4, its definition of human trafficking is when someone 'takes part in bringing another person into, or taking another person out of, Hong Kong for the purpose of prostitution', as per Section 129 of the Crimes Ordinance (Department of Justice, 2013; Ch. 200 39). The Hong Kong government's questionable definition focuses on transnationality, thereby excluding certain people, such as those that have not crossed borders from qualifying as victims of sex trafficking, and excluding domestic workers from being potential human trafficking victims. The following is a discussion on the following issues: disqualification from sex trafficking and victim blaming, exclusion of domestic workers and need for transnationality.

Concerning disqualification from sex trafficking and victim blaming, the government's exclusion of groups of women from being human trafficking victims within Hong Kong is an attitude held by agents in Hong Kong. Returning to the survey data, there was little consensus on whether or not a woman who did not want to be in 'prostitution' could just run away if they really wanted (item 5 in Figure 10.2). This matches Xiaoting's perception of what a sex trafficking victim was, 'girls trapped in a flat'. That is similar to the rape myth which states that women who are raped want to be raped, and if they did not, they could always fight off the attackers. Both misconceptions serve to separate groups of women, from those that have been raped to those that have not, and from those who have sold sex and those who have not.

Similarly, there was little consensus on item 6, as shown in Figure 10.2, which states that 'it is a woman's fault for being greedy if she accepts a job offer to make more money as a model and ends up having to be a prostitute'. This was also the case with item 14 in Figure 10.2, which concerns whether or not a woman who willingly goes to an agency for assistance with employment can be considered a victim of human trafficking. As the media analysis in Chapter 9 has shown, the media blames victims by casting them as 'greedy' and 'vain', and the results from items 6 and 14 show that this view is held by others as well. These views also recall rape myths which blame victims for 'getting themselves into the situations', such as by agreeing to go to a man's home, hence disqualifying them from being 'real' victims.

As for the exclusion of foreign domestic workers from the official definition of 'human trafficking' used by the Hong Kong government, the attitudes of those working on the ground is that human trafficking for domestic work is a systemic challenge in Hong Kong, and one which deserves recognition and immediate action. As discussed in Chapter 8, Penelope and Thea shared that there have been cases of foreign domestic workers who were controlled by third parties, using debt, and ended up as sex trafficking victims via debt bondage, the dichotomy between these two types of trafficking in women seems to be false. However, the survey results show that persons in Hong Kong may not see the situation this way. Although there was a high level of consensus showing that it was not acceptable for domestic workers to be rented out to karaoke bars and brothels (item 12 in Figure 10.2), there was not much agreement as to whether or not it was acceptable for them to be rented out to family and friends who needed help with cleaning their homes (item 11 in Figure 10.2). This is because renting an employee out to karaoke bars and brothels fits the mould or stereotype of what 'human trafficking' constitutes, while renting employees out to clean other people's homes doesn't, matching the government's definition. The issue here is a political and economic one. Foreign domestic workers from developing countries are indispensable to cities lacking adequate affordable childcare, homes for the elderly and family-friendly work arrangements, such as Hong Kong. Instead, also as mentioned in Chapter 7, Sophie from a socialist organisation and Thea from MFMW indicated that the government, in collaboration with the local media, seems to be intensifying the local hostility towards foreign domestic workers, making the local population more likely to disregard their plight or even see them as deserving of their maltreatment.

Regarding the need for transnationality, as previously mentioned in Chapter 8, the government relies on NGOs working with migrant women to handle human trafficking or trafficking-like cases, which are not identified as such. This demonstrates the governmental view that the issue at hand is actually one of migration, or illegal immigration. At the same time, while there were no items on the survey specifically addressing this point, respondents largely agreed with item 4, which stated that, 'Women who have been tricked into prostitution by boyfriends are victims of trafficking'. This shows a higher level of awareness than expected, although as discussed previously, this may be due to respondent bias. In contrast, during the fieldwork, various social agents encountered did conflate the terms human trafficking and human smuggling. For example, one Hong Kong Chinese woman working in the private sector commented on how she believed the issue to be one related to transport security and movement of persons, not society.

10.5 Discussion on Findings

This findings of this chapter answer the fifth research question, 'What are relevant attitudes that exist in other agents' habitus, and how are these similar to or different from the government's attitude?' The findings support both previous literature and other findings from Chapters 6 to 9. The lack of consensus in the survey on whether or not human trafficking exists in the territory, coupled with interview data supporting the view that most persons in Hong Kong are not aware of human trafficking as an issue in the territory, matches previous findings

that suggest many people prefer to deny something as awful as human trafficking exists. See, for example, Korzinski, 2013, and Revenco, 2006. The blaming of victims found in the survey has also been reported in previous research and in other chapters of this thesis. Also see Korzinski, 2013, and Revenco, 2006.

The findings of this chapter extend current knowledge by contributing specifically what attitudes are problematic in Hong Kong. As discussed in the presentation of results, the lack of consensus on certain items in the survey reveal how a certain victim-blaming mind set exists in Hong Kong, which is related to rape myths and the social control of women's bodies. The attitude which disqualifies women who did not just 'run away' from 'prostitution', can be considered similar to blaming rape victims who did not just 'fight off' the perpetrators. Believing that 'prostitution' is always a choice basically denies any woman that is selling sex the ability to be a victim of sex trafficking, which is related to the rape myths that consider it impossible to rape a 'prostitute' and that women who get raped are the ones who secretly want to be raped. These views support the government's and the media's attitude - that women coming to Hong Kong to sell sex do so out of their own free will to 'take advantage' of the prosperity in the territory.

Two other attitudes also stand out as reflective of the victim blaming attitudes found in the media analysis chapter, Chapter 9. The first is blaming women for being 'greedy' if they are sex trafficked via false modelling offers, which also supports the aforementioned official view. The second is disqualifying women who willingly approach employment agencies from being potential human

trafficking victims. Just as rape myths blame women who get sexually assaulted for what they drink, what they wear, how they act, where they go, when they go there and with whom they go, these victim blaming attitudes basically blame women for the negative things that happen to them when they exercise their agency. So another contribution of this research is documenting how various incorrect beliefs about sex trafficking are linked to rape myths, showing the connection trafficking in women, and sex trafficking in particular, has with sexual violence. This supports previous literature which links trafficking in women with sexual violence, such as GAATW (2010).

One expected finding of this research was that survey respondents showed an unexpectedly high level of awareness of the issues, contradicting previous reports, such as *The Sun*, 2010a. This is perhaps due to the social circles in which they were recruited and respondent bias. However, in addition to a lack of consensus on some items mentioned in the previous paragraph, there was also a lack of consensus on whether or not human trafficking existed in the respondent's city, which also matches a rape myth. Naturally, if sex trafficking victims are blamed and not considered 'true victims' and foreign domestic workers as a group are disqualified from victimhood due to being employed via employment agencies, then Hong Kong can be seen as not having much human trafficking, at least in women. This in turn recalls the rape myth that rape is rare and can be seen as an extension of the rape myth that rape could not happen to oneself. The fact that the aforementioned, incorrect views on human trafficking have corresponding rape myths, which are used to sexually control women, supports literature suggesting perhaps the issue of human trafficking and myths

around it, due to political agendas, also serve to sexually control women's bodies. See, for example, Rothschild (2009) and Joyce (2013).

While awareness raising has been done in the area of trafficking in women, this chapter's findings have also made it possible to recommend some solutions. The first recommendation is that 'human trafficking myths', discussed in the previous paragraphs, should be avoided and actually need to be dispelled. This supports previous literature stating that irresponsible public awareness campaigns can actually mirror traffickers' attitudes, such as GAATW (2010), and promote control of women's bodies by scaring women into staying home, such as Rothschild (2009). The second contribution is that attitudes towards trafficking in women is correlated with attitudes towards women in general, supporting previous literature suggesting that trafficking in women is a gender issue. See GAATW (2010). Trafficking in women is a gender issue, and it is necessary to educate the public, including women in the sale of sex, to have more gender equal attitudes at the same time as raising awareness around the issue. The third contribution is that attitudes towards trafficking in women is linked to having higher socio-economic status, pointing to the importance of reaching groups with lower socio-economic status and who may not have had the opportunity to encounter gender topics and topics related to human trafficking in higher education or 'highbrow' publications and events. So what is needed is a symbolic struggle to prompt gender reflexivity within the general population, especially those who may have lower social, cultural and/or economic capital, as persons with lower levels of capital have less of a chance of changing their fields - such as by studying abroad - and encountering gender

reflexivity. Although Bourdieu may have been sceptical about the efficacy of individual awareness raising (Bourdieu, 1998a), he did believe that publicly exposing forms of domination, especially via scientific analysis, could symbolically neutralise domination (ibid.). So a large-scale symbolic struggle is needed to combat the symbolic violence against women issued by the mainstream media and government. This could potentially change the social environment or field.

10.6 Summary

The chapter has suggested that the lack of consensus concerning certain issues reflects a mirroring of the dominant discourse in Hong Kong by social agents. The survey findings have shown that there is a lack of agreement around whether or not human trafficking even exists in Hong Kong, let alone whether or not it is a major hub and destination. Victim blaming and definitional problems exist, some of which are linked to rape myth and the control of women's bodies, and awareness raising needs to address these factors. The mirroring of attitudes in line with the dominant agenda, by the views of the general public, suggest that the mainstream media's symbolic violence has affected the general public in terms of gender and trafficking in women.

Previous chapters have explored the sex trade, the local environment and the local situation concerning trafficking in women. This has included information concerning symbolic violence, attitudes towards women in the sex trade and other groups and how the government's views do not appear to be congruent

with reality on the ground. Chapter 9 has further shed light on the local environment by analysing a specific aspect of symbolic violence, how the news media portrays human trafficking-related issues and how this corresponds with the local government's views. This chapter has further contributed to the overall picture of the local environment, by answering research question five, 'What are relevant attitudes that exist in other agents' habitus, and how are these similar to or different from the government's attitude?' It has done so by exploring specific durable dispositions within the habitus, connections between them and comparing them with the government's attitudes, shedding light on the persistence of control of women by third parties in the sale of sex in Hong Kong.

Chapter 11: Conclusion

'Historically, the state has been a force for rationalization, but one which has been put at the service of the dominant forces.' (Bourdieu, 1998a: 41)

11.1 Introduction

Hong Kong has a unique history, having experienced British colonialism beginning in the Victorian era and been an opium hub as well as an epicentre for coolie and other human trafficking (Carroll, 2007). Unlike most other colonial locations, which were already populated and resource rich, Hong Kong was developed especially for the aforementioned trade purposes (Levine, 2003), and in addition to colonial employees and rulers, males were recruited from China to assist in this project. As such, until the return of Hong Kong to China in 1997, there have always been more men than women in the territory (Lee and Collins, 2006). As a 'service' to these males, the sexual availability of women in the territory has always been guaranteed, whether in the form of sex trafficking victims or those willingly selling sex (Jaschok and Miers, 1994). As noted in Chapter 2, this population has always been controlled by the local government, whether in the form of enforced examination schedules during the age of the Contagious Disease Acts, repatriation of women of European descent as 'white slaves' or later laws criminalising activities related to the selling of sex but not the actual sale of sex itself.

This thesis has attempted to study the local environment in Hong Kong, the

experiences of women who sell sex and the relationship between the two, in order to explain the persistence of control of women by third parties in the sale of sex in Hong Kong. It has used a Feminist, Bourdieusian framework in order to examine the issue in both a deeper and a broader manner, putting gender oppression at the centre of the analysis and exposing the structural and ideological factors involved as a system. This, in turn, has shed light on the symbolic violence and powerful interests allowing for such control to continue. This chapter first returns to the research questions and summarises related findings and how they contribute to the knowledge base. It then discusses the theoretical model developed, based on the use of a Feminist, Bourdieusian framework, and what implications it has for community practice. After that, this chapter discusses policy implications, before ending with recommendations for future research and closing remarks.

11.2 Returning to Research Questions and Contribution to Knowledge Base

In terms of the first research question, 'What are the women's experiences, and what do they reveal about the local environment?', the results presented in Chapter 6 support to much of the previous research concerning women selling sex, both in Hong Kong and abroad, which was documented in Chapters 2 and 3. The findings support those utilising pragmatic frameworks by showing that women selling sex come from a variety of backgrounds and have different experiences, both negative and positive (see for example, Campbell and O'Neill, 2006; Chapkis, 1997; Comte, 2013). However, women in Hong Kong continue to be motivated by a lack of childcare provision, an inadequate supply of public

housing and a lack of proper economic alternatives; this supports Phoenix's (2012) view that the situations of women selling sex within the past two centuries has not changed much, as poverty, homelessness, different types of addiction and deficient social welfare continue to cause women to sell sex, primarily to men. Within the context of Hong Kong, this research has contributed that the lack of a universal pension plan is also a factor motivating women to stay in the sex trade. Also, while previous research deals with women selling sex as an alternative to working in financially exploitative jobs (陳, 陳 and 黎, 1999; Mai, 2011), this research has linked the decision to enter or re-enter the sex industry with sexism in the workplace, in the form of discrimination against Mainland Chinese women, and sexual harassment and sexual expectations some bosses have towards female employees.

This study has also added to current knowledge by looking at the issue through the lens of a Feminist, Bourdieusian framework. For example, the thesis' documentation of the police as oppressors supports previous research both abroad and in Hong Kong, especially true of their focus on arresting women and quickly processing their cases (see for example: 陳, 陳 and 黎, 1999; AFP, 2012; Emerton, Laidler and Peterson, 2007; and Ziteng, 2010). However, this thesis goes beyond a simplistic description of who the 'bad guys' may be and what they are doing, by looking at the broader picture, including structural issues and symbolic ones.

In terms of symbolic violence, the findings support Coy, Wakeling and Garner's study (2011), which found that symbolic violence, in the context of Western

popular culture, was being used to deny harm faced by women controlled in the sex trade. However, this thesis has extended the discussion to a non-Western context and discussed symbolic violence from the state, in the form of laws and policies. The government believes that almost all illegal immigrants and 'prostitutes' arrested come 'to Hong Kong voluntarily to take advantage of the economic prosperity of the HKSAR' (HKSAR, 2006: 1). Various laws separate women selling sex from the rest of the population, labelling them as associated with 'vice' and 'immoral purposes', which obfuscates the lived reality of these women, who are often financially exploited by various agents, such as their children's biological fathers, and must act as capital-accumulating agents with material concerns quite similar to those of social agents in Hong Kong. When they choose to exercise their agency and sell sex as the capital-accumulating strategy that makes the most sense of them given their individual situations, symbolic violence against them labels them as 'greedy', shifting attention and blame away from the men and other social agents involved and the structural environment; this symbolic violence, linked to the social control of women, 'others' the women. Symbolic violence against women selling sex affects law enforcement agents, people in the community, neighbours, passers-by and others, who seem to feel a great sense of entitlement towards being able to abuse these women as 'safely debased outlets'. However, a Feminist, Bourdieusian perspective also calls to attention the relational aspects of issues, and it seems that negative attitudes are more likely to cause negative practices when social agents believe they have more capital than specific women selling sex. Bringing the discussion back to the police, as discussed at the beginning of this paragraph, it is important to note that practices can be institutional, and their

negative actions point back to the government.

In terms of the second research question, 'What is the local context in which women sell sex, and how is this understood by the NGOs supporting the women?', the findings of Chapter 7 have supported the results in Chapter 6, recalling Phoenix's (2012) analysis that the situation of women selling sex has not changed much over the past two hundred years, regarding poverty and deficient social welfare, for example. Within the highly neoliberal environment of Hong Kong, in which some older women are forced to be rag pickers and pay to live in 'cage' or 'coffin' homes just to survive, for example, it is not hard to understand the perspective of local NGOs working with women selling sex. This thesis contributes that these organisations have not been moving towards exiting the sex trade as the main focus, as organisations in the U.K. and other countries are doing, and the background information to explain why. For mention of organisations abroad moving towards this focus, see Sanders, O'Neill and Pitcher, 2009. The situation recalls Dworkin's (1993) idea that economic degradation, or in Feminist Bourdieusian terms, denying women access to economic capital, is the best method for guaranteeing that men will have access to women as objects for sex (1993). Given this environment, and the fact that these NGOs are in a symbolic struggle against the symbolic violence of some powerful international agents who are trying to control the bodies of women, under the pretence of fighting sex trafficking - as noted in Chapter 2, this includes the U.S. government (Weitzer, 2005b) - it is also not difficult to understand why 'sex work NGOs' in Hong Kong are reluctant to talk about sex trafficking or use the human trafficking framework. This is not a well-document

phenomenon and is one of the contributions of this thesis.

The findings of Chapter 7 also support previous research showing that women selling sex who have lower levels of social and economic capital generally sell sex in more marginalised forms and experience higher levels of violence (see, for example, Phoenix, 2012). The thesis extends the discussion to include cultural and 'nationality' capital; women who are not from Hong Kong and in the sex trade tend to have lower cultural capital than they would have back home, as the social environment of Hong Kong may not similarly value their capital, and those with lower levels of 'nationality capital' are even more vulnerable to exploitation by clients and third parties due to their illegal status. 'Nationality capital' is a relational concept, with people with citizenship in some countries' being valued higher than those from other countries, causing some to be viewed as 'unwanted migrants' who suffer from rampant racism or nationality-based discrimination, as this thesis contributes, while others are viewed as somewhat glamorous 'expatriates'. This racism has only recently come to international attention thanks to the case of Erwiana, a foreign domestic worker who was sent home to Indonesia half alive after being abused by her employer, as documented in, for example, Liljas, 2014. However, referring again to the relational aspect a Feminist, Bourdieusian framework, it is not just having lower capital but having lower capital relative to other social agents that results in the negative actions of these social agents, of course with symbolic violence also playing a part. Thanks to this symbolic violence against 'whores', those in poverty and/or Mainland Chinese or Southeast Asians selling sex are seen as 'safely debased outlets' for sex and also violence that misogynists feel they

cannot commit against other groups of women, who may be perceived have higher capital. When these women suffer from exploitation or abuse, due to both symbolic violence against them and the extremely sexually conservative environment of Hong Kong, they meet with victim blaming as 'whores' and/or 'greedy' women who have come to Hong Kong to 'take advantage' of the 'prosperity' there. Victim blaming attitudes have been documented by previous research in Hong Kong, such as the Association Concerning Sexual Violence Against Women and Department of Social Work at the Hong Kong Baptist University (2011). It is not difficult to see how, if symbolic violence against women from Mainland China and Southeast Asia has caused unsolved murders to be systematically overlooked, as contributed by this thesis, the racism and/or nationality-based discrimination can also allow for criminal treatment of these women to exist with impunity within the sex trade. The rampant racism and nationality-based discrimination, especially against Mainland Chinese women, and strong sexual control of women in the territory can together help explain why the Hong Kong government continues to view women selling sex as criminals by default, even though, as mentioned in Chapter 4, Western governments have defined women in the sex trade as victims in recent decades.

Regarding the third research question, 'How does the information about trafficking in women learned from the informants compare with the local Hong Kong government's official position?' the findings of Chapter 8 contradict the local government's claim that Hong Kong does not have much human trafficking and is not a human trafficking hub. This thesis supports previous research in Hong Kong, which documents the existence of sex trafficking in the territory and

their not being recognised as victims by the government, contradicting the local government's position (Emerton, Laidler and Peterson, 2007). Instead, Chapters 6, 7 and 8 have shown that women selling sex in general are disqualified from victimhood by police and other government agents when they are robbed or suffer from other exploitation or criminal behaviour. The findings of this chapter also support the U.S. Dept. of State's annual reporting on Hong Kong, which has found trafficking for domestic servitude to be a challenge in the territory (2010; 2011; 2012; 2013; 2014a), but this thesis contributes that this type of trafficking may actually be more prevalent in Hong Kong. This is also in contradiction to the government's official definition of human trafficking, which includes only sex trafficking and excludes trafficking for domestic exploitation, an act of symbolic violence against these women. An unexpected finding this chapter contributes to the knowledge base is the fact that some women legally enter Hong Kong but become undocumented after overstaying their visas due to pregnancies, with their children becoming undocumented children, making them vulnerable to trafficking in women. As undocumented migrants, they can be considered as having no 'nationality capital', and a shocking finding this thesis contributes is that child trafficking exists in Hong Kong, with recruiters promising these mothers better futures for their children.

Using a Feminist, Bourdieusian perspective, trafficking in women itself can be seen in many cases as traffickers taking advantage of women with lower overall capital - not necessarily 'nationality capital' - to accumulate capital for themselves. This chapter has shown that women who do not have residency in Hong Kong being forced or coerced into the sale of sex in Mongkok, which

women with higher levels of 'nationality capital' usually try to avoid. No matter if they entered Hong Kong believing they would be given visas - due to false job offers or false marriages - or have overstayed their visas due to pregnancy, their having low levels of 'nationality capital' or not having any 'nationality capital' at all, makes them more susceptible to control by third parties and exploitation. Even if these women escape and contact their consulates, as this chapter shows, their consulates may be unwilling to help due to negative dispositions within their habitus, reflecting the governments of their home countries. While exercising one's agency and wanting to work or get married in Hong Kong does not necessarily label a woman a 'gold digger', as some women have lower 'nationality capital' and are considered 'unwanted migrants', they are perceived as 'deserving' victims and blamed when victimised. The symbolic violence towards women, especially those with lower levels of capital, gives rise to a sense of entitlement felt towards their bodies and, in the case of migrant workers who have overstayed their visas, that of their children. No matter if it is a sense of entitlement to a woman's body for sexuality, for caring, for labour or for childbearing, this sense of entitlement felt by social agents who perceive that they have relatively higher levels of overall capital than these women and are hence 'better' plays a part in trafficking in women.

As for the fourth research question, 'How is the press coverage of human trafficking-related issues, and how is it similar to or different from the government's attitude?', Chapter 9 has detailed the symbolic violence issued via the media and suggested that the local media's coverage of human trafficking-related issues is largely a reflection of the local government's position. There

has not been much research done concerning media coverage of human trafficking, but this thesis' findings support previous studies. For example, there is a reliance on official sources and framing, which mirrors the attitudes of those in power (see Gulati, 2010); a focus on border security and illegal immigration (see Isgro, Stehle and Weber, 2013); and aside from criminal motivations and victim blaming, there is generally a lack of social and policy context (see Gulati, 2010). Also, sex trafficking and related issues were covered much more frequently than labour trafficking (see Gulati, 2010). This study has also found that coverage seems to support the anti-migration and anti-‘prostitution’ agendas, which others, such as Rothschild, 2009, have suggested are the true political reasons behind the fight against human trafficking. Findings also support literature in that coverage utilises stereotypes of who should be considered ‘true victims’, generally the most extreme cases (see Baye and Heumann, 2014, and Dowman, 2013). However, the findings also contribute by extending current literature on the coverage of women’s issues to the coverage of human trafficking in particular. To trivialise the women’s movement and issues, a ‘light tone’ is often used, and coverage is generally sparse (see for example, Ashley and Olson, 1998). Similarly, this study has found that local coverage of human trafficking was sparse and either framed as denial or reported on as ‘Lifestyle’ news. Also, coverage of sexual violence has been linked to the objective of scaring women and girls into staying within ‘virginal’ boundaries (see Carter, 1998), and similarly, has suggested that this applies also to human trafficking, and sex trafficking in particular.

The findings concerning symbolic violence issued by the media also reveal a

contradiction between the symbolic violence used in Western countries and that used in Hong Kong. As previously noted, Western governments have tended to label all women selling sex as 'sex trafficking victims', while Hong Kong sees them as 'greedy'. Chapter 9's findings have noted that in contrast to media coverage in the U.S. and Europe, which constructs migrant women from developing countries or Eastern Europe as sex trafficking victims who need 'saving' - see, for example, Isgro, Stehle and Weber, 2013 - media coverage in Hong Kong tends to blame women who are trafficking victims, including migrant women and those selling sex, as 'greedy'. Labelling women, by default, as either 'victims' or 'greedy', 'others' women and dehumanises them; it serves the same purpose, albeit reflecting different political rhetoric. Obviously, governments who use the cloak of 'human rights' rhetoric are more prone to using self-righteous 'human trafficking' framing, even if they are also openly sexually conservative and hateful of 'unwanted' migrants. This symbolic violence blames women when they choose to exercise their agency, whether by talking to strangers or taking a job opportunity, in order to remind other women to stay 'in line' with social expectations and to remind other social agents of their entitlement to the bodies of women who exercise their agency.

Lastly, Chapter 10 has answered the fifth research question, 'What are relevant attitudes that exist in other agents' habitus, and how are these similar to or different from the government's attitude?' This adds further support to the findings from Chapters 6 to 8 concerning social attitudes within the habitus of social agents, which can be explained by symbolic power exercised by the state through policy and legislation, as well as the media. In general, most persons in

the territory prefer to deny something as awful as human trafficking exists in their own territory. See, for example, Korzinski, 2013, and Revenco, 2006. The blaming of victims, linked to social control of women's bodies, revealed has also reported in both previous research (see Korzinski, 2013, and Revenco, 2006) and throughout the thesis. The findings extend current knowledge by contributing specifically what attitudes are problematic in Hong Kong. Questionable attitudes are linked to rape myths; for example, the attitude which disqualifies women who did not just 'run away' from 'prostitution' can be considered similar to blaming rape victims who did not just 'fight off' the perpetrators. Another example is that 'prostitution' is always a choice, which is related to the rape myths that consider it impossible to rape a 'prostitute' or those who 'secretly wish to be raped'. Other victim blaming attitudes, such as considering the women 'greedy' if they are trafficked via false modelling offers or disqualifying women who approach employment agencies from being potential human trafficking victims, recall how rape myths blame women who get sexually assaulted for what they drink, what they wear, how they act, where they go, when they go there and with whom they go. So this research also contributes to current knowledge by linking incorrect beliefs about sex trafficking to rape myths, supporting the connection that trafficking in women, and sex trafficking in particular, has with sexual violence.

While awareness raising has been done in the area of human trafficking, such as by CNN, MTV and other media outlets, this chapter's findings have also made it possible to recommend some solutions. The first recommendation is that 'human trafficking myths', discussed in the previous paragraphs, should be

avoided and actually need to be dispelled. The second contribution is that attitudes towards trafficking in women is correlated with attitudes towards women in general, and as such, it is necessary to educate the public, including women in the sale of sex, to have more gender equal attitudes at the same time as raising awareness around human trafficking. Otherwise, awareness raising around trafficking can serve as another form of symbolic violence against women. The third contribution is that attitudes towards trafficking in women is linked to having higher socio-economic status, pointing to the importance of reaching groups with lower socio-economic status. To summarise, a symbolic struggle to counter symbolic violence by other agents and prompt gender reflexivity within the general population, especially those who may have lower social, cultural and/or economic capital, as persons with lower levels of capital have less of a chance of changing their fields - such as by studying abroad - and encountering gender reflexivity. This could potentially change the social environment or field.

11.3 Proposed Theoretical System and Relevance in Terms of Community

Practice

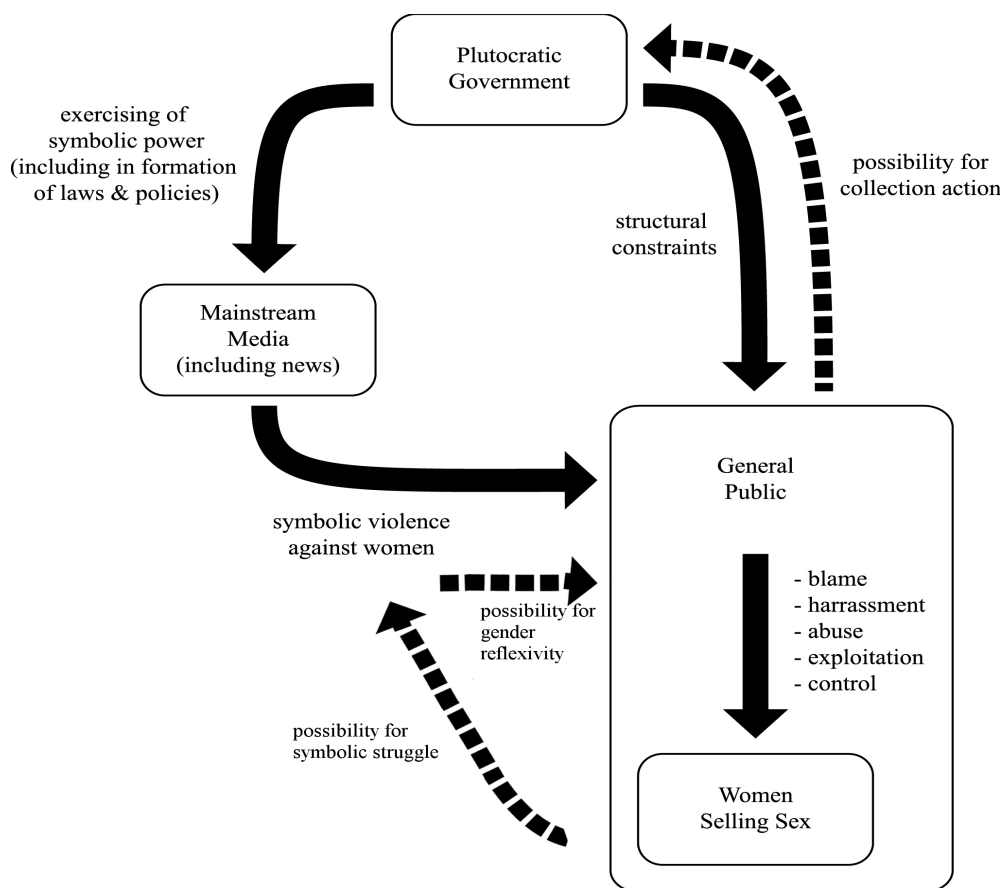
International political discourse around trafficking in women often focuses on pimps, organised crime and corrupt police or government officials and others who may directly be making money from the control of women selling sex by third parties. This is apparent in the fact that the Protocol on Human Trafficking actually supplements the UN Convention against Transnational Organised Crime (UN, 2013). In local Hong Kong terms, migrant women who suspect they are victims of human trafficking are tellingly advised to call the police's Organised Crime and Triad Bureau (Security Bureau, 2006). However, it is also necessary to think of what other parties are benefiting from the perpetuation of control of women by third parties, including human trafficking victims. As discussed in Chapter 6, practice also refers to practice as a 'coordinated entity' (Warde, 2004: 18), and there is a need to problematise the institutions behind the questionable practices of various social agents towards women selling sex.

Benefits to government institutions do not only include financial savings on the part of governments and the availability of political scapegoats, but also the perpetuation of the control of women, which is a key to patriarchy and the implicit contract governments have with men in general. That is, in return for loyalty to the system or the 'macro patriarchs', they are allowed to be 'micro-patriarchs' and oppress women. As 'micro-patriarchs', men are entitled to oppress women in their everyday lives, in the forms of childbearing, caring and sex. A common theme throughout the findings has been the control of women's bodies, including

sexual control, which remains engrained in the patriarchal system, a system which benefits not only the government but corporations. It would not be difficult to have the relevant laws changed, as 'the most rigorously rationalized law is never anything more than an act of social magic, which works' (Bourdieu, 1991: 42). However, this would have certain financial costs - in terms of spending more resources on the cases of women selling sex and social welfare, for example - and political costs - potentially losing migrants as political 'scapegoats', having the working poor come together and losing the support of 'micro-patriarchs' without women to control.

The findings have shown that symbolic violence against women has real-life consequences for not only women selling sex, including those controlled by third parties, but also other types of human trafficking victims; this section details a general explanation or theory of how the system works. The general process in this theory is shown below in Figure 11.1

Figure 11.1 Basic relationship between various agents allowing for the perpetuation of deception, force and coercion of women selling sex in Hong Kong



The government, in collusion with big businesses, is responsible for various structural inadequacies, such as lack of sufficient welfare and childcare for lone mothers, which affects the population. Instead of improving the situation, the government uses its symbolic power to categorise persons and cause symbolic violence against certain groups, via the media, such as Mainland Chinese women and women selling sex. The general population is then conditioned by this symbolic violence. Instead of feeling compassionate towards women pushed into selling sex, due to lack of adequate welfare and childcare for lone mothers, and pressing the government to assist these women, the general population is made to blame these women for their situations. This is true even

though many social agents may be relatively closer to these women in the social world than to the government or corporate elite, due to symbolic violence. Some agents may even make the women's lives worse, such as by feeling entitled to sexually, verbally and/or physically abusing these women and acting on this sense of entitlement. In some cases, they may even feel entitled to use these women's bodies to make money, using various forms of control to have these women sell sex. In this way, the government of Hong Kong itself is complicit in the control of women selling sex by third parties, including sex trafficking. In order to fight sex trafficking and other forms of control by third parties, there needs to be a collective paradigm shift in the way women are thought of in general, with a focus on how to improve their lives; this includes the lives of women selling sex and migrant women.

11.3.1 Implications for Community Work

In line with Bourdieu's own life as a public sociologist, understanding how the system works should not merely be an exercise in curiosity or voyeurism. Instead, the more ethical option would be to disseminate the findings to the general public in order to take part in the symbolic struggle against the current system, causing social agents to face a situation of gender reflexivity. Without hope of ever changing the status quo, there would be no point in conducting such research. Some practical, long-term suggestions on how to enact the needed political change, using the social, economic, cultural and symbolic capital of various social agents who support a more gender equitable society are below. As the process is long-term, it is important to note that community

development needs take place from beginning to end, in order to assist those who have more immediate needs.

One social agent may not have enough capital to challenge the system, but with a larger collective, there would be larger amounts of various forms of capital, from which the movement could draw upon. However, before collective action can take place, there must be a 'collective'. So a first step would be to use social capital to connect various women's groups and social agents, such as migrant workers' groups and academics, who are interested in changes towards more gender-equitable attitudes. This can take place with the organisation of regular events which galvanise these groups and individuals; for some this is already taking place. Then it is important that long-term, large-scale awareness raising takes place before any collective action, in order to (i) generate more public support, (ii) combat the constant flow of symbolic violence against women to cause gender reflexivity and (iii) prevent laws from being put in place without the needed changes to gender attitudes. This consciousness raising needs to take place using the social, cultural and economic capital that various supporting social agents have.

In terms of using cultural capital to fight symbolic violence, an important step in this symbolic struggle would be undermining the very legitimacy of the media and/or government via the public dissemination of sociological works unmasking their symbolic violence and the interests behind such symbolic violence. Also, persons with symbolic capital in the form of higher levels of cultural capital - such as advanced degrees, research skills, writing skills and/or speaking skills - could

volunteer to act as spokespersons. Those with higher social capital, in the form of being opinion leaders within various social networks, could also volunteer for community outreach. Others who may have more economic capital could contribute by, for example, starting and/or funding community radio programmes and other multimedia platforms to reach more members of the general public. The challenging of symbolic violence would be especially effective if the legitimacy of the current system is already being challenged and questioned by the masses, and the elite and government are losing symbolic power¹³. It is important that social agents who would be less likely to change their social fields due to lower levels of capital be included in the targeting. It is also necessary to note that, as in any fight against the status quo, there will be resistance, so some groups may have to abstain from participating at later stages due to funders from the dominant class. Organisations that are subscription or membership funded would be more likely to provide support in these cases.

As for collective action, this is needed in order to (i) change policies and laws used to categorise women, (ii) demand improved identification and support of women who are experiencing control by third parties in the sale of sex, and (iii) demand the government provide adequate public housing, childcare and other social services, as well as migrant workers' rights. This could be done by the agents previously mentioned. Policies and laws that need changing should be individually, or in small collections, pushed forward for consideration by the legislative council. At the same time, signature campaigns, protests and sit-ins need to take place to put pressure on lawmakers.

13 This has been happening in Hong Kong. Please refer to the umbrella revolution that began in September 2014 (Zeese and Flowers, 2014).

As previously mentioned, in the meantime, community development work needs to take place to allow the women and other community members to pool resources or capital together and help one another increase their overall levels of capital. Even if it is not possible to increase the women's financial capital, it is possible to increase their social capital and cultural capital, or help convert these into financial capital. Building community groups can increase social capital, and encouraging women to take online courses and teach each other skills, such as language skills, can increase cultural capital. By increasing their overall levels of capital and closing the capital gap between them and social agents around them, they can gain more bargaining power when negotiating everyday relationships. In terms of saving money or increasing their financial capital, one example of how to build social capital and turn that into financial capital or savings is forming a network of women who could take turns babysitting one another's children and perhaps even forming a cooperative childcare centre. Another possibility would be to create a network of women interested in finding others to live with, together as flat- or house-mates, which would save energy and rental costs for all parties involved and create more opportunities for the sharing of experiences and pooling of other resources.

11.4 Policy Implications

Hong Kong is unique in its refusal to adopt the Palermo Protocol, its post-British colonial role and geographical proximity and political relationship to the PRC. Before discussing specific changes the local government needs to make, here

are the first four issues identified and introduced in Chapter 4: (i) the lack of acknowledgement of Hong Kong's role as a hub for trafficking in women; (ii) its outdated definition of human trafficking, including only sex trafficking; (iii) victim blaming; and (iv) the focus on fighting illegal immigration. In order to combat human trafficking, the territory must work on factors that make women more vulnerable to control, such as officials' views blaming victims who are selling sex and/or 'unwanted' migrants as 'greedy' women 'taking advantage' of others. Other factors include laws and legal definitions, especially those within the Crimes Ordinance. Regarding human trafficking, its definition as per Section 129 of the Crimes Ordinance must be updated from 'taking part in bringing another person into, or taking another person out of, Hong Kong for the purpose of prostitution' (Department of Justice, 2013; Ch. 200: 39) to match the internationally accepted definition, which includes non-sexually exploited victims and does not require transnationality. Other laws pertaining to the sex trade that need to be changed, also within the Crimes Ordinance, include Section 137 regarding living off the earnings of 'prostitution' of others, which makes it difficult for women to work in buildings with security staff; Section 139 regarding the keeping of a 'vice' establishment, which makes it difficult for women to work together in flats for safety purposes; and Section 143 regarding the letting of premises for use as 'vice' establishments, which denies women rental contracts and makes them vulnerable to landlords. The use of the terms 'vice' and 'vice establishments' is also very outdated and could benefit from being updated to match literature on the rights of women selling sex.

However, it is not just laws that need to be changed. Attitudes need to be

changed, and social welfare needs to be increased to adequate levels with adequate coverage to give women the option to stop selling sex and decrease their vulnerability to control by third parties. Steps recommended to the local, Hong Kong government, including those mentioned above, are detailed in Table 11.1 below.

Table 11.1: Steps recommended to the Hong Kong government

Legal and policy
Expand its definition to include domestic labour, intensify victim identification efforts, reconsider the current sentencing policy for those guilty of human trafficking-related crimes, support shelters offering victims protection and strengthen victim assistance, including stability of legal status (HRC, 2013)
Update official definition to no longer require transnationality and include various levels of coercion, control and abuse, not just extreme levels of physical confinement and abuse
Laws need to be updated to decriminalise various elements related to the selling of sex, such as those prohibiting solicitation - recognising that women selling sex have a right to be in public space, too - and not allowing third-parties, such as flat owners or security guards for the buildings, to benefit from women selling sex;
The police need to focus on traffickers instead of harassing and fining individual women selling sex and adding a layer of oppression;
The police need to recognise women selling sex as legitimate victims of crime and stop ignoring their need for protection in cases and even siding with the perpetrators.
The need for migrant women who do not have the option of returning home due to pregnancies refugee or similar status, and giving their undocumented children in Hong Kong rights
Structural
Proper levels of welfare and social services for women, especially those who are carers of children or the elderly are needed, such as health care visitors
Adequate levels of affordable childcare and elderly care facilities need to be provided for all
Adequate levels of affordable housing need to be made available
A universal, government-funded pension plan needs to be put in place
Promotion of family-friendly job environments for both women and men, including new immigrants
Provision of specific services to help women selling sex in desistance, including shelters
Provision of adequate mental health services to those suffering from post-traumatic stress and other results of abuse and exploitation;
Symbolic violence
There needs to be a fight against various forms of gender oppression in the territory, especially in terms of the following: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ the sexual control of women and the virgin-whore dichotomy; ▪ the perceived male right to sex and entitlement over women's bodies as objects for sex and caring, and related to this, the use of women's bodies as a form of entertainment;

- the double standard about sex that has the system avoiding to properly educate students about sex while allowing hypersexuality and erotification of violence in culture;
- the cult of masculinity, which requires the domination of women and also oppresses the men it affects;
- the control of women who wish to exercise their agency and be subjects, such as by migrating.

Stop fanning flames of discrimination and instead fight the bias against migrant workers and Mainlander Chinese

Fight the bias against women selling sex

Recognise the following in the fight against human trafficking:

- human trafficking, in various forms, is prevalent in the territory;
- not all migrant women who come to Hong Kong and end up selling sex do so willingly or under the conditions they were promised;
- domestic workers, illegal migrants and women selling sex are all legitimate victims of crime, such as trafficking in women; and
- choosing to migrate and/or sell sex oneself cannot be used as reasons to blame trafficking victims for being controlled, coerced, abused and/or exploited

Provide a pragmatic discussion of the issues to combat agendas to control women, allowing NGOs working with women selling sex to help fight sex trafficking without participating in agendas to prevent migration and the selling of sex

There are evidently many changes that need to be made, and hence pushing for this change would be a long-term project. This should neither be surprising nor disheartening as social and political change typically requires lengthy periods of time, given that the dispositions within social agents' habitus are durable, as are social structures.

11.5 Recommendations for Future Research and Closing Remarks

Within Hong Kong, it would be helpful to have research carried out with various government institutions, such as the police and immigration, to locate

questionable gender attitudes and attitudes towards trafficking in women and determine the most effective way to change these. Perhaps organisational behaviour research could reveal other internal issues within these institutions.

Also, large scale research should be carried out on women facing deportation to learn more about human trafficking victims and victims of other crimes who have

not received justice, as well as the exploitation they have faced and governmental deficiencies they have experienced. Future research could also explore the factors of boy preference and policies limiting the number of children couples may have in Mainland China, corruption, business interests, men's interests as buyers and political control and stability. It is also necessary to find out if other factors - such as 'black magic', kidnapping, *mui jai*-like systems, discrimination against indigenous populations, violence in families causing young people to run away, political instability or natural disasters - play a role in the sex trade in Hong Kong, as they have been known to do so in other parts of the world. Similarly, it is also important to find out if any other agents that have been associated with the sex trade in other contexts play a role in the territory, including taxi drivers and the neighbourhoods in which 'villas' and other venues associated with sex trafficking are found. Although this thesis' findings also did not point to these factors, given that victims are known to originate from all over the world and the complexity of some sex trade networks, it is possible that some of these factors also exist in Hong Kong.

In other locations, similar studies could be carried out to determine how the model of symbolic violence against women proposed fits with other countries' situations, using a Feminist, Bourdieusian framework. Smaller studies could also be carried out in various countries, based on individual research questions, such as how government attitudes are reflected in the media. The attitudinal scales in this research could also be used to determine if the link between gender attitudes and attitudes towards trafficking in women is as strong in other places.

To conclude this thesis, control of women selling sex by third parties and trafficking in women exist even in countries which have acknowledged their role in human trafficking and adopted the Palermo Protocol. While they may have 'moral panics', as long as the patriarchal control of women, with its madonna-whore dichotomy and victim blaming, exists and symbolic violence against women continues, there will be those who feel entitled to victimise some women, and those who blame victimised women for their situations. Even if proper laws are in place, if the habitus of the general population does not change, many women will continue to be excluded from being 'true' victims, not only by law enforcement but also perpetrators. At the same time, just as in history (Gilfoyle, 1999), in the face of limited economic options and a lack of financial support available, many women rationally choose to sell sex, sometimes out of desperation. Economic desperation continues to make women vulnerable to loan sharks and debt bondage. So, in the fight against the control of women selling sex by third parties and sex trafficking, there is the need to keep both ideological and structural issues in mind, with particular attention to gender. Otherwise, this effort will end up reinforcing gender oppression, further limiting women's choices and making the lives of women selling sex even more challenging.

Appendix 1: Interview Topic Guide for Collection of 'Herstories'

Introduction

My name is Angie, and I am doing research for my PhD on women and the sex trade in Hong Kong. The aim is to shed light on the situation in Hong Kong. Thank you for agreeing to participate in this research. Your story is being recorded in the form of notes anonymously.

Please treat this as an informal chat and feel free to share only information you feel comfortable sharing. The discussion should last no longer than 60 minutes, and you do not have to answer any questions you do not want to answer.

Items

Question 1. What were your past experiences leading up to entrance into the sex trade?

Question 2. How was your family life, growing up?

Question 3. How were your experiences in Hong Kong, before entering the sex trade?

Question 4. What led you to enter the sex trade?

Question 5. What have your experiences been in the sex trade?

Question 6. How are you treated by customers?

Question 7. How are you treated by others in the community?

Question 8. What are factors motivating you to stay in the sex trade?

Question 9. What are your observations and opinions of the sex trade in Hong Kong?

Question 10. Have you heard or seen anything about women who are controlled?

Question 11. What are your dreams for the future?

Question 12. What obstacles lie between you and your dream?

Conclusion

Thank you very much for your time. Is there anything else you would like to share? Is there anything you would like to ask me? I will be keeping in touch with the NGO; if you would like to be informed of the results of the study, please let them know. In the meantime, if you have any concerns, please contact your community worker at the NGO.

Appendix 2: Interview Guide for Expert Interviews

Introduction

My name is Angie. As you are aware, I am doing research for my PhD on women and trafficking in women in Hong Kong, especially with regards to the sale of sex. The aim is to shed light on the local situation to see what can be done to improve the situation. Thank you for agreeing to participate in this research. Your responses are being recorded in the form of notes.

Items

Question 1. What is the situation of the sex trade in general in Hong Kong, including aspects of control?

Follow-Up Questions 1.1: Can you tell me more about the demographics of women you typically work with?

Follow-Up Questions 1.2.: Can you tell me more about the people buying sex?

Question 2. How do pimps and other third-parties play a role in the lives of women?

Question 3. What challenges do these women face?

Follow-Up Question 3.1: What challenges do they face in the sale of sex?

Follow-Up Question 3.2: What challenges do they face in their everyday lives?

Question 4. In your work, what have you seen or heard related to human trafficking?

Follow-Up Questions 4.1: Can you tell me more about the demographics of victims?

Follow-Up Questions 4.2: Can you tell me more about third parties involved?

Question 5. Who or which organisations handled those cases?

Question 6. Is there anything else you would like to share, especially with regards to gender issues in Hong Kong?

Conclusion

Thank you very much for your time. Is there anything you would like to ask me? I will be keeping in touch via email, and you will be informed of the results of the study.

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