

Lund University
Department of Sociology
Bachelor's in Development Studies



LUNDS
UNIVERSITET

Abuse of Domestic Workers in Hong Kong

*A critical study of abuse & exploitation of Filipina domestic workers in
Hong Kong*

Author: Caroline Älmeby
Bachelor Thesis: UTVK03, 15 hp
Spring Term 2020
Supervisor: Lisa Eklund

Abstract

Today, an increasing portion of the world's population is moving from one country to another every year to work. In recent years there has been a feminisation of labour migration where women from developing countries respond to shortages in care work in developed countries, as domestic workers. Hong Kong is today considered one of the best places of destination for foreign domestic workers. Even though many domestic workers prefer Hong Kong, several cases of abuse and discrimination have caught media attention in recent years. The labour and immigration department also receive thousands of complaints from domestic workers about physical, sexual and verbal abuse every year. This thesis, therefore, aims to analyse how abuse & exploitation of Filipino domestic workers in Hong Kong can be understood from an employer-employee relationship, an institutional level and a structural level. Data was gathered via a systematic review, and a critical feminist perspective, focusing on the welfare state, migration, the global care chain and intersectionality was used to guide the analysis. The study concludes that in generating an in-depth understanding of factors for abuse and exploitation of Filipina domestic workers in Hong Kong, one needs to consider all three layers in society. Without taking account for the effect of social structures on institutions which affect the employer-employee relationship, the high rates of reported abuse in Hong Kong cannot be understood. Furthermore, these women are discriminated based on both class, gender, ethnicity and citizenship, which, in combination, lays the foundation for their vulnerability in society.

Key words: *Hong Kong, Foreign Domestic Worker, Filipino, Caregiving, Abuse, Exploitation*

List of Abbreviations

FDW	Filipina Domestic Worker
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation

Definitions

Abuse

In this paper, *abuse* will be defined according to the Cambridge Dictionary: “*to use something for the wrong purpose in a way that is harmful or morally wrong*” (Cambridge Dictionary 2020). The term aims to explain how Filipina domestic workers in Hong Kong may suffer mentally or physically from social structures, institutions or the employer.

Exploitation

In this paper *exploitation* will be defined, according to the definition by Jonathan Wolff (2018), as: “*taking advantage in a morally dubious way*” (Wolff 2018: 176). In order to understand the exploitation of domestic workers, the author claims the one need to consider the argument by Karl Marx. Marx argued that workers only agree to exploitive conditions because they have no other choice. E.g. a woman might agree to the exploitive conditions because of her fear of losing her job, which make it impossible for her to send money to her family in the Philippines. Exploitation, therefore, signifies that the worker is in a structurally vulnerable position giving the employer the possibility to take advantage of it, which means that “*in a case of exploitation the exploiter exploits a person’s vulnerable circumstances to impose an exploitative arrangement on them*” (Wolff 2018: 178).

Table of Contents

<i>1. Introduction</i>	6
1.1 Research Problem	7
1.2 Aim & Research Question	9
1.3 Relevance & Delimitations	9
1.4 Disposition of Thesis	10
<i>2. Background</i>	11
<i>3. Theoretical Framework</i>	16
3.1 Introduction.....	16
3.2 Feminist Welfare Perspective	16
3.3 Migration & the Global Care Chain.....	17
3.4 Extended Intersectional Theory	19
<i>4. Methodology</i>	20
4.1 Research Design.....	20
4.2 Data Collection	21
4.3 Methodological Limitations.....	22
<i>5. Analysis</i>	24
5.1 Abusive Employers & Exploitative Institutions in Hong Kong	24
5.1.1 Outline	24
5.1.2 The blurred line between private and public	24
5.1.3 Filipino community in Hong Kong.....	25
5.1.4 Surveillance of domestic workers.....	26
5.1.5 Permanent temporariness.....	28
5.1.6 Ethnic stereotyping	30
5.2 Exploitative Social Structures & Discriminating Institutions.....	33
5.2.1 Outline	33
5.2.2 A gender normative welfare state	33
5.2.3 Trapped in precarious work.....	34
5.2.4 A case of feminist neo-colonialism	35
5.2.5 Female empowerment via another woman's oppression.....	36
5.2.6 Caregiving, kinship and love?	37
<i>6. Limitations</i>	40
<i>7. Concluding Discussion</i>	41
<i>8. Bibliography</i>	44
<i>9. Appendices</i>	52
Appendix 1.....	52
Appendix 2.....	56

1. Introduction

Today, an increasing portion of the world's population is moving from one country to another every year. Nearly 272 million people migrate each year, and a growing number of these migrants are women (United Nations 2019). In recent years there has been a feminisation of labour migration where women from developing countries respond to shortages in care work in developed countries. It means that a majority of these women are moving away from their own families to take care of someone else's family, children and elderly in another country (Widding Isaksen, Uma Devi, Russell Hochschild 2008).

In South-East Asia, Hong Kong is one of the most popular destinations for migration and, today; the country is one of the biggest recruiters of foreign domestic workers in the world (Ahsan Ullah 2015). Foreign domestic workers comprise almost 5% of the total population and 10% of the working population in Hong Kong, which is the highest density of domestic workers worldwide (Justice Centre Hong Kong 2016). Around 380 000 foreign domestic workers lived in Hong Kong in 2019, and 97% of the workers were either from the Philippines or Indonesia (GovHK 2019).

The Hong Kong government started to facilitate the immigration of domestic workers to Hong Kong in the 1970s due to an issue with insufficient local domestic workers (Hong Kong Labour Department 2016). The demand for domestic workers has successively increased with more women entering the paid labour market and the increase of an ageing population (Benería, Deere, Kabeer 2012). However, the increase of FDWs in Hong Kong is facilitated by several factors. The gendered character of caregiving is one example. Traditionally, mothers are seen as natural caregivers, and since there has been little re-negotiating of gender stereotypes, a care gap has been created. Neither does the Hong Kong state provide sufficient welfare means, e.g. childcare centres and elderly care, to close the gap. Because of this care gap, the existing employment system would not be sustainable without the high number of FDWs in the country. It has, furthermore, resulted in that in 2019 one in eight households hired a domestic worker, and one in three families with children contracted a full-time domestic worker (Legislative Council of the HKSAR 2017). Therefore, the hiring of a domestic worker becomes a private solution to a public problem (Chow & Lum 2008).

Over the years, several regulations have been set in place concerning the labour and human rights of domestic workers in Hong Kong. Numerous non-governmental organisations (NGO) working for the rights of domestic workers have also been founded. However, even with the number of regulations aiming to protect foreign domestic workers, thousands of complaints on physical, verbal and sexual abuse, are filed each year to the labour and immigration department. Moreover, in a study by Justice Centre Hong Kong, it is presented that only 5.4% of 1000 questioned domestic workers in Hong Kong, did not show signs of exploitation (Justice Centre Hong Kong 2016).

1.1 Research Problem

According to foreign domestic workers from South-East Asia, Hong Kong is considered the best place of destination to become a domestic worker. Migrant workers prefer Hong Kong because of the official employment contract where it is legislated a minimum wage, a weekly day off and entitlement to the same benefits and protection as their local counterparts (GovHK 2019, Constable 2019, Lai & Fong 2020). The organised Filipino community in Hong Kong has, furthermore, contributed to a more structured migration route and a social network for Filipino workers (Ibid).

The Hong Kong labour and immigration department, moreover, provide two consulates for domestic workers, one for Filipino and one for Indonesian domestic workers. At these consulates, domestic workers can ask questions and lodge complaints about their working situation. Every year both consulates receive thousands of complaints from foreign domestic workers about physical, sexual and verbal abuse, as well as non-payment of wages and excessively long working hours. Nonetheless, officials believe that most cases of abuse are not being reported (Hung 2019, Ahsan Ullah 2015).

Even with a significant Filipino community, state regulations and numerous NGOs, during the past five years, newspapers over the world have covered stories about cases of abuse against Filipino domestic workers (FDW) in Hong Kong (Ahsan Ullah 2015, Lai & Fong 2020). Erwiana Sulistyarningsih, a maid who was tortured by her employer, was the breaking point. In the case of Erwiana, the employer was sentenced on eight charges of assault, grievous bodily harm and criminal intimidation.

AP News wrote:

“Court heard that Sulistyaningsih suffered broken teeth, scratches all over body and blows to her head at the hands of Law, who also jammed a metal vacuum cleaner tube into her mouth, causing her lip to bleed.” (Chan 2015).

However, this is just one of the numerous cases. Baby Jane Allas is another domestic worker in Hong Kong who made the headlines when her employer fired her shortly after getting diagnosed with cervical cancer. She filed a complaint to the Hong Kong Labour Department and in the end, she won the case and got 30 000 HKD. Without the trial, she had been left on the street, not able to pay the treatment. During her time in the family, she had slept without a bed or mattress for 15 months in a storage room (Tsang 2019, Carvalho 2019).

Maryane, a third FDW in Hong Kong, forgot to put the butter on the breakfast table, which resulted in a violent situation:

“What is missing? [slap],” her employer shouts. “I have reminded you many times. You have a poor memory ... You better die [slap]. Why aren’t you dead? You better jump off the building and kill yourself. You make me so angry every day; you better die.” (Parry 2017)

The butter knife incident is just one example of physical abuse. The employer beat Maryane frequently for four months and made her work 16 hours a day until she left the family (Parry 2017). Many foreign domestic workers in Hong Kong face a daily life that is similar to modern slavery, and only a few dares to report the violence due to the great risk of being fired (Carvalho 2019).

1.2 Aim & Research Question

The reasons why and the factors for exploitation and abuse of FDWs in Hong Kong have not been analysed thoroughly. Because even with the number of state regulation, the presence of NGOs, a prominent Filipino community and plentiful existing literature, abuse and exploitation of FDWs in Hong Kong is still widespread, why?

This thesis, therefore, aims to generate a deeper understanding of the vulnerability of FDWs in Hong Kong and to identify blind spots in the existing literature. In generating a more in-depth understanding, I have chosen to do a systematic review focusing on three levels of abuse and exploitation: the employer-employee relationship, the institutional level and the structural level. Hong Kong will be used as a case study to understand the abuse and exploitation of FDWs from an employer-employee and institutional perspective. However, to understand the structural level underlying exploitation, I have chosen to broaden the research to include FDWs in other Asian countries as well. The analysis will be guided by a critical feminist perspective focusing on welfare provision, migration, the global care chain and intersectionality to frame the phenomenon both structurally and from an institutional and employer-employee perspective in Hong Kong. Therefore, this study will answer the following research question:

- *How can abuse & exploitation of Filipina domestic workers in Hong Kong be understood?*

1.3 Relevance & Delimitations

I have chosen Hong Kong as a case for this thesis because of the significant number of foreign domestic workers in the country. Furthermore, this study will solely focus on the abuse and exploitation of Filipina domestic workers in Hong Kong since 210 897 of 386 075 domestic workers in the country are from the Philippines (Census and Statistics Department of HKSAR 2018). Therefore, I believe that the findings from this research will be useful, considering it undertakes the majority group of domestic workers in Hong Kong. Since the majority of domestic workers in the country are women, there are only 4616 men from the Philippines working as domestic workers; the research will not consider male domestic workers (Ibid).

Moreover, I have chosen not to focus on the effect of female emigration on the left-behind families in the Philippines. However, how family ties affect the decision making of FDWs will be taken into consideration since it affects their lives in Hong Kong.

1.4 Disposition of Thesis

This section will present the disposition of the thesis, main focus, methodology and theoretical framework. First, the background will provide a summarised understanding of globalisation and care work, emigrating Filipinas and their situation in Hong Kong, and in the end a summarised understanding of the Hong Kong welfare system and family structures. This research will not have a separate section for the analysis of previous studies since the researcher has chosen to do a meta-analysis of existing literature. However, the background and theoretical framework will include relevant previous studies to frame the research and provide a context. Later the theoretical framework will be presented, the theories and concepts chosen for the analysis is a critical feminist perspective, focusing on welfare provision, migration, the global care chain and intersectionality. A section of methodology follows the theoretical framework. In this part, I will present the systematic review and the data collection process. In the analysis section, I will analyse and critically review the findings from a critical feminist perspective and answer the research question. Finally, in the end, I will present and discuss the results of the analysis in a concluding discussion.

2. Background

Globalisation of Migration

To understand the everyday life of many foreign domestic workers, one needs to recognise the effects of the globalisation process on international labour. Benería, Deere & Kabeer (2012) argue that the deregulation and liberalisation of the market economy, as part of globalisation, has increased labour mobility. Increasing international labour mobility is, furthermore, becoming an essential factor in the global market; spurring worldwide trade and global integration. However, with the spread of neoliberal policies and labour mobility, employment vulnerability and insecurity among workers are increasing for a large portion of the people in the developing world, especially temporary workers as foreign domestic workers (Ibid).

Benería, Deere & Kabeer (2012) furthermore claim that neoliberalism has contributed to the commodification and relocation of resources. The aim is to take advantage of differences and opportunities across nations to maximise profit. However, the ones making a profit are the global elite. In the last 20 years, even caregiving has become a commodity. The commodity of care is relocated, from developed countries to developing ones. This commodification process has added to the feminisation of migration, which in turn has contributed to a care crisis in developed countries, care drains in developing ones and a global care chain, linking them together (Ibid).

Care Crises & Care Drains

The commodification of caregiving is one of the factors contributing to the feminisation of labour migration. Widding Isaksen, Uma Devi & Russell Hochschild (2008) highlight several factors that spur this commodification process. For example, the globalisation process has improved the standards of living for many over the world. As improved standards of living increase the average age; countries are facing an ageing population. Globalisation has also improved the lives of many women over the world; more women are today entering the paid labour market than ever before. However, all these improvements have contributed to a care crisis in developed countries, especially in countries where welfare provision by the state have been traditionally low, like China or Hong Kong (Ibid).

The hiring of domestic workers from developing countries furthermore contributes to a care drain in countries like Indonesia and the Philippines. Since these women, who are migrating to developed countries need to outsource their caregiving responsibilities to another woman in the community who probably has to outsource her own caregiving to someone else (Widding Isaksen, Uma Devi, Russell Hochschild 2008). The care crises and care drain are moreover related to the global care chain, introduced by Russel Hochschild (2000), which will be discussed in-depth in the theory section.

The Filipino Culture of Migration

The high number of Filipino migrants in Hong Kong depends on several factors; however, it is mainly spurred by the Filipino migration culture. I have chosen to focus on women from the Philippines because the Philippines has an instrumental culture of emigration. The migration of women from the Philippines become evident in the 1990s; in those years, around 700 000 Philippines left the country each year to work in more than 100 countries (Asis 2006). This trend of emigration started when the national economic growth could not keep up with the population growth, and the unemployment rate was increasing (Ibid).

To manage the increasing unemployment rates, the government encouraged people to search for jobs outside the Philippines. It was supposed to be a temporary solution, but the government had trouble stabilising the financial situation, and the demand from other countries did disappear. The Filipino government, later on, realised that the emigration of people was a useful income for the country. Remittances sent back to the families has become an essential pillar for the national economy (Asis 2006). In 2019 personal remittances from overseas Filipino workers reached \$33.5 billion, and in the last decade, personal remittances have been increasing each year (Bangko Sentral ng Pilipinas 2020).

Today more than 10 million Filipinos are working in more than 200 countries over the world (Asis 2017). Moreover, one could argue that this trend spurred female empowerment in the Philippines by allowing women freedom via emigration. By moving away from their gender identity, these women now have the opportunity to join the paid labour market economy. However, these women are mostly working within the caregiving industry and, since labour emigration is a highly unregulated sector, numerous women end up in vulnerable situations and trafficking (Asis 2002).

Filipina Domestic Workers in Hong Kong

When employed as a foreign domestic worker in Hong Kong, the prescribed Standard Employment Contract¹ protect the interest of the worker (Labour Department GovHK 2019). The Hong Kong Labour Department state that FDWs are entitled the same benefits and protection as their local counterparts under the labour legislation, as well as they should enjoy additional protection as free food, accommodation and medical care provided by the employer (Ibid).

Two notable regulations in Hong Kong concerning domestic workers is the “live-in requirement” and the “two-week resignation period” (Immigration Department 2018). The first law implies that a domestic worker should work and live in the employer's residence. The two-week resignation period, on the other hand, means that if either the employer or employee end the contract, the domestic worker needs to find new employment within two weeks otherwise she has to leave the country (Ibid). Furthermore, in comparison to Singapore and Taiwan, FDWs are not tied to a specific employer. If a problem arises in the family in either of these two countries, the domestic worker has to leave the country immediately. While in Hong Kong, the workers have a two-week period to find a new employer (Ye & Chen 2020). The minimum wage in Hong Kong is, furthermore, higher than in, e.g. Singapore and Taiwan and comparison to the local salary in the Philippines, much higher (Legislative Council of the HKSAR 2017).

There are; moreover, several NGOs in Hong Kong actively working with the rights of domestic workers, the most famous is *HELP for domestic workers*. The organisation provides free advice and assistance concerning labour and human rights. However, the organisation claims that even if the state has implemented regulations aiming to help FDWs, these are most often not followed or not in favour of the domestic worker. The HELP posts on their website:

“Various legal requirements further compound foreign domestic workers' vulnerability to human rights abuses and restrict their access to remedy /... / Domestic workers here face both circumstances and restrictive laws that make living and working in accordance with international human rights standards challenging” (HELP for domestic workers 2020)

¹ The Standard Employment Contract can be found at: <https://www.immd.gov.hk/eng/forms/forms/id407.html>

HELP, moreover, points out that the live-in requirement and the two-week resignation period are two of the most prevalent factors for the exploitive working conditions in Hong Kong (HELP for domestic workers 2020).

Family Structures in Hong Kong

In understanding the demand for domestic workers in Hong Kong, one needs to consider both the role of the state and family structures. In many Asian cultures, the role of the family is essential for everyday living and welfare arrangements, so as in Hong Kong. However, family structures in Hong Kong have changed in recent years, similar to other developed cities; there is a trend of moving from familialism to a more nuclear familialism. Chow & Lum (2008) explain that in the past fifty years, there has been a shift from focusing on extended-family for welfare provision and caregiving, towards a more nuclear-centred familialism. The two authors, furthermore, present statistics in their research that show that the family size in Hong Kong has decreased from 4.2 members in 1976 to 3.0 in 2007 (Ibid).

Yeh, Yi, Tsao & Wan (2013) moreover argue that the Chinese filial piety has influenced Hong Kong family values. However, differently from China, where filial piety originally comes from, caring for the elderly has been based on affection, as a way to repay their parents. Instead of doing it out of obligation, which has been the case in other parts of China. The idea of filial piety has, furthermore, declined in Hong Kong and their actions towards family are based on love instead of obeisance to external norms. The values of filial piety are, nevertheless, still present in Hong Kong and have not been eroded by modernisation and democratisation. Yeh et al. (2013) furthermore, argue that traditional gender norms are evident in Hong Kong family structures. Women are considered naturally caregivers and responsible for the household, which adds complexity when more women, than ever before, enter the paid labour market (Ibid). The importance of nuclear familialism and the creation of a strong family unit is furthermore illustrated on the government's official website, where it is written:

“Social Welfare Department or subvented NGOs provide a variety of family and child welfare services with the objective of preserving and strengthening the family as a unit.” (GovHK 2018)

The Hong Kong Welfare State

While using a critical feminist perspective focusing on welfare provision to guide the analysis below, one, first, needs to recognise the welfare model in Hong Kong. Hong Kong, like other East Asian states, are seldom regarded as welfare states. However, according to Wong & Kin-lam Chau (2002), this is a misconception. The two authors argue that in Hong Kong, citizens are entitled a range of social services by the government, e.g. nine years of free primary education, universal health care service, old-age benefits and the right to social care and assistance. The Hong Kong government, furthermore, provide public housing where half of the population live. Even though Hong Kong is not considered a welfare state in the Gösta Esping Anderson categorisation, there exist welfare elements (Ibid). According to Lee (2005), Hong Kong stands out, in comparison to its Asian counterparts when considering welfare policy, since the state has played an influential role as the financier and provider of services. While in other countries the state plays more of a regulator role. Lee (2005) argues that it is possible to categorise Hong Kong as a residual welfare state model.

However, even though the government of Hong Kong provide some welfare provision, child and eldercare do not seem to be prioritised. The Hong Kong Federation Women's Centre writes on their website that there exists a massive gap in childcare services in the country. The federation claims that every year around 60 000 babies are born, but only 738 vacancies in the subsidised children centres are provided (Hong Kong Federation Women's Centre 2020).

3. Theoretical Framework

3.1 Introduction

The theoretical framework will be informed by a critical feminist perspective interested in a welfare perspective, an intersectional analysis, migration and the global care chain perspective, in generating an understanding of abuse and exploitation on all three levels in society, the employer-employee relationship, institutional level and structural level. This section will present the theoretical framework guiding the analysis of the material gathered in the systematic review.

3.2 Feminist Welfare Perspective

A feminist welfare perspective will help understand the gendered character of welfare provision, caregiving and role of women in society, guiding the analysis of abuse and exploitation. Since the feminist welfare perspective is a broad theoretical framework, I have chosen the course developed by Lewis & Daly (2000).

Traditional welfare state theory overlooks unpaid work; however, feminist scholars believe that it is of great importance to focus on care in welfare state policy. According to Lewis (2002), in traditional welfare theory, family structures were organised around the male breadwinner. Even if family structures were different across nations, the traditional view was that men were responsible for earning money and women for caring for home and children. However, Lewis & Daly (2000) highlight the importance of taking care in consideration when discussing welfare theory because of the growing demand for external caregiving, due to changing family structures, and the role of women in today's society.

The way care work traditionally has been organised in society is changing. The idea of women dedicating their lives to care work is not the reality anymore since more women enter the paid labour market than ever before. Therefore, there is a need for a feminist welfare perspective where care is a crucial element in understanding the gendered nature of care responsibilities and the changing welfare state (Lewis 2002, Lewis & Daly 2000). Lewis & Daly (2000) argue that many countries in the developed world are experiencing a care crisis because families have fewer possibilities to care for their family members. The state is facing shrinking resources for public caregiving due to the increase of women in the labour market, an ageing population and the decreasing availability to unpaid care.

Therefore, this theoretical framework is of great importance when discussing the situation of foreign domestic workers (Lewis & Daly 2000). The issue with traditional welfare state theory is that the theoretical framework does not acknowledge either the state or men as potential replacements for women in care work. A feminist welfare theory, on the other hand, acknowledges the normative gender structures (Ibid).

Another concern in traditional welfare theory, Lewis (1997) question, is that traditional theory ignores unpaid work in the welfare system. The author argues that in understanding welfare, one needs to consider the relationship between women and paid, as well as unpaid work. Even if the division between men and women in paid employment is changing, little has changed in the division of unpaid work. Neither researchers nor policymakers give care work the attention it needs; therefore, a feminist perspective is of great importance when discussing the topic of care (Lewis 1997).

3.3 Migration & the Global Care Chain

In analysing the vulnerabilities of FDWs in Hong Kong, one needs to consider the migration status of domestic workers and the gendered character of migration. Their status as migrants increases labour and emotional insecurity in the employment sector due to their temporary citizenship. Furthermore, Nawyn (2010) argues that to understand how gender relations shape migration, a critical feminist perspective is a necessity. The author highlights four dimensions of gender relations important in migration theory; these are power, production, emotional, and symbolic relations. The following research will mainly take power and emotional relations into consideration. Nevertheless, the reason why these relations are essential is because of the fluidity of gender relations, when geographical settings, the global labour market or state regimes change, so does gender structures (Ibid).

Even though gender relations are fluid when the surrounding context change, fixed roles of men and women shape the migration behaviour, for example, the fact that the majority of migrants working as domestic workers are women (Nawyn 2010). Furthermore, these fixed gender stereotypes shape employers demand and sex preferences of migrant workers. Nawyn (2010) mention that when finding employees for domestic care work, light manufacturing and service industries, employers often preferer women. The author claims that one of the reasons is that women are considered a more exploitable source of labour (Ibid).

Moreover, the effect on family structures also change depending on who is migrating, the mother or the father. According to Nawyn (2010), being a transnational mother constrains women, and challenge the gendered stereotypes of her as a mother caring for her children in another country. To justify her action, women often present their reason for migration as “mothering” by providing remittances for the family, while the actual reason for emigration might be something different (Ibid).

Salzar Parrenas (2000) moreover, argues that by implying that women are natural caregivers and mothers, it frames their whole identity. The feminine identity is constructed around that women are caring for and having children. These social constructions constrain women in their everyday lives, including sex segregation and limited work opportunities. Ramvi & Davies (2010) further, explain that previous research has argued that women, implied to be nurturing and emotionally expressive, is something positive. However, the two authors claim the opposite because it traps women in precarious work. While one can argue it is an opportunity for women, because the working task matches their gender identity, Ramvi & Davies (2010) argue that it, on the other hand, locks women in precarious employment. It furthermore limits women to apply for jobs outside their gender identification (Ibid). Salzar Parrenas (2001) moreover highlights that since women operate within patriarchal structures, male characteristics are valued more than female ones which contribute to the devaluation of care work.

The last concept of importance in relation to migration is the global care chain, developed by Russel Hochschild (2000). The global care chain represents a series of links between mothers in developing and developed countries based on paid or unpaid caregiving. The concept is of great importance when analysing the situation of FDWs in Hong Kong because it allows the analysis to consider the whole chain of caregiving. Russel Hochschild (2000) further highlights the role of love and kinship in the care chain, which add complexity to the research from an analytical standpoint. The global care chain furthermore frames the neo-colonial setting. When a family in a developed country hire a domestic worker from a developing country, Sarvasy & Longo (2004) argue, unequal power relations are created based on an intersection of factors, which will be discussed in the next section and the analysis.

3.4 Extended Intersectional Theory

The last theoretical approach that will help to guide the analysis is an extension of the intersectional theory, developed by Zarate Byrd (2010). Norris, Murphy-Erby & Zajicek (2007) argue that the intersectional approach first was developed by women of colour in the U.S. The theory emerged to take account for experiences of people who were sub-oriented in society based on more than one factor, namely, ethnicity and gender. The idea of an intersectional approach was brought to attention by Anna Julia Cooper. She argued that discrimination could be experienced differently depending on different factors. Over time the theory of intersectionality evolved into a framework taking two or more dimensions of discrimination or privilege into consideration. Today, the approach often takes either class, gender, ethnicity and age into account when used in sociology (Ibid).

However, Zarate Byrd (2010) argues that to understand the discrimination, abuse and exploitation of foreign domestic workers, one needs to have intersectionality in mind. Otherwise, an analysis of discrimination will be viewed from the side of the privileged few. Therefore, the author argues, both ethnicity, gender, class and citizenship status should be considered to understand the vulnerability of domestic workers. Citizenship status is added to the traditional intersectional theory because as a foreign domestic worker in Hong Kong, one is neither a citizen nor a non-citizen. A foreign domestic worker is somewhere in between, which makes her exposed in many situations (Ibid).

4. Methodology

4.1 Research Design

I chose to conduct a systematic review to generate a critical understanding of abuse and exploitation of FDWs in Hong Kong. A systematic review is the best choice since there exist a significant number of academia on the topic of Filipina domestic workers in Hong Kong and using this type of methodology will make it possible to find relevant literature systematically. Furthermore, Bryman (2012: 90) asserts that since the researcher has chosen to do a review of existing literature and to compile it, a systematic review is the most suitable choice of method. Bryman (2012: 89) furthermore argues that when doing research that aims to identify what is already known in the field of study but also to investigate potential controversies or unanswered questions, a systematic review has high potential. Roberts & Petticrew (2006) moreover, demonstrate that a systematic review is the right choice when the research aims to show that more research is needed and since the problem of abuse against FDWs still exists, even with much academic research, I believe there is a gap in the existing literature. Bryman (2012: 102) additionally explains that when using other types of literature reviews, sometimes there is a lack of thoroughness which one can avoid by using a systematic review.

I used the work by Eriksson Barajas, Forsberg & Wengström (2013) for guidance in the data collection process; the first step was to find academic databases of relevance. Two academic databases were selected, Sage Publication and Taylor & Francis Online². The second step was to search for literature in the two different databases systematically. In the search, specific search terms were identified to limit the number of citations. After finding an adequate number of sources based on search terms, I narrowed down the sources based on title, abstract, and in the end, a full-text review. After conducting a proper number of sources, I made a compilation, critically reviewed and analysed the material. Eriksson Barajas, Forsberg & Wengström (2013) argue that the validity of a systematic review is strengthened by the detailed description of the steps in the data collection process. In the appendix, it is possible to find databases, search terms, keywords and the selection process, to make it possible for the reader to replicate the data collection process.

² The two academic databases were chosen because of the focus areas of the two databases. Both Taylor & Francis Online and Sage Publications focus on sociological research. Furthermore, after a quick scan, the academic databases did not provide the same citations when using the same search terms.

4.2 Data Collection

To be able to answer the research question, I chose to divide the data collection into two separate searches due to the nature of the question. The first search focused on the understanding of abuse and exploitation of Filipina domestic workers on an employer-employee relationship and institutional level in Hong Kong. In contrast, the second search focused on the understanding of abuse and exploitation of FDWs on a structural level.

The first search resulted in 178 citations. The title and abstract were screened based on the inclusion and exclusion criteria; it narrowed down the citations from 178 to 32. After a full-text review, eight citations were chosen for the literature review. After searching the bibliography of the chosen articles, based on the same criteria, an addition of two articles was found. Articles excluded in the data collection process for the first search was either based on another country than Hong Kong, focused on male domestic workers, not of relevance for the aim of the research or if the study mainly focused on the left-behind families in the Philippines. Studies that focused on abuse of FDWs due to sexual orientation or religious opinion were also excluded from the review. I chose to exclude studies on sexual orientation and religious belief, to understand and highlight general trends of abuse and exploitation of FDWs in Hong Kong.

However, for the second search, the search was broadened to not only focus on Hong Kong. I also chose to exclude search terms such as *violence*, *abuse*, *exploitation* and *neglect*, in the second search, to solely focus on structures around women in society, caregiving and the gendered character of domestic work, to be able to understand how these structures might contribute to the mistreatment of FDWs. The second search resulted in 121 citations. The title and abstract were screened, which resulted in 25 remaining citations. After doing a full-text review, nine citations were brought to the literature review. In the second step, citations were excluded if the article focused on the situation of male domestic workers, if the research was based on a specific case study that was not generalisable or if a study focused on domestic workers from another country than the Philippines. In order to expand the search, the researcher found one additional source in the reference lists of the selected articles, that matched the inclusion and exclusion criteria.

Before searching for citations, the following criteria were used for the search:

- Year: 2000-2020
- English articles
- Full text
- Journal Article

Search terms for search one:

“caregiver” OR “foreign domestic worker” OR “domestic helper” OR “domestic workers” OR “nanny” OR “nannie” AND “Hong Kong” AND “violence” OR “abuse” OR “exploitation” OR “neglect” AND “Filipino” OR “Filipina”

Search terms for search two:

“gender” AND “global care chain” OR “care chain” OR “care diamond” AND “globalisation” OR “global” AND “care” OR “care work” OR “care regime” AND “reproductive labour”

The specific search terms used for data collection were developed in consultation with a research librarian at Sambib at Lund University. The search terms were chosen after systematically trying different terms to generate a reasonable number of citations for the analysis. Due to time limitations, the research did not have the possibility to analyse more citations than the ones chosen. Among the search terms for the second question “*violence*”, “*abuse*”, “*exploitation*” and “*neglect*” was excluded since these search terms limited the search too much. Furthermore, the second search aims to analyse the general structures around caregiving and care work. Therefore, I concluded that using these search terms would limit the search.

4.3 Methodological Limitations

In doing a systematic review, there are some methodological limitations one should take into consideration. Petticrew (2003), for example, argues that one of the limitations with a systematic review is the risk of the analysis being too general. However, since this research aims to study social structures around caregiving and women in society, there is a need for the analysis being general to understand how general structures affect domestic workers.

Moreover, specific cases of abuse and exploitation of FDWs in Hong Kong are included in the analysis to minimise the risk of the overall analysis being too general. Bryman (2003: 108) on the other hand, argues that by using a systematic review, the data collection process sometimes turns out bureaucratic because more focus is put on the technical aspects of the research process than on the analytical part. However, taking into consideration the significant number of academia on FDWs in Hong Kong, to avoid a bias of pick and choose, I believe this method will be beneficial to screen existing research and generate an in-depth understanding of existing literature.

A last critical aspect one should have in mind when carrying out a systematic review, according to Bryman (2003: 109) is that the systematic approach assumes that the researcher can make an objective judgement when choosing literature of relevance for the study. Nevertheless, a researcher cannot be totally objective in carrying out research; therefore, the researcher should keep this in mind, when collecting literature for the review. However, in doing a systemic review, there is less room for subjective decisions, because the specific search terms validated the data collection process.

5. Analysis

5.1 Abusive Employers & Exploitative Institutions in Hong Kong

5.1.1 Outline

The systematic review provided ten citations which have been critically analysed. In the analysis, five general themes were found: *the divide between private and public*, *the importance of a Filipino community*, *constant surveillance of domestic workers*, *temporary domestic worker citizenship* and *ethnic stereotyping of domestic workers*.

5.1.2 The blurred line between private and public

The first theme to be analysed is the division between the public and private space. According to the Immigration Department in Hong Kong (2019), all foreign domestic workers need to live with their employers; this is called the live-in requirement. Ye & Chen (2020) argue that the live-in requirement contributes to several implications for abuse of FDWs due to the constant presence of the employer and increased risk of social isolation, stress and anxiety. When a domestic worker is living with her employer, she is continuously tied to the employer, even on her day off, she has no chance of her own privacy (Ibid).

As the two authors argue, when the employee lives together with her employer, there are no clear boundaries when she is on or off duty. Ye & Chen (2020) furthermore highlight that most FDWs work almost 60 hours a week, whereas a regular Hong Kong citizen work roughly 45 hours a week (Census and Statistics Department of HKSAR 2016). Ahsan Ullah (2015) moreover argues that state regulation has less power when the workplace is in the home of the employer. Since it is in the private sphere and not a public workplace, the state has less capability to protect the domestic worker. Therefore, the state might be limited in its possibilities to help and support domestic workers.

To understand factors to why FDWs in Hong Kong are exposed to abuse and exploitation, one need to understand implications contributing on an institutional level. Using the feminist welfare perspective, the live-in requirement might imply that domestic workers not are considered regular workers. According to Lewis & Daly (2000), in traditional welfare state theory, caregiving is not considered labour; instead, it is a duty fulfilled by women in the family.

Therefore, by forcing domestic workers to live with their employer and the family, it could be implied that she is part of the family, except that the Hong Kong family does not see her as family or kinship. It, therefore, creates a blurred line of her working for the family as paid labour, while she, on the other hand, is living with and being part of the family at the same time.

Furthermore, one could argue that due to intersectional factors, on an institutional level in society, domestic workers have to live with their employers. Due to the intersection of citizenship status, social class, gender and ethnicity, Zarate Byrd (2010) argues that FDWs are more likely to be exposed to abuse and the first two mentioned factors are vital for the live-in requirement. If a domestic worker were Hong Kong citizen, they would most likely not be forced to live in the homes of the employer. Likewise, taking the feminist welfare critique in consideration, due to the gendered structures and low social value of care work, Hong Kong, on an institutional level, consciously hide domestic care workers in the homes of the employer. Institutional pressure force FDWs to live in the homes of the employer, which contributes to isolation and exclusion, which will be discussed more thoroughly in the section below.

5.1.3 Filipino community in Hong Kong

The Filipino community in Hong Kong has been shown to be of great importance for FDWs in the country. Lai & Fong (2020) argue that when domestic workers in Hong Kong have the opportunity to meet other Filipinos and/or engage with women in a similar situation, it increases both their mental and physical well-being. Begum Baig & Chang (2020) moreover argue that social networks, preferably family support, are of great importance when in a vulnerable position and since family contact is limited, the Filipino network in Hong Kong is their next line of social support. However, FDWs are limited both by institutions and their employer to join these gatherings (Ibid). Lai & Fong (2020) furthermore claim that the live-in requirement is a prominent factor contributing to the isolation and exclusion of Filipinas from, both, the larger society and the Filipino community. The relationship with other Filipinos in Hong Kong, also serves as the primary source for help, both for practical reasons, questions about employment rights and if mistreated by an employer (Ibid).

Ye & Chen (2020), furthermore, argue that due to the vulnerability of FDWs in society, informal social support is essential for the integration into the Hong Kong society and the authors argue that the live-in requirement makes this integration process particularly problematic. The limited attempts by the Hong Kong state for the integration of FDWs is furthermore connected to the feeling of in-betweenness many domestic workers feel which will be discussed below by Salazar Parrenas (2001).

Filipina domestic workers face institutional discrimination on several layers, based on both ethnicity, citizenship status and class, the Filipino community is therefore fundamental because of its social support function. Consequently, critically analysing the situation of FDWs in Hong Kong from an institutional perspective, the live-in requirement contributes to isolation and the devaluation of women as domestic workers. The intersectional perspective is therefore useful in guiding the analysis because the social isolation caused by the live-in requirement is based on the ethnicity, citizenship status and social class, of the domestic workers. Furthermore, affected by the institutional level, employers contribute to the abuse and exploitation of FDWs by overstepping working hours and denying them their right to a day off. Even though the state force domestic workers to live in the homes of the employer, the employer has the opportunity to enable the domestic worker a 40h work week and a day off, but the mistreatment of FDWs is spurred by the ill-treatment of the employer. The ill-treatment and the extended work hours could, moreover, be grounded in the feminist welfare critique, illustrated by Lewis & Daly (2000). The two authors argue that caregiving not is recognised for its time and value and this could be a contributing factor to why employers exceed working hours and do not have clear boundaries around work and free time.

5.1.4 Surveillance of domestic workers

Begum Baig & Chang (2020) examine another issue related to the live-in requirement, the use of surveillance cameras in the home of the employer. Previous studies show that by working in the home of the employer, the domestic worker often feels “being under control”. However, by using a surveillance camera, the pressure on domestic workers increases even more (Ibid). Begum Baig & Chang (2020) furthermore, conclude in their research that with the use of surveillance cameras, the risk of abuse increases in contrast to homes without a camera.

In their study, the authors found that 58% of the interviewed women experienced verbal abuse, 18% physical abuse and 6,5% sexual abuse, which means that there is a high percentage of FDWs in Hong Kong who are exposed to abuse and exploitation in their workplace (Ibid).

Johnson, Lee, McCahill & Rosalyn Mesina (2020) likewise researched the surveillance of FDWs in Hong Kong. The authors argue that the use of surveillance camera creates a stigma for the employee of always being under control. The problem of cameras is related to a topic discussed in a previous section, the blurred line between private and public. Since the workplace is in the home of the employer, other rules apply, and the employer holds more freedom than in an ordinary workplace. Johnson et al. (2020) furthermore, argue that with the use of cameras, a domestic worker can never enjoy her free time. In an interview, a woman said she could never relax because she was always aware of being watched. Most of the employers did not even inform the worker of the cameras. Instead, workers often found out by themselves over time. Some of the domestic workers interviewed by Johnson et al. (2020) said that when they found out that their employer was constantly watching, they could never take a break and look at their phone to make contact with their family. This makes FDWs even more excluded from their own family, which limits their informal social support and contributes to isolation (Ibid). Johnson et al. (2020) furthermore, claim that the use of cameras could be considered sexual harassment, a domestic worker in their study, said that she knew that her employer watched her change in front of the camera. While another interviewee in their study said:

“He said, always he said to me ‘for security reason’, that is the reason. Security reason, but you are always watching behind me. I tackle him, ‘You are happy you saw me naked and you never revealed it, you are happy. I thought you are a solicitor? I’m sorry if I’m very rude, but you push me. I want to respect you but you never respect me. So [he said], ‘I’m sorry’. [I said], ‘Sorry is not enough, damage is already done ...’” (Johnson et al. 2020: 286)

In conclusion, implications of the use of surveillance cameras are, furthermore, connected to the blurred line between private and public. Discussed within the feminist welfare and migration critique, Salzar Parrenas (2000) claims that these women operate within patriarchal structures which expose domestic workers to a constant male gaze, making domestic workers insecure about their own bodily integrity.

Therefore, in gaining an understanding of the exploitation of domestic workers, one needs to consider the gendered character of care work and the employer-employee relationship. Furthermore, the constant surveillance limits domestic workers to make contact with their family in the Philippines, because many do not dare to use their phone when they know their employer is watching. The isolation the constant surveillance create affects domestic worker's social support and how women being perceived as transnational mothers. Therefore, taking the employer-employee relationship in consideration, Salzar Parrenas (2001) argues that when the employer prevents the domestic worker from contacting her children, it will display her as a bad mother in the Philippines, even though she provides remittances to the family. This is an essential factor to have in mind, especially when using a feminist welfare critique, to question the social structures of women as naturally devoted and transnational mothers.

5.1.5 Permanent temporariness

The temporary citizenship FDWs are offered while working as domestic workers in Hong Kong is another contributing factor to the vulnerability of women within caregiving (Cheung et al. 2017, Salazar Parrenas 2001). Salazar Parrenas (2001) argues that there is a problem with not allowing FDWs full citizenship. The author points out that the denial of full citizenship is the same as denying her of her reproductive labour. Her children will never be welcome in Hong Kong, and she has to leave her own family to care for someone else's. Salazar Parrenas (2001) furthermore, explains that with the emerge of national economies into an international marketplace; citizenship has become vital (Ibid). Therefore, one needs to consider citizenship status to understand the vulnerable position of FDWs. By not providing domestic workers full citizenship, these women will only be seen as unwanted citizens and temporary settlers.

Cheung et al. (2017) and Ahsan Ullah (2015) moreover, argue that not being a citizen will make the process of reporting an abusive employer much harder since the worker has access to a limited social safety net and has a constant fear of being deported. Due to the two-week resignation period in Hong Kong, the domestic worker only has two weeks to find new employment, if fired. Moreover, Cheung et al. (2017) claim that many FDWs does not know how to seek help when exposed to abuse or mistreatment. However, even if these women know how to seek support, their main intention is often to save their jobs, at any cost (Ibid).

Boersma (2019), on the other hand, researched the divided between permanency and temporariness in the everyday life of Filipina domestic workers in Hong Kong. Her study found that even if some of the women working in Hong Kong experienced a sense of freedom, most argued that temporary citizenship and the two-week resignation period contributed to insecurity. Boersma (2016) use the concept of permanent temporariness to describe the situation of FDWs. Their employment situation is temporary due to that the contract cannot extend two years. However, their employment situation, in many cases turns out to be permanent since most women stay for more than two years, often up to 10-20 years. In the end, the temporary nature of being a domestic worker does not favour the domestic workers; it does, on the contrary, expose these women to exploitation. Since most employers do not respect the one-month notice when terminating a contract, FDWs do not dare to complain if they feel mistreated. Most FDWs work as domestic workers since they do not have much of choice, their families depend on their income, and the risk of losing their job is not a risk worth taking (Ibid). Boersma (2019) furthermore, argues that regulations put in place in Hong Kong prevent FDWs to process a legal case against their employer for mistreatment because a domestic worker is not allowed to work while going through this process. The FDWs will, therefore, have trouble finding food and shelter during that time. In the end, she does not know if she will receive financial compensation or not, which is troubling since the process can take several months (Boersma 2019). Constable (2019), additionally, argues that when a domestic worker does not become a legal citizen, the state is freed from social responsibilities. It is an advantage for the Hong Kong state because it limits the migrant workers, both from staying permanently and it minimises their incentives to complain about working conditions, because of the fear of losing their job (Ibid).

To generate a deeper understanding of the situation of FDWs in Hong Kong, one needs to consider the institutional level in society and apply an intersectional lens. Both ethnicity, citizenship status and social class are of great importance when gaining an understanding of the situation domestic workers are exposed to. Their citizenship status and ethnicity, place them, in the context of Hong Kong, in a low-valued social group, whereas in the Philippines these women, most likely, are placed higher up in the social hierarchy. These women could be considered to be placed in the middle of the social hierarchy in the Philippines since they have escaped their gender identity and joined the paid labour market. However, Nawyn (2010) argues that when institutional settings change, during the process of migration, the social class and gender identity of these women also change.

It means the via migration; domestic workers are pushed further down the social scale into a vulnerable position because of institutional context and state regulation. Therefore, the role of domestic workers as migrants is critical in understanding their situation.

Boersma (2016), furthermore, argues that it is essential to consider the permanent temporariness that many domestic workers face, where these women often feel in-between two societies and insecure about their belonging. Because state regulations and institutions in Hong Kong aim for FDWs to stay in Hong Kong, a maximum of two years, regulations are shaped thereafter. However, when employers extend their employee's contract, state regulations still stay the same. It means that because the state view domestic workers as temporary workers, and employers, and the domestic workers themselves, view domestic workers as more permanent workers, there is a clash, which means that domestic workers end up in a grey area in society.

5.1.6 Ethnic stereotyping

Ethnic stereotyping is another recurrent theme in the literature on FDWs in Hong Kong. Ahsan Ullah (2015) and Chau-kiu, Chung, Ho & Fung (2017) argue that ethnic stereotypes are one of the things contributing to the abuse of domestic workers. To provide an example, Johnson et al. (2020) highlight that caregiving is based on a normative care system where the depended child is seen as the higher class, where his or her ethnicity is more privileged than the domestic worker. The intersection of these two, class and ethnicity, therefore, form the treatment of the domestic worker on an employer-employee level. Caregiving is consequently formed by the dependent child, making the domestic worker inferior and vulnerable to exploitation. One should furthermore consider the gendered character of care work to recognise the abusive attitude towards FDWs. Johnson et al. (2020) claim that when hiring a domestic worker, she is replacing the birth mother, wife or daughter. It empowers the Hong Kong woman; however, it does, at the same time, reinforce gender stereotypes, by pushing the gender stereotypes down the global care chain to the Filipina woman (Ibid).

Ashan Ullah (2015), Lai & Fong (2020) and Chau-kiu et al. (2017) furthermore reason that ethnic stereotyping is an essential factor for the abuse of FDWs, the authors argue that when a domestic worker does not act accordingly with the ethnic stereotypes, it might trigger violence.

The case of stereotyping moreover limits FDWs in their work since they feel restricted in their actions since they are aware that it might reflect poorly on the Filipina image (Ibid). Lai & Fong (2020) furthermore argue that when FDWs fail to fulfil their employers' expectations, sometimes due to cultural differences, it is a contributing factor for physical or verbal abuse. Moreover, Tam (2019) argues that the ethnicity of domestic workers is of great importance for the employer as well. Among employer of domestic workers, Filipinas are in general opinion, considered good workers, because they tend to be more 'submissive' and 'docile'. Which means that FDWs are hired both because they are considered good workers and caregivers; however, they are also chosen over, e.g. Indonesian domestic workers because they are considered being a more exploitative source of labour. The Filipino ethnicity is therefore of great importance to critically reflect upon when analysing of the situation of FDWs because their ethnicity might be an advantage and disadvantage at the same time.

Language barriers also limit FDWs in Hong Kong, Ashan Ullah (2015) found in his research that language barriers can generate abusive behaviour. These barriers also make it difficult for FWDs to integrate into the Hong Kong society, without knowing the local language, one will be considered an outsider. Tam (2019) furthermore highlights that the relationship between language differences, ethnic differences, cultural differences and temporary citizenship as factors for abuse. The author argues that all these factors are alienating FDWs, making them “the others”. The author furthermore argues that the alienation of FDWs have almost created a new social class in Hong Kong. The boundary of this social group is a combination of the characteristics mentioned above, ethnic stereotypes, temporary citizenship and the low professional value of care work (Ibid). Ahsan Ullah (2015) argues that this social class is at the bottom of society and are not worthy enough nor welcome in society. Begum Baig & Chang (2020) moreover argue that the alienation of FDWs is partly created by the few attempts of integration of Filipinos made by the Hong Kong government. Tam (2019) summarises this well in his article:

“Domestic helpers are an integral part of Hong Kong's labour force, but they are not necessarily recognised as such by the public or the government.” (Tam 2019: 991)

Cheung et al. (2017) besides argue that the labour legislation in Hong Kong prefer non-Chinese domestic workers because it will minimize the risk of domestic workers creating a family and permanently staying in Hong Kong. This is a contributing factor to the cultural and class cleavages that is created between the domestic worker and the employers (Ibid).

Therefore, in understanding the abuse and exploitation of FDWs in Hong Kong, one needs to reflect on the criteria domestic workers are hired on critically. According to traditional welfare state theory, employers look for women because of their gender identities and according to Nawyn (2010) and Salzar Parrernas (2001), their submissiveness and ability to endure exploitation. Therefore, being Filipina could be considered both an advantage because they are considered competent caregivers. However, on the other hand, it restricts their freedom and place them in a low social value position in the society, illustrated by Nawyn (2010). Therefore, one should critically consider the intersection between gender and ethnicity, on both an employer-employee level, but also a structural level, to create an in-depth understanding of the situation. In the end, FDWs are chosen and neglected based on the same criteria, chosen by the employer and neglected by society.

Another vital aspect to consider is the role of migration and the global care chain to understand how ethnicity affects the treatment of FDWs in Hong Kong. As previously mentioned at the beginning of this section, where the dependent child is considered the premier ethnicity in comparison to the Filipino worker, one should include the concept of neo-colonialism in understanding how the treatment of domestic worker might be affected. However, this will be discussed further in the next section.

5.2 Exploitative Social Structures & Discriminating Institutions

5.2.1 Outline

For the second search, the systematic review provided nine citations which have been critically analysed. In the analysis, five general themes were found: *the gender normative welfare state, how gender norms trap women in precarious work, structures of neo-colonialism, the transfer of female oppression and the complexity of caregiving.*

5.2.2 A gender normative welfare state

To start, as mentioned earlier in the paper, Razavir & Staab (2010) argue that the idea of a welfare system has spread globally via the process of globalisation. Regions have adapted the concept of welfare differently accordingly with the states social and geographical settings. The role of the private and public sector is also varying across nations, but in the end, the state is the one actor shaping care, even though the provision of care varies across countries. However, Razavir & Staab (2010) furthermore argue that the provision of care is differently imbedded in the society dependent on culture, political and economic formations and depend on the state, community and the market. In a traditional welfare system care work is an invisible domain in many aspects. The gross domestic product does not recognise care work as a kind of employment, and it is most often invisible in society. Care work is something that should be done by someone; however, it is not being recognised for its value (Ibid).

Romero & Pérez (2016) moreover argue that the traditional welfare state favours traditional gender norms, where a woman's responsibility is believed to be caring for family and household. Housework is defined as female labour and should be carried out by the wife, mother or daughter, and is treated as unskilled labour. However, this creates a problem when today's societies do not match traditional welfare societies, where women are framed as caregivers and men the primary breadwinners. Nevertheless, societies have changed, and most families today are dual-income families. However, the low professional status of care work is sustained (Ibid). These values trickle down in society and contribute to the underlying factors framing the exploitative relationships between the employer and the domestic worker.

Romero & Pérez (2016) therefore argue, that when jobs for migrant women are framed as relying on female characteristics, such as caring and nurturing, patriarchal structures are maintained. It does not only affect structures in private homes but maintains inequality for low wage migrant workers in developed countries. Hence, in generating a deeper fundamental understanding of abuse and exploitation of FDWs, the feminist welfare critique is good guidance. The position of women in society and care work is vital to understand in generating knowledge about their position. The traditional devaluation of care work also contributes to the devaluation of women working within the caregiving sector. Furthermore, Nawyn (2010) claims that the status of these women as migrants have a substantial effect on their situation since it does not only devalue women but also devalue immigrant women, which furthermore is framed by the intersectional perspective. Therefore, in conclusion, it is essential to consider all aspects of the intersectional perspective, gender, citizenship status, ethnicity and class to understand and to work against abuse and exploitation of FDWs.

5.2.3 Trapped in precarious work

As discussed in the previous section, according to gendered stereotypes, care work belongs to women in the traditional welfare state. Acker (2004) furthermore, indicates that the outsourcing of care work implies that it has little social value. When women take on this kind of employment, both the employer and society will devalue her too. Palriwala (2019), accordingly with Acker (2004), claims that the social structures of care responsibilities assigned to women push women into low-paid and un-skilled areas of work.

Acker (2004) furthermore argues that the vicious circle of women in un-skilled and low-valued employment is an outcome of the capitalist processes of globalisation. The author explains that globalisation has brought with it a trend of outsourcing and non-responsibility taking by people in developed countries. Families in developed countries outsource caregiving to avoid taking on such low-skill and precarious work (Ibid). It therefore traps, people, especially women, from developing countries in such employment due to their limited opportunities in developed countries.

Benería, Deere & Kabeer (2012) furthermore, argue that another contributing factor to the precarious nature of domestic work is how state regulations favour host societies. Along with the spread of neoliberal policies, migration and working abroad has become much more accessible. Many workers have more freedom than before, but not domestic workers. In contrast to high-skilled workers, low-skilled workers such as domestic workers are strictly assigned to a two-year contract, and if the contract is terminated, the worker has a maximum of two weeks to find a new employer (Ibid). There is an evident selectivity in who is allowed freedom and who is not, which probably is related to the low social value of care work.

Benería, Deere, Kabeer (2012) furthermore argue that host states gain on implementing strict domestic worker policies. Since, if the domestic worker has a constant fear of losing her job, fewer workers will make demands and complain about their precarious working conditions.

In conclusion, strict state regulation, making domestic workers constantly temporary and with little social safety net, and the gendered character of care work contributes to trapping migrant women in precarious work. Therefore, in understanding the situation of FDWs from a structural perspective, one needs to consider the argument by Salzar Parrenas (2000). The author argues that when women from developing countries enter the global labour market, they enter a labour market formed by patriarchal structures. Therefore, in using the feminist welfare critique, even if migrant women take part in the global labour market and earn a monthly salary the global market trap these women in gendered employment, many become domestic workers and caregivers. Employing a vast majority of low-skilled migration women within care work, sustain gender stereotypes and the idea of women as natural mothers.

5.2.4 A case of feminist neo-colonialism

In the article by Salzar Parrenas (2001), the author furthermore elaborates the migration process of female domestic workers. She argues that the process of globalisation demands low wage labour from the developing world, especially women in process exporting zones, to developed countries. Acker (2004), accordingly with Salzar Parrenas (2001), highlights that the developing world is “feeding” the global elite to sustain their business. Sarvasy & Longo (2004) moreover develop and summarise the work by the previous authors by arguing that the globalisation of care work has a feminist neo-colonial character. The two authors explain that the main difference between classical colonialism and feminist neo-colonialism is that even if there still is a submissive consent of extraction of resources and exploitation,

it happens without a settlement. In this case, the extraction of resources refers to human labour and caregiving (Ibid). Romero & Pérez (2016), accordingly with Sarvasy & Longo (2004), claim that the hierarchy between the employer and the employee based on ethnicity was founded during the colonial period and is still prevalent today. Sarvasy & Longo (2004) argue that the new formulation of feminist neo-colonialism introduces a new type of settlement. The purpose of settlement is not to subordinate the people already living there; instead, domestic workers settle in affluent countries to improve their own and their family's lives. In the article, the two authors, furthermore, connect feminist neo-colonialism to the contrarians of temporary citizenship, discussed in the previous part. Sarvasy & Longo (2004) argue that much of the vulnerability FDWs are exposed to arises from temporary citizenship because it restricts the reproductive freedom of domestic workers.

Romero & Pérez (2016) in connection to the argument by Sarvasy & Longo (2004), believe that the ill-treatment of FDWs could be related to the colonial period and the employment of maids and servants. Having that in mind, one might argue that one of the reasons for the devaluation of domestic workers is that they are, according to the employer, hired on the same permissions as a previous servants or maids (Ibid).

One could, therefore, argue that it is crucial to acknowledge the migration status of these women, especially within the global care chain, to understand the abuse and exploitation of domestic workers. Feminist neo-colonialism is a useful concept when trying to generate a thorough understanding of the situation of FDWs. The intersectional theory, moreover, well portray a potential explanation to the neo-colonial character of care work since these structures of suppression from the global north to the global south could be highlighted by the intersection of ethnicity and citizenship status.

5.2.5 Female empowerment via another woman's oppression

A contributing factor to the exploitation of FDWs could be found in the article by Salzar Parrenas (2000). The author argues that by hiring a domestic worker, a privileged woman in a developed country has the possibility buy herself out of gender oppression. It means that the subordination she faces will be moved down the global care chain to the domestic worker. The class and ethnic differences between these two women make the transfer of subordination possible.

However, Salzar Parrenas (2000) furthermore argues that the domestic worker is placed in the middle of the chain because she has the possibility to escape her own gender role in the Philippines by becoming a working mother and enter the paid labour market, which means that she at the same time transfer her gender duties down the care chain to another woman in the Philippines, who have to take care of her children. Nevertheless, even if these women migrate from one patriarchal environment to another; they find new powers and new ways to negotiate for more power (Ibid).

While it is possible to argue that the hiring of domestic workers contributes to female empowerment, Widding Isaksen, Uma Devi & Russell Hochschild (2008) oppose this statement. The authors argue that instead of empowering women, the gendered burden of caregiving is only transferred further down the global care chain. Gendered stereotypes do not change; women are still seen as natural caregivers. By using the global care chain perspective and the feminist critique of migration, one can earn a deeper understanding of how social structures shape the exploitation of domestic workers taking female empowerment and mothering in consideration. By using the global care chain perspective, Russel Hochschild (2000) and Salzar Parrenas (2000) illustrate a possible understanding of how FDWs are empowered by migration. The process of migration provides these women with the opportunity to join the paid labour market. However, as the feminist migration critique argues, even if these women now are part of the global market, they still operate within a patriarchal system, which means that, as argued by the feminist welfare theory, their work as caregivers are valued less, or barely considered work, because of traditional gender stereotypes.

5.2.6 Caregiving, kindship and love?

Gammage & Stevanovic (2019) argue that another contributing factor to the low social value of care work is the significant connection to affection, mothering and kindship. The time put into caregiving is not considered a job, because of the blurred line between labour and kindship, and it makes domestic workers even more exposed to vulnerabilities. Romero & Pérez (2016) explain that a domestic worker, often, becomes a shadow of the birth mother, which means that she is not allowed to step in too much on the mother's duties nor too little. It creates an insecure workplace for the employee, where the domestic worker never can be certain when or if she is overstepping.

Palriwala (2019) furthermore argues that by highlighting love in care work one overlooks the mental and physical burden of caregiving and how time-consuming it is. If one instead, focused on the act of caregiving as labour, separated from love, it would maybe increase its social value. However, it seems impossible to separate love and kinship from caregiving because the nature of the employment creates incentives for kinship and emotional attachment. Salzar Parrenas (2000) furthermore claims that the employer often demands emotional labour and an emotional attachment between the domestic worker and the child. Therefore, the presence of love complicates the situation of FDWs (Ibid).

In the study by Widding Isaksen, Uma Devi & Russell Hochschild (2008), the authors explain that many domestic workers are proud of their employment since these women have become the new breadwinners of the family. Salzar Parrenas (2000) likewise states that these women often are considered heroes in the Philippines, providing for their families because the remittances sent back are often crucial for the families. On the other hand, many domestic workers in the study by Widding Isaksen, Uma Devi & Russell Hochschild (2008) felt ashamed for being domestic workers due to the high social cost of their travels. Several were also afraid of being perceived as bad mothers and materialistic and not being able to care for their children contributed to sadness, longing and guilt. Salzar Parrenas (2000) furthermore, explains that many women instead started to love the employer's child, these women feel the need to "*pour [their] love*" to someone, and in this case, the children of the employer (Salzar Parrenas 2000: 576).

That domestic worker fears losing their jobs and being called a bad mother are essential factors to take into account when generating a deeper understanding of the exploitation of domestic workers, and in trying to answer why women stay in despite exploitative working conditions. The social structures, presented in the feminist welfare theory, of women as naturally devoted mothers put much pressure on domestic workers. Since many domestic workers have children of their own, their identity as mothers is essential to their home societies. Salzar Parrenas (2002) argues that many mothers feel an immense pressure to be "good" transnational mothers, which with their limited free time, low salary and hard work, is hard to achieve.

The social burden of good mothering, raised in the critical feminist theory, is therefore vital to have in mind in understanding the position of these women. On the other hand, the fact that many domestic workers are tied to the Philippines because of family ties makes these women more vulnerable and more willing to endure exploitative working conditions, because even though stereotypes make women feel obligated to be transnational mothers taking care of the left-behind families. These social structures also put pressure on domestic workers to stay with the employer to be able to provide for the family.

Many FDWs, therefore, experience emotional in-betweenness, being far away from their loved ones and as temporary citizens, in the country they are working in. Therefore, one could argue that the alienation of FDWs and the absence of their children and family contributes to insecurity and emotional distress (Salzar Parrenas 2000). The institutional implications are therefore of great importance to have in mind when doing an analysis of the wellbeing of domestic workers and the possible connection to a Filipino community is therefore essential for the workers. Sarvasy & Longo (2004) furthermore, highlight that especially on Sundays in Hong Kong a big area in the city centre turns into a Filipino community. Where FDWs can assert their cultural right, and their right to express themselves. However, the two authors point out that; the employer often limits the worker to join these gatherings, discussed earlier in the thesis. Sarvasy & Longo (2004) moreover, argue that most host states aim to hide the dependency on Filipino workers and therefore keep domestic workers hidden in the private sphere to limit these gatherings.

6. Limitations

Limitations to take into consideration with the study on Filipina domestic workers in Hong Kong is first, the generalisability of the research. Taking the employer-employee relationship and the institutional level in consideration, the factor presented on these levels are very state-specific. However, the findings can potentially be generalisable for other states in South-East Asia with similar culture and welfare provision. However, factors contributing to abuse and exploitation on a structural level, is more generalisable, since data was collected from several studies in South-East Asia.

Furthermore, if more time and resources would be provided, the search could have covered more than two databases. Therefore, it is essential to continue reviewing existing literature from other databases to generate a more in-depth understanding of the abuse and exploitation of FDWs in Hong Kong. Furthermore, to fully understand the situation of domestic workers, one should research the effect of left-behind families to take into account the social cost of mothers leaving their families. The social connection to the left-behind families probably have a substantial impact on decision making of domestic workers and should therefore in a future study be included. However, the analysis of the effect on left-behind families would be too big for this thesis and deserves its own research.

7. Concluding Discussion

How can abuse & exploitation among Filipino domestic workers in Hong Kong be understood, from an employer-employee relationship, an institutional level and a structural level? The research question is of great interest because even though Hong Kong is considered an advanced economy and a developed country, with state regulations set in place to protect foreign domestic workers, there are still high rates of abuse and exploitation of FDWs reported, why?

The analysis of the findings from the systematic review, guided by a critical feminist theory provided several factors contributing to the vulnerability of these workers. First, one needs to recognise the importance of using an intersectional perspective to frame the factors for abuse and exploitation, since both gender, class, ethnicity and citizenship status intersect in many cases. One of the most useful tools in the analysis was the citizenship status perspective presented by Zarate Byrd (2010). In generating an understanding from an institutional perspective, FDWs in Hong Kong does not have the right to permanent residency; it places these workers in a very vulnerable position with less state support and constant fear of losing their jobs and getting deported. This is, furthermore, related to the structural changes that occur in the process of migration, which is highlighted in the feminist migration critique by Nawyn (2010), where the author argues that both gender structures and social status changes in the process of migration. Even if these women, in the Philippines, often are placed somewhere in the middle of social hierarchy and has succeeded to “escape” their gender identity, their opportunities in the country of migration are limited. When taking part in the migration process, these structures change due to changing institutional settings or social context. Lewis & Daly (2000) claim that domestic workers are placed in the bottom of the social hierarchy in Hong Kong, both based on that they are women in the caregiving industry, they have a temporary citizenship and are of another ethnicity than the majority in Hong Kong. Taking all these factors from the intersectional perspective into consideration helps generate a more in-depth understanding, on an institutional and structural level, of the situation of FDWs.

Furthermore, one needs to recognise the low social value of care work, which is connected to the feminist welfare critique, by Lewis & Daly (2000). Where women, traditionally seen as naturally devoted mothers, take on caregiving duties.

The traditional welfare state does not value care work as paid employment; therefore, the implications of these social structures trickle down on an institutional level, it affects state regulations which in turn affect the employer-employee relationship.

The employer-employee relationship is furthermore strongly affected by the feminist welfare and migration critique because the behaviour of employees seems to be affected by the idea that women can buy themselves out of subordination. By applying the global care chain perspective, by Russel Hochschild (2000), it is possible to see the linkages between female empowerment of women in developed countries, and the subordination of domestic workers from developing countries illustrated by Salzar Parrenas (2000). It is, furthermore, related to the neo-colonial characteristics of domestic work where the hiring of domestic workers of another ethnicity, social class and with temporary citizenship status reinforce feminist neo-colonial structures.

Why do domestic workers endure exploitative working conditions? One potential explanation discussed in much research is that many domestic workers have children of their own; these women are transnational mothers. Therefore, much pressure is put on these women, both by the home society and the host society, to carry out their gender identity, as transnational mothers and caregivers. Both the feminist welfare critique by Lewis and Daly (2000) and the feminist migration critique by Nawyn (2010) and Salzar Parreans (2000) argue that working abroad is seen as an escape from gender stereotypes while she at the same time is stuck in her gender identity as caregiver and transnational mother. Nevertheless, without monthly income, these women cannot provide for their families in the Philippines.

However, while much research focuses on the fact that most FDWs would do anything to keep their job to be able to send remittances to their families, one should consider the position of the father as well. In understanding their position, the feminist welfare critique is essential because social structures imply that women should make sure to take care of the family and it is implied that women should be caregivers, while the father is not considered an option, in traditional welfare state theory.

Therefore, it is essential to acknowledge the pressure put on domestic workers from their home countries, as being transnational mothers, in understanding why many women are stuck in exploitative working conditions. Neither, did any of the studies solely focusing on FDWs in Hong Kong consider the aspect of kinship and love that is developed between the domestic worker and the employer's child. While the research on Filipina women in domestic work in other countries than Hong Kong by Salzar Parrenas (2000), Widding Isaksen, Uma Devi & Russell Hochschild (2008) and Palriwala (2019) made a great argument about the complexity of care work, concerning the kinship that is developed between the domestic worker and the child of the employer, no such studies were made in Hong Kong.

In summary, in doing the analysis of existing literature on FDWs in Hong Kong, three themes in the existing literature contributing to abuse and exploitation stood out, the live-in requirement, the temporary citizenship and the gendered character of care work. It is evident in the existing literature that host states purely view domestic workers as temporary, there is not a clear route to permanent residency, and these workers should preferably only be workers. The low social value of care work and the live-in requirement make it possible to hide this low social status group from the rest of the society, not integrating them into the Hong Kong community.

Therefore, in conclusion, to understand the abuse and exploitation of Filipina domestic workers in Hong Kong, one needs to consider how both the employer-employee relationship, institutions and structures affect care workers. A contributing factor to the high number of reported abuse and exploitation of these workers in Hong Kong cannot be provided without taking all three levels in consideration. Furthermore, the guidance of critical feminist theory is useful to generate an understanding of the situation. However, there is a gap in existing literature; more research needs to focus on the intersection of the three levels in society and the intersection between ethnicity, gender, class and citizenship status to understand the abuse and exploitation of FDWs in Hong Kong.

Word count: 13 348

8. Bibliography

Acker, Joan. 2004. Gender, Capitalism and Globalization. *Critical Sociology* Vol. 30(1):17-41. <https://doi.org/10.1163/156916304322981668>

Ahsan Ullah, AKM. 2015. Abuse and Violence Against Foreign Domestic Workers. A Case from Hong Kong. *International Journal of Area Studies* Vol. 10(2): 221-238.

<https://doi.org/10.1515/ijas-2015-0010>

Asis, Maruja M.B. 2002. From the Life Stories of Filipino Women: Personal and Family Agendas in Migration. *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal* Vol. 1(1): 67-93.

<https://doi.org/10.1177/011719680201100104>

Asis, Maruja M.B. 2006. Living with migration: Experiences of left-behind children in the Philippines. *Asian Population Studies* Vol. 2(1): 45-67.

<https://doi.org/10.1080/17441730600700556>

Asis, Maruja M.B. Migration Policy Institute. 2006. *The Philippines' Culture of Migration*.

<https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/philippines-culture-migration> [2020-03-11]

Asis, Maruja M.B. Migration Policy Institute. 2017. *The Philippines: Beyond Labor Migration, Toward Development and (Possibly) Return*.

<https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/philippines-beyond-labor-migration-toward-development-and-possibly-return> [2020-03-11]

Bangko Sentral ng Pilipinas. 2020. *Personal and Cash Remittances Set Record Highs in 2019 at US\$33.5 Billion and US\$30.1 Billion*.

<http://www.bsp.gov.ph/publications/media.asp?id=5290> [2020-05-13]

Begum Baig, Raees & Chang, Ching-Wen. 2020. Formal and Informal Social Support Systems for Migrant Domestic Workers. *American Behavioral Scientist*: 1-18.

<https://doi.org/10.1177/0002764220910251>

Benería, Lourdes, Deere, Carmen Diana, Kabeer, Naila. 2012. Gender and International Migration: Globalization, Development, and Governance. *Feminist Economics* Vol. 18(2): 1-33. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13545701.2012.688998>

Boersma, Maner. 2019. Filipina domestic workers in Hong Kong: Between permanence and temporariness in everyday life. *Current Sociology Monograph* Vol. 67(2): 273-293. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0011392118792928>

Bryman, Alan. 2012. *Social Research Methods*. 4th ed. New York: Oxford University Press.

Cambridge Dictionary. 2020. *Abuse*.

<https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/abuse> [2020-04-06]

Carvalho, Raquel. 2019. Domestic workers are the slaves of modern Asia. Are Hongkongers, Singaporeans and Malaysians ever going to change? *South China Morning Post*. March 24. <https://www.scmp.com/week-asia/society/article/3002942/domestic-workers-are-slaves-modern-day-asia-are-hongkongers> [2020-04-06]

Chan, Kevin. 2015. Hong Kong woman gets 6 years in Indonesian maid abuse case. *AP News*. February 27. <https://apnews.com/7adb46f417fd403caf11e80e0a1ee2f6> [2020-04-06]

Cheung, Chau-kiu, Chung, Siu Fung, Ho, Wing-chung, Fung, Elijah. 2017. Employers' concern does not help female foreign domestic workers sustain quality of life in Hong Kong. *Asia Pacific Journal of Social Work and Development* Vol: 27(3-4): 174-186. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02185385.2017.1406820>

Chow, Nelson, Lum, Terry. 2008. *Trends in family attitudes and values in Hong Kong*. The University of Hong Kong. <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/37979967.pdf>

Census and Statistics Department of Hong Kong Special Administrative Region. 2016. *Thematic report: Ethnic minorities*. <https://www.statistics.gov.hk/pub/B11201002016XXXXB0100.pdf> [2020-04-29]

Census and Statistics Department of Hong Kong Special Administrative Region. 2018.

Foreign domestic helpers by nationality and sex.

https://www.censtatd.gov.hk/FileManager/EN/Content_1149/T04_49.xlsx

[2020-05-08]

Constable, Nicole. 2019. Tales of two cities: legislating pregnancy and marriage among foreign domestic workers in Singapore and Hong Kong. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*: 1-17.

<https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2019.1592403>

Eriksson Barajas, Katarina, Forsberg, Christina, Wengström, Yvonne. 2013. Systematiska litteraturstudier i utbildningsvetenskap. Stockholm: Natur & Kultur.

Gammage, Sarah, Stevanovic, Natacha. 2019. Gender, migration and care deficits: what role for the sustainable development goals? *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* Vol. 45(14): 2600-2620.

<https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2018.1456751>

The Government of Hong Kong Special Administrative Region. *Hiring Foreign Domestic Helper*. 2019.

<https://www.gov.hk/en/residents/employment/recruitment/foreigndomestichelper.htm>

[2020-05-13]

The Government of Hong Kong Special Administrative Region. *Social Welfare*. 2018.

https://www.gov.hk/en/about/abouthk/factsheets/docs/social_welfare.pdf [2020-05-23]

The Government of Hong Kong Special Administrative Region, Press Releases. 2019.

LCQ14: Policies and measures concerning foreign domestic helpers.

<https://www.info.gov.hk/gia/general/201906/05/P2019060500657.htm> [2020-03-06]

HELP For domestic workers. 2020. *Hong Kong is home to more than 385,000 foreign domestic workers.* <https://helpfordomesticworkers.org/en/key-issues/> [2020-02-12]

Hong Kong Federation Women's Centre. 2020. *Childcare Support.*

https://womenscentre.org.hk/En/Advocacy/childcare_support/ [2020-05-13]

Hochschild, Arlie. 2000. Global Care Chains and Emotion Surplus Value', in Will Hutton and Anthony Giddens (eds) *On the Edge: Living with Global Capitalism*. London: Jonathan Cape.

Hung, Jason. 2019. What Hong Kong can do to stop abuse of domestic helpers. *South China Morning Post*. September 29. <https://www.scmp.com/lifestyle/article/3030429/what-hong-kong-can-do-stop-abuse-domestic-helpers> [2020-04-22]

Immigration Department, The Government of Hong Kong Special Administrative Region. 2018. *Guidebook for the Employment of Domestic Helpers from Abroad*. [https://www.immd.gov.hk/pdforms/ID\(E\)969.pdf](https://www.immd.gov.hk/pdforms/ID(E)969.pdf) [2020-04-07]

Immigration Department, The Government of Hong Kong Special Administrative Region. 2019. *Conditions for Employment for Foreign Domestic Helpers*. <https://www.immd.gov.hk/pdforms/ID911A.pdf> [2020-02-12]

Johnson, Mark, Lee, Maggy, McCahill, Michael, Mesina, Ma Rosalyn. 2020. Beyond the 'All Seeing Eye': Filipino Migrant Domestic Workers' Contestation of Care and Control in Hong Kong. *Ethnos* Vol: 85(2): 276-292. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00141844.2018.1545794>

Justice Centre Hong Kong. 2016. *Coming Clean*. <https://www.justicecentre.org.hk/framework/uploads/2016/02/Coming-Clean-2016-Justice-Centre-Hong-Kong.pdf>

Labour Department, The Government of Hong Kong Special Administrative Region. 2016. *Importation of labour: Foreign domestic helpers (FDHs)*. <https://www.labour.gov.hk/eng/plan/iwFDH.htm> [2020-04-21]

Labour Department, The Government of Hong Kong Special Administrative Region. 2019. *Practical Guide For Employment Of Foreign Domestic Helpers*. <https://www.fdh.labour.gov.hk/res/pdf/FDHguideEnglish.pdf> [2020-02-12]

Lai, Yingtong & Fong, Eric. 2020. Work-Related Aggression in Home-Based Working Environment: Experiences of Migrant Domestic Workers in Hong Kong. *American Behavioral Scientist*: 1-18. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0002764220910227>

Lee, Eliza W.Y. 2005. The Politics of Welfare Developmentalism in Hong Kong. Social Policy and Development. *United Nations, Research Institute for Social Development*. [http://www.unrisd.org/80256B3C005BCCF9/httpNetITFramePDF?ReadForm&parentunid=B764A113DEE628D4C125706D0032DA66&parentdoctype=paper&netitpath=80256B3C005BCCF9/\(httpAuxPages\)/B764A113DEE628D4C125706D0032DA66/\\$file/Lee.pdf](http://www.unrisd.org/80256B3C005BCCF9/httpNetITFramePDF?ReadForm&parentunid=B764A113DEE628D4C125706D0032DA66&parentdoctype=paper&netitpath=80256B3C005BCCF9/(httpAuxPages)/B764A113DEE628D4C125706D0032DA66/$file/Lee.pdf)

Legislative Council of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region of the Peoples Republic of China. 2017. *Foreign domestic helpers and evolving care duties in Hong Kong (Research Brief Issue No. 4)*. <https://www.legco.gov.hk/research-publications/english/1617rb04-foreign-domestic-helpers-and-evolving-care-duties-in-hong-kong-20170720-e.pdf> [2020-09-29]

Lewis, Jane. 1997. Gender and Welfare Regimes: Further Thoughts. *Social Politics* Vol. 4(2): 160-177. <https://doi.org/10.1093/sp/4.2.160>

Lewis, Jane. 2002. Gender and welfare state change. *European Societies* Vol. 4(4): 331-357. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1461669022000022324>

Lewis, Jane & Daly, Mary. 2000. The concept of social care and the analysis of contemporary welfare states. *British Journal of Sociology* Vol. 51 (2): 281–298. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-4446.2000.00281.x>

Norris, Adele N., Murphy-Erby, Yvette, Zajicek, Anna M. 2007. An Intersectional Perspective in Introductory Sociology Textbooks and the Sociological Imagination: A Case Study. *Race, Gender & Class* Vol. 14 (1): 333-344. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/41675213> [2020-03-11]

Nawyn, Stephanie J. 2010. Gender and Migration: Integrating Feminist Theory into Migration Studies. *Sociology Compass* Vol. 4(9): 749–765. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1751-9020.2010.00318.x>

Palriwala, Rajni. 2019. Framing Care: Gender, Labour and Governmentalities. *Indian Journal of Gender Studies* Vol. 26 (3): 237–262. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0971521519861158>

Parry, Simon. 2017. Beaten, hit with an iron, doused in bleach: the Hong Kong domestic helpers facing systemic abuse and how city could protect them. *South China Morning Post*. February 12. <https://www.scmp.com/lifestyle/families/article/2069843/beaten-hit-iron-doused-bleach-hong-kong-domestic-helpers-facing> [2020-07-04]

Ramvi, Ellen, Davies, Linda. 2010. Gender, Mothering and relational work. *Journal of Social Work Practice* Vol: 24(4): 445-460. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02650531003759829>

Razavir, Shahra & Staab, Silke. 2010. Underpaid and overworked: *A cross-national perspective on care workers*. *International Labour Review* Vol. 149(4): 407-422. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1564-913X.2010.00095.x>

Roberts, Helen & Petticrew, Mark. 2006. Systematic reviews in the social sciences: *A practical guide*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

Romero, Mary, Pérez Nancy. 2016. Conceptualizing the Foundation of Inequalities in Care Work. Conceptualizing the Foundation of Inequalities in Care Work. *American Behavioral Scientist* Vol: 60(2): 172–188. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0002764215607572>

Russel Hochschild, Arlie. 2000. Global Care Chains and Emotional Surplus Value. In Hutton, Will & Giddens, Anthony. *On the edge: living with global capitalism*. London: Jonathan Cape: 130-146.

Salzar Parrenas, Rhacel. 2000. Migrant Filipina Domestic Workers and The International Division of Reproductive Labour. *Gender & Society* Vol.14(4): 560-580. <https://doi.org/10.1177/089124300014004005>

Salzar Parrenas, Rhacel. 2001. Transgressing the Nation-State: The Partial Citizenship and “Imagined (Global) Community” of Migrant Filipina Domestic Workers. *Journal of Women in Culture and Society* Vol. 26(4): 1129-1154. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3175359> [2020-03-09]

Sarvasy, Wendy, Longo, Patrizia. 2004. The Globalization of Care. *International Feminist Journal of Politics* Vol. 6(3): 392-415. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1461674042000235582>

Shola Orloff, Ann. 2009. Gendering the Comparative Analysis of Welfare States: An Unfinished Agenda. *Sociological Theory* Vol. 27(3): 317-343.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9558.2009.01350.x>

Tam, Daisy. 2019. Bordering care: the care of foreign domestic workers in Hong Kong. *Cultural Studies* Vol: 33(6): 989-1007.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/09502386.2019.1660694>

Tsang, Yuki. 2019. From Erwiana Sulistyaningsih to Baby Jane Allas, abuse of foreign domestic helpers in Hong Kong prompts calls for better protection. *South China Morning Post*. March 23. <https://www.scmp.com/video/hong-kong/3002850/erwiana-sulistyaningsih-baby-jane-allas-abuse-foreign-domestic-helpers-hong> [2020-04-07]

United Nations. 2019. *International Migration 2019: Report*. New York.

Widding Isaksen, Lise, Uma Devi, Sambasivan, Russell Hochschild, Arlie. 2008. Global Care Crisis, A Problem of Capital, Care Chain, or Commons? *American Behavioral Scientist* Vol. 52(3): 405-425. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0002764208323513>

Wolff, Jonathan. 2018. *Structures of Exploitation*. In Collins, Hugh, Lester, Gillian, Mantouvalou. Oxford: Oxford University Press: 175-187.
<https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780198825272.001.0001>

Wong, Chack-kie, Kin-lam Chau, Kenneth. 2002. Neither Welfare State nor Welfare Society: The Case of Hong Kong. *Social Policy & Society* Vol.1(4): 293-301.
<https://doi.org/10.1017/S1474746402004037>

Ye, Jing & Chen, Feinian. 2020. Better a Friend Nearby Than a Brother Far Away? The Health Implications of Foreign Domestic Workers' Family and Friendship Networks. *American Behavioral Scientist*: 1-19. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0002764220910220>

Yeh, Kuang-Hui, Yi, Chin-Chun, Tsao, Wei-Chun, Wan, Po-San. 2013. Filial piety in contemporary Chinese societies: A comparative study of Taiwan, Hong Kong, and China. *International Sociology* Vol. 28(3): 277–296. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0268580913484345>

Zarate Byrd, Nancy. 2010. The Dirty Side of Domestic Work: An Underground Economy and the Exploitation of Undocumented Workers. *DePaul Journal for Social Justice* Vol. 3 (2): 245-176. <https://via.library.depaul.edu/jsj/vol3/iss2/6>

9. Appendices

Appendix 1.

Litterateur Search One.

Databases: Sage Publications and Taylor & Francis Online

Search Criteria's:

Search words:

- “caregiver”; “foreign domestic worker”; “domestic helper”; “domestic workers”;
“nanny”; “nannie”
- “Hong Kong”
- “violence”; “abuse”; “exploitation”; “neglect”
- “Filipino”; “Filipina”

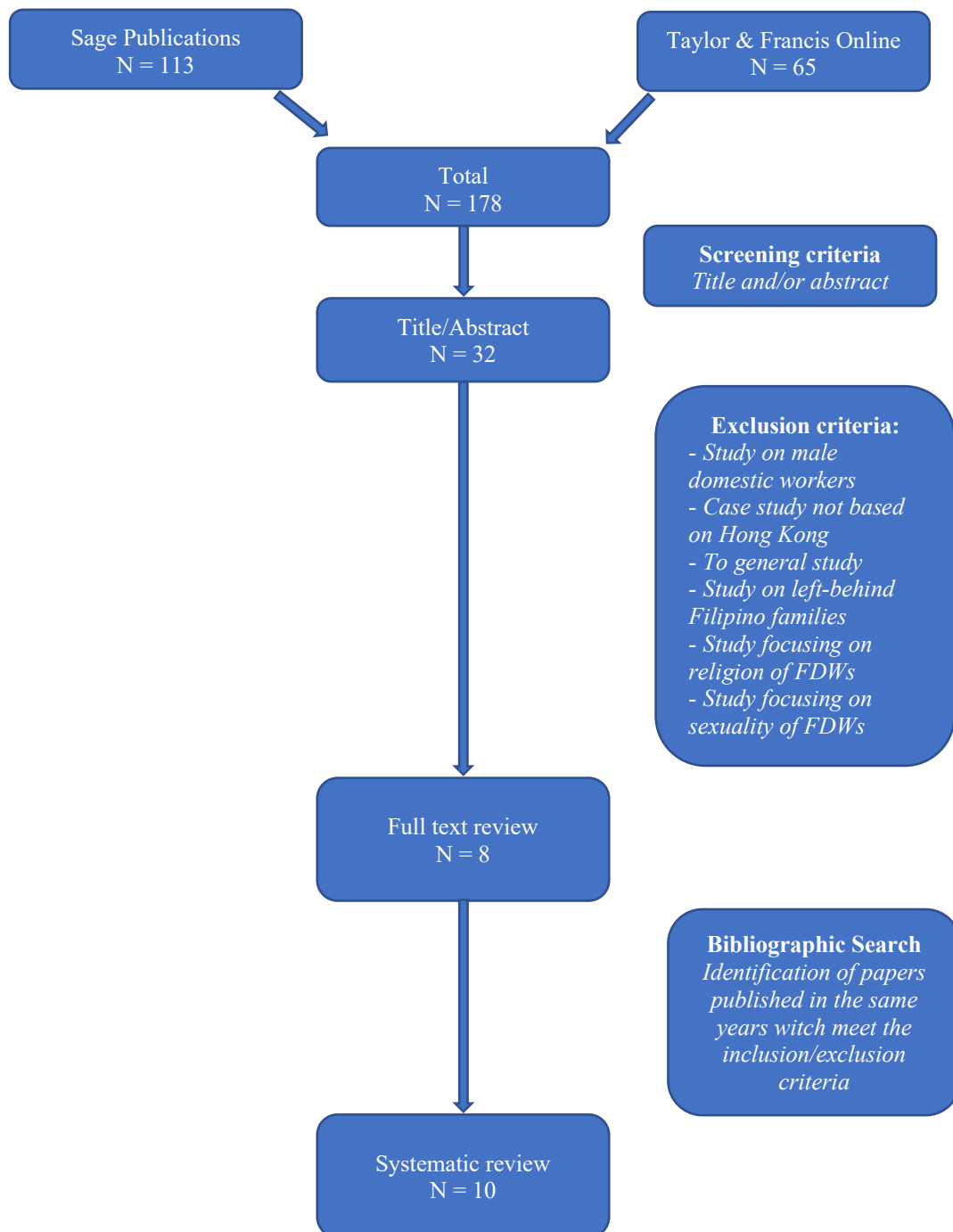
Published between 2000 – 2020

Published in English language

Only Academic Articles

Only full text available

Literature Search



Litterateur Search Two.

Databases: Sage Publications and Taylor & Francis Online

Search Criteria's:

Search words:

- "gender"
- "global care chain"; "care chain"; "care diamond"
- "globalisation"; "global"
- "care"; "care work"; "care regime"
- "reproductive labour"

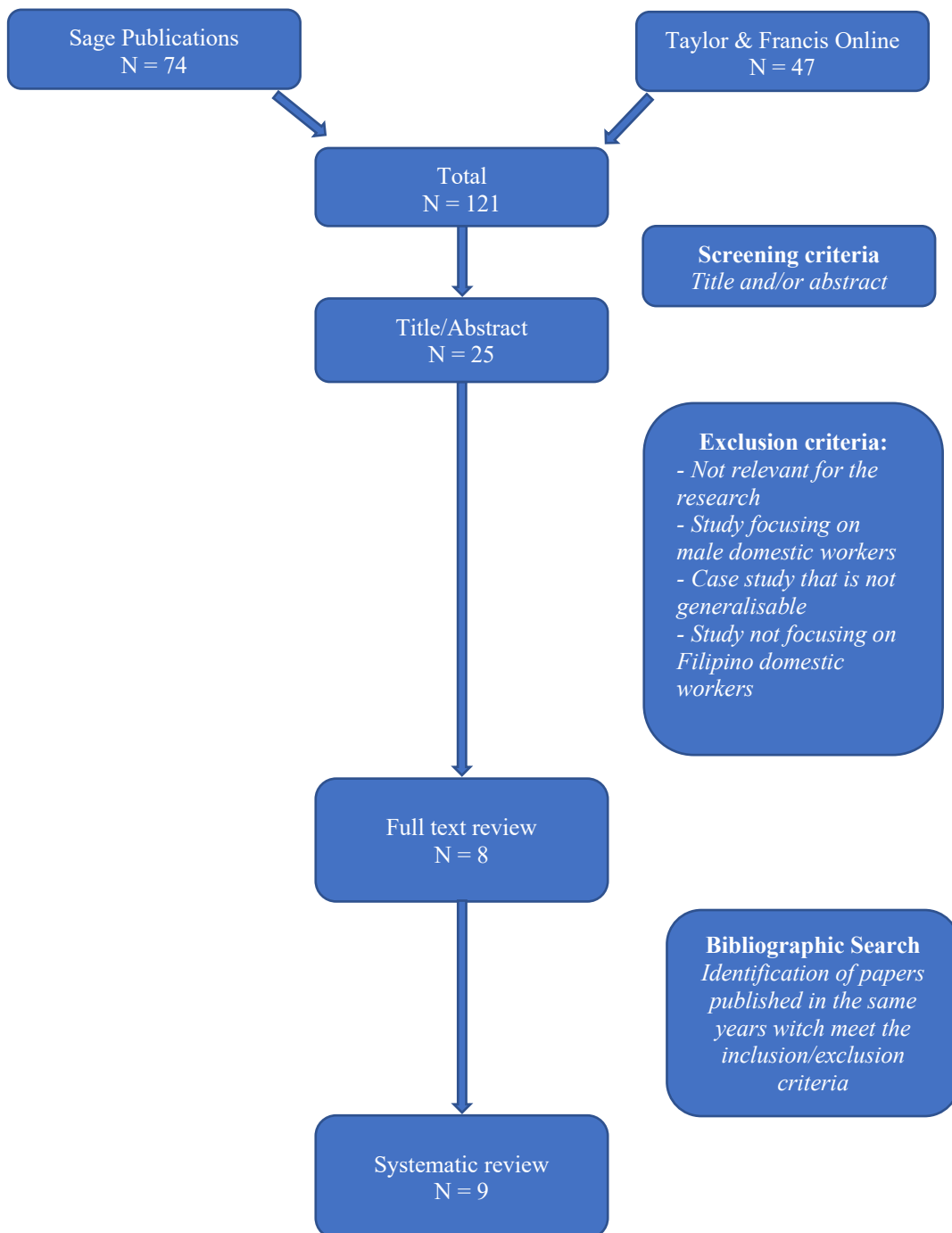
Published between 2000 – 2020

Published in English language

Only Academic Articles

Only full text available

Literature Search



Appendix 2.

Articles Systematic Review

Details on the 19 articles on abuse and exploitation of Filipina FDWs in Hong Kong identified through systematic review.

Search One.

Author(s)	Title	Year Published	Source
Begum Baig, Raees & Chang, Ching-Wen	Formal and Informal Social Support Systems for Migrant Domestic Workers	2020	Sage Publications
Boersma, Maren	Filipina domestic workers in Hong Kong: Between permanence and temporariness in everyday life	2019	Sage Publications
Lai, Yingtong & Fong, Eric	Work-Related Aggression in Home-Based Working Environment: Experiences of Migrant Domestic Workers in Hong Kong	2020	Sage Publications
Ye, Jing & Chen, Feinian	Better a Friend Nearby Than a Brother Far Away? The Health Implications of Foreign Domestic Workers' Family and Friendship Networks	2020	Sage Publications
Cheung, Chau-kiu, Fung Chung, Siu, Ho, Wing-chung, Fung, Elijah	Employers' concern does not help female foreign domestic workers sustain quality of life in Hong Kong	2017	Taylor & Francis Online
Constable, Nicole	Tales of two cities: legislating pregnancy and marriage among foreign domestic workers in Singapore and Hong Kong	2019	Taylor & Francis Online
Johnson, Mark, Lee, Maggy, McCahill, Michael & Mesina, Ma Rosalyn	Beyond the 'All Seeing Eye': Filipino Migrant Domestic Workers' Contestation of Care and Control in Hong Kong	2020	Taylor & Francis Online
Tam, Daisy	Bordering care: the care of foreign domestic workers in Hong Kong	2019	Taylor & Francis Online
Ahsan Ullah, AKM	Abuse and Violence Against Foreign Domestic Workers. A Case from Hong Kong	2015	Bibliographic Search
Salzar Parrenas, Rhacel	Transgressing the Nation-State: The Partial Citizenship and "Imagined (Global) Community" of Migrant Filipina Domestic Workers	2001	Bibliographic Search

Search Two.

Author(s)	Title	Year Published	Source
Acker, Joan	Gender, Capitalism and Globalization	2004	Sage Publications
Romero, Mary & Pérez, Nancy	Conceptualizing the Foundation of Inequalities in Care Work	2016	Sage Publications
Patriwala, Rajni	Framing Care: Gender, Labour and Governmentalities	2019	Sage Publications
Salzar Parrenas, Rhacel	Migrant Filipina Domestic Workers and The International Division of Reproductive Labour	2000	Sage Publications
Widding Isaksen, Lise, Uma Devi, Sambasivan, Russell Hochschild, Arlie	Global Care Crisis, <i>A Problem of Capital, Care Chain, or Commons?</i>	2008	Sage Publications
Benería, Lourdes, Deere, Carmen Diana, Kabeer, Naila	Gender and International Migration: Globalization, Development, and Governance	2012	Taylor & Francis Online
Gammage, Sarah & Stevanovic, Natacha	Gender, migration and care deficits: what role for the sustainable development goals?	2019	Taylor & Francis Online
Sarvasy, Wendy & Long, Patrizia	The Globalization of Care	2004	Taylor & Francis Online
Razavir, Shahra & Staab, Silke	Underpaid and overworked: <i>A cross-national perspective on care workers</i>	2010	Bibliographic Search