

Co-Making Solidarities through Radical Publishing: Micropractices of Minor Transnationalism with Beatrix Pang and Migrant Domestic Workers

Kin-long Tong

University College London

Corresponding author:

Kin-long Tong, Department of Information Studies, University College London, Foster Court, Gower Street, London WC1E 6BT. Email: kin.tong.20@ucl.ac.uk

Acknowledgments

I extend my sincere gratitude to my PhD supervisors, Dr. Timothy Jordan and Dr. Daniel Boswell, and members of ZINES COOP for their invaluable advice and support.

Declaration of conflicting interest

The author(s) declared no potential conflicts of interest with respect to the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

Funding details

This research received no specific grant from any funding agency in the public, commercial, or not-for-profit sectors.

Disclosure statement

The author reports there are no competing interests to declare.

Biographical note

Kin-long Tong is a lecturer in the Department of Information Studies at University College London (UCL). His research explores indie publishing, minor media, DIY culture, and grassroots information practices. His work has appeared in journals such as Sociological Forum, Journal of Librarianship and Information Science, Radical History Review, and ZINES Journal.

Word Count: 8570

Co-Making Solidarities through Radical Publishing: Micropractices of Minor Transnationalism with Beatrix Pang and Migrant Domestic Workers

Abstract

This article examines how migrant domestic workers' knowledge becomes legible and sustained under conditions of precarity by theorizing co-making as a methodological intervention into minor transnationalism. Rather than treating solidarity as a pre-given alignment or an achieved outcome, I approach it as something assembled through micro-practices of mediation and care—practices that make relation possible while leaving difference unresolved. Drawing on feminist epistemologies of situated knowledge alongside zine scholarship's "do-it-ourselves" ethic, I argue that radical publishing can operate as an infrastructural method for cultivating lateral connection beyond state-centered or institutional models of transnationalism. The article traces a decade long of publishing practices of Hong Kong artist-publisher Beatrix Pang and centers an in-depth, process-oriented analysis of *Women Behind Closed Doors* (2023), a collaboratively produced zine initiated by Pang with migrant domestic workers in London. Reading the zine as both cultural artifact and processual practice, I trace how solidarity is negotiated across three stages: participatory workshops, editorialization (through scanning and collage), and production and circulation. The analysis highlights how workshop exercises such as self-introduction and mind-mapping enact provisional forms of recognition; how scanning preserves the textures of process while refusing editorial smoothing; and how collage stages adjacency between testimony, activist research, and facilitator reflexivity without collapsing them into a unified voice. Attending to uneven labour, material constraint, and modest circuits of dissemination, I show how minor transnationalism takes shape not as a coherent network or shared identity, but as a fragile, present-tense practice enacted through co-making.

Keywords: Co-making, Minor transnationalism, Migrant domestic workers, Zines, Radical publishing, Micropractices, Translocal solidarity

Introduction

The knowledge and creativity of migrant domestic workers are often overlooked—contained by borders, silenced by labour, and made fragile by the very structures that depend on their care. I think often of Yuli Riswati, an Indonesian domestic worker and writer whose short story *Luka Itu Masih Ada di Tubuhku* (The Wound Is Still on My Body, 2018) received the Taiwan Migrant Literature Award for its searing account of Rubi, a domestic worker subjected to sexual violence and forced into silence by her

employer. Yuli's writing demonstrated how migrant women narrate forms of domination that reshape their bodies and futures—but also how they create knowledge that unsettles power. When Yuli was deported from Hong Kong in December 2019, officially for overstaying her visa but widely understood as retaliation for her reporting on the Anti-Extradition protests, the fragility of migrant knowledge became painfully clear (*Inmediahk* 2019, December 07). At a rally in supporting Yuli at Edinburgh Place, more than 700 people gathered—not only to protest her deportation, but to recognize her as a writer, a witness, a worker whose words carried the weight of collective struggle. That gathering echoed Chen Kuan-Hsing's call for *Asia as method* (2010) and what Lionnet and Shih (2005) describe as *minor transnationalism*: solidarities that move laterally, grounded not in state-to-state diplomacy or institutional alliances but in the everyday ties of care, memory, and media.

This moment of fragile yet powerful solidarity raised the question that animates this article: how are such solidarities cultivated, sustained, and made legible—especially among migrant domestic workers whose lives unfold across dispersed and precarious terrains? My attempt to answer this question took shape as I encountered the radical publishing practices of Hong Kong artist-publisher Beatrix Pang (they/them). Through Small Tune Press, ZINE COOP, and Queer Reads Library, Pang has spent more than a decade creating minor infrastructures for voices often excluded from institutional discourse, including queer communities, migrant workers, and anti-authoritarian movements. Their approach to publishing is relational and processual; it is not only the making of books but the making of spaces where stories can be told, held, and assembled in proximity. In Pang's collaborations with migrant domestic workers, I found [an emerging method](#) for the kind of solidarity that the rally for Yuli had crystallized: not a momentary gathering, but an ongoing practice of co-making, care, and resistance.

This article argues that co-making—understood as the shared and uneven labour of producing knowledge, media, and relation—offers a methodological intervention into minor transnationalism. Rather than treating solidarity as a pre-existing alignment or an achieved outcome, I approach it as something assembled through micro-practices: participatory workshops, editorial mediation, and situated modes of circulation. Drawing on feminist epistemologies that foreground situated knowledge alongside zine scholarship that emphasizes a “do-it-ourselves” ethic, I examine how publishing can function as a method for sustaining connection without resolution under conditions of precarity. Centering an in-depth case study of *Women Behind Closed Doors* (2023), a collaboratively produced zine initiated by Beatrix Pang with migrant domestic workers in London, the article traces how solidarity is negotiated

across three stages—workshop encounters, editorialization, and circulation. Through close attention to process, material form, and constraint, I show how minor transnationalism takes shape not as a coherent network or shared identity, but as a fragile, present-tense practice enacted through co-making. In this way, radical publishing is reframed not simply as a vehicle for expression, but as an infrastructural method for cultivating lateral solidarities across borders.

This analysis is based on a close reading of *Women Behind Closed Doors* as both a cultural artifact and a processual practice. It draws on the zine’s editorial structure, workshop materials, facilitators’ reflections, and published paratexts, with attention to moments of mediation, transparency, and constraint. The reading is further informed by my doctoral research on independent publishing in Hong Kong and its translocal extensions. Beatrix Pang is one of my key fieldwork interlocutors; between 2021 and 2024, I followed their publishing practice across multiple zine fairs and public events in Hong Kong and the UK, keeping detailed field notes. Rather than aiming for ethnographic exhaustiveness, this article adopts a situated, process-oriented approach that treats editorial decisions, workshop dynamics, and modes of circulation as primary sites of analysis.¹

Co-making as Method: Minor Transnationalism from Editorial Practice

This article engages with and extends feminist and inter-Asia critiques of transnational solidarity, particularly those that challenge universalizing frameworks such as “global sisterhood” and state-driven multiculturalism. Rather than assuming shared identity or common experience, these critiques call for situated, accountable, and embodied forms of alliance: attuned to power differentials, colonial residues, and the lived materialities of race, gender, and labour (Mohanty 2003; Alexander 2005; Tadiar 2009). In thinking across and beyond dominant geopolitical logics, I draw on Françoise Lionnet and Shu-mei Shih’s (2005) concept of “minor transnationalism”—a lateral, non-state-centered form of connection and struggle that moves through the interstices of empire.

Lionnet and Shih coined the term to move beyond the limitations of globalization theory, ethnic studies, and conventional transnationalism, which tend to privilege vertical relationships between minoritized cultures and dominant social formations. Such frameworks, they argue, obscure the “lateral networks that are not readily apparent,” encouraging us to understand minority cultures primarily in opposition to

¹ My position in relation to this project is that of a researcher-observer rather than a participant or co-producer. To mitigate the risks of over-identification or advocacy-driven analysis, this article focuses on observable processes—workshop design, editorial decisions, material form, and modes of circulation—rather than on evaluating intentions or representing participants’ experiences. Bias is addressed not through claims of neutrality, but through sustained attention to constraint, mediation, and asymmetry as constitutive conditions of co-making.

hegemonic power rather than in relation to one another (1–2). Against this vertical logic, minor transnationalism draws attention to the multiple, often overlooked ways minoritized and diasporic communities participate in—and exceed—the shared transnational space structured by uneven power relations. Rather than isolating resistance as a transnationalism “from below,” Lionnet and Shih emphasize the heterogeneous cultural practices and communicative networks that emerge within and across national boundaries, even under conditions of economic and political constraint. They refer to these as “micropractices of transnationality” (7): practices that are not necessarily oppositional or coherent, but that operate through everyday forms of cultural expression, circulation, and relation. Often paradoxical or irreverent, such micropractices exceed binary models of domination and resistance, making visible alternative modes of connection that remain embedded within, yet not fully determined by, dominant transnational formations.

In the context of Asia, the vision of minor transnationalism aligns with Chen Kuan-Hsing’s notion of *Asia as method* (Chen 2010), which calls for a reorientation of thought—not toward the West as center, but toward translocal dialogues within and across Asian societies. Instead of imagining solidarity as a universal ideal, Chen invites us to think of it as an ongoing, situated process—one shaped by overlapping colonial histories, shared precarity, and relational knowledge-making. Rather than looking outward to the West as an intellectual horizon, Asian thinkers and communities have called for inter-referencing—drawing from each other’s conditions, struggles, and knowledges as a way to develop alternative forms of thought and relation. In Chua Beng Huat’s (2025: 11) words, such a practice is “a desire/need to understand a local condition with reference to a ‘comparable’ other(s)... in the interest of local transformation.” This tactic not only resists epistemic dependency but also opens up space for new relational practices—ones built through partial connection, mutual resonance, and grounded collaboration. For me, inter-referencing prompts a rethinking of what knowledge co-production can look like when it is not framed by institutional partnerships or disciplinary methods, but by the slow, uneven, and situated processes of knowing with others across asymmetries of language, location, and power.

While these frameworks offer powerful tools for thinking about lateral solidarity, they can also risk smoothing over the contingent and presentist labour that gives practices such as zine-making their political force. Rather than treating theory as a lens that clarifies these practices from a distance, this article approaches it as something unsettled by them. What remains under-theorized is not the existence of lateral relations, but how they are made in practice—through specific forms of labour, mediation, and constraint. It is here that editorial process becomes analytically central.

Drawing on feminist and zine studies, *co-making* names the shared, uneven, and processual labour of assembling, editing, and holding space together, through which minor transnationalism is not assumed or achieved, but tested, negotiated, and sustained in the present tense.

If minor transnationalism and Asia as method offer ways of understanding how solidarity moves laterally and relationally beyond the nation, feminist epistemologies offer resources for thinking about how such relations are made in practice. My use of co-making is informed by feminist and decolonial critiques of extractive, top-down models of knowledge production, particularly their insistence that knowledge is partial, situated, and produced through embodied relations rather than from a neutral or totalizing “view from nowhere” (Haraway 1988). Sandra Harding’s (1987) standpoint epistemology similarly reframes marginalized perspectives not as supplementary voices, but as structurally necessary to more accountable forms of knowledge-making, while Boaventura de Sousa Santos’s (2014) call for an “epistemology of the South” foregrounds forms of knowing—often collective, oral, and affective—rendered invisible by colonial modernity. This orientation resonates with feminist and decolonial accounts of insurgent knowledge that emerge through struggle, embodiment, and unfinished process rather than authoritative representation (Gaudry 2011; Fregoso Bailón and De Lissovoy 2019; Moulton and Salo 2022). As Motta and Bermudez (2019) argue, such approaches “re-enflesh research as a process of mutual healing as emancipation in which the process as much as the outcome are collaboratively visioned and realized” (429). Read through feminist lens, co-making thus names an editorial method grounded in care, slowness, and mediation, where fragmentation, silence, and even failure are not methodological shortcomings but constitutive of how knowledge is assembled and held together under conditions of constraint.

Importantly, co-making also requires media forms that are structurally capable of sustaining process-based and relational knowledge. **Radical and independent publishing has likewise been theorized as a site where political relation is enacted through material process rather than simply expressed in finished form (Thoburn 2016).** This is where zines, as minor media, become analytically significant—not only as formats, but as infrastructures for collaborative world-building. Zines are small-scale, often handmade publications that have historically operated outside commercial and institutional circuits. As Stephen Duncombe (1997) notes, their non-commercial, non-professional, and anti-institutional orientation makes them particularly hospitable to voices excluded from dominant publishing regimes. Feminist scholars have long approached zines as “resistive texts” that challenge mainstream narratives and form alternative relational infrastructures (Schilit 2003; Kempson 2015). Produced through

care, time, and tactile labour, zines circulate slowly, often hand-to-hand, fostering intimate publics rather than mass readerships (Watson and Bennett 2021). Zine networks are sustained through alternative political economies grounded in “emotional currency,” values of support, encouragement, and participation (Chidgey 2009). Within these practices, the ethos of do-it-yourself has increasingly shifted toward what participants describe as “do-it-ourselves”: a collective orientation that foregrounds mutual aid, shared labour, and relational accountability over individual authorship or autonomy (Clark-Parsons 2018; Spandler et al. 2026). In this sense, zine-making does not simply enable self-expression, but cultivates forms of co-presence and co-responsibility that align closely with the feminist commitments of co-making outlined above.

Taken together, these conceptual strands reposition translocal solidarity not as an achieved condition or a stable network, but as a fragile, processual practice that takes shape through everyday acts of making-with. By foregrounding co-making as an editorial and relational method, publishing, in this view, is neither a neutral medium nor a retrospective archive, but a site where relations are assembled, mediated, and left deliberately unfinished. It is from this perspective that the following analysis turns to Beatrix Pang’s practice, tracing how editorial decisions, workshop practices, and material negotiations operate as micro-practices through which minor transnationalism is tested, contested, and provisionally sustained.

The Radical Publishing of Beatrix Pang

In Hong Kong, radical publishing has long functioned as an anti-hegemonic infrastructure shaped by shifting regimes of power, censorship, and geopolitical pressure. Since the Cold War, the city’s publishing cultures operated within what Edmund Cheng (2021) describes as a Cold War counter-public, navigating between capitalist and communist ideological poles while sustaining spaces for dissent, debate, and political imagination.² Alongside periodicals, Hong Kong also cultivated a parallel ecosystem of independent bookshops and small-scale vendors which, since the 1950s, have operated as community hubs for radical thought, literary experimentation, and grassroots politics (Li 1995). They still functioned as key nodes in the circulation of radical print cultures, providing small presses and zine-makers with informal distribution channels and spaces of encounter that operate outside commercial publishing circuits nowadays (Shea and Ismangil 2025). Since 2019, amid intensified political repression, this legacy has re-emerged in the form of DIY

² Publications such as *The 70s Biweekly* (1970–1972), as Pan Lu (2022) shows, articulated an “in-between subjectivity” that aligned youth activism with movements for linguistic justice, anti-imperialism, and solidarity with the Global South, including the Chinese as an Official Language Movement and the Defend Diaoyutai Movement.

print cultures that function not only as tactics of expression but as infrastructures of relation. Zines and small publications circulate outside dominant media channels, sustaining what Yam and Ma (2024) describe as a “grassroots community of care,” where readers and makers find recognition, support, and the quiet assurance of being heard. As Tong (2020) argues, such micro-publications enable collective forms of “DIY print activism” under conditions of fragmentation, precarity, and silencing. It is within this longer historical continuum that the publishing work of Beatrix Pang and Small Tune Press can be situated.

If publishing can be understood as an infrastructure for insurgent knowledge and minor transnational connection, then the practice of Beatrix Pang exemplifies how such forms of cultural work are made and sustained. A visual artist, cultural organiser, and independent publisher based in Hong Kong, Pang foregrounds co-making as both method and politics—mobilising publishing as a site of collaboration, care, and resistance. In 2011, following an artist residency in the United States and an encounter with the New York Art Book Fair, Pang founded Small Tune Press. That moment revealed to them the experimental potential of small-edition publishing—not only as a medium for artistic expression, but as a vehicle for circulating dissent and intimacy beyond institutional frames (*Initium Media*, 2023, October 29). Returning to Hong Kong, Pang established the press for independent publishing that attends to what is often excluded: minor voices, fragile archives, and situated forms of knowledge. Their work centres the visual and textual practices of those operating at the peripheries of dominant cultural circuits, offering a sustained commitment to publishing as relational method.

Since its inception, the press has focused on producing and distributing artist books, zines, and hybrid publications that center marginalized communities—particularly queer artists, independent creators, and migrant workers. In its early years, these publications circulated primarily through Hong Kong’s independent bookshop network, with copies stocked at bookshops such as Kubrick, Open Quote, and The Coming Society, and after 2016 at spaces including Hong Kong Reader Bookstore, Book Punch, and various publishing fairs. Its model is grounded in collaboration, co-authorship, and accessibility, emphasizing the importance of publishing as both a creative act and a relational process. The press’s first publication, *Vanishing Point: How to disappear in China without a trace* (2011) by German conceptual artist Susanne Bürner, set the tone for its critical, mobile, and politically alert approach. Framed as a survival manual for disappearing within a surveilled state, the book exemplified Pang’s interest in publishing as a disobedient, portable, and speculative form. Since then, Small Tune Press has maintained a wide-ranging practice—moving across artist-led experiments, grassroots collaborations, and hybrid

media form. Its output is diverse yet always attentive to the minor and the intimate—from the photobooks of Leung Yihong, such as *I Need To Be Physically Healthy Because My Mind Is Weak* (2013) and *If You Want to Quit, Let's Do It Tomorrow* (2016), to *Roses in a Beer Can* (2018), a tender collection of poems, letters, and fragments by Karen Cheung. Across these works, the press sustains a sensibility of making-with—assembling fragile texts and forms that circulate through shared feeling, rather than mass attention.

Through these projects, Beatrix Pang has gradually shaped their publishing practice into a form of quiet yet pointed political intervention. In 2018, they co-founded the Queer Reads Library (QRL), a mobile collection of books and zines centering queer narratives and lives, in response to the Hong Kong Public Library's removal of LGBTQ-themed children's books and in a bid to reclaim queer visibility through gathering, reading, and independent publishing. In 2020, amid the Anti-Extradition Law Movement, Small Tune Press released two archival projects—*GEN CMD Z* (2020), a visual documentary by Sum, Lok-Kei, and *Aftershock: Essays from Hong Kong* (2020), a collection of writings by journalists-writers navigating the aftermath. These works underscore the press's commitment to publishing as both documentation and refusal. This ethos extends into later works like *Some Kind of A Mood* (2021), which weaves together the poetry of anarchist writer Uncle Hung (阮志雄), live musical recordings, and hand-woven covers by British-Vietnamese artist Anh Tran, telling a story that spans Hong Kong and London in the 1980s. The hand-binding of 300 copies using recycled materials speaks to a material ethics rooted in slowness, tactility, and community care. Another example, *Surviving Natalivity* (2021) by Chen Holok, experiments with layered materialities: poems printed alongside six ink drawings on paper of varying textures and sizes. This fusion produces a sensory terrain where themes of birth, sexuality, and death are felt rather than merely narrated—offering a visceral encounter with affect, fragility, and survival.

A key strand of Small Tune Press's practice centers around the lived experiences and creative expressions of migrant domestic workers, particularly from the Philippines and Indonesia.³ Between 2014 and 2018, Beatrix Pang collaborated with the Mission for Migrant Workers at St. John's Cathedral in Hong Kong to organize a series of zine-making workshops. These gatherings brought together migrant workers, artists, activists, and local volunteers in a shared process of telling, assembling, and making public. The result was *Work is Work*, a multi-issue zine series collectively created with over 70 participants. Through poems, essays, photographs, and illustrations, contributors documented not only the conditions of labour and migration,

³ Participatory arts and media initiatives with migrant domestic workers in Hong Kong have developed across multiple platforms, including participatory video and storytelling projects that foreground relational knowledge production and collaborative authorship (e.g. Lin et al. 2019).

but also emotional survival, quiet refusal, and everyday forms of joy. At a time when migrant narratives are often framed by victimhood or invisibility, this project foregrounded publishing as a method of shared authorship—where migrant workers could speak with, not be spoken for. Co-supported by HER Fund and rooted in community infrastructure, *Work is Work* exemplifies Small Tune Press’s commitment to relational publishing: slow, small-scale, and materially grounded. Across artist collaborations, activist archives, and migrant worker projects, the press approaches publishing as a politics of care and co-making—where voice is shared rather than extracted, and solidarity unfolds incrementally, page by page.

It is against this backdrop of long-term, locally rooted, and materially attentive publishing practice that *Women Behind Closed Doors* (2003) should be situated as a minor transnational intervention. While projects such as *Work is Work* emerged from sustained collaboration within Hong Kong’s migrant worker communities, *Women Behind Closed Doors* (Figure 1) extends Pang’s practice into a translocal space where shared history, language, and infrastructure could not be assumed. Rather than reproducing a center–periphery or “from-below” model of transnational solidarity, the zine brings into proximity dispersed yet recurring conditions—domestic labour, regulatory violence, care, and silence—allowing them to resonate laterally across sites. In this sense, *Women Behind Closed Doors* tests minor transnationalism not as a theoretical abstraction but as a practice assembled through co-making: through workshops where relation is provisionally forged, through editorial decisions that hold voices in adjacency without hierarchy, and through modest circuits of circulation that privilege care over scale. The following section turns to this project to examine how solidarity is enacted, negotiated, and constrained through the concrete labour of making-with.

<Insert Figure 1 here>

The Co-Making of *Women Behind Closed Doors* (2023)

From 2023 to 2024, Beatrix Pang undertook their first artist residency in Europe at Studio Voltaire in London, as the inaugural recipient of a year-long international residency supported by the LOEWE FOUNDATION. During the residency, Pang expanded their self-publishing practice through zine-making, writing, and print-based experiments, often in collaboration with Studio Voltaire’s studio community and local audiences. It was during the 2023 May Day rally at Trafalgar Square that Pang encountered The Voice of Domestic Workers, a UK-based grassroots organisation advocating for migrant domestic workers’ rights. This meeting catalyzed the extension of Pang’s earlier workshop model—first developed with Filipino and Indonesian

domestic workers in Hong Kong—into the London context, marking a new phase in their commitment to publishing as a translocal feminist practice of listening, making, and solidarity-building. In December 2023, the zine *Women Behind Closed Doors* was published—a collection that brings together the writings of migrant domestic workers, reflections from volunteers, and excerpts from UK-based labour research.⁴

Rather than approaching *Women Behind Closed Doors* as a finished cultural object, this section examines the project as a process sustained through a series of uneven and interdependent practices. I focus on three stages through which the zine took shape—participatory workshops, editorialization, and circulation—as moments where different forms of labour, authority, and responsibility became visible. By attending to these stages in sequence, the analysis shows how minor transnational connection emerges not as a stable network or shared identity, but as a fragile, present-tense practice held together through ongoing work.

1. *Participatory Workshops*

Unlike many zine practices that emerge from individual or small collective authorship, *Women Behind Closed Doors* was co-made through a workshop-based process that functioned as both method and site of knowledge production. The workshop was proposed by Pang to members of The Voice of Domestic Workers (VoDW) and held at Unite the Union in Holborn, a space already embedded within participants' organising and advocacy practices. Reflecting on this moment, Pang recalls the uncertainty that accompanied the invitation and the significance of its reception:

I proposed a zine workshop to the members of VoDW at Unite the Union in Holborn. I was amazed by the openness and thankful for the trust shown by the VoDW members, allowing me to conduct the zine workshop and producing a zine with them (Pang, 2023, Women Behind the Closed Doors).

This trust was supported by a modest but carefully assembled infrastructure: the venue was provided by VoDW, participant recruitment and registration were coordinated through the organisation, and printing materials were sponsored by Studio Voltaire as part of Pang's residency support. Thirteen migrant domestic workers participated in two rounds of workshops, which were facilitated by four facilitators—Beatrix Pang from Hong Kong, Wenxi and Xuan from mainland China, and Pin Chieh from Taiwan. The facilitators were drawn from Pang's extended

⁴ London also hosts a range of migrant-worker-led self-organizing initiatives, including participatory art and writing projects that create spaces for collective reflection, storytelling, and advocacy among migrant domestic workers (Jiang et al. 2020).

network of friends and collaborators, many of whom had prior engagement with migration studies and shared experiences of living as foreigners under precarious migratory conditions. Their involvement did not neutralize asymmetry, but introduced additional layers of mediation through language, cultural reference, and positionality, shaping the workshop as a space where solidarity was negotiated. **Crucially, this negotiation also entailed exposure: participants were asked not only to share routes and demands, but to make visible forms of uncertainty, injury, and precarity that are often managed privately. The workshop thus became a space where vulnerability was not merely disclosed but collectively witnessed, held in relation rather than isolated as individual experience.**

As part of the workshop, participants were invited to begin with a structured self-introduction exercise that asked for basic biographical information—name, hometown, duration of migration, and countries worked in—followed by an open prompt titled “Demand / Wish / Message or more to say.” On the surface, the exercise appears modest and administrative, resembling the intake forms that so often govern migrant lives. Yet reworked within the workshop, it became a site of potentiality: a way of seeing one another beyond isolated testimonies, and of situating individual trajectories within a shared but uneven transnational terrain. Jenny A.’s handwritten page, for instance, traces a migration path spanning Saudi Arabia, Oman, and the United Kingdom, while moving seamlessly into a political demand for the reinstatement of migrant domestic workers’ rights, a wish for legal recognition, and a message of collective perseverance:

<Insert Figure 2 here>

The form does not separate biography from politics, nor personal hope from structural critique; instead, these elements are braided together on the page.

At the core of this workshop was a mind-mapping exercise that invited participants to visually trace how they arrived in London by mapping not only places, but also the people, systems, and forces that shaped their movement. Beatrix Pang traced this practice to a sense of déjà vu that came to their mind, in Hong Kong, Southeast Asian domestic workers are part of Hong Kong urban landscapes, but even when they move to London, it seems repeat again.⁵ Therefore, they asked why:

⁵ As Chan and Latham (2022) argue, migrant domestic workers are not marginal to the city’s public life but actively inhabit and shape Hong Kong’s urban landscapes through routine movements, “public outings,” and improvised infrastructures of care. Pang’s observation extends this insight translocally, registering how similar patterns of visibility, discipline, and spatial occupation reappear in London, despite differing national and regulatory contexts.

In order to find out how the workers ended up in London, we used "mind-mapping" as a way to visually represent the paths of MDWs, intertwining with others (people and factors) and places. These maps depicted the traces of their journeys and what led them to their current situations. Each participant created a unique map with background information relevant to their identity and experiences.

Rather than reconstructing migration as a linear trajectory from origin to destination, mind-mapping enabled participants to render their lives as entangled routes, visualizing paths that intertwine places with actors and conditions: recruitment agencies, employers, immigration regimes, family obligations, and some participants repeatedly named as “the system.” Sabarah Mamatas’s mind map (Figure 3) offers a particularly vivid example.

<Insert Figure 3 here>

Having worked in the Philippines, Saudi Arabia, and the United Kingdom, her map charts movement across national contexts while centering a recurring “life cycle” structured by migrant labor regimes. Saudi Arabia and the UK appear as separate nodes, yet are connected by dashed lines that signal repetition rather than progression. Around these sites cluster terms such as “exploitation,” “trafficking,” “untreated,” and “jobs,” while at the center sits “system,” surrounded by notes like “broken system,” “working only fix problem,” and “can’t hear.” The visual grammar of the map refuses a success narrative of mobility; instead, it renders migration as a looping structure in which similar conditions reappear under different national frameworks.

Read through the lens of minor transnationalism, the workshop functions as a site where lateral relations are tentatively assembled through practice. The exercises of self-introduction and mind-mapping do not produce a unified migrant narrative or a shared diasporic identity; instead, they make visible how similar conditions recur unevenly across different national contexts. What emerges is not a coherent network linking people and places, but a set of partial recognitions—of repetition, constraint, and structural continuity—that participants come to see alongside one another. In this sense, the workshop enacts what Lionnet and Shih describe as micropractices of transnationality: everyday, provisional forms of relation that exceed both state-centered frameworks and binary models of domination and resistance.

2. *Editorialisation: Scanning and Collage*

If the workshop constituted a space of encounter, editorialization became the site

where these relations were mediated, held, and made public. In *Women Behind Closed Doors*, editing does not function as a process of refinement or narrative consolidation. Instead, it operates as a method of co-making that foregrounds preservation, adjacency, and reflexivity.

Central to this approach is Pang's radical decision to scan all workshop materials—handwritten texts, drawings, and mind maps—directly into the zine, retaining their original textures, inconsistencies, and marks of process. This practice deliberately subverts conventional understandings of editorial work, which often position publishing as a content machine, filter, and amplifier (Bhaskar, 2013): a gatekeeping process in which words are polished through copyediting and images are refined to meet standards of clarity, coherence, and visual appeal. Through scanning, uneven handwriting, crossed-out words, and spatial irregularities remain visible, affirming the temporality and situatedness of each contribution (see Figure 2 and Figure 3). It echoes a sense of “rawness” as a form of DIY aesthetics (Dezeuze, 2006) that foreground authenticity. Meanwhile, by scanning all workshop materials without hierarchizing between text and image, draft and final, and also between participants, the zine treats the workshop itself as an archive rather than a source of raw content to be refined. Editorial labour does not erase mediation but repositions it—shifting the role of the editor from gatekeeper to caretaker of process, and publishing from amplification toward attunement.

At the same time, the scanned materials are not presented in isolation. Through collage and layout, Pang situates individual voices within a broader field of relations that includes policy frameworks, excerpts from surveys conducted by The Voice of Domestic Workers, and contextual information on migrant domestic labour conditions in the UK. One such survey, supported by LSE PhD researcher Matt Reynolds, documents the structural violence experienced by migrant domestic workers in the UK. It reports that 94 percent of respondents were not given a day off from work, 92 percent were denied rest or break periods, and that the actual median wage amounted to approximately 52 pence per hour. Rather than positioning these materials as external explanations, the zine brings them into proximity on the page, sitting alongside handwritten accounts and workshop fragments, thereby allowing lived testimony and institutional knowledge to appear side by side. With such an approach, these figures function as more than statistical abstraction that subsumes personal experience, but they reframe data as part of the same affective and political terrain. By refusing hierarchy between testimony and research, collage thus becomes an editorial method for situating individual narratives within wider systems of labour governance and exploitation, without reducing them to case studies or evidence.

The scanned workshop materials are further collaged with facilitators' self-

reflections, extending editorialization into a reflexive and translocal practice. These reflections do not merely acknowledge positionality; they actively situate the workshop within wider inter-Asia circuits of labour struggle and knowledge exchange. One facilitator, Pin Chieh, draws on her experience in Taiwan:

Just as foreign domestic workers in the UK face oppressive social systems, migrant workers in Taiwan also experience unfair labour conditions. "Taiwan International Workers Association" (TIWA) has pointed out that the Taiwanese government's management policy has cheapened migrant workers and turned them into slave labour.

Other facilitators reflect on mediation at a more intimate level. Xuan Fang, originally from mainland China, emphasizes how drawing functioned as a shared medium amid linguistic difference:

Despite occasional language barriers hindering seamless communication, drawing emerged as a powerful medium for expression and reflection. Through art, we found a universal language to convey our experiences, articulate our thoughts on self and others, and explore the nuanced relationship with our surroundings. This artistic endeavour not only bridged communication gaps but also fostered a sense of shared understanding among participants.

These facilitator reflections are not placed outside or above participants' contributions, but woven directly into the visual field of the zine. In Figure 4, a participant's journey diagram, a photograph of Xuan Fang supporting the act of creation, and a handwritten statement of demand and desire by migrant worker Jenny A. appear together on the same page. The juxtaposition does not resolve their different registers—experience, facilitation, and reflection—into a single narrative voice. Instead, they are allowed to remain in tension and conversation, making visible the braided relations through which the zine was produced. Editorially, this collage refuses both neutrality and authority: it foregrounds co-presence, uneven mediation, and unfinished dialogue as the conditions through which co-making—and minor transnational connection—takes shape.

<Insert Figure 4>

Taken together, these editorial strategies—scanning, collage, and reflexive annotation—recast editorialization as a central site of co-making rather than a

secondary stage of representation. By preserving workshop materials in their raw form, situating individual voices alongside policy data and activist research, and weaving facilitators' reflections into the same visual field, *Women Behind Closed Doors* does not stabilize meaning or consolidate narrative authority; instead, it holds voices, structures, and positions in deliberate adjacency. This mode of editorialization sustains unfinished dialogue across difference, making visible how migrant testimony, institutional critique, and facilitator reflexivity are braided together without equivalence or resolution.

3. Production and Circulation

Production and circulation mark the stage at which the negotiations initiated in the workshop and carried through editorialization encounter their most concrete limits. Willis's (2025) call for a sociotechnical understanding of zines reminds us that zines exist not only as cultural texts but as objects shaped by material form and the technologies through which they are produced. While *Women Behind Closed Doors* emerged from a participatory workshop process, the conditions under which it was produced were uneven and materially constrained. Decisions made during editorialization—such as preserving handwritten materials through scanning and assembling pages through collage—shaped the subsequent demands of production, intensifying reliance on Beatrix Pang's technical skills, equipment, and institutional access. Pang owned the studio printer, had experience in layout and binding, and could draw on Studio Voltaire's facilities, positioning them as the primary bearer of production labour. However, this asymmetry did not negate participation, but it structured how participation could occur. During a second workshop session, Pang prepared several layout templates derived from the scanned workshop materials, which participants were invited to review and vote on. The process extended the workshop's collaborative ethos into production, yet it also made visible the limits of collective decision-making within a workflow governed by time, technical expertise, and resource availability.

These same material and infrastructural constraints continued to shape how the zine could circulate. The small scale of production (<100) was shaped both by limited financial capital and by the political economy of zine culture itself. As Rauch (2004) notes, zines are often produced and circulated in limited numbers, whether due to resource constraints or an insistence on idiosyncratic, non-commercial forms. *Women Behind Closed Doors* followed this pattern. Rather than pursuing mass production, the zine circulated through select zine fairs and labour-oriented events, including workers' conferences and festivals such as the Foreign Domestic Helpers Cultural Festival. These venues positioned the zine among allies rather than broad publics, prioritizing

relational circulation over visibility or reach. Pang also conceptualized the zine as an archive of voices rather than a scalable publication. Copies were therefore strategically deposited in institutions such as MayDay Rooms, the Feminist Library, the Institute of International Visual Arts in London, and Asia Art Archives in Hong Kong. The Voice of Domestic Workers retained copies for ongoing distribution within its own networks. These placements extended the life of the zine beyond immediate events, but they also situated it within institutional spaces that are unevenly accessible and largely frequented by already-engaged audiences. Most of the first batch of zines was printed and hand-bound by Pang at Studio Voltaire, while later copies were produced on demand. Additional copies were printed in Hong Kong, resulting in variations in paper stock, size, and binding. These material inconsistencies were not merely aesthetic differences but traces of the fragmented infrastructures through which the zine circulated—echoing the uneven conditions of labor and mobility that shaped the project from workshop to page.

Recognizing the limitations of physical circulation, Pang also created a digital version of the zine and made it freely available via HeyZines. While this gesture did not transform *Women Behind Closed Doors* into a widely visible or easily discoverable publication, it opened up different possibilities for access and reproduction. Digital circulation allows the zine to be encountered beyond the temporal and geographic constraints of fairs, workshops, and archives, enabling readers—particularly migrant workers with limited mobility or irregular schedules—to return to the materials, share them selectively, or print excerpts for local use. In this sense, the digital version functions not only as a channel of distribution but as a potential resource for reuse and recontextualization, extending the life of the project in modest, unspectacular ways. However, discoverability is still a concern. Without a dedicated project website or sustained promotional infrastructure, the digital zine remains difficult to circulate beyond those already searching for it by title or through activist networks. In this sense, digital availability functions less as mass dissemination than as supplementary access.

The production and circulation of *Women Behind Closed Doors* make clear that co-making does not eliminate asymmetry or overcome material constraint. Rather, these conditions actively shape how solidarity is practiced, where it travels, and whom it can reach. The project's reliance on Pang's technical skills, institutional access, and labour does not negate its collaborative ethos; instead, it renders visible the uneven infrastructures through which collective work is made possible. Similarly, the zine's limited circulation—moving through workshops, activist events, archives, and modest digital platforms—does not diminish its political significance. Rather than treating material and structural limitations as obstacles to be resolved, this article approaches

them as analytically productive. The constraints that shape *Women Behind Closed Doors*—uneven skills, limited resources, and modest circulation—do not simply delimit what the project can achieve; they illuminate how co-making operates in practice. It is precisely through these limits that relations of reliance, mediation, and care become visible. By attending to where participation narrows, where labour concentrates, and where circulation slows, the project generates insight into the conditions under which minor transnational solidarities are actually sustained.

Conclusion

This article began with a moment of fragile solidarity: the rally for Yuli Riswati, where migrant writing briefly surfaced as collective recognition before being rendered precarious again by deportation, borders, and political retaliation. That moment posed a question about how such solidarities might be sustained beyond visibility—how migrant knowledge can be held, circulated, and protected under conditions that continually threaten its erasure. Tracing the radical publishing practice of Beatrix Pang, this article has approached that question not through declarations of alliance or scalable models of empowerment, but through the slow, uneven work of co-making.

By examining *Women Behind Closed Doors* across three stages—participatory workshops, editorialization, and production and circulation—I have argued that co-making functions as a methodological intervention into minor transnationalism. Rather than treating minor transnationalism as a coherent network or a pre-existing form of resistance, the project reveals how lateral relations are assembled in practice: through mediated encounters, editorial care, and modest infrastructures that hold voices in proximity without resolving difference. Workshops created provisional spaces of encounter where migrant lives were rendered relational through mapping, drawing, and shared prompts. Editorialization transformed these encounters into a public form without smoothing over asymmetry, preserving raw traces of process while situating individual voices alongside activist research and policy critique. Production and circulation, in turn, exposed the material constraints under which solidarity travels—slowly, selectively, and unevenly—making visible how reliance, care, and limitation shape what can be sustained.

Attending to these constraints does not diminish the political value of the project; it clarifies it. *Women Behind Closed Doors* generates insight precisely through its limits. Uneven skills, asymmetric labour, and restricted circulation illuminate the infrastructures—human, technical, and institutional—through which migrant knowledge is made legible and held together. In this sense, constraint becomes method: a way of understanding how solidarities are practiced rather than promised,

negotiated rather than assumed.

Following Pang's return to Hong Kong, their practice of co-making continued through the co-publication of *Ingat: An Anthology of Works by Migrant Domestic Worker Creatives in Hong Kong* (2024) and the establishment of a Migrant Workers Library (2025). The emergence of *Ingat* also intersects with a broader ecosystem of migrant-worker-led creative initiatives in Hong Kong, including workshop-based pedagogies that foreground care for storytellers and stories and that have fed into subsequent publications and anthologies (Ham and Yu 2025). Rather than serving as a second case study or a culmination of earlier work, these initiatives indicate the persistence of co-making across formats and sites—shifting from zines to anthologies, from workshops to libraries—while remaining attentive to similar conditions of precarity, care, and uneven labour. What they reveal is not expansion or resolution, but continuity: minor transnationalism taking shape through return, repetition, and the gradual accumulation of modest infrastructures, rather than through singular moments of visibility or completed solidarity.

Returning to the question raised at the outset, this article suggests that the fragility of migrant knowledge need not be answered by demands for scale, permanence, or resolution. What *Women Behind Closed Doors*, *Ingat*, and the Migrant Workers Library make visible is a different political orientation: one that attends to how knowledge is made-with, held, and encountered under constraint. Co-making, in this sense, does not resolve the vulnerabilities that structure migrant lives, but offers a way of working within them—assembling solidarities that remain unfinished, relational, and insistently present.

References

- Alexander, M. Jacqui. 2005. *Pedagogies of Crossing: Meditations on Feminism, Sexual Politics, Memory, and the Sacred*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Bürner, Susanne. 2011. *Vanishing Point: How to Disappear in China without a Trace*. Hong Kong: Small Tune Press.
- Chan, Holmes. (ed.). 2021. *Aftershock: Essays from Hong Kong*. Hong Kong: Small Tune Press.
- Chan, Henry Hin-yan, and Alan Latham. 2022. "Working and Dwelling in a Global City: Going-Out, Public Worlds, and the Intimate Lives of Migrant Domestic Workers in Hong Kong." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 48(15): 3524-3543. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2021.2000854>.
- Chen, Ho Lok. 2021. *Surviving Natalivity*. Hong Kong: Small Tune Press.
- Cheng, Edmund W. 2021. "Loyalist, Dissenter and Cosmopolite: The Sociocultural Origins of a Counter-public Sphere in Colonial Hong Kong." *The China*

- Quarterly* 246: 374-399. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0305741021000333>.
- Cheung, Karen. 2018. *Roses in a Beer Can*. Hong Kong: Small Tune Press.
- Chidgey, Red. 2009. "Free, Trade: Distribution Economies in Feminist Zine Networks." *Signs* 35(1): 28-37. <https://doi.org/10.1086/599265>.
- Chua, Beng Huat. 2025. "Inter-Asia Referencing: Further Methodological Note." *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies* 26 (1): 9–21. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14649373.2025.2453384>.
- Clark-Parsons, Rosemary. 2018. *Doing It Ourselves: The Networked Practices of Feminist Media Activism*. Doctoral thesis, University of Pennsylvania,
- de Sousa Santos, Boaventura. 2014. *Epistemologies of the South: Justice Against Epistemicide*. New York: Routledge.
- Dezeuze, Anna. 2006. Everyday Life, 'Relational Aesthetics' and the 'Transfiguration of the Commonplace.' *Journal of Visual Art Practice* 5(3): 143-152.
- Duncombe, Stephen. 1997 *Notes from Underground: Zines and the Politics of Alternative Culture*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Fregoso Bailón, Raúl Olmo and Noah De Lissovoy. 2019. "Against Coloniality: Toward an Epistemically Insurgent Curriculum." *Policy Futures in Education* 17(3): 355-369. <https://doi.org/10.1177/147821031881920>.
- Gaudry, Adam JP. 2011. "Insurgent Research." *Wicazo Sa Review* 26(1): 113-136. <https://dx.doi.org/10.1353/wic.2011.0006>.
- Ham, Julie, and Yvonne Yevan Yu. 2025. Creative Writing Pedagogies for Labour Migration Diasporas. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, online first, <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2025.2603682>.
- Haraway, Donna. 1988. "Situated Knowledges: The Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of Partial Perspective." *Feminist Studies* 14(3): 575–99. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3178066>.
- Harding, Sandra. 1987. *Whose Science? Whose Knowledge? Thinking from Women's Lives*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Initium Media*. 2023. Books also migrate: A Hong Kong library hidden in North London and the trust game of postal lending [書本也移民：藏身北倫敦的香港圖書館，郵寄借書的信任遊戲], October 29. Available at: <https://theinitium.com/opinion/20231029-hongkong-diaspora-community-reading-in-uk> [Accessed 1 Apr. 2025].
- Inmediahk*. 2019. Deported Indonesian Domestic Worker After Anti-Extradition Protests Reveals Humiliation: Forced to Undress in Front of Male Doctor [反送中被逐印傭被囚時受辱：要喺男醫生面前除衫], December 07. Available at <https://www.inmediahk.net/node/1069195> [Accessed 1 Apr. 2025].
- Jiang, Zhe, Tassia Kobylinska, and Voice of Domestic Workers. 2020. Art with

- Marginalised Communities: Participatory Video as a Tool of Empowerment and Resistance for Migrant Domestic Workers in London. *City* 24 (1-2): 348-363.
- Kempson, Michelle. 2015. "My Version of Feminism": Subjectivity, DIY and the Feminist Zine, *Social Movement Studies* 14(4): 459-472.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/14742837.2014.945157>.
- Lensational and Migratn Writers of Hong Kong. 2024. *Ingat: An Anthology of Works By Migrant Worker Creatives in Hong Kong*. Hong Kong: Small Tune Press.
- Leung, Yiu Hong. 2013. *I Need to Be Physically Healthy Because My Mind is Weak*. Hong Kong: Small Tune Press.
- Leung, Yiu Hong. 2016. *If You Want to Quit, Let's Do It Tomorrow*. Hong Kong: Small Tune Press.
- Li, C. H. 1995. The Will to Serve: Chinese Booksellers in Hong Kong. *Journal of East Asian Libraries* 106: 39-44.
- Lin, Vivian Wenli, Julie Ham, Guolin Gu, Merina Sunuwar, Chunya Luo, and Laura Gil-Besada. 2019. Reflections through the Lens: Participatory Video with Migrant Domestic Workers, Asylum Seekers and Ethnic Minorities. *Emotion, Space and Society* 33 (2019): 100622.
- Lu, Pan. 2022. "New Left without Old Left: The 70's Biweekly and Youth Activism in 1970s Hong Kong." *Modern China* 48(5): 1080-1112.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/00977004221091924>.
- Mohanty, Chandra Talpade. 2003. *Feminism Without Borders: Decolonizing Theory, Practicing Solidarity*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Motta, Sara C., and Norma L. Bermudez. 2019. "Enfleshing Temporal Insurgencies and Decolonial Times." *Globalizations* 16(4): 424-440.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/14747731.2018.1558822>.
- Moulton, Alex A., and Inge Salo. 2022. "Black Geographies and Black Ecologies as Insurgent Ecocriticism." *Environment and Society* 13(1): 156-174.
<https://doi.org/10.3167/ares.2022.130110>.
- Rauch, Jennifer. 2004. "Hands-on Communication: Zine Circulation Rituals and the Interactive Limitations of Web Self-publishing. *Popular Communication* 2(3): 153-169.
- Riswati, Yuli. 2018. "那個傷口依然在我體內 [The Wound Is Still on My Body]." *獨立評論@天下 [Independent Opinion @ Commonwealth]*. Available at <https://opinion.cw.com.tw/blog/profile/441/article/7463> (Accessed April 9, 2025).
- Schilt, Kristen. 2003. "'I'll Resist with Every Inch and Every Breath": Girls and Zine Making as a Form of Resistance." *Youth & Society* 35: 71-97.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0044118X032545>.

Shea, Cheryl S. Y. and Milan Ismangil. 2025. "Hong Kong Will Never Die as long as There Are Bookstores": Independent Bookstores in Hong Kong amidst Diminishing Political Opportunities. *Social Sciences & Humanities Open* 12: 102199.

Spandler, Hel, Jill Anderson and Tamsin Oudney Walker. 2026, forthcoming. Doing it Ourselves: Crafting a Mad Zine Methodology. *Qualitative Inquiry*.
<https://knowledge.lancashire.ac.uk/id/eprint/58030/1/Doing%20it%20Ourselves.%20Crafting%20a%20Madzine%20Methodology%20Spandler%20et%20al.%20%202026.pdf>

Sum, Lok-Kei. 2021. *GEN CMD Z: A Visual Documentation of a Hong Kong University in March to April, 2020*. Hong Kong: Small Tune Press.

Tadiar, Neferti X. M. 2009. *Things Fall Away: Philippine Historical Experience and the Makings of Globalization*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

The Voice of Domestic Workers. 2023. *Women Behind Closed Doors: The Journey of Migrant Domestic Workers in the UK*. London: Beatrix Pang.

Thoburn, Nicholas. 2016. *Anti-book: On the Art and Politics of Radical Publishing*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Tong, Kin-long. 2020. DIY Print Activism in Digital Age: Zines in Hong Kong's Social Movements. *ZINES* 1(1): 65-76.

Tong, Kin-long. 2024. "Radical Librarians in Queer Movement: The Case of Queer Reads Library in Hong Kong." In *An Anthology of Non-Conformism Rebel Wom!n Words, Ways & Wonders*, edited by EA Amoo-Adare and R. Siriwardane-de Zoysa, 189–200. London: DIO Press.

Watson, Ash and Andy Bennett. 2021. "The Felt Value of Reading Zines." *American Journal of Cultural Sociology* 9: 115–149. <https://doi.org/10.1057/s41290-020-00108-9>.

Willis, Peter. 2025. "Duplicate, Copy, Print: Towards a Material History of the Zine." DIY, Alternative Cultures & Society, online first,
<https://doi.org/10.1177/27538702251384750>.

Yam, Shui-yin Sharon, and Carissa Ma. "Being Water: Protest Zines and the Politics of Care in Hong Kong." *Cultural Studies* 38, no. 4 (2024): 668-696.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/09502386.2023.2191123>.

Yu, Yvonne Yevan, Christine Vicera, and Julie Ham (eds.). (2024) *Ingat: An Anthology of Works by Migrant Domestic Worker Creatives in Hong Kong*. Hong Kong: Migrant Writers of Hong Kong, Lensational, and Small Tune Press.

Yuen Che Hung 阮志雄. 2021. *Some Kind of a Mood*. Hong Kong: Small Tune Press.

Figure 1



Figure 2.

Name: Jenny A.

Hometown: Diffun, Quirino Province, Philippines

Duration in UK: 7 years

Countries you worked in: * SAUDI ARABIA
* OMAN
* UNITED KINGDOM

Demand/Wish/ Messages or more to say:

Demand: To reinstate the rights of migrant Domestic workers who was stripped since 2012.

Wish: I wish that they will grant all of our demand and give us the chance to be legalise here so we can go back home in our country and be with them once in a while.

Message: Keep on fighting and believing that there is a rainbow after a storm.

Figure 3.

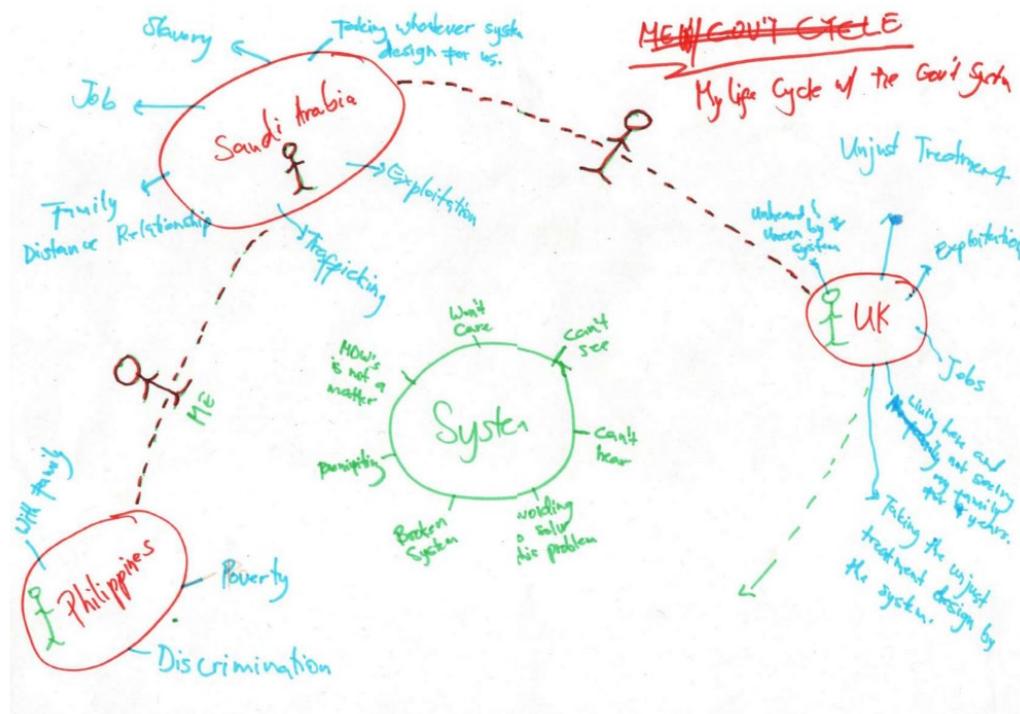


Figure 4.

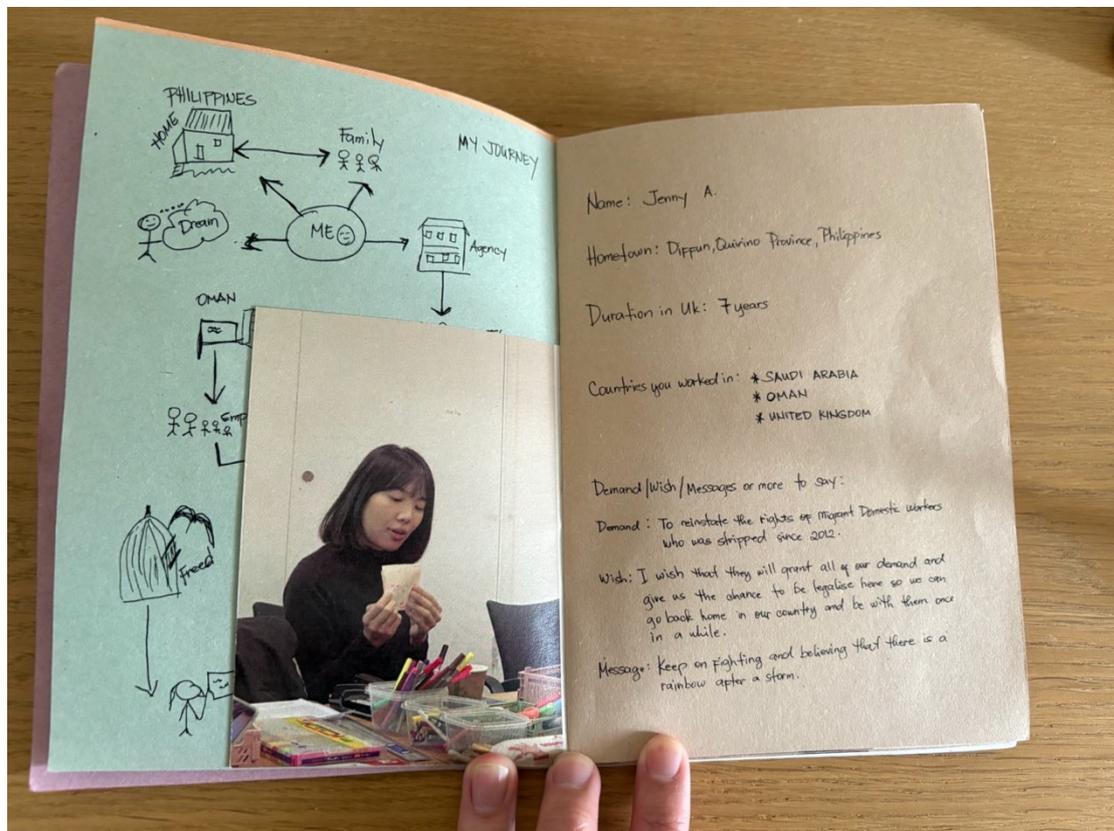


Figure Captions

Figure 1. Cover of *Women Behind Closed Doors*, featuring illustrated portraits of contributing migrant domestic workers rendered in soft linework against a lavender background.

Figure 2 Jenny A.'s "Demand, Wish, Message" worksheet, created during a zine-making workshop for Women Behind Closed Doors.

Figure 3. Sabarah Mamatas's mind map showcasing her migratory path from the Philippines, to Saudi Arabia, to the United Kingdom

Figure 4. A double-page spread from *Women Behind Closed Doors* zine, featuring Jenny A.'s hand-drawn migration map, written testimony, and a photo of workshop facilitator Xuan Fang.