

Domestic Workers in Asia- campaign and organizing updates

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Introduction

Domestic work is the most important source of waged employment for women workers, especially those from rural areas and with little or no formal education. Yet domestic work takes place in private households, and thus is often regarded as not 'real work' and tends to be unregulated, while the workers tend to be unorganized. Many factors inhibit their organization, including the unpaid domestic work most women do in the home, which lowers the 'market value' and social value of domestic work; the difficulty of reaching individual workers in people's private homes; and the lack of defined working hours.

Domestic workers (DW) are isolated behind the doors of households and are also marginalized from mainstream trade union structures. In most countries in Asia, DW are excluded from national labour laws and from the right of association. Only Hong Kong, Malaysia and Philippines include DW under labour laws; however the recent legislation of a statutory minimum wage in Hong Kong does not apply to "live-in" DW - of whom nearly 100% are migrant DW. The establishment of an ILO convention for DW could be a milestone for the movement.

Despite the structural, gender and racial discrimination against DW, the movement of DW has been growing stronger and stronger. Their voices make the hidden violations against them visible and their organizing ensures the contribution of domestic work gets recognized. Major domestic workers organizations, trade unions and trade union national centres have been campaigning for an ILO Convention for domestic workers in the last two years. AMRC has been working towards the capacity-building of DW organizations in China and contributing to the building-up of a sub-regional and Asian network in collaboration with the Asian DW Network. This article captures the recent struggle for the recognition of DW rights in the regional and several national campaigns towards adoption of an ILO Convention on Decent Work for DW. Instead of focusing on the problems which DW face, this article will look at the subjectivity and resistance of the DW movement.

Regional Campaign towards the advocacy of the ILO Convention for DW by 2011

Since the first convention on Hours of Work (Industry), International Labour Organisation has passed 188 conventions and 200 recommendations concerning labour rights and industrial relations. However, almost none of them apply to DW and some even explicitly exclude them, such as Convention No.1 (Hours of Work), No. 2 (Wage of Work), convention on minimum wage, etc. As early as 1948, the ILO adopted a resolution concerning the conditions of employment of DW. In 1965, it adopted a resolution calling for normative action in this area, while in 1970 the first survey ever published across the world on the status of DW made its appearance.ⁱ Working in isolated and suppressive conditions, DW have never lost their faith to fight for justice and have been gradually building up solidarity across the world. After nearly forty years and after the long struggle of DW all over the world, DW organizations, networks, trade unions and support organizations from Africa, Asia, Caribbean, Latin America, North America and Europe formed a network, namely International DW Network (IDWN) in 2008. The network then conducted strong negotiations in the 2009 International Labour Conference for a convention on DW. The ILO Convention for DW is expected to be calendared in the formal discussion of the ILO Governing Body in June 2011.

One of the founding groups of IDWN is the Asian DW Network (ADWN) which was established in 2004. ADWN currently has eleven member organizations, from Sri Lanka, India, Nepal, Pakistan, Indonesia and Hong Kong. ADWN claims that employment in private households accounts for about one-third of all female employment in Asia and about 1.5 million Asian women work as migrant DW in other countries. ADWN and its support network have consolidated the advocacy campaign in the Asian region towards one common goal. ADWN and the international alliance for DW have organized two regional conferences in 2009 and 2010 to make responses and strategies on the advocacy of the ILO Convention on DW and to draw up a global action plan:

Joint Campaign:

- Focus on December 10, 2010 and May 1, 2011. The theme will be “Domestic Work is Work! Domestic Workers are Workers!”
- Lobby the government, engage with the employers and trade unions, utilize the blue report on March/April 2011.
- Work for the ILO Convention on Domestic Workers at the international level, but at the same time also do advocacy at the national level (such as Law, local Law,

etc).

- Petition the Indonesian government to pass the Bill of Domestic Workers

Asia, as a region with the largest number of domestic workers, is especially critical for the protection of domestic workers. We need to get as many Asian governments as possible to support the Convention and we need to get stronger efforts by the trade unions in the campaign. Local DW unions and organizations in Asian countries have reacted positively to the ILO process. When ILO sent out the first report on “Decent Work for DW” in April 2009 with a questionnaire to governments, employers, unions and NGOs, 28 unions and NGOs from 13 countries in Asia returned responses to the questionnaire and all demanded a Convention and Recommendation. (See Table 1.)

Table 1: Response to the 2009 questionnaire concerning the proposed ILO instruments(s) on DW from Asia

<i>Asia</i>	Convention	Recommendation	Convention together with Recommendation	
Government	Philippines	China India Indonesia Japan South Korea Malaysia Burma New Zealand Singapore	Australia Nepal Sri Lanka Thailand Timor *	
	TOTAL: 1	TOTAL: 9	TOTAL: 5	
Employer EFP (Pakistan) is not in favour of an international instrument.		Indonesia South Korea New Zealand Sri Lanka TOTAL: 4		
Workers	Philippines	Philippines	Australia Bagadesh Combodia (3) India (2)	Nepal(3) Pakistan Philippines (3) Sri Lanka (3)

			Indonesia(3) Japan South Korea Malaysia (2)	Thailand (4) TOTAL: 28
	TOTAL: 1	TOTAL: 1		

However, in the last discussion of the Committee on Domestic workers at ILC 2010, very few Asian governments showed strong support for a convention on domestic workers.ⁱⁱ The workers in the region certainly have an urgent need to speed up the lobby work and put in greater effort in the campaign and organizing. Acutally, there are many good initiatives of organizing and campaign such as cross-nationality organizing of foreign DW in Hong Kong and Taiwan, and local DW unionizing in China and Indonesia, which have proven that domestic workers can become very powerful.

Local organizing and campaigns for legislations in Hong Kong, Taiwan, China and Indonesia

Within Asia, an estimated 800,000 Asian women migrate abroad for work annually, and a majority of them are engaged as DW, in Southeast and East Asia, and in the Middle East. Even larger numbers of women are employed in their own countries as DW.ⁱⁱⁱ Compared to general migrant workers of other occupations, migrant DW are less protected by law and are easily abused by employers and agencies, which directly relates to their subordinate status as women and as informal workers. Gender stereotypes associate cleaning and care-taking with women’s work; domestic work is understood to be unskilled. Their contribution to the economy and society is undervalued.

The omission of domestic work from labour laws is the ultimate extension of the historical, systematic marginalization of women’s work. It could be also reflected by the unfair treatment of migrant DW in laws and policies. For example in Hong Kong where there are approximately 273,609 FDW^{iv}, the immigration departmental policy known as the “two-week rule” requires that migrant DW leave Hong Kong within two weeks of premature termination (whether by initiative of the employer or the worker) and then they must apply for a new contract in their place of origin before returning.^v Moreover, under clause three of the standard employment contract, migrant DW are required to be ‘live-in’; they must live in the household of the employer. These legal

requirements subject them to increased danger of rights violations.^{vi} These two regulations do not apply to migrant workers in other occupations. When migrant workers other than DW have been working in Hong Kong up to seven years, they are eligible to apply for right of abode in Hong Kong^{vii}. However migrant DW have their own category of visa, such that the workers can never access this right of citizenship no matter how long they have been working there. Another example is Taiwan. Migrant workers are generally protected by the labour law in Taiwan but DW are excluded. The Labour Standards Act (2009.04.22 Modified) does not cover DW. They are covered by the Employment Services Act 2009.05.13 (Amended), but it does not protect their rights to a minimum wage, set working hours, days off, holidays or paid leave.^{viii} All these constraints make migrant DW a second class of migrant worker.

Isolated at the workplace but not isolated in the movement

In this backdrop, Hong Kong and Taiwan DW groups have tried to unite local and migrant workers and build up cross-sectoral alliances. On 21 November 2010, the Hong Kong Federation of Asian DW Unions (FADWU) was formed by local and migrant DW of different nationalities.^{ix} The formation of this federation was regarded as a milestone for the DW movement in Asia.^x It was built on the foundation of organizing efforts of local and migrant unions over the past 20 years. Since the early 1990s, there have been already many associations and trade unions of migrant DW of the same nationalities in Hong Kong, while the first local DW union was set up in 2001. Since local DW are usually working on a part-time and non-live-in basis, they have different demands and concerns from migrant workers. Language barriers and limited time and resources also create obstacles for uniting DW of all nationalities, though mutual trust and solidarity have been gradually developed through joint campaigns for general labour rights. It has been very much due to the initiative, commitment, hard work and resource of the Hong Kong Confederation of Trade Unions (HKCTU) that FADWU, the only domestic worker union federation in Hong Kong, could be formed. Many (or most) trade unions in the Asia region would consider inclusion of a DW organization unthinkable. What HKCTU has been able to achieve proves the contrary and can be seen as an example to show that all workers can join together. Many migrant workers' unions and the local DW union are now affiliated with the HKCTU and do join together in rallies and demonstrations.

The latest push factors for the formation of FADWU have been the hourly minimum wage legislation in 2010 and the proposed ILO instrument. Both local and migrant

workers unions and organizations strongly condemned the exclusion of “live-in” DW from the minimum wage legislation, which affects mostly migrant workers (who compose more than 99% of live-in DW in Hong Kong). Although this campaign could not overturn the government proposal given the business-dominated law-making body,^{xi} it has increasingly motivated the DW to join forces. In line with the process of establishing an ILO convention, more discussions and resources have been given to support local campaigns towards this convention. After a year of preparation, six local and migrant unions formed FADWU. The first mission of FADWU is lobbying the government with the demands of FADWU for support of an ILO Convention and to get their voices heard through mass media.

Uniting local and migrant DW have to break through a lot of barriers, including those of languages, cultural differences and resources, but the biggest is the conflict of interest which is created by the neoliberal economic and social policy of the government. In Hong Kong, the local women’s movement has been demanding public childcare services since the 1980s but the response from the government was to recruit low-paid migrant DW to accommodate the increasing caring demands of households. In recent decades, the government has even largely privatized public services, shifting the social responsibility and cost to each individual family, indirectly reinforcing the family role of women as caretakers. Consequently, the social division between local and migrants, and between middle and working-class women, is deepening. “Increasing wages of migrant DW will adversely affect the participation of women in the job market,” said Liberal Party leaders in Hong Kong when arguing against covering “live-in” DW in the minimum wage legislation.^{xii}

The Taiwanese government has also been applying similar tactics to polarize the interests of DW, particularly migrant DW and those in care services. Before 1992, the Taiwanese government offered a “break service”- a free, provisional in-house caring service - for low-income households, in an attempt to relieve their caring mothers or wives. However, after migrant domestics were introduced, the Ministry of Interior suspended this service for the households which employ migrant workers.^{xiii} Not only did the cancellation of the break service also leads to mass unemployment of local caretakers, but it also put the households in need and the interest of caretakers in conflict with each other. When the Migrants Empowerment Network in Taiwan, (MENT) was advocating for a “Household Service Act” to regulate the rights and responsibilities of DW and care workers in respect of their employment in Taiwan since 2005, they also encountered oppositions from The Alliance for Handicapped People (AHP), which represents the interests of employers of migrant care workers.

AHP preferred a government regulating care services and migrant workers recruitment to any specific legal measure for migrant workers which might increase the cost of care services to economically disadvantaged families.^{xiv} To resolve the tension among different sectors and to build up a bigger alliance, MENT pursued a “win-win-win” prospect for all local caretakers, migrant DW, and care-receiving families. They demanded legal protection for DW either by amending the Labor Standards Law or by passing a Household Service Act. MENT argues that domestic work and responsibility for domestic labour should be shouldered by the government and households which are also workplaces should be regulated by law.^{xv} MENT mobilized demonstrations for the rights of migrant workers biannually to connect all the grass-root organizations and different interest groups, gradually building up a united front towards their win-win goals.

Small but vocal; advocacy for changes

The discriminatory legal framework of the state does make DW organizing difficult but it cannot stop them from finding ways out and possibilities. The labour policy in Taiwan is less favorable compared to migrant workers than in Hong Kong. Local and migrant DW are still not permitted to form trade unions and migrant workers cannot be leaders of trade unions. Furthermore, under Article 50 of the Employment Services Law, those who change employment can face deportation; therefore, employees and the police use this law to suppress protesting of migrant workers.^{xvi} Yet widespread organizing of DW can still be found, due to the support from the Taiwan International Workers’ Association (TIWA) a self-funded NGO which was formed by local labour activists and church-based organizations.

In some other places, although the organizing of domestic workers is only on a small scale, the voices are critical and set a good example for organizing informal workers in general. China and Indonesia have the second and third largest DW working populations in the region^{xvii} and 80-90% of them are women. The number of DW in these two countries is still growing as a result of the informalization of labour and government policy. In China, women workers laid-off from the state-owned enterprises due to the economic restructuring policy in the mid-1990s, and rural migrant women, are the main workforce of DW.^{xviii} At this moment, almost all Chinese DW are still working locally or in wealthier cities inside the country. Because of the global financial crisis, a Joint Project on Domestic Work was launched by the Ministry of Commerce (MOFCOM), Ministry of Finance (MOF), and the All-China Federation of Trade Unions (ACFTU). This project focuses on promoting

employment in the domestic service sector by providing rural migrants and laid-off workers with free vocational skills training. Their target is to train 200,000 DW in 2009.^{xix} It implies that promoting DW as a job creation is a national policy of the Chinese government.

As for Indonesia, the main workforce of DW comes from rural areas due to land grabbing and drastic decline in agriculture income. From the early 1970s, Indonesia realized the importance of manpower export overseas, and set targets in its five-year economic development plans for the number of workers it wanted to send overseas. As of 2005, Indonesian migrant workers are estimated at 2.8 million and the government was targeting an annual deployment of one million workers abroad until 2009, and is working on increasing the number of destination countries for its migrant workers from the present 11 to 25. In 2006, remittances by migrant workers amounted to US\$3.4 billion, equivalent to 1 percent of Indonesia's gross domestic product or 6 percent of its foreign exchange reserves.^{xx} Indonesian DW have become the majority among migrant workers working overseas.

Domestic work is thus economically significant to mainland China and Indonesia. But like informalization generally, it typically reaps few benefits and face multiple hardships such as less legal protection.^{xxi} Both Chinese and Indonesian national labour laws do not recognize DW as employees, and instead only apply to the employees of entrepreneurs. Besides, it is not explicitly clear whether DW can form trade unions but there are DW trade unions existing in these two countries. Coincidentally, the first and only one union of DW were officially recognized in 2004 in Xian city of China and in Tunas Mulia of Indonesia. These two examples merit further analysis, and raise the question as how to also replicate their experiences or how to expand their influences at the national and regional levels.

From Peer support group to Trade Union in China

As mentioned before, the main workforces for DW in China are laid-off SOE workers and rural migrants. In cities like Xi'an, which is in the northwestern part of China, laid-off workers account for more than half of the total number of DW.^{xxii} Most of them work inside the city or in their neighborhoods. In early 2000, the Chinese government policy had been to promote re-employment by obliging restructuring SOEs to set up re-employment centres offering retraining courses, which were sometimes run by the trade union. There is a re-employment centre run by the Xi'an Municipal of All China Federation of Trade Union (ACFTU), which provides a space

for gather of local DW, as well as training and job referral services to the DW there. In 2002, the Women's Development and Rights and Interests Research Center of the Northwestern Polytechnic University, Xi'an Municipal ACFTU, Xi'an Women's Federation Re-employment Service Center, and Xizhen Domestic Service Company jointly launched the Project to Build a Support Network for Marginalized Labourers. The Center first targeted DW. They found that more than 90% of women DW were laid-off, and a large proportion were divorced and single parents. It was most important to rebuild their self-confidence and inspire them. Therefore, the project decided to set up a peer-to-peer support group. Under this project, the peer group received a lot of training on labour rights and unionizing. . With gradual development and growth, this peer support group evolved into the first DW' union.^{xxiii}

The key to the transformation of a support group into an officially recognized trade union could be 1) the background of these DW as laid-off workers of state enterprises, who kept a certain employment relation with their former enterprise; 2) the cooperation between government and non-government organizations in supporting the growth of the union, which ensure the legitimacy of the union; and 3) the support from the women research centre in awareness and capacity building. The president and board members of the union are all elected from the female domestic worker membership. This internal democracy is one of the factors that has kept the union sustainable and independent from outside advisors. To date, the number of union members has been growing from 107 to more than 900. More than half of them are still former laid-off workers over 40 years of age but there is also an increasing number of young rural migrants. Female workers account for more than 90% of the total membership. The leadership has been also transforming from founding members to relatively new members.

Without legal regulation and protection for the rights of DW and without collective agreements, the union helps to handle disputes or abuse cases by negotiating with employers and the local authority. The union solicits local resources to give assistance to DW in need and mostly importantly, to provide emotional support. The problem that concerns the union the most is the occupational health of DW because many of them suffer from long working hours and muscle strains and back pain. This year the union conducted a survey with 203 members on occupational injury and diseases to make this problem visible in 2011 Meanwhile, the union has been actively taking part in meetings and conferences concerning DW inside and outside China, making connections with NGOs and academics.

They are 900 out of 20 million DW in only one city in the western part of China, but their voices are being heard nationwide and their case is well documented. The union constantly makes clear demands for 1) clear definition of the employment relationship of DW, and responsibility of employers towards DW, 2) regulations for manpower agencies to practice their work; 3) the national and international law regulating the middle men/agencies. Their voices are vital because in China the law-making process is determined by government administration, government organizations and academics, and the public discourse is dominated by agencies since there are roughly 6,000 DW agencies in China, which include government-sponsored ones. The All-China Women's Federation (ACWF) has been involved in the domestic service sector for many years. ACWF runs 465 domestic service agencies in 16 provinces and cities, and cooperates with labour bureaus at different levels to provide vocational training and issue certificates to trained DW.^{xxiv} Providing free training and job matching services can fulfill the immediate needs of DW but cannot eliminate the exploitation and abuses. For the sake of employment, ACFTU and ACWF should take the role of facilitating more unionizing of DW and of backing up the law and policy advocacy of the rights of DW. The Xian DW Union has only little resources from membership fee subscriptions and also has difficulties in accessing information on policy-making, and in making international linkages such as joining international networks, which largely hinders their development and contribution to the movement.

Local based with worldwide connection-the union in Indonesia

The union in Tunas Mulia of Indonesia has more space to do organizing, advocacy and networking than its Chinese counterpart. It is one of the founding members of ADWN. It was initially a religious study group for domestics in mosques, as employers approved of workers participating in such activities. Later the group became aware of the need to organize and struggle for rights. They formed a DW organization with help of an NGO 'RUMPUN' and in 2003 formed a union. It campaigns and mobilizes through art / theatre, newsletters, radio, and work communities. Its struggles for legislation have included: supporting DW in other cities to form DW unions, and a three-pronged strategy- to help workers with work contracts, struggle for recognition as a union, and to fight for legislation. Recently the union has advocacies and strategies for DW unions in Indonesia on issues relating to physical violence, human rights violations, etc. Indonesian DWs try to handle their cases by engaging the government and developing awareness of DW issues. In the past, the government considered this to be only NGO work but has now realized that the DW themselves are organized and mobilized. There were 400 DWs who got one

day off and fair wages. They also lodged an urgent appeal to make the manpower regulation policy reach the level of law, making contracts between employees and employer a requirement by law. They also worked with 'JALA', a network of local DW and IDWN, began struggling for the ILO Convention for DW; and set up a common agenda with other local organizations in many provinces in Indonesia.

In the year 2010, the Bill on Domestic Workers has been included in the list of National Legislation Program (Program Legislasi Nasional/Prolegnas), initiated by the Indonesian House of Representatives. In June 2010 the Parliamentary Commission on Manpower and Transmigration, Population Affairs, and Health, (Committee IX) at the House of People's Representatives, which is in charge of drafting the bill, announced it was postponing its discussion, citing unresolved disputes between the political parties. The DW union and Indonesian unions hosted a regional conference towards adoption of ILO Convention on Domestic Workers in October 2010 while the unions called for international support to this bill. The bill has been prioritized once again in the National Legislation Program 2011 but there has been no progress so far.^{xxv} The DW union is small but it is successfully building up a wide and strong network towards their mission.

We see from the experiences of the above two local unions that they all built up from a common group of DWs, such as laid-off middle age women in China or fellow believers of the same religion in Indonesia, and that they are mainly local workers. The formation of the union also engaged other concern groups like women organizations and government organizations. These two unions also started from community-based organizing and then gradually took part in national legal advocacy. The sisterhood and democratic operation of the trade union kept the organizations sustainable. However, their further development has been hindered by inadequate law and regulation for DWs and is lacking good access to information and the right to organize.

DW trade union formation is not very common in either destination countries nor in countries of origin in Asia.^{xxvi} There are trade unions concerning informal workers which include domestic workers as one of their target groups, such as National Home & Domestic Women Workers Union in Bangladesh, The Nippon Care Service Craft Union in Japan, and other. In many places there are NGOs or in a form of association providing services support and organizing for local and migrant DWs.

A stronger place for DW unionizing in Asia is in the Philippines, where independent

unions and collective bargaining are permitted, and local domestic workers are free to form unions and join existing unions. For migrant Filipinos there are many unions, associations and NGOs set up in the Philippines to help migrant workers before they leave, while overseas and on their return.^{xxvii} Looking at the Asian government responses to ILO questionnaires in 2009, the Philippines government was the only to support a convention on DW in Asia. AMRC believes that a solid base at the ground really has a big influence on the government policy and is an important pre-condition to making improvements of working conditions.

Yet Asian regional union federations or networks like the International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC), Global Network, and Migrant Forum in Asia have also proven crucial in building up the strength of unions across different countries. Actually, in terms of working with the ILO, the ITUC has been a “must have”. In the Asian region at least, the Global Network has been instrumental in raising funds to make the two regional conferences (earlier mentioned) possible on such a scale.

Towards the ILO process of establishing a Convention on “Decent work for domestic workers”, greater attention and external resources have been given to DW than ever before. It is the outcome of efforts of the DW movement and we should grasp this opportunity to give the voices to DW and to strengthen their resistance at the ground. From the last regional conference in Indonesia on this ILO convention, one major observation is the low participation of DW in the consultation process and the campaign. The first and ultimate step to go for the Convention is to reach out to as many DW as possible with all means.

(End)

Endnotes

ⁱ International Labour Office (2010), International Labour Conference, 99th Session, 2010 Report IV(1): Decent work for DW, ILO publication, Geneva. p. 1-2.

ⁱⁱ During the discussion of the Committee on Domestic Workers, the government of India made a proposal amendment to the form of instrument to replace “a Convention supplemented by a

Recommendation” by “a Recommendation”. Governments of Bangladesh, India, Indonesia, Malaysia, New Zealand, Singapore voted for the amendment proposal (and supported “a Recommendation” only) while only governments of Australia, China, Philippines, Sri Lanka, Thailand voted against the amendment proposal (and supported the original ILO proposed conclusion as “a Convention supplemented by a Recommendation”). The government of Japan abstained from the votes

iii From the recent report of Asia Pacific Forum on Women, Law and Development (APWLD) entitled: “The Right to Unite: A Handbook on Domestic Worker Rights across Asia”, up to 90% of DW are female and domestic work is now the most common occupation for women in the region: “employment in private house-holds accounts for about one-third of all female employment in Asia; Domestic work is also one of the largest drivers of female labour migration in the world. Women from Indonesia, Philippines, Thailand, Sri Lanka, India and Bangladesh are commonly employed in the wealthier Asian countries of Malaysia, Hong Kong, Japan and Taiwan.
<http://www.apwld.org/pdf/Advance%20Domestic%20Workers%20Rights%20065-85.pdf>

iv Communication and Public Affairs of Hong Kong Migration Department (2010), “Foreign Domestic Helpers(FDH) Populations in Hong Kong’

v Immigration Department of Hong Kong SAR:
http://www.immd.gov.hk/chtml/faq_fdh.htm

vi Asia Pacific Forum on Women, Law and Development (APWLD) (2010), “The Right to Unite: A Handbook on Domestic Worker Rights across Asia. p. 29.

vii 1 According to paragraph 2(a) to (f) of Schedule 1 to the Immigration Ordinance which has come into operation on 1 July 1997, a person who is within one of the following categories is a permanent resident of the HKSAR and enjoys the right of abode in the HKSAR : A person not of Chinese nationality who has entered Hong Kong with a valid travel document, has ordinarily resided in Hong Kong for a continuous period of not less than 7 years and has taken Hong Kong as his place of permanent residence before or after the establishment of the HKSAR.

viii Asia Pacific Forum on Women, Law and Development (APWLD) (2010), “The Right to Unite: A Handbook on Domestic Worker Rights across Asia. p. 57.

ix “The founding unions are the Indonesian Migrant Workers Union; the Hong Kong DW General Union; the Filipino Domestic Helpers General Union, Hong Kong; the Union of Nepalese DW in Hong Kong; the Overseas DW’ Union - HK; and the Thai Migrant Workers’ Union Hong Kong.”, FADWU Founded: From Hong Kong, A Milestone for Domestic Worker Rights in Asia:
<http://en.domesticworkerrights.org/?q=node/149>

x Ibid.

xi The Legislative Council in Hong Kong has 60 legislative councilors which consist of half functional constituency and half direct election. All the law must be passed by majority vote from functional constituency and direct election group. The amendment for minimal wage legislation to cover ‘live-in’ DW was objected by both section.

xii Mingpao News, October 12, 2009, special report on minimal wage legislation in Hong Kong:
<http://specials.mingpao.com/cfm/News.cfm?SpecialsID=223&Page=1&News=c99372ca864979ac0c93d3ca8c4361ac889e550e4a4377e4ac1b95e8ca>

xiii MENT (2008): Towards a Win-win-win Situation for Local Caretakers, Migrant Workers, and Care Receiving Households, <http://www.tiwa.org.tw/index.php?itemid=264>

xiv Ku Yuling (2008), Formation of Migrant DW Movement- a case study of “Household Service Act” advocacy in Taiwan, Taiwan International Workers Association, 2008.09.01.

xv ibid

xvi ibid V. P. 59

xvii According to ILO estimation, China has 20 million DW and Indonesia has 5 million working overseas and 2.6 million in the country.

xviii May Wong (2004), Domestic Work and Rights in China, Xianggang: The Sacrifice in the Transformation of Labour Policy in China from State to Market, Asia Monitor Resource Centre 2010.

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^{xix} Ministry of Commerce, ACFTU, Ministry of Finance, Joint Project on Domestic Worker, 2009

^{xx} UNIFEM (2009), “Gender dimensions of remittances: a study of Indonesian DW in east and southeast Asia”, UNIFEM. P. 7-11. http://www.migration-unifem-apas.org/docs/Gender_Dimension_of_Remittances%20.pdf

^{xxi}

^{xxii} International Labour Organization (2009), “Situational Analysis of Domestic Work in China” http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---asia/---ro-bangkok/documents/publication/wcms_114261.pdf

^{xxiii} Ibid.

^{xxiv} Ibid.

^{xxv} Amnesty International: “INDONESIA: PARLIAMENT CONTINUES TO FAIL DOMESTIC WORKERS”, 14 February 2011. See: <http://www.amnesty.org/en/for-media/press-releases/indonesia-parliament-continues-fail-domestic-workers-2011-02-14>

^{xxvi} DW trade unions can be found in India and the Philippines as well.

^{xxvii} Ibid V. P. 52