

# 親密「劃/跨」界：男男按摩、身體工作與同志性消費中的照顧倫理

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## 摘要

本文探討男男按摩的身體工作，剖析性工作中身體與情感的複雜互動，說明親密關係如何成為男同志性消費文化中炙手可熱的商品，解釋男男按摩不只是情慾銷售，也是感同身受的照顧工作。透過深度訪談 34 位男同志按摩師的勞動經驗，筆者從女性主義身體工作分析觀點出發，結合身體研究對感知身體的理解，分析男師服務流程中身體情感的邊界治理與親密連結。研究發現分為以下兩個面向：(1) 男師的身體工作與親密劃界，以及 (2) 按摩過程中的親密跨界與照顧倫理。前者說明男師如何透過專業的手法，體現「男朋友經驗」，讓客人擁有談戀愛的感覺，進而解釋男師專業的身體技藝。後者闡述男男按摩如何讓老、殘、病、醜的身體，跨越常規男同志情慾對身體的期待與親密關係的預設，(短暫) 享有親密實作的資格，同時，也強調男男按摩於專業操演外的道德意涵，以對抗主流社會加諸於男男性工作的沉重污名。相較於現有文獻分別從親密關係或身體工作分析男性性工作，本文說明為何研究男男按摩兩者缺一不可。藉由男男按摩中的親密劃界與跨界，本文補充過往研究傾向只以身體情感邊界治理說明男性性工作者勞動經驗的不足。最後，本研究指出性工作對於邊緣族群親密實作的具體意涵，以提供國家制定性產業政策之參考。

**關鍵詞：**男男情慾按摩、身體工作、感知的身體、親密關係、邊緣的身體

**ABSTRACT:**

This article explores the relatively unexamined topic of interactions between corporeal and affective dimensions in male sexual labor, focusing on the role of intimacy in the bodywork of erotic gay massage in Taiwan. It is suggested that a framework grounded in a feminist bodywork paradigm and complemented by affective embodiment fruitfully captures how intimacy is lived out during commodified same-sex engagements. Drawing upon in-depth interviews with 34 male-for-male masseurs, the analysis examines two prominent servicing features of gay massage: crafted intimacy and unscripted care. Whereas the former refers to the ‘boyfriend experience’ built up through tactile encounters, the latter regards erotic services as caring practices for the socially vulnerable, adding a moral dimension to the cultural significance of gay massage in Taiwan. This article concludes that corporeal and affective dimensions are inseparable in understanding male sexual labor. Further research can benefit from more attention to somatic affection in the interplay between bodywork and intimacy in gay sexual commerce.

**Keywords:** affective embodiment, bodywork, erotic gay massage, intimacy, socially vulnerable bodies