

Recognition and Foreign Domestic Helpers in Hong Kong: The Non-governmental Organizations (NGOs) as a Support System

Lingzi Xu*

Faculty of Humanities and Social Science, Beijing Normal University- Hong Kong Baptist University
United International College, Zhuhai, China

*Corresponding Author: Lingzi Xu

ABSTRACT

This paper investigates the effectiveness of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in supporting foreign domestic helpers (FDHs) in Hong Kong, focusing on the often-overlooked perspectives of the FDHs themselves. Through in-depth interviews with 5 FDHs and consultations with key NGOs, this paper employs recognition theory to analyze the challenges FDHs face due to their marginalized status and to evaluate the impact of NGO support on their recognition and rights within Hong Kong society. The findings reveal both the limitations and strengths of NGOs in advocating for FDHs, providing detailed insights into how these organizations can strengthen their support roles.

KEYWORDS

Non-governmental Organizations; Migrant Worker's Support; Foreign Domestic Workers; Hong Kong; Empowerment of Marginalized Groups; Recognition Theory.

1. INTRODUCTION

FDHs in Hong Kong warehouse workers are employed by Hong Kong residents, typically on a family basis. They make up approximately 5% of the Hong Kong population, with around 98.5% of them being female. FDHs are primarily responsible for domestic tasks such as cooking, serving, cleaning, dishwashing, and childcare (Tam et al., 2017). FDHs play a significant role in Hong Kong, providing essential household labor that allows local families to engage in work and social activities.

The huge number of FDHs in Hong Kong reflects the trend of transnational labor based on the globalization of the capitalist economy (Gill et al., 2021). Migrant workers move from underdeveloped regions to developed regions for employment opportunities. However, the price of FDH's economic benefits is to sacrifice their dignity and social status. For a long time, domestic work has been considered an intersection of gender ideology, class ideology, and a "culture of slavery", resulting in the exploitation of workers (Qayum and Ray, 2003; Kaur-Gill et al., 2021; Gill et al., 2021). This is one of the reasons why FDHs are vulnerable to abuse, both verbal and physical, by their employers in the working environment and are often unable to negotiate or assert their rights (Cheng, 1996). In Hong Kong, FDHs are suffering from long working hours, cramped working environments, low wages, and discrimination. In recent years, how to help these FDHs who are suffering gained more international concern.

Recognition theory provides a theoretical framework for understanding the plight of FDHs, which theory explores the tension between the immigrant individual and the new society. Recognition theory suggests that people must gain recognition from others to achieve self-development. When immigrants arrive in a new society, they do not automatically gain recognition which is essential for

healthy human development. Within this framework, FDHs facing non-recognition need to seek support from other groups such as NGOs. The purpose of this study is to explore the role of NGOs in supporting "unrecognized" FDHs through in-depth interviews with FDHs in Hong Kong and to further examine the impact of NGOs on FDHs' sense of identity and rights protection within Hong Kong society.

1.1. Recognition Theory

Cox used recognition theory to explore how immigrants gain and experience recognition in their new society (Cox, 2022). There are three basic forms of recognition: 1. love, i.e., the support and care of the Other for the individual on a personal level; 2. Rights, i.e., the recognition and respect of the individual by the legal system; and 3. Esteem i.e., the recognition of the individual on a socio-cultural level (Honneth, 1996). For FDHs, recognition from the individual means having a certain relationship with the local community and receiving a certain level of support and care from the surrounding community. Respect for recognition, on the other hand, involves the respect of the law for the rights and cultural identity of FDHs, and the absence of such recognition can lead to discrimination and marginalization of FDHs in society, which affects their ability to integrate and participate in the life of the society (Cheung et al., 2019). Non-recognition refers to a disruption of recognition in society, corresponding to abuse, discrimination, and stigmatization, respectively (Cox, 2022).

1.2. Abuse, Discrimination, and Stigmatization Faced by FDHs In Hong Kong

A survey of FDHs by Choy et al. revealed that out of 106 survey participants, 29% of the respondents reported experiencing at least one form of abuse (Choy et al., 2022). Also, FDHs face unreasonable legal requirements that when an FDH's contract is terminated, they must leave Hong Kong within two weeks of the termination unless they find a new employer, and it usually takes four to six weeks to process a change of employment (Cheung et al., 2019). Social stigmatization is reflected in the way FDHs are referred to in the local language, for example, the discriminatory slang term 'bun mui' (Filipino girl) is widely used by Hong Kong residents to describe FDWs (Fong & Yeoh, 2020).

These challenges leave FDHs feeling unrecognized, impeding their further integration into Hong Kong society, making it especially important for them to seek assistance from the government or other organizations.

1.3. The Role and Limitations of NGOs in Supporting Unrecognized FDHs

NGOs offer a variety of services including counselling for those in distress; legal advice on working conditions, immigration requirements, and the termination of contracts; and temporary shelter for unemployed women therefore without accommodation. They are also involved in data collection and research, which usually takes the form of advocacy campaigns directed at either the Philippines or the host country's government (Yeoh & Huang, 2010). Some NGOs provide support services to employers of FDHs. HELP's report in 2022 states that the problem is difficult to solve unless both FDHs and employers are involved in the process (Mission for Migrant Workers, 2022).

Access to information on supportive services influences migrant workers' choices (Ciobanu & Bolzman, 2015; Dwyer & Papadimitriou, 2006). Despite dedicated social service organizations in Hong Kong, they are less accessible than familiar networks from their home countries, leading to underutilization (Baig & Chang, 2020). Factors such as social exclusion, language barriers, and mistrust of service provision hinder FDHs from seeking NGO support (Fong & Yeoh, 2020). Accordingly, this study raised the following research questions:

RQ1: How do NGOs in Hong Kong support FDHs in overcoming challenges like abuse, discrimination, and stigmatization, and what are the limitations of these efforts?

RQ2: How does NGO support impact FDHs' sense of identity and integration into Hong Kong society?

2. METHODOLOGY

In this paper, both questionnaires and in-depth interviews were utilized. The interview results were analyzed through recognition theory. The questionnaire facilitated the identification of target respondents, specifically those who had sought support from NGOs in Hong Kong. In-depth interviews were then conducted with foreign domestic helpers (FDHs) fitting the research focus, as well as with a representative from an NGO supporting FDHs.

2.1. Questionnaire

2.1.1. Data Collection

In this study, questionnaire participants were randomly recruited from common meeting places of FDHs (e.g., public places and parks) in Kowloon Tong, Mongkok, and Central, Hong Kong. All participants in this study were FDHs working in Hong Kong. As most of the FDHs were only available one day a week, questionnaire data collection was only conducted on Sundays (the usual rest day of FDHs). The data collection period was from 16 October 2023 to 20 March 2024.

2.1.2. Questionnaire Design

Based on the research questions, the main purpose of the questionnaire was to screen out samples that could be in-depth interviewed, i.e., FDHs who had sought support from NGOs. The questionnaire assessed the in-depth interview participants by using the following questions: 1. Have you encountered difficulties (abuse, discrimination, exploitation, verbal violence, lack of food and shelter, etc.) in your living and working in Hong Kong? 2. Have you sought support from an NGO? If both questions were answered with “yes”, the participant was considered eligible to participate in the in-depth interview. Through the questionnaire, 20 FDHs completed the questionnaire and 5 FDHs who fit the research themes participated in in-depth interviews.

2.1.3. Questionnaire Result

The questionnaire results provided preliminary insights into the difficulties FDHs face in their lives in Hong Kong and how they addressed these challenges, serving as a basis for selecting interview candidates and guiding the design of the in-depth interviews. Table 1 presents the basic results of the questionnaire survey.

In the first round of questionnaire screening, 8 out of 20 FDHs did not face any difficulties in their work and life in Hong Kong, and they are satisfied with their work and life situation at present. 2 out of them said that they know that NGO can support FDHs who are facing difficulties. They knew this either through a post from an NGO in a Facebook group, or through a friend who was an FDH in their neighborhood. Of the other 6 FDHs, three of them did not know the existence of NGOs in Hong Kong that support FDHs. The other three of them did not know the supportive role of NGOs, they thought NGO activities were limited to organizing festive celebrations or providing Cantonese classes. All eight FDHs said that if they encountered difficulties in the future, they would try to seek support from NGOs. This could not be ruled out because they thought the interviewer was a staff member from an NGO.

Of the twelve FDHs who had encountered difficulties in their work and life in Hong Kong, seven of them did not seek support from NGOs. The reasons they did not seek NGO for support were 1. some of them did not know much about NGOs; 2. some of them thought other ways of support were more effective, including seeking social support and seeking help from government departments; 3. some of them expressed uncertainty about the support function of NGOs or expressed little confidence in NGOs' support. The reason for low confidence in NGO support was that friends around them had sought help from NGOs, but the problem was not solved.

Table 1. Questionnaire Results

Name	Age	Years working in Hong Kong	Encounter in difficulties or not/ difficulties type	Supporting ways	Difficulties have been solved or not
Celeste	42	5	Yes/ no place to live	Ask NGOs for help	Yes
Jean	38	5	Yes/ lack of food, homesick	Ask NGOs for help	Yes
Roselyn	32	3	Yes/ Suffering verbal violence from employer	Ask NGOs for help	No
Nico	26	2	Yes/ no place to live due to covid	Ask NGOs for help	Yes
Lyn	43	10	Yes/ lack of food	Ask government departments for help	No
Charmie	39	6	No		
Richela	43	5	Yes/Missed covid test and fined	Ask NGOs for help	No
Diana	27	2	Yes/lack of food	Ask agency for help	No
Josie	27	3	Yes/ Employer refused to pay wages	Ask agency for help	Yes
Eva	31	2	No		
Marry	26	3	Yes/ long working time	Ask government departments for help	Yes
Jennifer	24	2	No		
Rhiza	24	2	No		
Jasmin	29	4	Yes/ Suffering verbal violence from employer	Social support (Talk to friends)	No
Analyn	35	6	No		
Ely	37	8	Yes/ no time off	Social support (Talk to husbands)	No
Gina	29	3	No		
Rhina	33	2	No		
Oliver	35	4	Yes/ Discriminated	endure in silence	No
Jes	28	2	No		

2.2. In-depth Interview

After identifying candidates for in-depth interviews through the questionnaire survey, the author conducted interviews with five FDHs who fit the research theme. To gather more information on how NGOs are involved in supporting FDHs, an influential NGO supporting FDHs was interviewed on April 15, 2024. All interviews were conducted in English or Cantonese and were audio-recorded with consent and lasted between 40 minutes and 1.5 hours. All participants of the in-depth interviews (excluding NGOs) were given a HK\$50 shopping voucher as a token of appreciation.

At the beginning of the interviews, all participants were given an informed consent form in English covering the purpose of this study, their possible participation, their rights as participants, and other ethical considerations. After obtaining written consent, the authors again ensured the anonymity of the participants and the confidentiality of private information. Participants were asked to provide a pseudonym to be used throughout the interview. They were informed that participation is voluntary and that they have the right to withdraw from the study at any time if they feel uncomfortable during the participation.

The semi-structured interview guide was used to come up with a guide for in-depth interviews and allow for extended probes. According to this guide, the interview of this study contains four types of questions:

1) General background

Demographics.

Working experience in Hong Kong.

2) Difficulties encountered in the workplace and life

“What kind of difficulties have you encountered?”

“Can you share with us if you have experienced verbal violence or unfair treatment from your employer?”

“What’s your thought when you faced these difficulties?”

“What methods did you use to solve the difficulties?”

3) Reasons for seeking support from NGO.

“Why are you seeking an NGO to help you solve your problem?”

“How did you hear about this organization?”

“Have you sought help from anyone else, such as friends, other family members in the household, the police, or others?”

4) Evaluating the role of NGO

“Did the NGO help you solve your problem?”

“How would you evaluate NGO for your case?”

“Will you ask an NGO to help you in the future?”

“Is there anything else you feel could be improved when the NGO supports you?”

Participants who showed distress or discomfort during the interview were asked if they wanted to continue, and there was a short pause in the interview to give them time to relax and calm down. After the interview, all five participants were kept in touch on WhatsApp or Facebook to ensure the accuracy of the results and the integrity of the case.

3. FINDINGS

Through in-depth interviews, all five interviewees (Nico, Jean, Celeste, Roselyn and Richela) felt that the NGOs provided some support to them in resolving their difficulties, even though the outcomes of the support may not always be effective. Joy, a senior staff member of an NGO, provided another perspective on the role of the organization's support for foreign domestic workers. In the next section, the authors will apply recognition theory to analyze the results of the interviews.

3.1. Love

Love is one of the most basic forms of recognition, referring to intimate and emotional recognition between individuals. Since most FDHs work in a foreign country for a long time and are separated from their families and friends in their home countries, they easily feel isolated and helpless, leading them to a lack of love, which brings about emotional and psychological traumas. These traumas may prevent FDHs from effectively utilizing their abilities and characteristics and create serious psychological problems (Cox, 2022). The flip side of this form is abuse, i.e., non-recognition on a personal level, usually originating from their employers. NGOs have a significant advantage in increasing the psychological resilience of FDHs and providing culturally sensitive psychological support, as they can kindly care for FDHs who have been treated unequally, using the language of the FDHs.

Nico, a 26-year-old FDH, was evicted by his employer on the grounds of 'preventing the elderly and children in the family from being infected' after testing positive for COVID-19. After having to sleep on the streets, Nico sought help from an NGO and received immediate support. Nico was not only quickly placed in a shelter provided by the NGO, but also received counselling services from NGO staff.

'I started to feel less lonely and helpless because I knew that there were people who would stand with me to solve my problems.'

Similarly, another foreign domestic worker, Jean, a 38-year-old Filipina, was chronically hungry due to a lack of access to food from her employer's family. Not only that but Jean usually doesn't get paid on time. But for a long time, she was afraid to communicate directly with her employer because she was afraid of losing her job. Her former employer even locked chocolates in a cupboard and wouldn't share them with her.

'It was hard for me, it made me feel like I was being treated like a prisoner.'

Oppression within the workplace made it impossible for Jean to resist crying at KFC one Sunday. With the help of an NGO that was able to provide FDHs with free food and heart support, Jean gradually recovered from the immense stress and with the help of the NGO was able to terminate her contract with her miserly employer and find a new one.

'I felt very grateful, and the NGO staff made me feel very welcome as they communicated with me in Javanese.'

Many foreign domestic workers are afraid to talk to their employers or look for a new job for fear of losing their jobs. In the long run, their mental health can be extremely damaged. Without external psychological support, the situation only gets worse. When NGOs are present, FDHs feel they have a pillar of support, which increases their confidence.

Overall, FDHs, as strangers in a foreign land, often suffer from unequal treatment from their employers in Hong Kong society. The inequality in class and power relations isolates them and makes it difficult for them to gain support from locals. NGOs can fill the lack of love for FDHs in Hong Kong by providing them with psychological support and a supportive language environment like their home country in an environment where they feel isolated.

However, the help offered by NGOs can only go so far. While they provide immediate psychological relief, their resources are limited, and the underlying power dynamics between FDHs and employers remain unchanged. Although NGOs strengthen FDHs' resilience and emotional well-being, they cannot address the deeper, systemic issues that cause these traumas in the first place.

3.2. Rights

The recognition of rights is important in the context of migration, which concerns the ability of migrants to receive equal legal protection and social respect (Cox, 2022). In addition to providing FDHs with love recognition, NGOs can provide legal aid to remedy legal injustices and exclusion.

In May 2022, Richela, an FDH, returned from the Philippines to work in Hong Kong. She was required to go to a government testing center for mandatory COVID-19 testing immediately after completing a week of quarantine. However, due to unfamiliarity with the regulations, Richela forgot to go to the testing center, and she was fined HK\$10,000 by the government authorities - more than twice the minimum monthly salary of a domestic helper.

Faced with the pressure of the fine, Richela turned to an NGO for legal support to help her get the fine waived. The NGO not only provided professional and free legal advice to Richela but also helped her to communicate with the relevant government departments on the matter. In Hong Kong, FDHs are isolated from local support networks and don't know who to turn to because of language and cultural barriers, as well as shallow legal awareness and low economic status. NGOs' pro-bono legal assistance provides effective and timely help for FDHs like Richela.

'They work very actively and that gives me a sense of comfort. But (NGO says) waiving the fine is a matter for the government and they can only do so much to help me communicate.'

According to Richela, the role of NGOs is frequently confined to assisting FDHs in filing complaints or offering some form of legal support. However, these ways of assistance can have little effect on the eventual outcome of the situation. Because NGOs are not the final arbiters of how things are going, they can only offer a limited amount of assistance to FDHs who are experiencing challenges, particularly those relating to government agencies.

However, Celeste's case suggests that NGOs have the advantage of being more professional and authoritative in communicating with employers.

Celeste, who faced the pressure of being evicted from her home by her employer, said that the NGO not only provided her with some legal advice but also helped her communicate with her employer.

'I trust this NGO a lot because they want to help me.'

Because of the uneven rights inherent in the employer-employee relationship, foreign domestic workers may miscommunicate with their employers out of fear (Yeoh & Huang, 2010). This is where NGO mediation as a third party becomes especially significant, as it may assist FDHs in communicating effectively with their employers, as this communication is frequently more authoritative and professional, with a legal basis. With the assistance of the NGO, the employer will gain a better understanding of the FDHs' claims. Furthermore, her faith in the NGO originates from their genuine desire to assist her, demonstrating the NGO's strength in providing culturally sensitive rights support to FDHs.

Overall, the support provided by NGOs helped to a certain extent to make up for the lack of legal protection, social exclusion, and psychological and emotional damage arising from the lack of rights recognition. Although as third parties, NGOs can only offer assistance within the confines of the existing legal system, which is often stacked against FDHs. However, such gestures can greatly affect the well-being of FDHs, highlighting the importance of providing legal support in creating a supportive environment for all members of society.

3.3. Esteem

Esteem refers to the cultural recognition and respect that immigrants receive from the community. However, the contribution of FDHs to Hong Kong society is often overlooked in Hong Kong, as Roselyn's case aptly illustrates.

'Caring for the elderly is a very difficult job, especially caring for an elderly person with dementia. Every time I try to help him, he pushes me away and even abuses me sometimes. This makes it very difficult for me. And when I explained the situation to the old man's children (the employer's family), they thought it was normal.'

She felt helpless and wanted to leave the family, but she had to stay because her children in the Philippines needed money for their basic needs. Roselyn felt accepted and relieved of psychological stress after attending the NGO's FDH tea party.

'At the tea party, I met a lot of FDHs who are in the same situation as me and I felt I am not alone.'

NGOs directly provide a place for FDHs like Roselyn, who are facing a lot of stress, to communicate, which can enrich their social network and make them feel that they are not alone.

In addition to providing a place to connect, the NGO staff say several FDHs who have received help before have volunteered to go to NGOs on their days off to volunteer and help more people in need.

'Most of our NGO staff are FDHs or have been FDHs for a long time. quite a few FDHs say volunteering gives them a high sense of achievement, and recognition straight away.'

NGOs not only provide an effective place to socialize but also give FDHs a sense of respect and motivate FDHs to be able to realize their full potential and value in the Hong Kong community. Although these activities help improve FDHs' sense of self-worth, they do not fully address the deep-rooted societal stigmatization FDHs face. While NGOs provide critical emotional and social support, their ability to change how FDHs are perceived and valued in Hong Kong society remains limited.

4. CONCLUSION

This paper employs recognition theory to analyze the experiences of foreign domestic helpers (FDHs) in Hong Kong and the role of NGOs in addressing their misrecognition. Through interviews with FDHs and NGO staff, the findings indicate that NGOs provide crucial forms of recognition in the form of psychological support, legal aid, and spaces for social connection. Despite limitations in the scope and effectiveness of NGO interventions, particularly in mitigating the structural inequalities FDHs face, they play a pivotal role in addressing the emotional, legal, and social needs of FDHs, helping to restore their dignity and sense of self-worth.

Recognition theory highlights the importance of love, rights, and esteem for individuals to thrive, all of which are often denied to FDHs within the unequal power dynamics of Hong Kong's capitalist society. The term "Filipino maids" in local Cantonese exemplifies the cultural and linguistic marginalization of FDHs, reinforcing a hierarchy that positions them as subordinate to local employers. This symbolic "gaze" reflects deep-seated discrimination, which NGOs attempt to counter through their support initiatives.

Despite these structural challenges, NGOs offer FDHs spaces where they feel valued and heard, providing an essential counterbalance to the discrimination they face. The willingness of interviewees to share their stories and personal experiences illustrates a desire for visibility and recognition within a society that often marginalizes them. While NGOs cannot fully dismantle the systemic inequalities FDHs encounter, their efforts in providing recognition are integral to fostering a more inclusive and just environment for these workers in Hong Kong.

REFERENCES

- [1] Tam, W. J., Koh, G. C.-H., Legido-Quigley, H., Ha, N. H. L., & Yap, P. L. K. "I Can't Do This Alone: a study on foreign domestic workers providing long-term care for frail seniors at home." *International Psychogeriatrics*, Vol. 30, No. 9, pp. 1269–1277, 2018. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1041610217002459>.
- [2] Kaur-Gill, S., Pandi, A. R., & Dutta, M. J. "Singapore's national discourse on foreign domestic workers: Exploring perceptions of the margins." *Journalism*, Vol. 22, No. 12, pp. 2991–3012, 2021. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1464884919879850>.
- [3] Qayum, S., & Ray, R. "Grappling with Modernity: India's Respectable Classes and the Culture of Domestic Servitude." *Ethnography*, Vol. 4, No. 4, pp. 520–555, 2003. <https://doi.org/10.1177/146613810344002>.
- [4] Cheng, S.-J. A. "Migrant women domestic workers in Hong Kong, Singapore and Taiwan: A comparative analysis." *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal*, Vol. 5, No. 1, pp. 139–152, 1996. <https://doi.org/10.1177/011719689600500107>.
- [5] Cox, R. E. "The theory of recognition and the ethics of immigration." *686603 Bytes*, 2022. <https://doi.org/10.25949/19435421.V1>.
- [6] Honneth, A. (1996). *The struggle for recognition: The moral grammar of social conflicts* (1st MIT Press ed.). MIT Press.
- [7] Cheung, J. T. K., Tsoi, V. W. Y., Wong, K. H. K., & Chung, R. Y. "Abuse and depression among Filipino foreign domestic helpers. A cross-sectional survey in Hong Kong." *Public Health*, Vol. 166, pp. 121–127, 2019. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.puhe.2018.09.020>.
- [8] Choy, C.Y., Chang, L. and Man, P.Y. "Social Support and coping among female foreign domestic helpers experiencing abuse and exploitation in Hong Kong." *Frontiers in Communication*, Vol. 7, 2022. doi:10.3389/fcomm.2022.1015193.
- [9] Fong, E., & Yeoh, B.S. "Migrant Domestic Workers: Disadvantaged work, social support, and collective strategies in East Asia." *American Behavioral Scientist*, Vol. 64, No. 6, pp. 703–708, 2020. doi:10.1177/0002764220910235.
- [10] Yeoh, B. S. A., & Huang, S. "Transnational Domestic Workers and the Negotiation of Mobility and Work Practices in Singapore's Home Spaces." *Mobilities*, Vol. 5, No. 2, pp. 219–236, 2010. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17450101003665036>.
- [11] Mission for Domestic Worker. Service Report 2022 [PDF file]. 2022. Retrieved from <https://drive.google.com/file/d/1o90CexC7s8qLvqfbmCmsIP3tiUdixyoo/view>.
- [12] Ciobanu, O., & Bolzman, C. "The interplay between international migration and the welfare state in the context of the aging of the migrant population." *Scientific Annals of the Alexandru Ioan Cuza University, Iasi*, Vol. 2, pp. 9–31, 2015.
- [13] Dwyer, P., & Papadimitriou, D. "The Social Security Rights of Older International Migrants in the European Union." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, Vol. 32, No. 8, pp. 1301–1319, 2006. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13691830600927773>.
- [14] Baig, R.B., & Chang, C.-W. "Formal and informal social support systems for migrant domestic workers." *American Behavioral Scientist*, Vol. 64, No. 6, pp. 784–801, 2020. doi:10.1177/0002764220910251.
- [15] Alcoid, M.L. "NGO-Labor Union Cooperation in the promotion of the rights and interests of Landbased Overseas Filipino Workers." *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal*, Vol. 15, No. 3, pp. 335–357, 2006. doi:10.1177/011719680601500303.
- [16] Lai, Y., & Fong, E. "Work-related aggression in the home-based working environment: Experiences of migrant domestic workers in Hong Kong." *American Behavioral Scientist*, Vol. 64, No. 6, pp. 722–739, 2020. doi:10.1177/0002764220910227.
- [17] Carnay, N.U. *Investigating Living Accommodation of Women Migrant Domestic Workers Towards Advocacy and Action*. rep., 2017. Available at: https://drive.google.com/file/d/1greBDuJTLAE9ZnxRo3hZ_GZ_dNspMsTq/view (Accessed: 2024).
- [18] Lam, D. "Help, an NGO fighting for helpers' rights." *The HK HUB*, 2022. Available at: <https://thehkhub.com/live-in-rule-domestic-workers/> (Accessed: 02 June 2024).
- [19] He, G., & Wu, X. "Foreign domestic helpers hiring and women's Labor Supply in Hong Kong." *Chinese Sociological Review*, Vol. 51, No. 4, pp. 397–420, 2019. doi:10.1080/21620555.2019.1630814.
- [20] Lim, A. "Transnational organizing and feminist politics of Difference and Solidarity: The mobilisation of Domestic Workers in Hong Kong." *Asian Studies Review*, Vol. 40, No. 1, pp. 70–88, 2016. doi:10.1080/10357823.2015.1124841.

- [21] Lui, I.D., et al. "We also deserve help during the pandemic": The effect of the COVID-19 pandemic on Foreign Domestic Workers in Hong Kong." *Journal of Migration and Health*, Vol. 3, p. 100037, 2021. doi:10.1016/j.jmh.2021.100037.
- [22] Malhotra, R., et al. "Health issues of female foreign domestic workers: A systematic review of the scientific and grey literature." *International Journal of Occupational and Environmental Health*, Vol. 19, No. 4, pp. 261–277, 2013. doi:10.1179/2049396713y.0000000041.
- [23] Martinez, A., et al. "'I don't know where to seek help, so I just kept my silence": A qualitative study on psychological help-seeking among Filipino domestic workers in the United Kingdom." *SSM - Qualitative Research in Health*, Vol. 2, p. 100125, 2021. doi:10.1016/j.ssmqr.2022.100125.
- [24] Ho, K.H., et al. "Peer support and mental health of Migrant Domestic Workers: A scoping review." *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health*, Vol. 19, No. 13, p. 7617, 2022. doi:10.3390/ijerph19137617.
- [25] Chung, R.Y.-N., & Mak, J.K.-L. "Physical and mental health of live-in female migrant domestic workers: A randomly sampled survey in Hong Kong." *American Behavioral Scientist*, Vol. 64, No. 6, pp. 802–822, 2020. doi:10.1177/0002764220910215.