

Determining Preferences of Foreign Domestic Helpers in Their Use of Public Space

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Determining Preferences of Foreign Domestic Helpers in Their Use of Public Space

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Abstract

Foreign domestic helpers are a significant part of Hong Kong's population, but the underlying motivations behind their choice of gathering location during their days off is largely unknown. Our goal was to determine what motivates foreign domestic helpers to gather at particular locations. We concluded that the motivations of foreign domestic helpers are mainly extrinsic and relate to the availability of nearby services as well as social factors.

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Executive Summary

Many of Hong Kong's families get by today with the help of domestic workers, also called foreign domestic helpers. These foreign domestic helpers work long hours every day in the homes of their employers. They often choose employment as a domestic worker as means to support their families overseas. These workers only have the day off on Sundays and holidays. This is when they get to enjoy their leisure time away from work and can be seen in large groups socializing in many of Hong Kong's public areas. Their large presence in Hong Kong is clearly noticed, yet there is a largely untouched field of research on the motivations behind their gathering locations.

Our goal was to identify the motivations behind foreign domestic helpers' use of public space on Sundays and holidays in Hong Kong. We first determined the preferences of the foreign domestic helpers about their use of public space and what they like to do in their free time, including the actual areas where they socialize and gather across Hong Kong Island, Kowloon, and the New Territories. We also determined the types of activities foreign domestic helpers participate in. Lastly, we identified why the foreign domestic helpers gather together at these places.

In order to achieve our goal and objectives, we used several research methods. First, we directly observed foreign domestic helpers on their days off. Next, we made maps according to our direct observation to map out the exact locations foreign domestic helpers go to in order to form a clear picture of which public spaces are more frequently

used. We also performed a survey via questionnaire in order to gather quantitative data. We based our questionnaire around self-determination theory, which includes three different types of motivation. Lastly, we carried out informal interviews with many domestic helpers.

After carrying out the research and analyzing the information and data obtained, we identified that the main motivations that drove foreign domestic helpers to gather were nearby services and of social groups. These motivations fall under the category of extrinsic rather than intrinsic. Foreign domestic helpers that are extrinsically motivated will go to locations for external factors or outcomes rather than for the enjoyment of the location itself. Our findings will hopefully influence future research on the subject which could possibly lead to an improvement of public space conditions for both domestic helpers and locals. We have also made recommendations for this future research, which include looking into hidden biases and prejudices facing domestic helpers, collecting usable and sufficient data from the Indonesian population, and taking a look at the future development plans of Hong Kong in a light that would take into account the needs of foreign domestic helpers.

Introduction

Domestic workers (or domestic helpers) are those who live and work in the home of their employer performing household tasks such as cleaning or cooking, and sometimes caring for children or the elderly (Yu, 2009). These helpers could also be called “maids” or “servants” depending on whom one asks. Though some scholars believed the trend of domestic help would decline as society became more modern through new technology, it has actually experienced a “revival” in the past three decades (Sarti, 2014). Domestic care has historically been the work of women who tend to belong to minority groups. These workers spend most of their time in their employer’s house, but many have a day off each week when they get to relax, socialize, and enjoy leisure activities. When these workers get to spend their leisure time outdoors, it occasionally creates inconvenience for both locals and tourists over the use of the limited amount of public spaces. The reasons that these workers choose the locations they do to gather in are largely unknown.

Many women (and some men) from Southeast Asian countries, such as Indonesia and the Philippines, have moved to Hong Kong to start work as foreign domestic helpers (abbreviated as FDH) (Yu, 2009). They work every day except for Sundays and holidays, and on their days off they usually gather in large numbers in outdoor public spaces where they can relax and socialize with others from their own culture. These gatherings can cover many large public areas that would normally not be used in this way on weekdays and Saturdays; this has led to conflicts of interest over the use of these public spaces. These conflicts of interest give way to some confusion over why these

foreign domestic helpers are gathering in this way, as their motivations for doing so are unclear.

Previous research on the subject of foreign domestic helpers' use of public space is limited. Xiaojiang Yu (2009) explored the influence of culture on the public space use by Filipina domestic helpers. Yu found that most of the women would prefer to gather outside on Sundays even if they had other lodgings to go back to because gathering outside was part of their culture (p. 109). Research exists from over a decade ago about how foreign domestic helpers used public space in accordance with the way the designers of those spaces meant them to be used, however many locals were unhappy with their presence (Law, 2002).

Since there are only a few studies to date that look at foreign domestic helpers' use of public space in Hong Kong, a significant gap had been created in this field that needs to be filled. The preferences and motivations of foreign domestic helpers pertaining to public space use is generally unknown, especially throughout all ethnically divided subgroups of those helpers. There is little research pertaining to the motivations behind foreign domestic helpers in their choice of public space. If further research is done, Hong Kong can benefit from knowing those motivations by being able to shape future public spaces accordingly.

Our research aimed to identify the motivations that drive foreign domestic helpers to certain public spaces on Sundays and holidays in Hong Kong. To do this we determined the preferences of foreign domestic helpers about where they gather, identified reasons and motivations why those helpers gather, and identified activities that those helpers participate in. In order to complete these objectives, we conducted a number of surveys, focus groups, and both formal and informal interviews. We also

directly observed foreign domestic helpers and created maps of their usual locations on Sundays. The conclusions section of this paper describes what we believe to be the key motivations of foreign domestic helpers in visiting certain locations as well as other lines of research that could be attempted in the future.

2. Background

This chapter will go into details on domestic helpers' background, including their history, demographics, socioeconomic status, their global distribution, and the racism and prejudices they face. We will look further into the domestic helpers in Hong Kong, exploring the domestic helpers' recreational activities and what impact those activities have caused on the local public resources. We will also introduce Self-Determination Theory as an abstract framework for analyzing the motivations of FDH.

2.1 History of Domestic Workers

Domestic workers can be found all over the globe and have been around for centuries. This chapter will go into details on the history, demographics, and social standing of domestic helpers today and in the recent past. We will also discuss the known preferences of these domestic workers, focusing on what they do during their leisure time.

2.1.1. Who Are Domestic Workers?

Domestic workers are people who work and reside in host families with their employers; their duties include performing a wide range of household tasks such as cleaning, cooking, doing laundry, taking care of children and the elderly, and other miscellaneous errands (International Labour Office, 2013). The majority of domestic workers are female migrant foreigners who come from other countries. They usually work for private households, and thus are often unprotected by labor laws or legitimate terms of employment. In addition, domestic workers are often discriminated against by

the public based on their race, ethnicity, and low social status; they also tend to be easily exploited. They not only receive minimum wages but also have to work excessive long hours. Because their jobs are considered "unclean" manual labor (Aldama, 2015), domestic workers are seen as having low social status and often treated with disrespect and suffer exploitation of human rights.

2.1.2. Demographics

The majority of domestic workers are women which stems from the traditional gender role of women being the stay-at-home caretaker of household tasks. There are, conservatively, 52 million domestic workers employed around the world as of 2010; 43 million domestic workers are women and 9 million are men (International Labour Office, 2013). Developed countries house 3.5 million, Asia and the Pacific region host around 22.5 million (with China specifically hosting 9 million), Latin America has 21 million, and Africa 5 million. There are an estimated 29 million children under the age of 18 employed in domestic work. The Philippines, Sri Lanka and Indonesia are the primary countries domestic helpers originate from in Southeast Asia.

2.1.3 Self Determination Theory

Self Determination Theory (SDT) is a psychological model used to classify and analyze different types of motivations (Self-Determination Theory, 2016). There are three major types of motivations in SDT: intrinsic motivation, extrinsic motivation, and amotivation. Intrinsic motivation relates to feeling motivated to do a task by enjoying the task itself. The process of doing the task is the motivating factor in deciding to do the task. An example would be that a person goes for a jog because he/she simply enjoy the

process of the activity. Extrinsic motivation comes from the desire for an outcome or other result of doing the task, rather than the desire to do the task itself. For instance, a person could be extrinsically motivated to jog because he/she wants to lose weight or be healthy. Amotivation is the of lack of motivation to do a task, when the task is done out of a lack of alternatives or simple habit. We applied this theory to the development of our questionnaires to help qualify and interpret our data.

These different types of motivations can be related to domestic worker's motivations towards choosing public space in their leisure time. Domestic workers can be intrinsically motivated to visit a certain area if they enjoy being at that location. On the other hand, a person can be extrinsically motivated by external factors or outcomes achieved by spending their leisure time at certain locations. Extrinsic motivation comes from factors outside the task itself, possibly social pressure, desired outcomes, or other costs or rewards. Nevertheless, a person can also be amotivated if they are not sure why they choose that particular location to gather at due to lack of motivation and desire to do the task.

2.1.4. Socioeconomic Status

Domestic worker employment provides work for many women from impoverished countries. This work frequently involves very poor conditions, and domestic workers suffer from poor legal protection (International Labour Office, 2013). Domestic work is linked with international migration, from poorer countries in a region to wealthier ones in the same region or a neighboring one. These women often have few

other options for work in their home country, and pay is much higher in destination countries for comparable work. This is the main factor that encourage these workers to travel to foreign countries for work, opening them to exploitation in a number of ways. These factors reinforce gendered, racial, and ethnic inequalities.

There are also a large number of domestic workers who are migrants within their own country. This is most prevalent in Latin America, with many maids moving from the countryside to the large cities to work (International Labour Office, 2013). There is less need for domestic helpers to migrate to other countries in Latin America, but migration within their own country is very common. They frequently live in with a host family, similar to foreign domestic helpers, although some commute.

New immigrants are frequently preferred by employers, as they are more easily exploited. “There is a peculiar historical continuity with respect of the overrepresentation of international migrants among domestic workers ... new arrivals were often preferred by employers as they would accept longer hours, perhaps lower wages, more work, and, in general, conditions of employment more favorable to the employer.” (International Labour Office, 2013, p. 23) Furthermore, their lack of knowledge about local language, culture, and law means that migrant workers are even more easily exploited and less able to find legal recourse. Less than half of surveyed migrant workers in one study were allowed to leave their place of work to meet others (Panam et al., 2004). In extreme examples, this isolation builds an increasing imbalance of power, leading to instances of forced labor. (International Labour Office, 2013). These women are systematically exploited by their employers, isolated to prevent them from finding support from other workers, and held in place by legal and economic factors that they have few tools to help them understand or combat.

2.1.5. Racism and prejudice toward domestic workers

Almost all domestic workers are women, and they predominantly come from countries and regions that are discriminated against or looked down upon by the regions that they migrate to (International Labour Office, 2013). Furthermore, their work is naturally invisible to the general population, as it is conducted behind closed doors, so their plights are further ignored by their host society. Pay is disproportionately low for domestic workers as, in addition to the racial aspect, there is a gendered prejudice that dismisses the frequently difficult work as easy, the type of work any woman can do.

There is a widespread phenomenon of domestic workers being marginalized, treated like children or otherwise incapable (International Labour Office, 2013). Though few employers would directly admit to it, the idea that they are doing something charitable by hiring a domestic worker is a common one. This further contributes to a systematic devaluation of female-dominated sectors in the job market, and adds to the danger of systematically lower wages for domestic helpers.

2.1.6. Global Distribution

Domestic workers can be found all over the globe, generally in less developed nations. Recent estimates claim that 41% of domestic workers are in Asia, 37% in Latin America and the Caribbean, 10% in Africa, 4% in the Middle East, 1% in Eastern Europe, and 7% in more developed countries (International Labour Office, 2013). In Latin America, the growing need to take care of the elderly population is a factor in encouraging the large number of domestic workers. The countries there with the most domestic workers include Brazil, Argentina, Chile, Paraguay, Uruguay, and Mexico.

Many workers from Indonesia and the Philippines migrate and work in Middle Eastern countries and Hong Kong. Workers from Thailand and Malaysia are more likely to choose China and India as their workplaces. African domestic workers tend to be in South Africa as opposed to all other areas of Africa, though due to the informality of many domestic worker situations some scholars have suggested that numbers are still high in those areas. Many African domestic workers are either children or relatives of their employers, which means they are either unpaid or unreported. In addition, domestic workers in Europe can be mainly found in Spain, Italy, and France.

2.2 Leisure Lives of Domestic Workers

Domestic workers are spread out all over the world, and it is natural that workers in different locations and from different backgrounds have varying daily lives and activities. The large variation in culture across all domestic workers brings about many different types of leisure lives.

Foreign domestic helpers are given little time off (International Labour Office, 2013). In some areas where labor laws are weaker, they are allowed virtually no time outside their home of employment. A common standard is to give foreign domestic helpers one day of the week off, Sunday. For a number of reasons, which we will discuss below, FDH usually choose to congregate with other FDH.

2.2.1. Recreational Activities

Xiaojiang Yu (2009) conducted a survey of foreign domestic helpers where most of the interviewees stated that “attending church services is the most important activity for Sunday gathering, both in Hong Kong and the Philippines” (Yu, 2009, p. 102) In

Latin America there is a strong sense of connecting with family or religious community on Sundays.

Domestic work is a common means of employment for Latin American immigrants to North America (Rodger, 2006). The legal status of these workers is much closer to that of a standard employee, with no special contract for domestic workers or other special legal status. Their use of free time is very similar to FDH in other parts of the world.

Free time for the domestic helper is spent without any spending (Rahder, 2013). Their activities are focused mainly around church gatherings and congregating in public spaces where food, entertainment, music, and sports can be brought in freely. Free public classes at libraries and other public buildings are also very popular among immigrants. There is a key difference in the motivations and needs of the workers in North America, as their goal is usually integration into North American society, as they frequently stay indefinitely rather than the set-term contracts that are common in the Middle East and Asia. This means that their focus during free time is establishing a social support network, as well as securing longer term employment and places of residence.

Immigrant women face the cultural expectations of their home culture as well as the cultural norms of their new homes (Tsai, 2014). Women from more conservative countries may have even more expectations placed on them. Physical activity is seen as un-girlish in many cultures and is discouraged from a young age. Spending too much time on leisure is seen as neglectful towards their family back home. These expectations put limitations on the activities women can enjoy in their free time.

2.2.2. Public Space

Public spaces are used universally by migrant workers, as money is a severely limiting factor for unskilled workers in a new, frequently more expensive, environment (Law, 2002). Religious bonds are very important to these types of workers, both for spiritual reasons and for social ones. Churches and other places of worship are places to socialize for free, as well as places to build a social network. Free classes of many kinds are also very popular with migrant workers.

Malls are also common spaces that serve as a public space for immigrant workers (Rahder, 2013). Though malls are, by definition, private entities, they serve the role of public spaces in many cases. Many urban areas are lacking in sufficient public space, so malls have come to fill the role public parks once did. Malls can also feel discouraging, however, to those who may not be able to afford products from the stores inside. The immense level of consumerism and the pressure by mall staff and security to move non-spendy customers along is intimidating and isolating to these immigrants.

Networking is just as important, if not more important, than just enjoying a day off. A social network is both an emotional support group as well as a way for migrant workers to protect themselves. Knowing the rights they have is frequently easier to get from other workers than trying to navigate an alien system of laws in a foreign language. They use this network to find how others have made it through before them.

2.2.3. Conflict with Locals

When FDH gather in public space, they are not always seen favorably in Hong Kong, when they are seen at all. The most common public discussion around them are pushes for their wages to be taxed and complaints about their presence in public space

(Tan, 2000). Their presence in city centers on their day off is frequently described as an inconvenience. The public's poor perception of these workers is a combination of the negative views the public has on their racial background, gender, culture, and the unskilled nature of their work. These factors of discrimination both limit the support the FDH can garner, as well as cause their presence to be reacted to negatively.

2.3 Hong Kong's Foreign Domestic Helpers

Hong Kong is home to hundreds of thousands foreign domestic helpers. How they are treated and how they live their lives differs from domestic workers in other areas of the world. This section will go into more detail on foreign domestic helpers and their use of public space in Hong Kong.

2.3.1. FDH Population

As of 2014, Hong Kong had a total population of 330,650 foreign domestic helpers, 98.5% of which are female (Census and Statistics Department, 2014). About 52.3% of FDH are from the Philippines, 45.3% are from Indonesia, 0.8% are from Thailand, and the remaining 1.6% are from other locations. This means that when speaking culturally of foreign domestic helpers, most are referring to either Filipina workers or Indonesian workers. The sheer numbers of domestic workers is a sign their problems are important for Hong Kong to consider and correct.

2.3.2. Cultural and Religious Significance

Sunday and holiday gatherings are a large part of the culture of foreign domestic helpers. Yu (2009) found that a majority of Filipina women would prefer to meet outside even if they had indoor space available, which he attributed to Filipino beliefs of the spiritual world in nature. These outdoor gatherings often are supplemented by attending church services, which many domestic helpers said kept them going and let them feel at home. These religious meetings are the most important part of the Sunday gathering for many of these women. They reported that they would feel uncomfortable for the rest of the week if they missed even one of these meetings.

When asked if they “would opt to stay indoors for their Sunday gathering if there were indoor facilities available to them” (Yu, 2009, p. 100). Most replied they would not, adding that “gathering outside is [their] culture”.

2.3.3. Public Perception of FDH

Domestic helpers are frequently viewed in a discriminatory manner due to their gender and race, among other factors. In most societies, problems of this sort exist and stand in the way of minorities. Because of their job is considered as low economic status in most cultures, FDH have low social status as well and are usually treated without respect by the public. Due to language barriers FDH frequently have issues communicating with locals, handicapping them in social, legal, and economic situations. Having a different skin color and racial background, FDH are viewed differently by the locals, often with negative stereotypes. Therefore, the public often view them as outsiders that do not fit into the local society and as easily exploited targets simply

because they do not have any social status and lack the ability to defend themselves against mistreatment due to racism and sexism.

2.3.4. Why Hong Kong?

Foreign domestic helpers often leave behind their family and friends in their home country, so the question exists: why go to Hong Kong? There is a growing trend of society adopting foreign domestic helpers into the work field, especially in Asia and Latin America. Hong Kong is one of the few locations that offers fundamental labor laws and rights to FDH compared to other countries. According to The Employment Ordinance and the Employees' Compensation Ordinance, FDH in Hong Kong are granted the right to have holidays off and annual leave, a weekly rest day, and protection under legitimate terms of employment. In contrast with other Asian countries such as Malaysia, FDH where are not recognized as "workers"; instead they are seen as "servants". The FDH stereotype in Malaysia makes them more vulnerable to abuse of their human rights; they are not guaranteed a weekly day off and holiday/annual leave. Moreover, the employers in Malaysia prefer verbal scolding and punishment as the main method to discipline FDH, which contradict with how FDH are treated in Hong Kong. Due to these factors, Hong Kong provides a better work environment and conditions for FDH, and thus Hong Kong attracts more FDH for a possibly life changing opportunity.

2.3.5. Labor laws regarding FDH

The Domestic Workers Convention was ratified in 2011 by 22 countries (Domestic Workers Convention, 2011). It gives domestic workers the rights afforded by decent work: minimum wage, minimum resting time, rights to live where they choose, and do what they choose with their free time and money.

In Hong Kong domestic workers are legally treated as workers and have a minimum wage and standards of work and living. However, their legal citizenship to Hong Kong is tied to their particular employer. Issues of abuse still arise, but the legal power of the FDH is improving, if not yet perfect. Recent cases have shown that FDH can successfully take legal action against abusive employers.

2.3.6. Public Space Use in Hong Kong

Public space is a scarce resource in Hong Kong, one that is being eroded by continuous construction and urban development (Wu, 2015). Public spaces are frequently under private management, and have seen their utility to the public reduced or monetized for private interests.

Public space can also feel lacking, as existing public space frequently fails to meet the needs of the general public (Au, 2015). Public space in Hong Kong has been described as top-down, designed by government boards rather than natural human demand for certain services and features. This exuberates the feeling of a lack of public space.

This lack of public space has had Hong Kong locals looking for alternatives (Nowek, 2013). Malls have filled this role in Hong Kong. Despite not being public space in a literal sense, malls have nonetheless filled requirements of public space. Social

gatherings in Hong Kong are frequently conducted in one of its many malls. The mall does have many drawbacks towards traditional public space, however.

Malls add to the consumerist pressure that permeates Hong Kong, which can add to the out of place feeling that low income Hong Kong residents frequently experience (Ka Man, 2013). Malls are not actually a public space, so activity in them can be limited by the management. This is one of the key factors limiting their utility to FDH. They also directly represent one of the major forces eroding true public space in Hong Kong. Many public spaces have been sold to private interests to develop the expansive mall industry in Hong Kong.

After learning about domestic workers and their role in Hong Kong, we were ready to begin planning our methodology for our research. The following chapter will discuss the methods we chose to implement and why we chose them.

3. Methodology

The goal of our project was to identify the motivations behind foreign domestic helpers' choice in locations on their days off. In order to accomplish this, we identified three key objectives:

1. Determine the preferences of FDH on where they like to be on their days off.
2. Determine the usual activities of FDH on their days off.
3. Identify reasons why the FDH gather together and why they gather where they do.

This chapter will outline the methods we used to achieve these objectives. Interview protocols for surveys and questionnaires mentioned can be found in Appendix D.

3.1 Determining the Preferences of FDH

In order to determine the preferences of FDH on their use of public space, we needed to identify the locations in which the FDH gather. To do this we used a combination of direct observation of the FDH and mapping of their chosen areas with the help of online location services such as Google Maps. By creating maps we were able to get a more accurate idea of where the FDH prefer to gather on their days off. We then used these maps to identify the distribution of FDH around Hong Kong Island, Kowloon, and the New Territories. As it would have been difficult to map all the areas

of Hong Kong in which FDH gather, we mapped and gathered data in a few select areas, focusing on areas such as Central and Causeway Bay on Hong Kong Island.

We carried out informal interviews in the form of casual conversation in order to identify preferred gathering locations for the FDH; this not only helped us to better structure our questionnaires but also gain a further and more detailed understanding of their chosen locations. Naturally, due to the close-knit structure of FDH social groups, we tended to attract more groups for our surveys as opposed to individuals. We talked to approximately 30 FDH personally and received useful information regarding their preferences of gathering locations. We talked to FDH in many areas of Hong Kong, including Central, Tai Kok Tsui, and Sha Tin.

To create a more comfortable environment for the FDH as we carried out our research, we used a brief scripted introduction when approaching them. First we introduced ourselves as college students from the United States doing a research project about the use of public space by the Overseas Filipino Workers (a term used by the Filipina FDH). In doing so, this enabled us to distinguish ourselves from local salesmen attempting to advertise products, a phenomenon that is common throughout many high traffic areas in Hong Kong. Then, we requested permission to ask them a few questions. The questions we used can be found in Appendix B.

It was easier to approach the FDH when they were in small social groups of around three to six; talking to groups with more members would have been impractical and inefficient, and talking to groups with fewer members could have caused them to feel uncomfortable. Many FDH who were sitting down on blankets invited us to sit down while we talked with them, which we accepted in order to create a friendly atmosphere.

3.2 Determining the Usual Activity of FDH

To determine the usual activity of FDH on their days off, we directly observed them at the locations where they gather. Directly observing FDH at various locations gave us plenty of information on the activities performed at each location. We also used the method of surveying via questionnaire that was explained in the previous section. We included a section on our questionnaire about activities performed at the locations where we conducted our survey. We listed the activities to mark down on the questionnaire through our informal interviews with FDH in order to give us a quantitative look at these activities performed by FDH. However, many of them did not understand this particular section on the questionnaire and filled out invalid answers. We then ultimately had to scrap the quantitative activity analysis and focus on our qualitative analysis instead.

In addition to talking to FDH, we also held conversations with various others such as employees at malls or passersby. Through speaking to these people, we were able to obtain their attitudes about this situation that Hong Kong is facing. We learned that most locals are likely to provide neutral opinions and did not seem to mind the high traffic created by the FDH because they are used to it; on the other hand, tourists were not so satisfied with the presence of FDH since it causes inconveniences and drains public space and resources. One tourist even approached us wondering if there was a protest happening, and was surprised to learn that the crowds of FDH occurred every Sunday.

3.3 Identify Reasons and Motivations that FDH Gather Together

To identify reasons why the FDH gather together, we conducted another survey in addition to gathering responses from interviews to obtain data from various FDH about why they gather where they do. We handed out and received back 189 questionnaires to gain a quantitative set of data to answer our research questions. The questions we included in the survey were created based on the types of motivation outlined by Self-Determination Theory in order to have a framework for our analysis (See section 2.1.3 Self-Determination Theory). The questionnaire we created can be found in Appendix B.

We set our first focus on Central because it is one of the primary locations that offer readily public transportation, shops, and other services for FDH to gather on Sundays. Many FDH can be found around the World-Wide House Mall and underneath the HSBC bank building, so we started to conduct our survey in those areas. In Central we handed out questionnaires underneath the HSBC bank, Statue Square Park, Chater Road, Ice House Street, and around the International Finance Centre. Other major areas in which we performed our surveys were Tamar Park in Admiralty and the overpass in Mong Kok, since many FDH can be found in these two locations as well. In addition to looking at these high traffic locations, we also visited smaller residential areas such as Olympic City MTR Station in Tai Kok Tsui and Sha Tin Park in Sha Tin. In doing so, we hoped to see if there is a major difference in FDH's preference of location when we looked at different types of areas in terms of their gathering.

3.4 Difficulties and Challenges Conducting the Survey

As the FDH completed the survey, we noticed that there was some confusion about a few questions. We attempted to gather quantitative data on the activities that

FDH participated in from our survey, but many of the FDH did not understand the section on activities so we chose to ignore those results as a quantitative outcome. We hypothesize this is because the format of this section of the questionnaire was different from previous sections, and by the time the FDH reached it, they wanted to simply finish the questionnaire and filled it out as they would the earlier sections or randomly. Also, another area of possible error that we identified was how FDH normally took the survey. Many FDH did not read the instructions before completing the questions, which caused confusion. When we distributed questionnaires to FDH, many FDH would usually gather around and complete one survey as a group, usually 2 to 3 people. In order to fix this problem and make the time more efficient, we encouraged each of them to fill one out on their own, but FDH would frequently be more comfortable discussing the questions and answering as a group, which may have influenced their answers and produced non-personal data. Sections that would be particularly affected by this factor would be questions relating to social groups.

When first approaching FDH, many of them were defensive and hesitant to cooperate with us. Through repeating that we are college students and only wanted anonymous answers, many of them became more comfortable and more willing to take the surveys. Also, the questionnaire at first glance seemed too official; a lot of FDH were wary of anything that could cause legal troubles. So we had to emphasize that the survey was strictly anonymous and that they could skip any questions they felt uncomfortable answering. In doing so, we then put them more at ease and received an improved response rate.

It was not possible for us to gather data on the public space meeting preferences from the Indonesian FDH because of the language barrier. While English is an official

language in the Philippines, it is not in Indonesia. The majority of Indonesian women did not speak much English and could not complete the questionnaire. However, many of the Indonesian women did speak Cantonese because they learn the language in order to work in Hong Kong and communicate with their employers. The lack of a Cantonese speaker on our research team meant we could not communicate with them using Cantonese either. We approached as many groups as possible in Mong Kok, North Point and Victoria Park in Causeway Bay since these are the primary locations of Indonesian women's gathering, but we were only able to gather a handful of questionnaire responses from women in Mong Kok. Some groups of Indonesian women had one person who could speak some English, but most of the time the person could not read the survey. Also, we learned that for those who speak English, they had previously worked in Singapore prior to coming to Hong Kong; however, that is not the case for the majority of the Indonesian women who work in Hong Kong. Therefore, determining the public space use preferences of the Indonesian FDH became one of the biggest challenges for us due to our inability to communicate with them. As a result of this, we believe the data that we obtained from the Indonesian FDH was not as accurately representative as that which we gained from the Filipina FDH.

By completing our objectives, we collected a large sample of quantitative data about the preferences of FDH as well as qualitative data to supplement those numbers. The next section of this paper will go over the results we obtained, focusing on the most relevant details from the responses to our questionnaire and to the various interviews we conducted.

4 Results and Analysis

We achieved our goal of determining the motivations behind foreign domestic helpers' use of public space by looking into three areas: the preferences of FDH, the types of activities FDH engage in, and why FDH gather where they do. In this chapter we present and analyze our data showing how we achieved these objectives.

4.1 Public Space Preferences of Foreign Domestic Helpers

Hong Kong Central and Victoria Park in Causeway Bay are two primary gathering locations for FDH, where we observed hundreds of helpers each Sunday at these locations. Not only did we observe these large gatherings, but FDH whom we interviewed all agreed that Central was the place to be for Filipinas and Victoria Park was the Sunday home of the Indonesians. We focused our efforts on Central due to the language barrier at Victoria Park. Because Central is a very busy place on Sundays, we first took a look at the level of comfort FDH in Central reported having. In this chapter, responding positively means that the FDH responded with either "strongly agree" or "agree" to the survey question being looked at. Responding negatively means the FDH responded with either "strongly disagree" or "disagree".

When asked about their general comfort level at the locations they were at (see Appendix C), just above half of the FDH in Central responded that they were comfortable (Fig 4.01), whereas in areas other than Central almost 70% of FDH responded positively (Fig 4.02). From this, we could tell that FDH in smaller areas and parks were more comfortable with the environment than those who preferred to stay in Central's busy streets. Our interviews further supported our data, as many of the FDH we spoke to in smaller locations such as Sha Tin Park or Olympic City claimed that they did

not go to Central because of the location being too crowded and noisy. The Filipina helpers whom we spoke to at the Quarry Bay Alliance Church in Tai Koo also mentioned that Central was uncomfortable for them as well, opting for a smaller gathering location set up by their church. Nearly half of FDH we spoke to in Central who replied neutrally or negatively towards comfort level must have had some other reason to stay in Central so that they did not mind being uncomfortable. This may have to do with the amount of services present in Central that might be unavailable elsewhere (Fig 4.18).

Central is also home to the World-Wide House, a mall filled with stores selling affordable clothes, necessities, and food from the Philippines. For many Filipina FDH, is an important factor in choosing Central over smaller locations with less services available. In addition to services, the pull to Central might be related to Central's established popularity among FDH. As a known gathering place for Filipinas, new Filipina FDH might gather at Central to expand their social network.

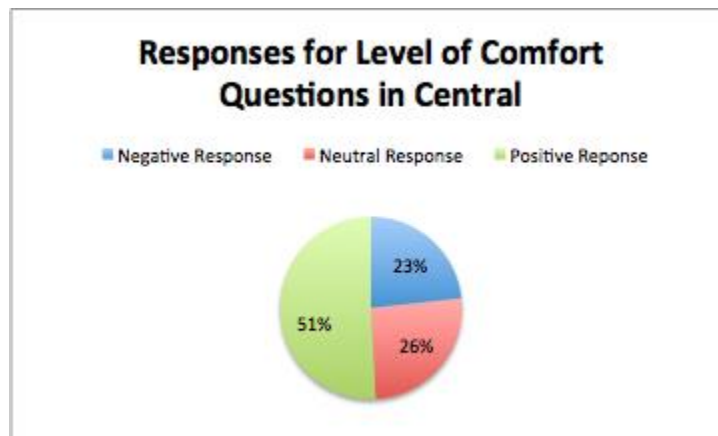


Fig 4.01 Responses for Level of Comfort Questions in Central

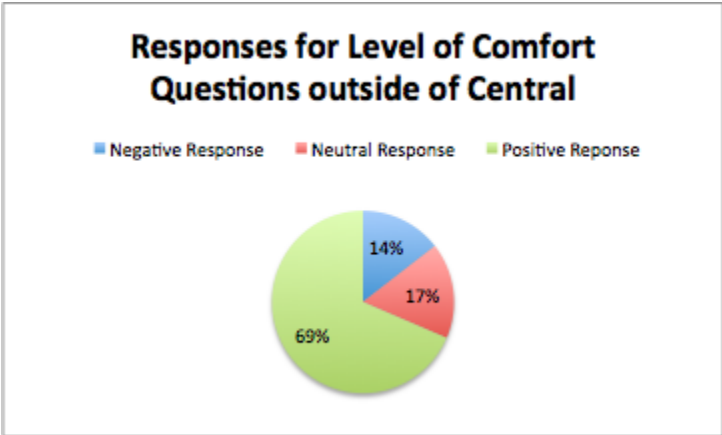


Fig 4.02 Responses for Level of Comfort Questions Outside of Central

Many of the Filipina helpers we talked to attend church every Sunday. We found that church and religion play a big part in the culture and customs of these Filipina helpers, which confirms what we presented in section 2.2.1. If a church was not in the vicinity of their gathering place or where they lived, the FDH would travel to one every Sunday. Of all respondents who answered the question “religious services are offered here for me” slightly over half answered positively (Fig 4.04). This is not an overwhelming majority, and based on the previously mentioned interview responses, a location does not require a church to motivate FDH to gather there, but it might be favorable if transportation to one is easily available.

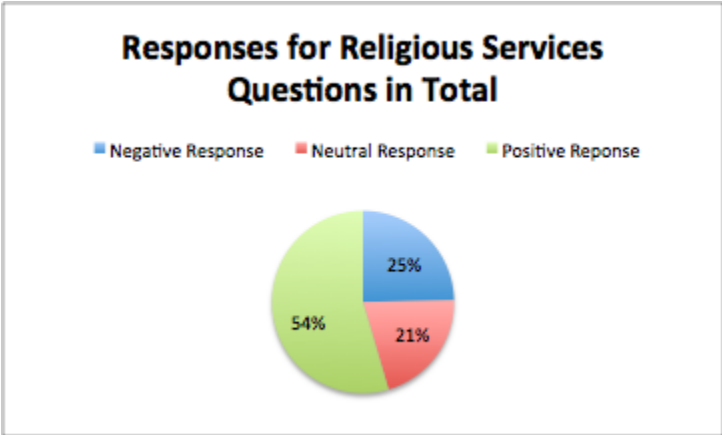


Fig 4.03 Responses for Religious Services Question in Total

We were also able to observe some preferences between different ethnic groups of domestic helpers. Filipina women and Indonesian women often did not gather in the same areas, even though they are all foreign domestic helpers. Central was crowded with Filipinas, while Victoria Park and Mong Kok were meeting areas for Indonesian women. We did observe a significant mixture of both these groups in Sha Tin Park, however individual social groups of FDH were either fully Filipina or fully Indonesian. Filipina women often mentioned to us when asked that their relatives or friends introduced them to the locations they visited.

Another data point that showed a trend of importance was the feeling of being accepted by strangers. This had the highest number of “disagree” or “strongly disagree” responses of any individual question.

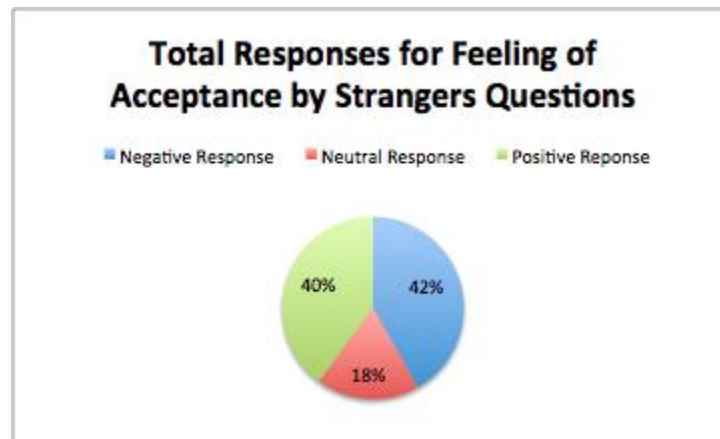


Fig 4.04 Total Responses for Feeling of Acceptance by Strangers Questions

This, combined with interviews with FDH who frequently stated avoiding locals was a motivation in choosing location, points towards a possible area for future research. Though none of the interviews led us to believe there was any overt conflict between FDH and locals, the general feeling of not being accepted may towards underlying biases or prejudice that may be present. Passive prejudice like this is very hard to directly identify, however, this is as far as we could surmise from our data. Further research is needed to make a conclusive statement.

4.2 Activities of Foreign Domestic Helpers

We were able to directly observe both the cultural and leisure activities of the FDH on their days off. In various areas of Central we observed FDH gather along the sides of streets and within parks. Many of them were sitting down in groups of anywhere between two to twelve people. The FDH in these clustered groups would be chatting, eating, playing card games, video chatting with families back home, or taking pictures of themselves and their friends. Some groups of FDH were playing music from their smartphones or from speakers they brought with them. Out of those groups, many of the FDH were dancing to the music with their friends. After observing many groups of FDH performing dance routines along Chater Road and Ice House Street in Central, we then conducted an informal interview with an FDH we saw with a group of dancers. She was the leader of the dance crew she was working with and was a member of the cultural committee of Philippines Alliance in Hong Kong. We learned that her dance crew has monthly competitions in Hong Kong, therefore they usually use their days off practicing and going over routines in spacious public areas, which the closed-off streets of Central offered. This can also be seen in Tamar Park. In addition to dancing, we also observed domestic helpers doing karaoke, or sing-a-long as they referred to it as part of the leisure activity they do when they gather.

In the smaller areas we went to such as the overpass in Mong Kok and North Point, we rarely saw domestic helpers getting up and moving around for physical activities. There was no room for physical activities on these footbridges. The FDH mainly sat down on blankets, sheets, or pieces of cardboard along the edges of the location to let pedestrian traffic flow. Many FDH played on their smartphones, ate food, or took naps. It was rare to see a blanket set out without some sort of food container or snack accompanying it.

In many areas near parks or streets where the FDH gathered, fast food restaurants such as McDonald's, KFC, and Cafe de Coral were filled with FDH eating and relaxing from about 11:00 to 14:00, which could make it very hard to find a place to dine in these concentrated areas. Many groups would remain at the table for much longer than the duration of the meal, adding to overcrowding. Furthermore, women's toilets located in public areas and nearby malls would become heavily overcrowded on Sundays as well since most FDH are women, which adds further inconvenience for the locals and tourists and causes a strain on public resources since the city is not designed to handle this kind of influx.

4.3 Why Foreign Domestic Helpers Gather

There were a few groups of survey questions that helped us determine common reasons for the FDH to gather where they did. The first group of items that showed high average responses was the availability of nearby services. Services include nearby restaurants, banks, and shops of interest to the FDH (See Appendix C). Based on the data, of all respondents who completed the survey, 80% indicated that nearby services such as food, banking, and shopping were easily accessible to them (Fig 4.05).

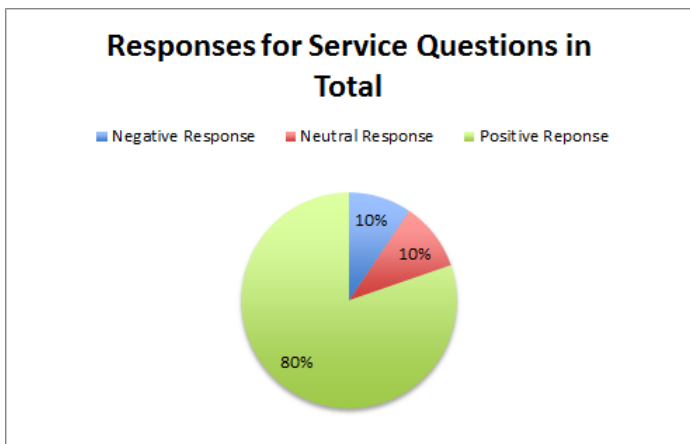


Fig 4.05 Responses for Service Questions in Total

Another group of questions that had a similarly positive response was the group about friends and social groups (see Appendix C). This grouping scored 61% positive responses (Fig 4.06), which indicated that gathering with friends and relatives, as well as making new friends, were common motivations for the FDH. Although, making new friends was a more common motivation with the FDH that had worked less than four years in Hong Kong.

Many FDH whom we spoke to indicated that others in their groups were either relatives or family members. When we informally interviewed some FDH about the reasons they chose the locations for their gathering, a common response was that a relative who had spent more time in Hong Kong than they had told them to come to that location. This trend was most common among FDH who had recently moved to work in Hong Kong because they lacked more comprehensive knowledge of the local culture and environment. Most FDH socialize primarily with people who speak the same language and are of a similar cultural background. We rarely saw Filipina and Indonesian women sitting together in the same group and furthermore most FDH were in areas with others from the same part of their home country. Thus, this phenomenon implied that FDH mostly rely on their friends and relatives who had been in Hong Kong for a while to decide where to go for their days off

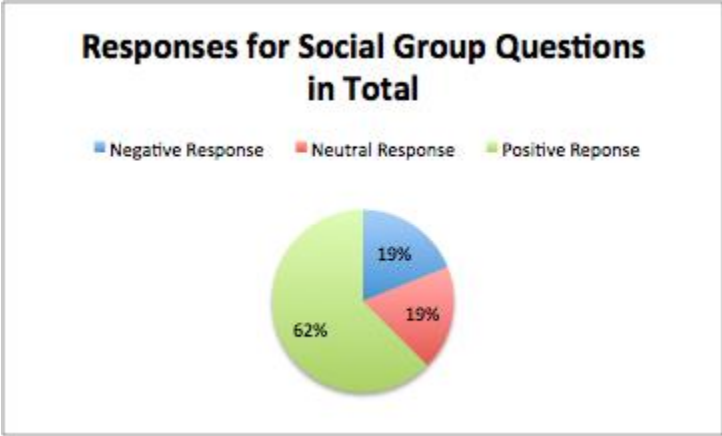


Fig 4.06 Responses for Social Group Questions in Total

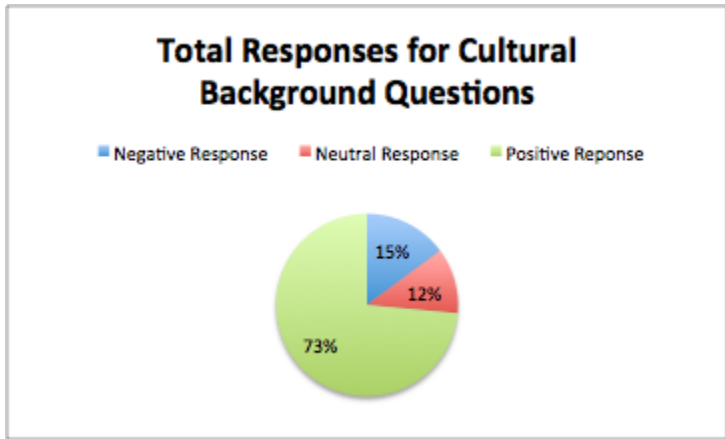


Fig 4.07 Total Responses for Cultural Background Questions

The statement about meeting with people of a shared cultural background also received 73% positive responses (Fig 4.07). Based on our interviews, it became very clear to us that the Filipina women tended to gather with their relatives or with other people who came from the same area of the Philippines and who share similar cultural background as they do. One FDH on Ice House Street in Central told us that some locations had mostly women from certain areas of Philippines as opposed to other locations. This also raises a point about the interpretation of "similar cultural background". We initially considered this question as a way to gauge whether particular areas were homogenous or not in terms of ethnicity, but this could have been interpreted by FDH as a question about local cultures from specific areas of their home country.

4.4 Major Differences Between Subpopulations

When looking at certain subsets of the overall FDH population some trends emerge, pointing towards different groups of FDH with different motivations. We were able to find statistically significant responses among varying locations where FDH gather. FDH who gather in Central responded positively about the presence of nearby

services 84% of the time, whereas the FDH in other smaller locations responded positively 74% of the time (Fig 4.08).

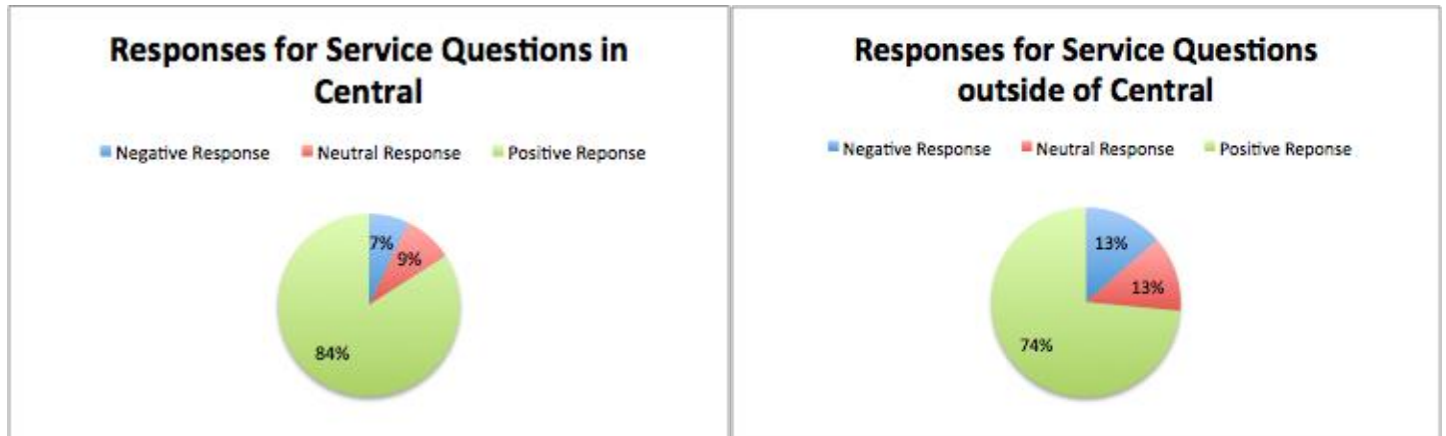


Fig 4.08 Responses for Service Questions in Central vs outside of Central

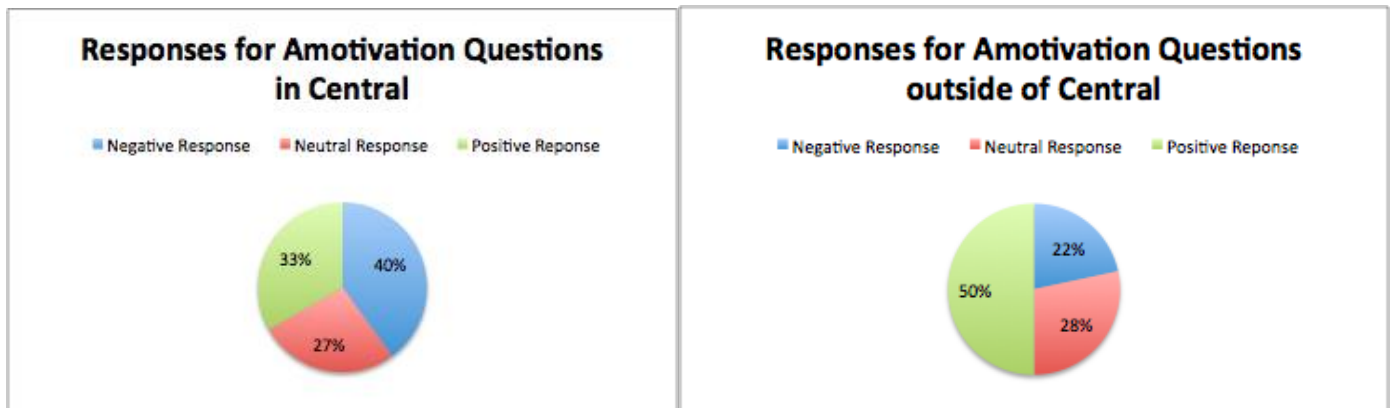


Fig 4.09 Responses for Amotivation Questions in Central vs. outside of Central

FDH in Central indicated they were comfortable with the area 51% of the time, and those outside of Central 65% of the time. The FDH in Central indicated through their response that they were amotivated 33% of the time, whereas in other areas they were amotivated 49% of the time (Fig 4.09).

These changes are directly related to the services offered by the location, the FDH are naturally going to gather in areas that offer what they are looking for. The increase in amotivation in smaller locations could indicate that the FDH there are not looking for

anything in particular, whereas in Central they are motivated to put in additional effort to get to Central to enjoy the being with their friends.

When considering other demographics characteristics we saw less variation in responses. Differences in age and amount of time spent in Hong Kong had minimal effects on the responses of the FDH, other than older people generally being less satisfied overall. FDH who had been in Hong Kong for five or more years agreed with the questions relating to intrinsic motivation about 10% less on average than those who had been there four or fewer years. Neither of the other two groups of motivations showed any significant difference between these groups.

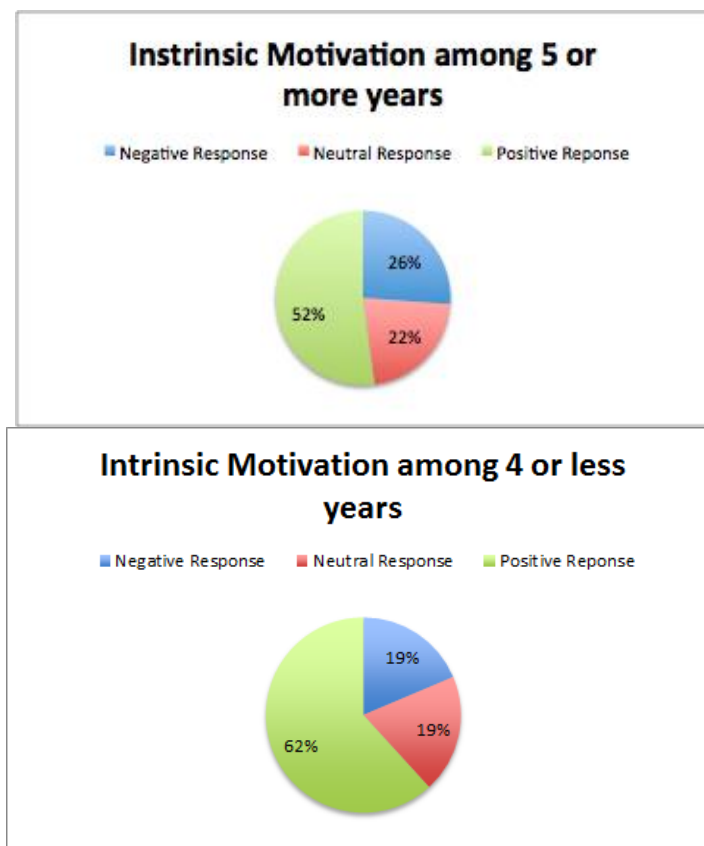


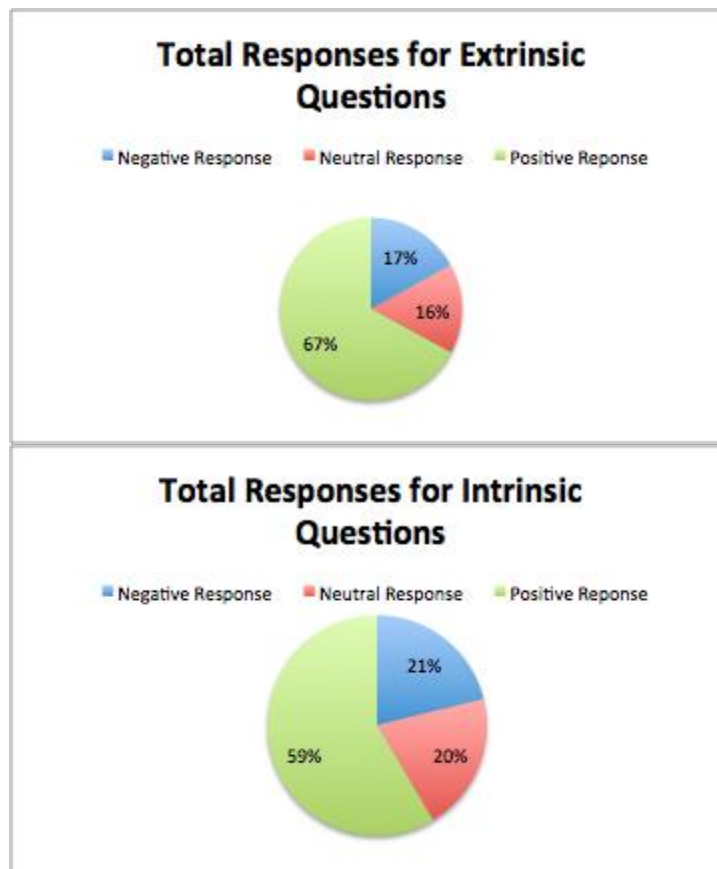
Fig 4.10 Intrinsic motivation for FDH based on years worked in Hong Kong

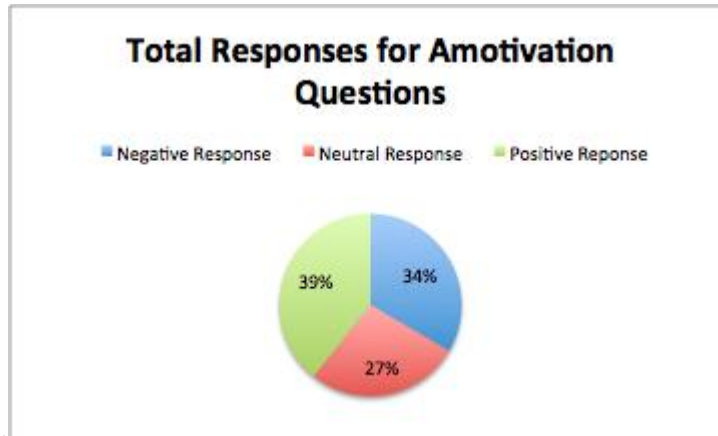
While we could not gather a large enough sample of the Indonesian population of FDH to analyze quantitative data on them, we still made a number of observations about their common activities. In areas that were green spaces, Indonesians were more likely to be in the area than Filipinas, though Indonesians were also frequently seen on

overpasses and other more crowded urban areas. This could be because of the usual activities that each group look for on their days off, the ease of access to these locations for these groups or other possible factors. Filipinas were frequently engaging in activities such as coordinated dances, whereas the Indonesians were more likely to be on traditional picnic style blankets resting. This preference in activity may be part of the reason they gather in the spaces they do.

4.5 Analysis Relating to Types of Motivation

As we hypothesized, social activities were one of the primary motivations for the FDH in deciding whether to gather. For the sum total of extrinsic motivations (see Appendix C) about two-thirds of the FDH responded positively (Fig 4.11). Intrinsic motivation questions scored slightly less, and amotivation even less.





4.11 Total responses for all motivation types

Questions relating to socializing with friends, making friends, and feeling accepted by friends were all rated highly. The second major group of motivations was nearby services. Nearby services included questions on nearby restaurants, nearby shops, and nearby banking services (see Appendix B). Both of these groups of motivations are classified as extrinsic motivations, and none of the intrinsic motivations showed a strong trend besides the most broad statement ‘I enjoy being at this location’, which easily could have been influenced by extrinsic motivations. None of the amotivation questions showed a strong trend in either the positive or negative direction.

We classified social groups as extrinsic motivations for our purposes, because we've counted social interaction as an outcome. We classified services as extrinsic because the purpose of services is for their outcome, which is inherently extrinsic. Shopping, banking, and food services are all ways to get an outcome, a good or service.

When analyzing these three different types of motivations by individual locations, we noticed some slight trends. In addition to the overall trend that responses for extrinsic motivations had the highest responses, each individual location also had extrinsic motivation rated the highest (Fig 4.13). Intrinsic motivation questions were also rated positively overall on average. The average response for an amotivation question was

highest in park locations (Sha Tin Park, Tamar Park, and Statue Square) when compared to non-park locations. Sha Tin Park and Tamar Park responses also had among the highest intrinsic motivation response average. This could be because parks are very typical public locations where anyone can go to, and when given a lack of motivation to go anywhere in particular, parks would seem like a good idea. Parks are also generally relaxing places, which could explain the high intrinsic motivation averages, a person will enjoy being at a park for the sake of enjoying the park itself.

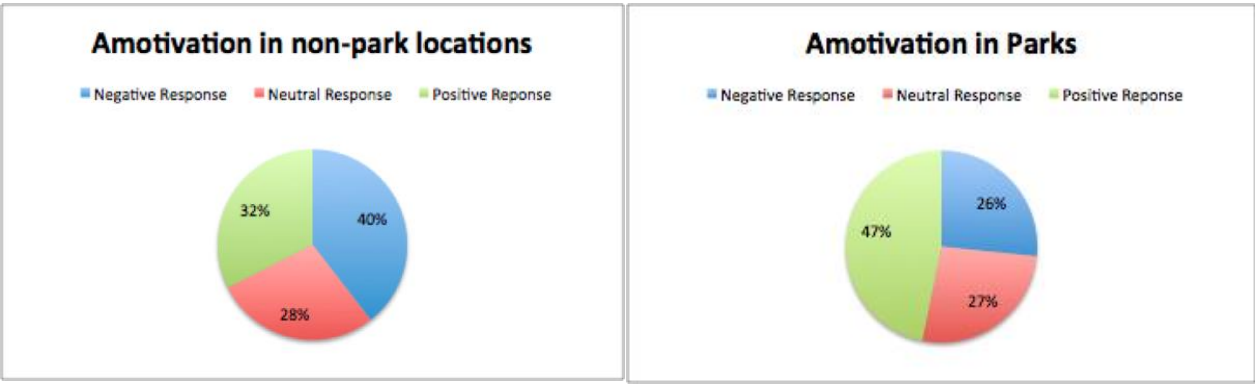


Fig 4.12 Amotivation in park and non-park locations

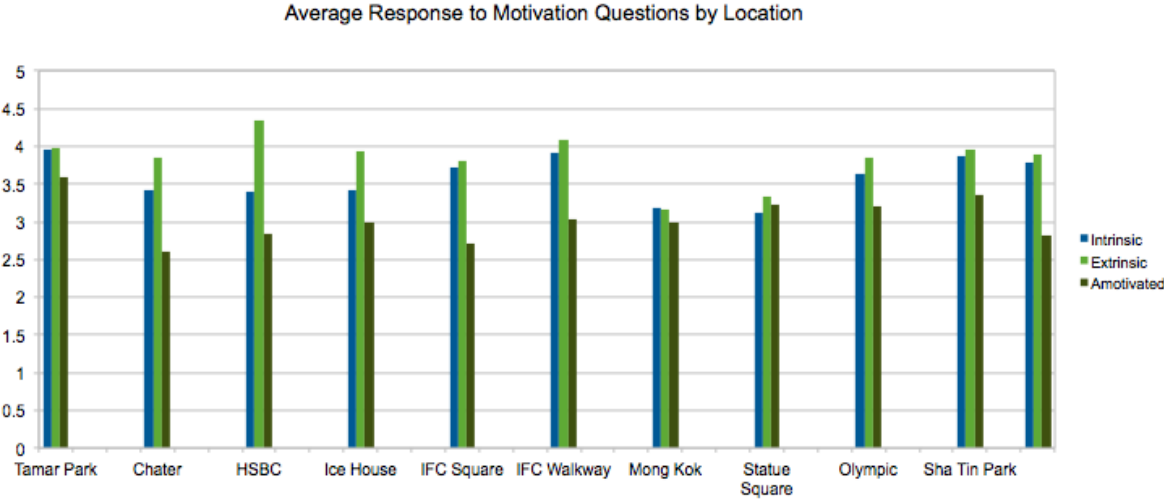


Fig 4.13 Average Response to Motivation Questions by Location Bar Chart

The primary motivations for the FDH gathering were extrinsic, which are factors related to social relations and nearby services provided at the location. Extrinsic motivation show the types of external factors that are important for a location to provide and facilitate. The change in level of comfort over different areas showed the range of areas in which the FDH have chosen to gather in. Understanding these groups of motivation is important for development in the future to create or change areas to accommodate the FDH's wants and needs. The following chapter will sum up our findings and give recommendations for future research.

5. Conclusions & Recommendations

This chapter summarizes our results and give suggestions to keep in mind for future research. Our conclusions summarize what we felt were the most important trends and observations that we could extract from our data. Our recommendations are aimed at future researchers of this topic who would like more focus in exploring the motivations of domestic helpers and their physical presence in Hong Kong.

5.1 Conclusions

The major motivations for FDH behind deciding where to gather on their days off are socialization, food and other services, and other extrinsic motivations. FDH always gathered in social groups and were never alone. Services increase in availability in the more dense Central, which itself is a strong motivation to gather at Central. A higher level of comfort is more common to those gathering in parks, and FDH also tend to be both more amotivated and more intrinsically motivated when they gather at parks rather than at other locations. Many FDH chose locations where they can be near others with a similar cultural background, and tend to avoid areas with too many locals.

5.2 Recommendations

We have identified a few areas where research could be expanded in the future. While we were able to get many survey responses with just an English questionnaire, these responses were largely from the Filipina FDH community. Domestic helpers from the Philippines make up about half of the FDH population in Hong Kong, and therefore our results can only tell half the story. We recommend that future research also look into the Indonesian FDH population.

Another area of interest is that of hidden biases and prejudices that FDH face. Looking more into how local presence affects the locations FDH visit could reveal more information about their motivations.

The use and availability of public resources with FDH as a major focus is another area of future research. Much of Hong Kong is still under development, it's hard to travel far without seeing large scale construction, and making sure that development takes the wants and needs of the FDH into consideration as a part of Hong Kong's future and success is important.

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Appendix A: Sponsor Description

The Hong Kong Institute of Education (HKIEd) is a well-known institute of higher education in Asia. It is a leading facility dedicating its resources to teachers' education, ranking 3rd among Pacific-Asian institutes in this field (HKIEd, 2015). HKIEd's mission is to promote and encourage the pursuit of knowledge through education. It also advocates training high quality educators and supporting them to achieve a life-long pursuit of learning, and take their parts in a leading role in innovation and reform of education. Ultimately, HKIEd's goal is to provide a multidisciplinary learning environment to help students become "intellectually active, socially caring, and globally aware" professionals.

The Hong Kong Institute of Education's roots can be traced back to 1853 when the first in-service teacher training was established in St Paul's College (HKIEd, 2015). Then in 1881, the first Government Normal School was built in Wan Chai by Governor of Hong Kong, John Pope Hennessy. Because of the improvement in education quality the interest and demand for teacher education increased. Multiple institutions such as the Northcote College of Education(1939), Grantham College of Education(1951), The Hong Kong Technical Teachers' College(1974), and the Institute of Languages in Education(1982) were founded. As recommended by the Education Commission Report No 5, HKIEd was created from the former four Colleges of Education and the Institute of Language on 25 April, 1994, for the purpose of improving teachers' education and professionalism.

The HKIEd offers students academic opportunities with its main three undergraduate programs: Faculty of Liberal Arts and Social Science, Faculty of Education and Human Development, and Faculty of Humanities. Moreover, these 3 faculties have a total of 18 departments and each of them focus on different field of study (HKIEd, 2015). Specifically, we will be working with our main sponsors Dr. Alice Sin-Yin Chow, Dr. Cheung, Ting On Lewis,

and Dr. Fok, Lincoln. Dr. Alice Sin-Yin Chow is the Assistant Professor of the Department of Social Science under Faculty of Liberal Arts. Her current research areas include urban form and travel studies, excess commuting, sustainable transport development, and climate change and aviation policy. Chow's major teaching areas are sustainable development and policy, environmental studies, and community issues (HKIEd, 2015). Dr. Lewis Ting On Cheung is also the Assistant Professor of Department of Social Science. His research mainly includes tourism on nature-based protected areas, environmental education, and environmental conservation. Moreover, his research papers were well-recognized and been published by journals such as Natural Hazards, Environmental Education Research, and Geoheritage (HKIEd, 2015). Dr. Lincoln Fok is the Assistant Professor of Department of Science and Environmental Studies. His research interests focus on hydrology, water quality issues and impacts, environmental education, and fluvial geomorphology (HKIEd, 2015).

Within the Department of Social Science there are a total of 60+ staff members; three are included in the department management, 28 included in the Academic, Research, and teaching Staff, 9 included in the Administrative Staff, 13 within the Project Staff, and some other as Research Postgraduate Students and Honorary Professors. With all these resources, HKIEd can certainly provide their staff researchers and other interested parties to aid our research regarding the foreign domestic helpers.

Being Hong Kong's largest teachers' education institute, HKIEd has research facilities that provide students what they need to achieve excellence in the innovation and reform of education (HKIEd, 2015). In 2014, HKIEd had a total student population of 9,680 with an overall employment of 96.2% of their graduates in 2014. Applied research is a core part of achieving HKIEd's goal of creating professional educators. The institution has a philosophy "research excellence is a combination of scholarship, professionalism and service through knowledge transfer and application" (HKIEd, 2015). Through integrating its research facility and

education programs, HKIEd aims to create an environment that allow students to apply their knowledge and contribute to the betterment of humanity.

Through combining five colleges of education and having over 150 years of teacher's education starting from 1853, HKIEd successfully completed their vision of becoming one of the leading universities in Pacific-Asia and fulfilled the mission of promoting the pursuit of knowledge through education (HKIEd, 2015). This has not only helped HKIEd to form a positive learning environment and creates quality educators, but has also aided the institution to lead in innovation and education reform. In addition, HKIEd is able to offer students life-time academic opportunities through their outstanding undergraduate programs and recruit motivated individuals to take part in the teachers' education field.

Appendix B: Survey Protocols

Informal Interview Questions

The questions below make up the protocol we used to get more details from many foreign domestic helpers. Depending on the situation, we often omitted questions that seemed irrelevant or added further follow-up questions.

1. What do you normally do during your time off? What does your normal Sunday look like? Do you normally get everything done that you would like to on a typical Sunday?
2. Where do you prefer to hang out, of specific existing locations and why?
3. Have you ever experienced any conflicts with the locals using public space?
4. Is there something would you like to do more in these public spaces, but cannot due to some limitation?
5. What are your primary reasons in choosing this location over other locations?
6. What services, if any, do you make use of at these locations? Shopping, banking, food, and so forth.
7. How attached are you to the current location? What would another location have to offer for you to consider switching where you gather.
8. Does the location you meet change if the weather is bad? Where do you gather in that situation?
9. Is staying home on Sunday an option for you? Are you allowed to stay at home if you want to?

Motivations Questionnaire

This survey is being carried out by students from Worcester Polytechnic Institute for strictly academic reasons, all responses are anonymous, and your participation is optional.

Thank you for your help! :)

Please rate how much you agree with each of the following statements in about the location you choose to gather in each week. (5 = Strongly agree, 1 = Strongly disagree)

	1	2	3	4	5
Public transportation is readily available to get here.					
The atmosphere of this location is relaxing.					
I enjoy being at this location.					
The cost for gathering here is low or none.					
I can find shelter from weather such as rain or wind here.					
This place reminds me of home.					
I have friends here to socialize with.					
I have relatives here to socialize with.					
I look forward to making new friends here.					
I like to participate in social activities here.					
The noise level here is comfortable for me.					
Religious services are offered to me here.					
There are places nearby where I can eat food I like.					
There are banking services offered here where I can send money home or exchange currency.					
There are stores here that I would shop at.					
I have a comfortable amount of personal space here.					
I feel accepted here by my friends.					
I feel accepted here by strangers.					
I go here because I've always gone here.					
I just want a place to get out of the house.					
I just want to get away from my daily work routine.					

I don't have anywhere else to go on my days off.					
There are many people with a similar cultural background to mine here.					

Do you normally go here on your days off? Yes / No

If not, where do you normally go? (Please specify)

Are most of your friends at this location around your age? Yes / No

How many unique places do you normally visit on your days off in a month?

1 / 2 / 3 / 4+

Are you aware of other possible locations to gather? Yes / No

Gender	<input type="checkbox"/> Female <input type="checkbox"/> Male
Where are you from?	<input type="checkbox"/> Philippine <input type="checkbox"/> Indonesia <input type="checkbox"/> Thailand <input type="checkbox"/> Other _____ (Specify)
Age	<input type="checkbox"/> Under 18 <input type="checkbox"/> 18-24 <input type="checkbox"/> 25-34 <input type="checkbox"/> 35-44 <input type="checkbox"/> 45-54 <input type="checkbox"/> 55-64 <input type="checkbox"/> 65+
How many years have you worked in Hong Kong?	
Where do you live in Hong Kong?	
About how long does it take to travel to get here?	_____ Hour and _____ minutes
How do you travel to get here?	<input type="checkbox"/> Car <input type="checkbox"/> Public Transportation <input type="checkbox"/> Bus <input type="checkbox"/> MTR <input type="checkbox"/> Minibus <input type="checkbox"/> Taxi <input type="checkbox"/> Other _____ <input type="checkbox"/> On foot
Why do you use that mode	<input type="checkbox"/> It's cheap

of transportation?	<input type="checkbox"/> It's fast <input type="checkbox"/> It's nearby <input type="checkbox"/> Other _____
--------------------	--

Appendix C: Question Groupings

Questions used for certain pie chart groupings, taken from our survey data. Refer to Appendix B for the questionnaire that these statements came from.

"Services" grouped:

There are places nearby where I can eat food I like.

There are stores here that I would shop at.

There are banking services offered here where I can send money home or exchange currency.

"Comfort Level" grouped:

The atmosphere of this location is relaxing.

I enjoy being at this location.

I can find shelter from weather such as rain or wind here.

I have a comfortable amount of personal space here.

The noise level here is comfortable for me.

"Social Groups" grouped:

I have friends here to socialize with.

I have relatives here to socialize with.

I look forward to making new friends here.

I like to participate in social activities here.

"Intrinsic Motivation" grouped:

The atmosphere of this location is relaxing.

I enjoy being at this location.

This place reminds me of home.

I have a comfortable amount of personal space here.

I feel accepted here by my friends.

I feel accepted here by strangers.

The noise level here is comfortable for me.

"Extrinsic Motivation" grouped:

I have relatives here to socialize with.

I have friends here to socialize with.

I look forward to making new friends here.

Public transportation is readily available to get here.

The cost for gathering here is low or none.

I can find shelter from the weather such as rain or wind here.

I like to participate in social activities here.

Religious services are offered here for me.

There are places nearby where I can eat food I like.

There are banking services offered here where I can send money home or exchange currency.

There are stores here that I would shop at.

"Amotivation" grouped:

I go here because I've always gone here.

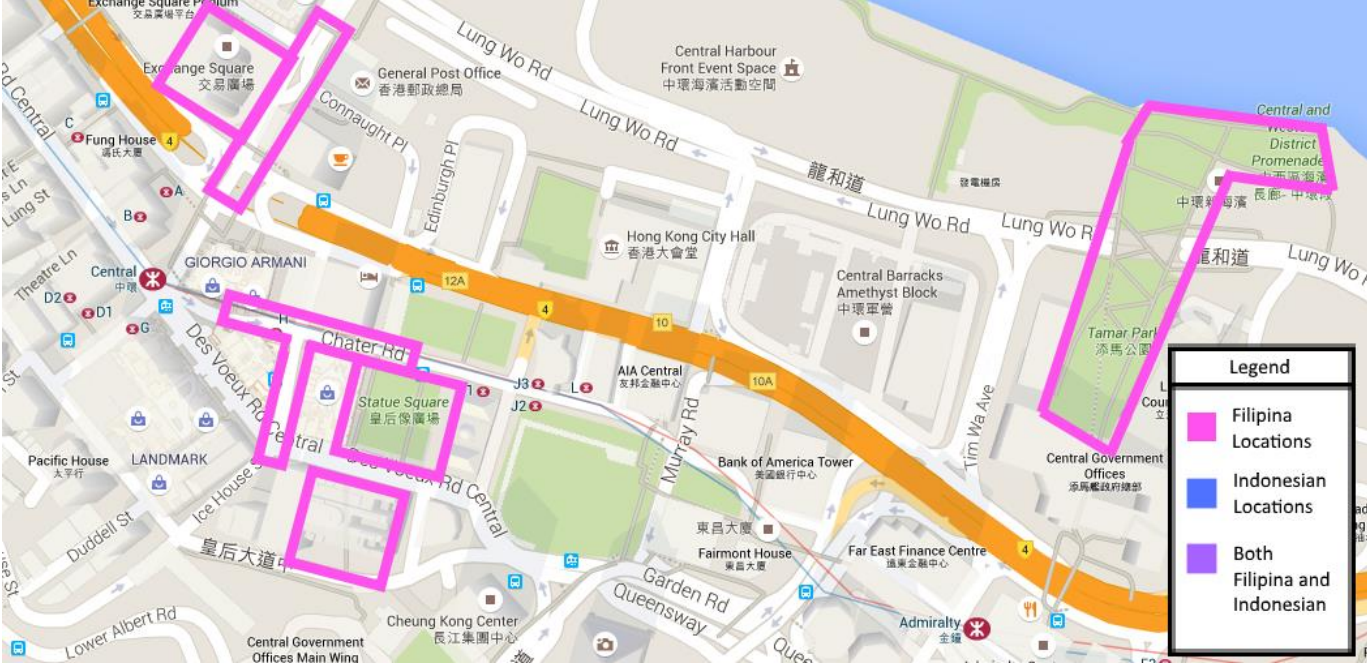
I just want a place to get out of the house.

I just want to get away from my daily work routine.

I don't have anywhere else to go on my days off.

Appendix D: Maps

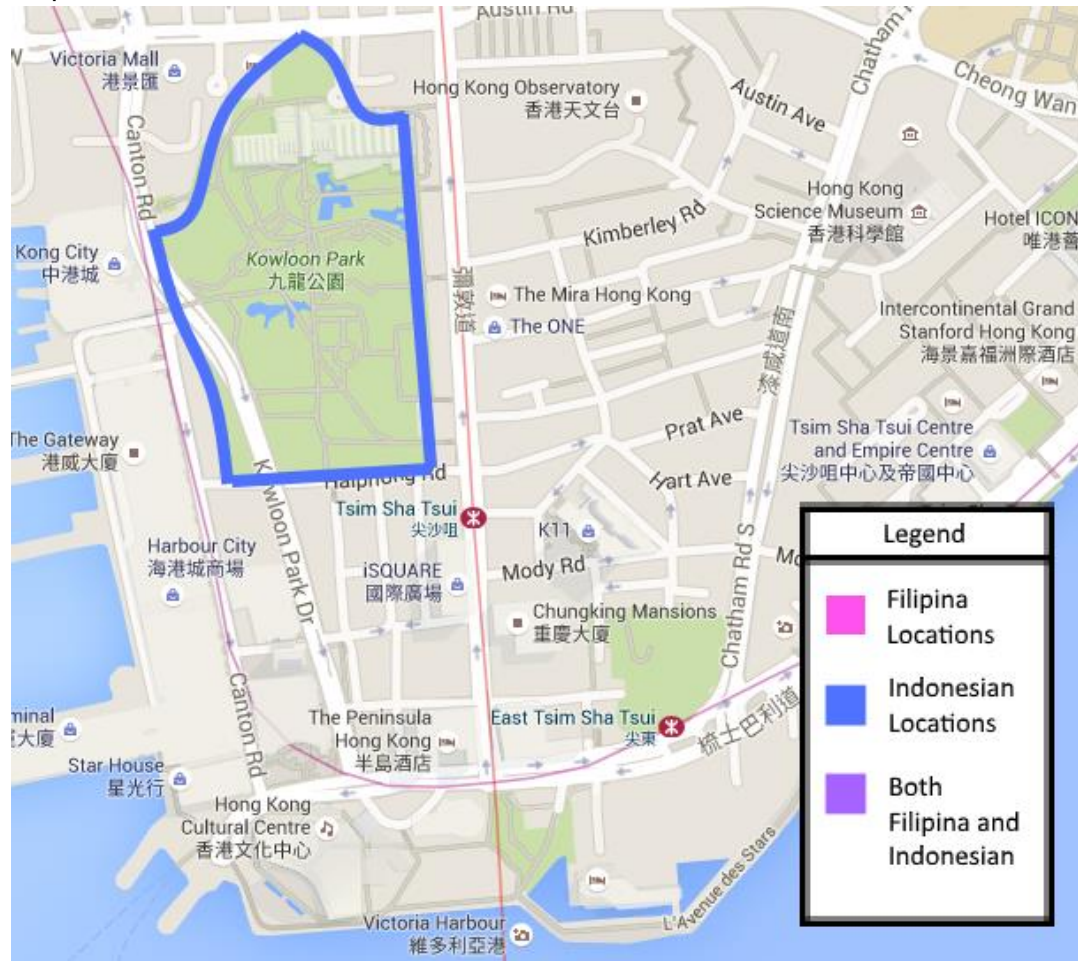
Map of Central and Admiralty



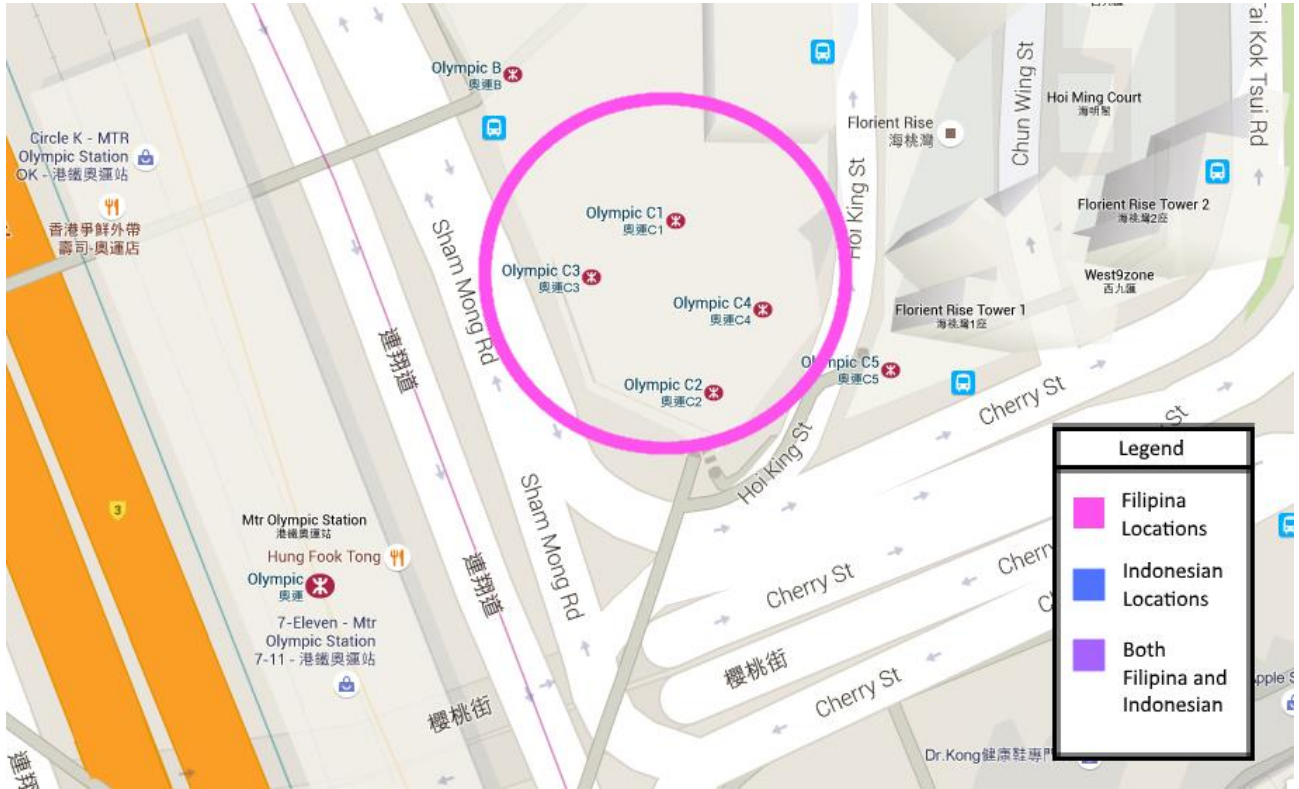
Map of Causeway Bay



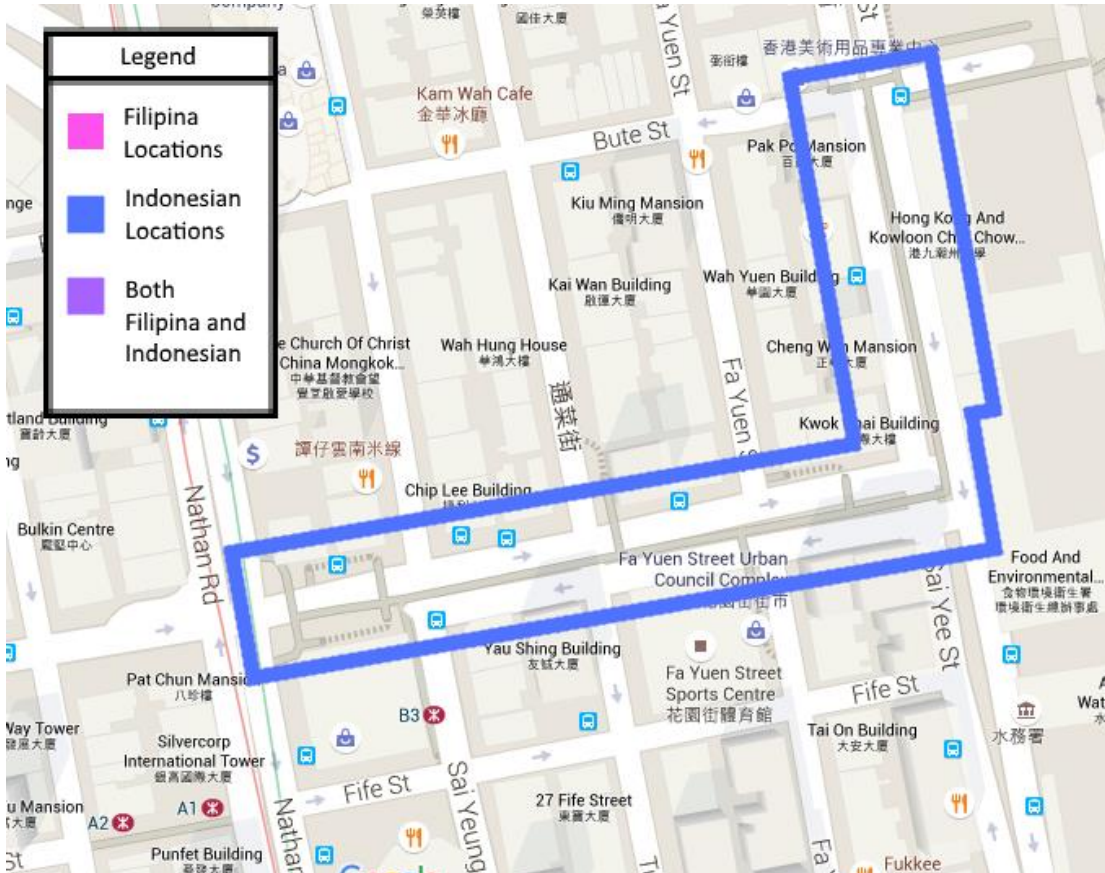
Map of Kowloon Park



Map of Olympic Station



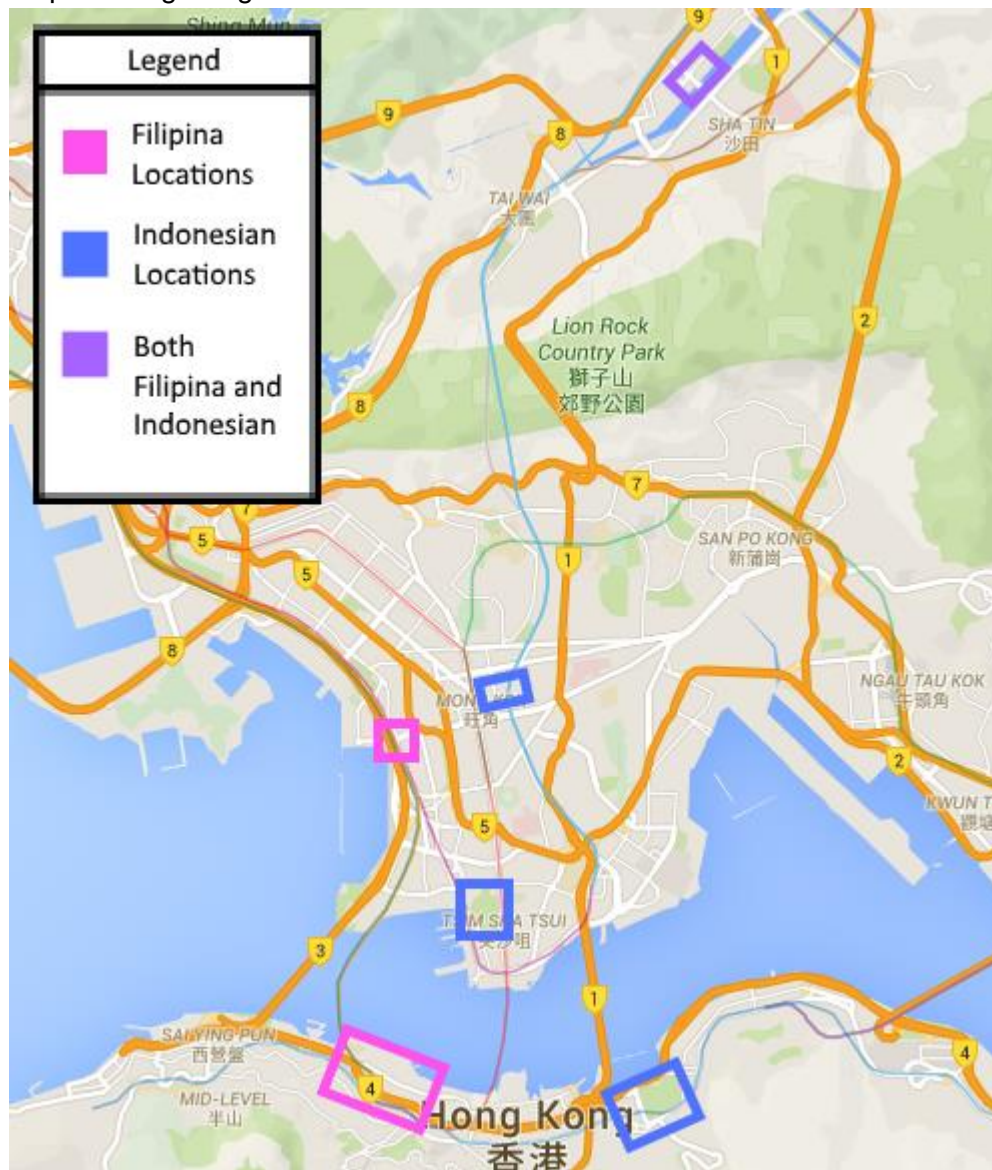
Map of Mong Kok



Map of Sha Tin

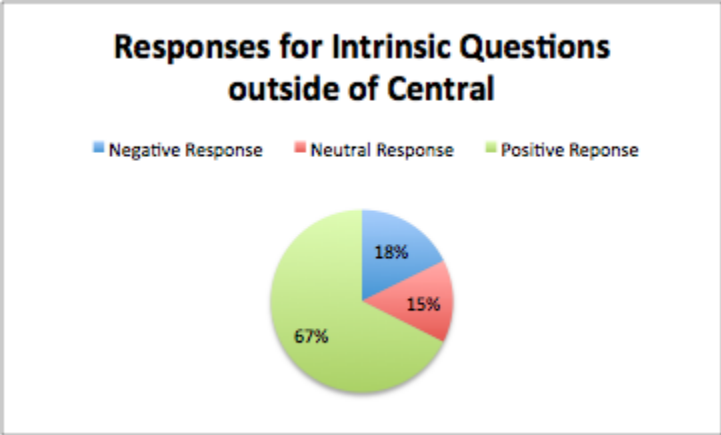


Map of Hong Kong

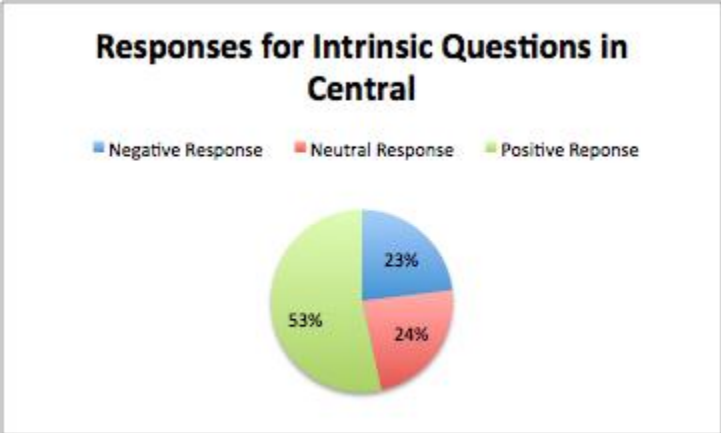


Appendix E: Other Figures

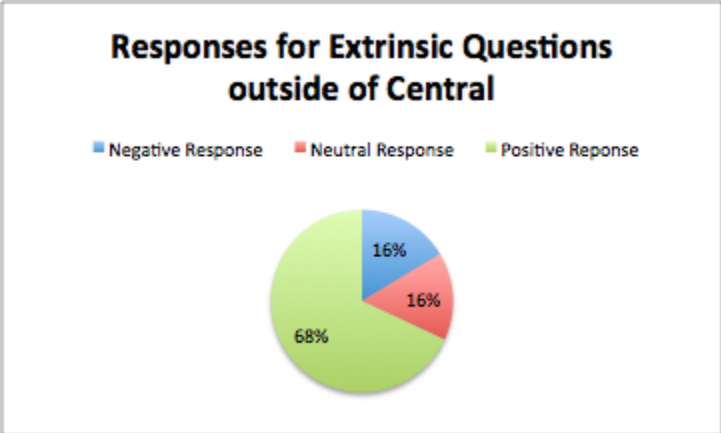
Responses for Intrinsic Questions Outside of Central



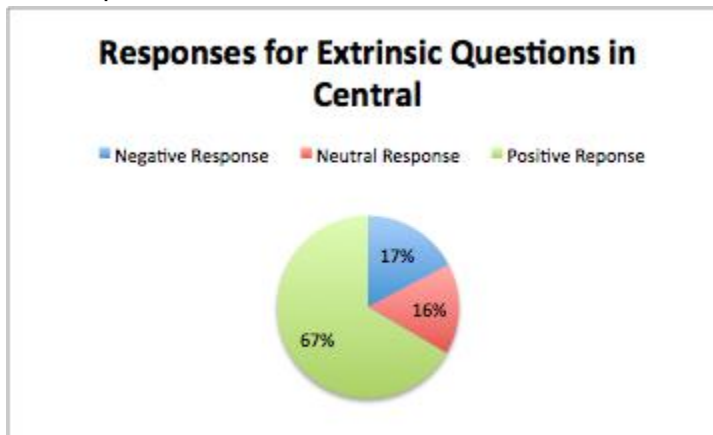
Responses for Intrinsic Questions within Central



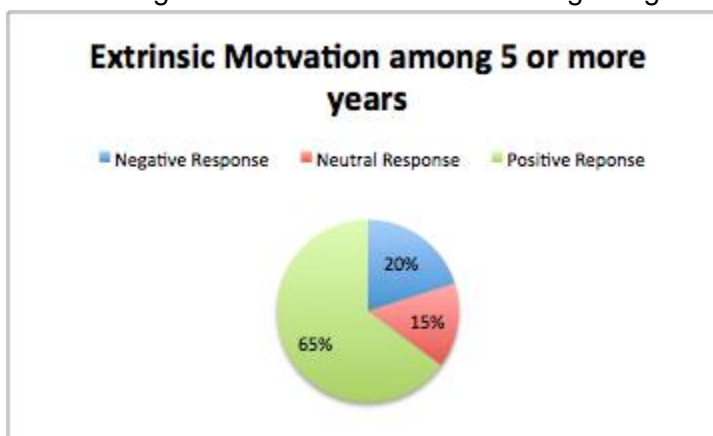
Responses for Extrinsic Questions outside of Central



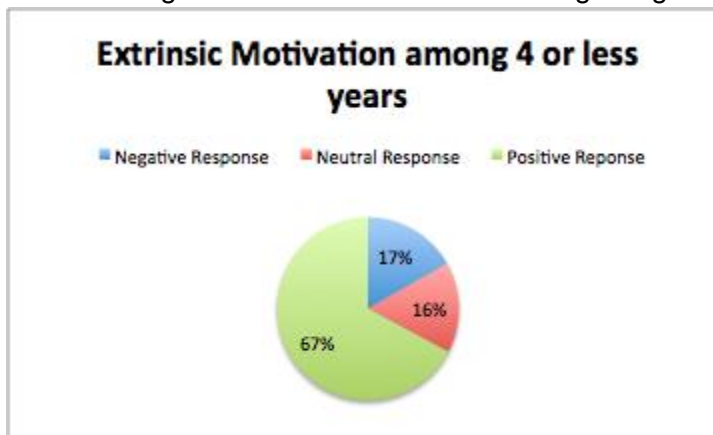
Responses for Extrinsic Questions within Central



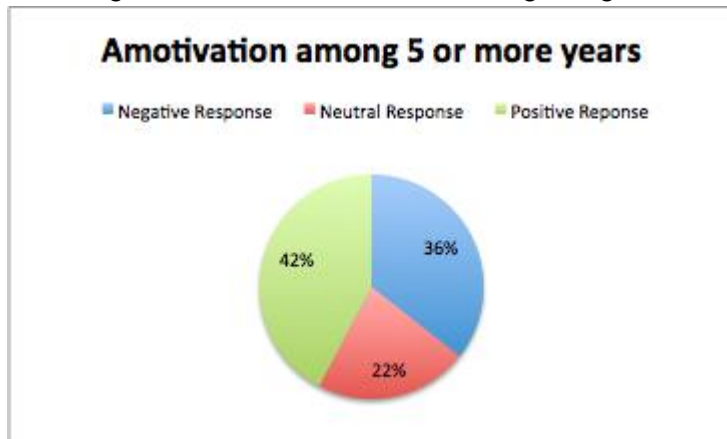
Extrinsic Motivation among FDH who have worked in Hong Kong for 5 or more years



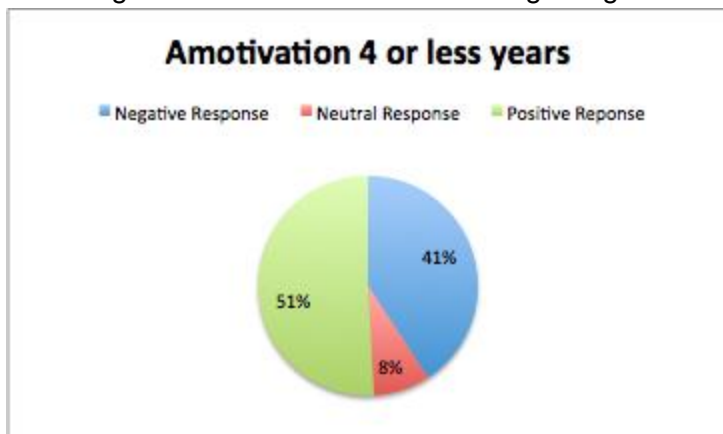
Extrinsic Motivation among FDH who have worked in Hong Kong for 4 or less years



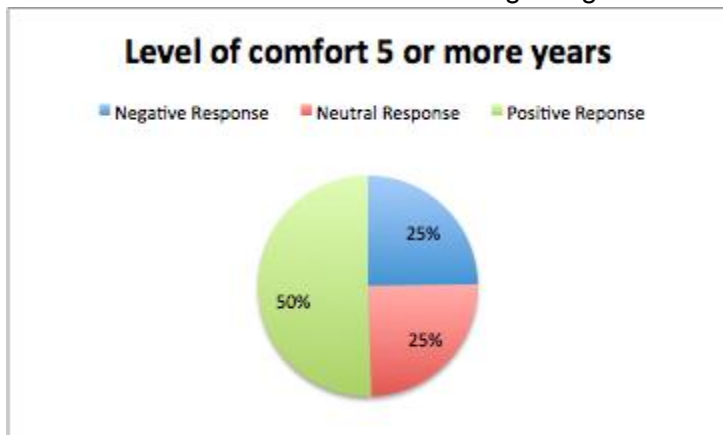
Amotivation among FDH who have worked in Hong Kong for 5 or more years



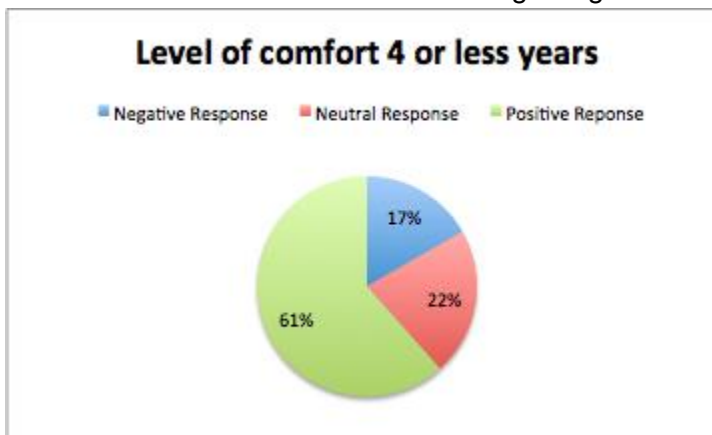
Amotivation among FDH who have worked in Hong Kong for 4 or less years



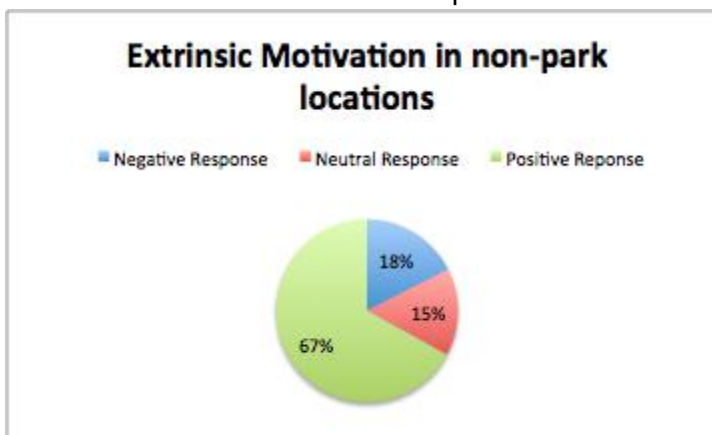
Comfort Level for FDH who have worked in Hong Kong for 5 or more years



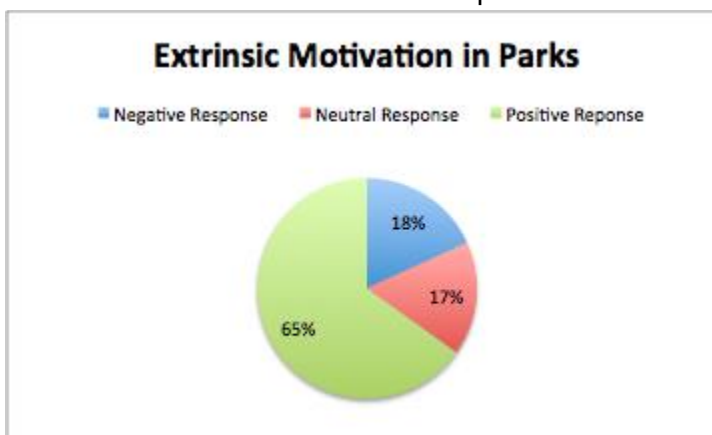
Comfort Level for FDH who have worked in Hong Kong for 4 or less years



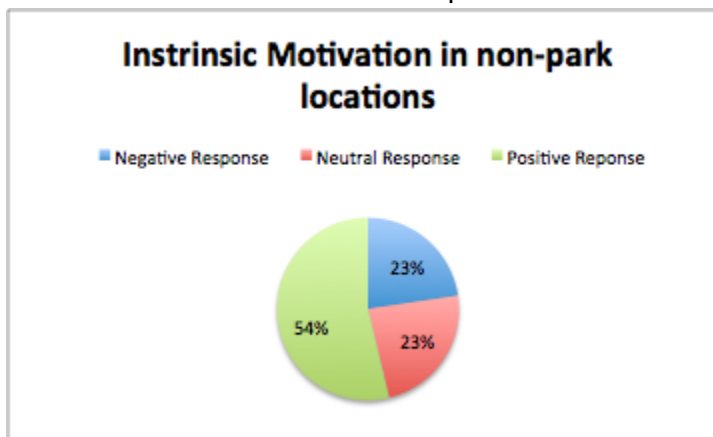
Extrinsic Motivation in non-park locations



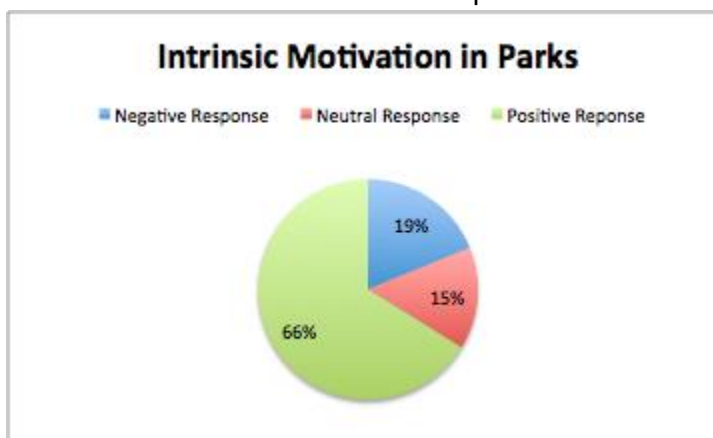
Extrinsic Motivation in parks



Intrinsic Motivation in non-park locations

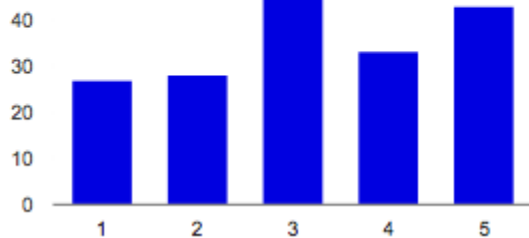


Intrinsic Motivation in parks



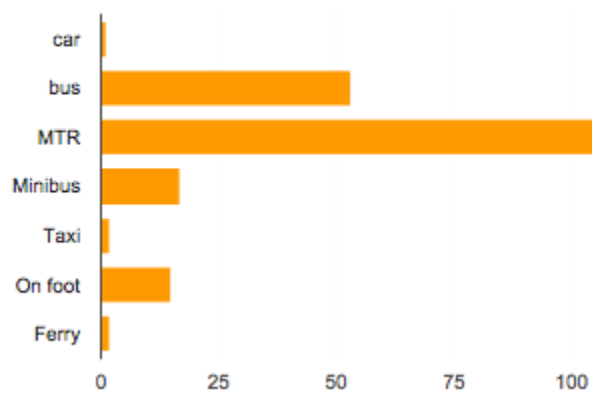
Appendix F: Survey responses

I go here because I've always gone here



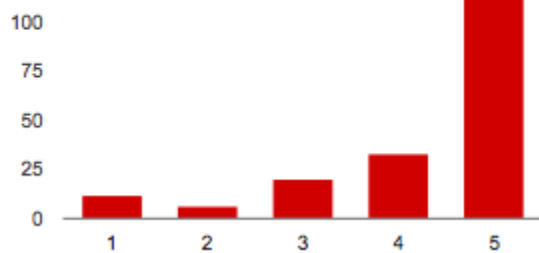
1	27	15.1%
2	28	15.6%
3	48	26.8%
4	33	18.4%
5	43	24%

How do you travel to get here



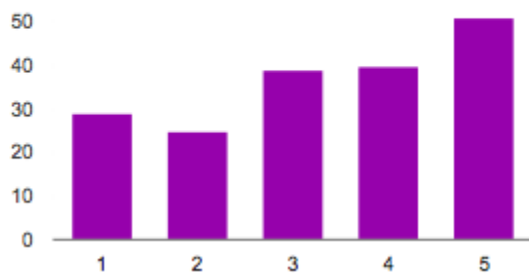
car	1	0.6%
bus	53	29.6%
MTR	122	68.2%
Minibus	17	9.5%
Taxi	2	1.1%
On foot	15	8.4%
Ferry	2	1.1%

There are stores here that I would shop at



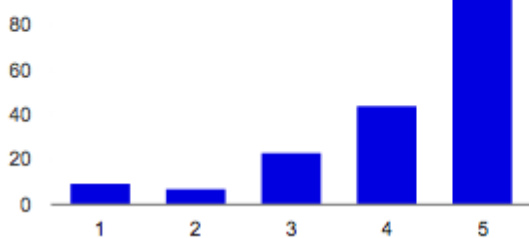
1	12	6.5%
2	6	3.3%
3	20	10.9%
4	33	17.9%
5	113	61.4%

This place reminds me of home



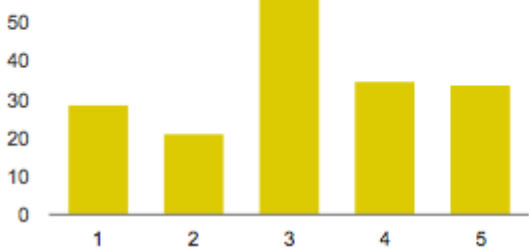
1	29	15.8%
2	25	13.6%
3	39	21.2%
4	40	21.7%
5	51	27.7%

There are places nearby where I can eat food I like



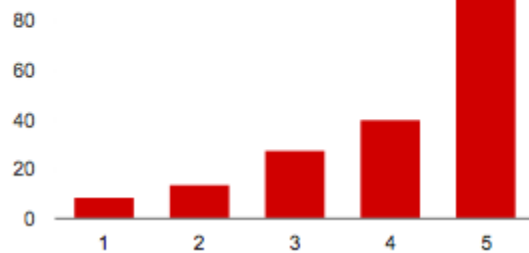
1	10	5.5%
2	7	3.8%
3	23	12.6%
4	44	24%
5	99	54.1%

The cost for gathering here is low or none



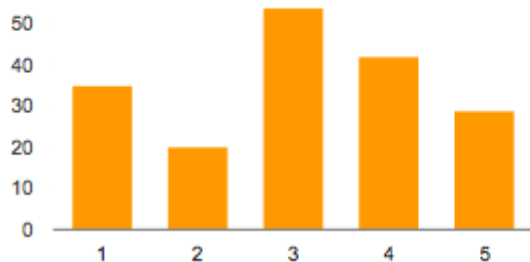
1	29	16.4%
2	21	11.9%
3	58	32.8%
4	35	19.8%
5	34	19.2%

I enjoy being at this location



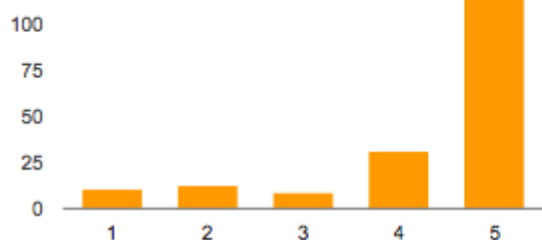
1	9	5%
2	14	7.7%
3	28	15.5%
4	40	22.1%
5	90	49.7%

I just want a place to get out of the house



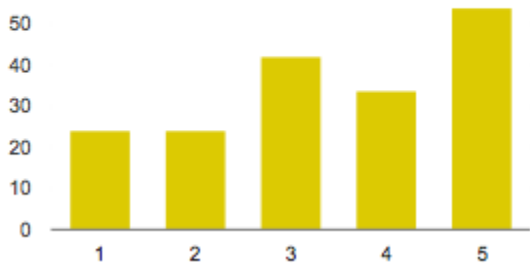
1	35	19.4%
2	20	11.1%
3	54	30%
4	42	23.3%
5	29	16.1%

There are banking services offered here where I can send money home or exchange currency



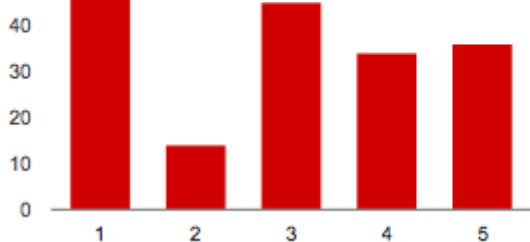
1	11	5.9%
2	13	7%
3	9	4.9%
4	31	16.8%
5	121	65.4%

I like to participate in social activities here



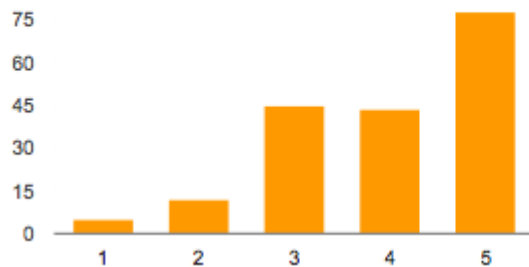
1	24	13.5%
2	24	13.5%
3	42	23.6%
4	34	19.1%
5	54	30.3%

I just want to get away from my daily work routine



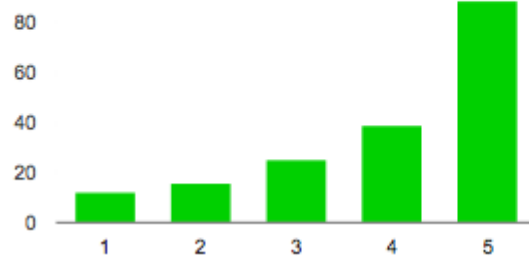
1	48	27.1%
2	14	7.9%
3	45	25.4%
4	34	19.2%
5	36	20.3%

The atmosphere of this location is relaxing



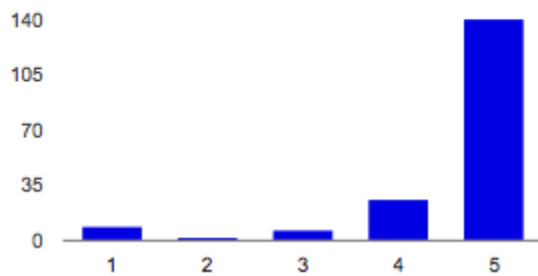
1	5	2.7%
2	12	6.5%
3	45	24.5%
4	44	23.9%
5	78	42.4%

There are many people here with a similar culture background to mine



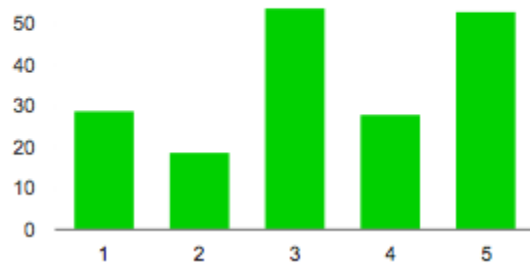
1	12	6.6%
2	16	8.8%
3	25	13.8%
4	39	21.5%
5	89	49.2%

Public transportation is readily available to get here



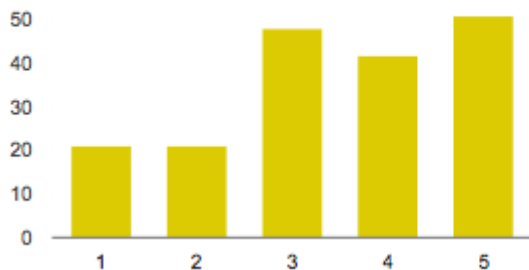
1	9	4.9%
2	2	1.1%
3	7	3.8%
4	26	14.1%
5	141	76.2%

The noise level here is comfortable for me



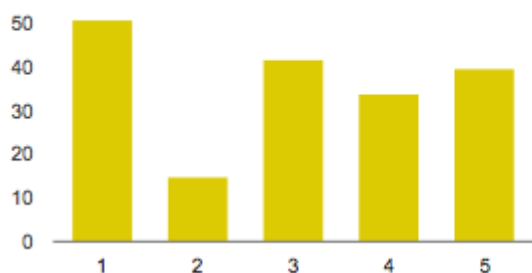
1	29	15.8%
2	19	10.4%
3	54	29.5%
4	28	15.3%
5	53	29%

I have a comfortable amount of personal space here



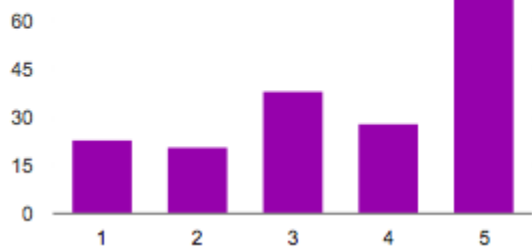
1	21	11.5%
2	21	11.5%
3	48	26.2%
4	42	23%
5	51	27.9%

I dont have anywhere else to go on my days off



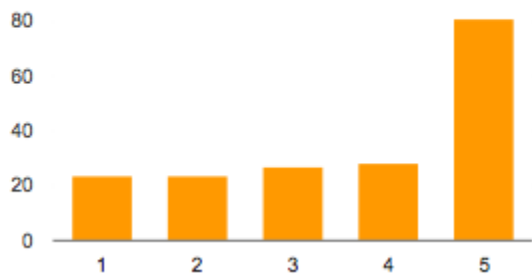
1	51	28%
2	15	8.2%
3	42	23.1%
4	34	18.7%
5	40	22%

Religious services are offered here for me



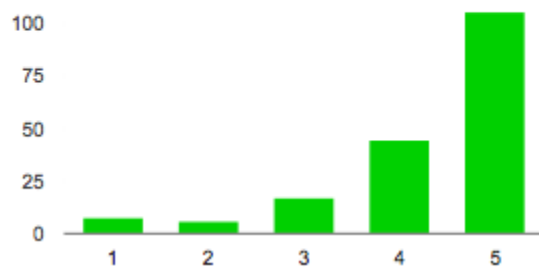
1	23	12.8%
2	21	11.7%
3	38	21.2%
4	28	15.6%
5	69	38.5%

I have relatives here to socialize with



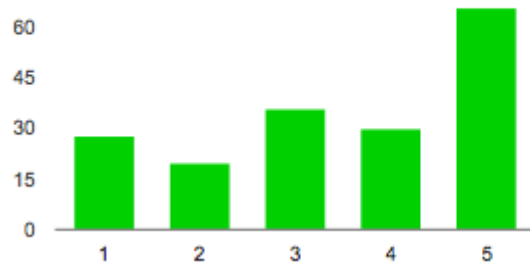
1	24	13%
2	24	13%
3	27	14.7%
4	28	15.2%
5	81	44%

I feel accepted here by my friends



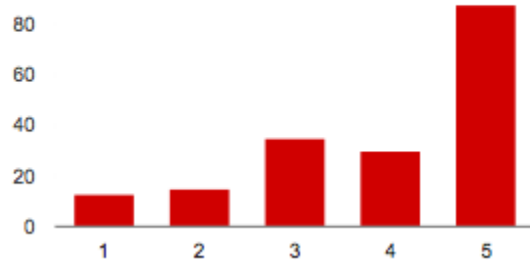
1	8	4.4%
2	6	3.3%
3	17	9.3%
4	45	24.7%
5	106	58.2%

I can find shelter from the weather such as rain or wind here

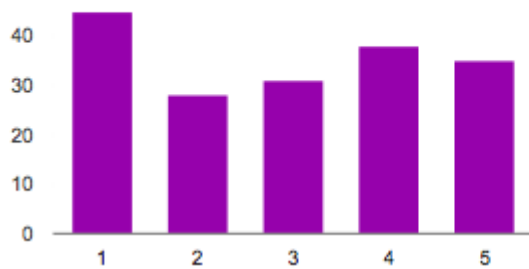


1	28	15.6%
2	20	11.1%
3	36	20%
4	30	16.7%
5	66	36.7%

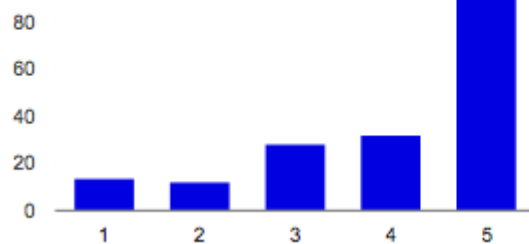
I look forward to making new friends here



1	13	7.2%
2	15	8.3%
3	35	19.3%
4	30	16.6%
5	88	48.6%

I feel accepted here by strangers

1	45	25.4%
2	28	15.8%
3	31	17.5%
4	38	21.5%
5	35	19.8%

I have friends here to socialize with

1	14	7.8%
2	12	6.7%
3	28	15.6%
4	32	17.8%
5	94	52.2%