China Factsheet Gillian Kane

Facts on China's Garment Industry¹

Key Statistics

Population (2014): 1.39 billion² (world's largest population).

Employment in garment industry (2013): over 10 million^{3 4}

Industry (general) % of GDP (2013) 5 : 47 %

Garment % of export: 4% (Figure calculated from the given sources but may not be reliable) 6

Value garment export (2013): €130.01 billion/\$164.13 billion⁷ (other sources give a figure of approx. \$150 billion)⁸

Percentage of the world market for garment (2012): 38%⁹ (China is the world's largest manufacturer, exporter and consumer of garments.¹⁰)

Minimum wage (2014): Shanghai 1820¥ (€235/ \$ 297)¹¹, Lowest minimum wage is 830¥ (€107 /\$135) in parts of Guangxi.¹²



All currency conversions are taken from XE.com (www.xe.com) on 10 October 2014

² 'Countries in the World (Ranked by 2014 Population)' (*Worldometers*) http://www.worldometers.info/world-population/population-by-country/ accessed 10 October 2014

³ 'China, the garment king: a portrait' (*Fashion United*) http://www.fashionunited.co.uk/fashion-news/fashion/china-the-garment-king-a-portrait-2013102318813 accessed 27 June 2014

⁴ 'An Overview of China's Garment Industry' (*China National Garment Association*) http://www.cnga.org.cn/engl/about/Overview.asp accessed 12 November 2014

⁵ 'China Country Study 2013' (*Fair Wear Foundation*) http://www.fairwear.org/ul/cms/fck-uploaded/documents/countrystudies/china/FWFChinaCountryStudy2013Final.pdf, page 30

⁶ This figure was reached by using the total export value from 2013 and the export value (see note 7 below) for only garments and textiles. Total export value: 'China's 2013 exports rise 7.9%, imports up 7.3%' (*China Daily*, 1 October 2014) http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/business/2014-01/10/content_17229362.htm accessed 23 December 2014

⁷ 'China Customs Statistics' (*HK TDC Research*) http://china-trade-research.hktdc.com/business-news/article/Fast-Facts/China-Customs-Statistics/ff/en/1/1X000000/1X09N9NM.htm accessed 27th June 2014

⁸ Shelly Banjo, Syed Zain Al-Mahmood 'Bangladeshi Garment Exports Surge Despite Accidents' (Wall Street Journal, 10 October 2013) http://online.wsj.com/articles/SB10001424052702304500404579127314213623956 accessed 22 November 2014

⁹ Merchandise Trade: International Trade Statistics 2013' (*World Trade Organisation*) http://www.wto.org/english/res_e/statis_e/its2013_e/its13_highlights2_e.pdf_accessed 13 November 2014, p56

¹⁰ *Ibid.*. (n.4)

¹¹ 'China raises minimum wage in Beijing, Shanghai, Tianjin: report' (*Reuters*) http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/04/01/us-china-salary-idUSBREA3004H20140401 accessed 16 July 2014

¹² 'A complete guide to minimum wage levels across China' (*China Briefing*) http://www.china-briefing.com/news/2014/06/11/complete-guide-minimum-wage-levels-across-china-2014.html accessed 13 October 2014

Background¹⁴

- **Geography:** China is located in East Asia bordering 14 countries; among them, Nepal, North Korea, and Vietnam. It also borders the East China Sea, South China Sea, Yellow Sea, and Korea Bay.
- **Politics:** China is a 'socialist republic', ruled by the Chinese Communist Party.
- **History:** China has a long history of success throughout several dynasties and empires. More recently, in the 19th and 20th centuries, China faced unrest and foreign occupation. Since 1949, the socialist system has been in place.
- **Economy:** China's economy has become one of the fastest growing in the world. China exports goods worth around \$1.2 billion each year.

Biggest issues in China's Garment Industry

- Absence of freedom of association, and collective bargaining.
- <u>The Hukou System</u>: This is a system used to register households in China. The system means that workers who migrate from rural areas may not receive social security benefits in urban areas. The influence of the <u>Hukou</u> system means that many migrant workers are often left without any social security protection or benefits.
- Excessive overtime.
- Payment based on piece rates is problematic.
- China is not party to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR).
- China is party to International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) but has a reservation on article 8 ICESCR (right to form trade Unions), and furthermore has not ratified the optional protocol to ICESCR.

General Data

- World's leading garment exporter.¹⁵ ¹⁶
- Key Garment Producing Areas: Guangdong, Zhejiang, Jiangsu, Shanghai [technically not a province but a super city], Shandong and Fujan. ¹⁷ ¹⁸

¹⁷ China National Textile and Apparel Council, Report on the development of China's textile and apparel industry for 2006, China Textile and Apparel Press



^{&#}x27;Asia Floor Wage by Country' (Clean Clothes Campaign) https://www.cleanclothes.org/livingwage/asia-floor-wage-by-country accessed 16 July 2014

 ^{14 &#}x27;China- Facts and History' (Asian History) http://asianhistory.about.com/od/china/p/ChinaProfile.htm accessed 10 October 2014
 15 Ibid.. (n.4)

¹⁶ 'Merchandise Trade: International Trade Statistics 2013' (*World Trade Organisation*) http://www.wto.org/english/res_e/statis_e/its2013_e/its13_highlights2_e.pdf_accessed 23 December 2013, p56

Industry Structure

Producing Factories	China National Garment Association (CNGA) estimates that there are more than 100 000 garment producing factories in China, for example <i>Youngor Textile Complex, Well Dyeing Factory, Hongdou Group Co. Ltd., ShanShan Enterprise, Bosideng Co. Ltd.</i> , and more. ¹⁹ ²⁰
Trade	Regarding exports: some companies are self-exporting firms, whilst others use intermediaries, such as export companies. ²¹ Branded apparel is normally distributed through department stores or speciality stores. Low priced clothing tends to be distributed through 'wholesale markets or hypermarkets.' ²²
Retail	Well-known brands which source their products in China are Adidas, Nike, Puma, Calvin Klein, Lacoste, Abercrombie and Fitch, Li Nung, possibly more. ²³ ²⁴

Exports/Imports

Date	Total exports ²⁵	Total imports ²⁶
	(Commodity: Garments, Including Textile Garments)	(Commodity: Garments and Clothing Accessories)
Monthly (May 2014)	€10.66 billion/\$13.44 billion	€297.29 million
Annual (2013)	€130.01 billion / \$164.13 billion	€3.91 billion

Local dependency on garments/ textile export

Turnover/profit: In 2012, the industry produced 43.6 billion pieces. Sources give the export value between

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, (n.4)

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ 'China's Apparel Market 2012 (Li & Fung Research Centre, 2012) http://economists-pick-

accessed 23 December 2014

22 http://economists-pick-research.hktdc.com/resources/MI_Portal/Article/ef/2013/01/455227/1357733319503_ecs29122012.pdf slide 7

²³ Enid Tusi, 'The Luxury that Dare not Speak its Name' (*Ft.com*, 3 October 2012) http://www.ft.com/cms/s/2/b88b4a38-0d57-11e2-97a1-00144feabdc0.html#axzz3Eh9MBrDh accessed 10 October 2014

²⁴ David Stanway 'Pig name bronds covering from a life in Claim Country and the control of the country of

David Stanway, 'Big name brands sourcing from polluting China firms' (*Reuters*, 13 July 2011)

(http://www.reuters.com/article/2011/07/13/us-china-pollution-greenpeace-idUSTRE76C0YS20110713 accessed 13 November 2014

25 *Ibid.*, (n.7)

²⁶ Ibid.

\$153.219 billion - \$159.6 billion in exports, and domestic sales of \$277.28 billion. 27 28 In 2013, China exported \$164.13 billion. 29

Investment figures:

- Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) across all industries in China: \$1062.40 hundred million (January November 2014)³⁰
- Favourable investment conditions³¹ such as a huge population and market, availability of low cost, skilled labour, and a very good infrastructure makes the Chinese garment industry attractive to foreign investors. However, tight governmental regulation and the requirements for mandatory joint ventures may discourage investment. ³²
- Despite apparent high FDI figures and favourable investment conditions, data released by the Chinese Ministry of Commerce in September 2014, reveals that FDI in China has hit a four year low. ³³
- Recent years have seen some companies shift from China to other neighbouring countries, e.g.
 Cambodia, Myanmar, etc. This is most likely due to cheaper labour and regulation costs in these
 countries. However, China's sophisticated supply chain structure means that it retains competitiveness
 in the market. 34 35

GSP 36

- GSP is a system of tariff reductions for developing countries exporting to the EU.
- Previously GSP existed in the USA but of 31st July 2013, the US GSP system expired and has yet to be renewed.³⁷ When US operated the GSP system, China was not eligible for GSP in USA because it is a communist country.³⁸
- As of 1 January 2014, new EU regulations on GSP have entered into force. As part of these new



²⁷ *Ibid.*, (n.4)

²⁸ *Ibid.*, (n.9)

²⁹ *Ibid.*, (n.7)

³⁰ 'China Foreign Direct Investment: 1997-2014' (*Trading Economics*) http://www.tradingeconomics.com/china/foreign-direct-investment accessed 23 December 2014

³¹ *Ibid.*, (n.4)

³² Marv Dumon 'Top 6 Factors that Drive Investment in China' (*Investopedia*) http://www.investopedia.com/articles/economics/09/factors-drive-investment-in-china.asp accessed 19 January 2015

³³ 'China Foreign Direct Investment at Four-Year low' (*The Wall Street Journal*, 16 September 2014) http://www.wsj.com/articles/china-foreign-direct-investment-at-four-year-low-1410846696 accessed 23 December 2014

Dongxia SU 'Hong Kong garment manufacturers eye Myanmar outsourcing' (*Just – Style*, 16 April 2014) http://www.just-style.com/analysis/hong-kong-garment-manufacturers-eye-myanmar-outsourcing_id121397.aspx accessed 23 December 2014
 'ANZ Insights: Commercial Banking Asia: Textile and Garment Industry, Market Update' (*ANZ Business*, July 2012)

http://www.anzbusiness.com/content/dam/anz-superregional/Textiles%26GarmentIndustryUpdate.pdf accessed 23 December 2014, p1

EU GSP Scheme from January 2014' (*Strong and Herd Import Export Services*) http://www.strongandherd.co.uk/news/2013-11-06/eu-gsp-scheme-from-january-2014/ accessed 11 July 2014

^{&#}x27;Velcome to Renew GSP Today' (Renew GSP Today) http://renewgsptoday.com/ accessed 11 July 2014

³⁸ The US Generalised System of Preferences Program: An Update (*Trade Partnership*) http://www.tradepartnership.com/pdf files/2011%20GSP%20Update.pdf

regulations, it was announced that China will lose benefits under the new scheme from 1 January 2015,³⁹ since the new regulations provided that countries which had been classified by the World Bank as 'high' or 'upper-middle income' countries for three consecutive years would not benefit from the trade preferences. These rules have indeed come into effect for China in 2015.⁴⁰

Cotton

- World's leading producer and exporter of cotton.⁴¹ Production for 13/14 is estimated to reach 6.7 million tons.⁴²
- Previous issue of production/consumption gap with Chinese mills using much more cotton than was domestically harvested.⁴³
- Recent years have seen a change and now there are large stockpiles of cotton in China. The government recently changed its cotton policy in order to effectively deal with the issue of excess cotton.⁴⁴ Policy changes have led to a decline in cotton production, but this decline has not yet led to a change in China's position as world leader in cotton consumption. ⁴⁵

Workers

- **Garment Industry:** over 10 million⁴⁶ ⁴⁷ (Some estimate that the figures for manufacturing workers in China may be very conservative. In reality, this figure may be much higher).⁴⁸
- Garment Workers as percentage of total workforce: 1.28%⁴⁹

Trade Unions

⁹ 'Labour Force, total' (World Bank) http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SL.TLF.TOTL.IN accessed 11 July 2014



³⁹ Client Alert, International Trade (White & Case) http://www.whitecase.com/files/Publication/95d4cab5-91f2-45ee-803c-764557c3c7a4/Presentation/PublicationAttachment/d05bbb69-f060-42ef-b9e7-953f0b1ff3d5/client-alert-eu-gsp-january-2014.pdf accessed 27 June 2014

⁴⁰ 'Commission Delegated Regulation (EU) No 1421/2013 of 30 October 2013 amending annexes I, II and IV to Regulation (EU) No 978/2012 of the European Parliament and the Council applying a scheme of generalised tariff preferences [2013] OJ L355/1 http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:L:2013:355:0001:0015:EN:PDF accessed 2 February 2015

⁴¹ 'China: Centre of the Cotton Market' (*Cotton Incorporated*) http://www.cottoninc.com/corporate/Market-Data/SupplyChainInsights/China-Cotton-Market-01-11/ accessed 27 June 2014

⁴² 'World Cotton Situation' (*International Cotton Advisory Committee*) https://www.icac.org/getattachment/mtgs/Committee/SC-528/Details/528-Att-1-Cotton-Situation.pdf accessed 13 November 2014

⁴³ *Ibid* (n.41)

⁴⁴ 'Analysis: Changes in China's Cotton Policy create Uncertainties (*just-style*) http://www.just-style.com/analysis/changes-in-chinas-cotton-policies-create-uncertainty_id121452.aspx accessed 27 June 2014

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*,

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, (n4)

⁴⁷ Ibid

⁴⁸ 'Good Luck competing against Chinese Labour costs Mfg. Job growth in China is headed up, not down; 109 million Mfg. workers in China dwarfs number in U.S.' (*Manufacturing & Technology News*) http://www.manufacturingnews.com/news/06/0502/art1.html accessed 19 January 2015

TU Members: 258 million: around 20% of China's Population (2012)50

- Officially, the ACFTU which is prescribed by law, is the only Trade Union in China. All other organisations are structured below this hierarchically and are subordinate to the ATUC.
- The system is a 'top down' one and workers' representatives are appointed rather than elected and protect both workers' rights and the party's cause.
- A 2010 International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC) report has confirmed that workers do not have the right to organise how they choose, and that the right to collective bargaining is 'limited to the right to strike.'51 The government has made some small progress in recent years, and 'sometimes allows strikes and plant-level collective bargaining.'52
- A recent example which demonstrates a restriction of TU rights is the violent police crackdown of a strike by workers in a garment factory in Shenzhen. Workers had been striking during December 2014 over social insurance issues. After 9 days, the strike was intercepted by police who used violent measures and detained some of the workers.53

Working Conditions

Overall, working conditions in the garment and textile industry in China are very low. High demand for products results in problems of excessive overtime for very little, or no pay. An overview of the relevant legal protection (national and international) and its implementation is provided in the table below.

Overview of Relevant Labour Laws, International Law and Implementation

Area	International Law	Ratified?	National Legislation ⁵⁴	Implementation ⁵⁵
General	International Labour	China has ratified some ILO	Various Domestic Legislation	Some laws are very well implemented, whilst others are very much overlooked and

^{20%} of Chinese Join Trade Unions (China Daily) http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2012-01/07/content 14400312.htm accessed 27 June 2014

Clean Clothes Campaign

⁵¹ 'Internationally Recognised Core Labour Standards in the People's Republic of China' (International Trade Union Confederation, May 2010) http://www.ituc-csi.org/IMG/pdf/Chinal_Final-2.pdf, accessed 23 December 2014, p1

52 'Labour Rights in China' (AFL CIO America's Unions) http://www.aflcio.org/Issues/Trade/China/Labor-Rights-in-China accessed 23

December 2014

^{53 &#}x27;Urgent Appeal: Tell Uniqlo and G2000 to stop using violence against workers in Artigas Factory' (Hong Kong Federation of Trade Unions (International) 19 December 2014) http://en.hkctu.org.hk/mainland-china/press-release-and-statement-cn/urgent-appeal-tell-uniqlo-and-g2000to-stop-using-violence-against-workers-in-artigas-factory/ accessed 22 December 2014 54 Ibid. (n.5) p 34-64

⁵⁵ Ibid. p20 ff. (Unless otherwise indicated, all information in this column has been taken from this report)

	Association (ILO)	Conventions		create problems. More details
	<i>Conventions</i> and	⁵⁶ (see below).		are below.
	international	China has		
	human rights	signed, but not ratified the		
	treaties such as:	ICCPR.		
	 The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), The International Covenant on Economic Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR), The Convention to Eliminate all forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) The Convention on the Rights of the Child. 	Regarding the key human rights treaties ⁵⁷ : China has acceded to the ICESCR (2001) but has not signed the optional protocol (which allows for individual complaints). China has ratified the CEDAW (1980) China has ratified the CRC (1992)		
Forced Labour	ILO Conventions 29,	ILO 29: NO ILO 105: No ICCPR	Art. 3, 9 PRC Labour Law Art.37 PRC Law on	The national legislation is not always implemented, especially right of workers to freely terminate employment

http://www.ilo.org/dyn/normlex/en/f?p=NORMLEXPUB:11200:0::NO::P11200 COUNTRY ID:103404 accessed 10 October 2014 Ratification of International Human Rights Treaties – China' (University of Minna Rights Library)

http://www1.umn.edu/humanrts/research/ratification-china.html accessed 10 October 2014



	ICCPR: art 7, 8 ICESCR: art 6	&ICESCR: see above	Employment Contract	due to a combination of high demand and a shortage of workers. The existence of prison labour continues to be a problem. ⁵⁸
Non- Discrimination	ILO Conventions 100 & 111 Art.2, 26 ICCPR Art. 2(2) ICESCR Art.2 CRC Art 1. CEDAW	ILO 100: Yes, 1990 ILO 111: No ICCPR, ICESCR, CEDAW,CRC: see above	Art 12-14, 46, PRC Labour Law Art. 19. Regulations on Employment Service and Admin. Also, see women	Discrimination against women is common. ⁵⁹ An ITUC report (2010) has found that 'institutionalised discrimination' against migrant workers (Hukou system) continues to be a problem. ⁶⁰
Women	CEDAW	China is a state party to CEDAW, but has a reservation on Article 29(1).	Art. 21 – 27: PRC Regulation on Protection of Rights of Women	Discrimination against and harassment of women is common. ⁶²
Child Labour	ILO Conventions: 138 & 182 Art 32 CRC	ILO 138: 1999 ILO 182: 2002 CRC: see above	Art 15 PRC Labour Law Art. 2, 4, 6, Regulation on Prohibition of Child Labour. Other provisions.	Not traditionally a big problem in the Chinese Garment Industry. Labour shortages since 2008 have meant that child labour has increased. Sometimes work-study programmes or internships hide child labour.
Freedom of Association/Collect	ILO Conventions 87 & 98	ILO 87: No	Art. 7 PRC Labour Law	In theory, the law provides for this right but there is a lot of

⁵⁸ What is the Laogai System?' (*Laogai Research Foundation*) http://www.laogai.org/page/what-laogai-system accessed 16th July 2014

⁶¹ Ceclarations, Reservations and Objections to CEDAW' (UN Women) http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cedaw/reservations-country.htm accessed 10 October 2014
62 Ibid.



⁵⁹ 'Bustle: Sexual harassment of female workers in China's manufacturing industry is rampant' (China Labour Bulletin) http://www.clb.org.hk/en/content/bustle-sexual-harassment-female-workers-chinas-manufacturing-industry-rampant accessed 16 July 2014

^{60 &#}x27;Internationally Recognised Core Labour Standards in the People's Republic of China' (International Trade Union Confederation, May 2010) http://www.ituc-csi.org/IMG/pdf/Chinal_Final-2.pdf, accessed 23 December 2014, p1.
61 'Declarations, Reservations and Objections to CEDAW' (UN Women) http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cedaw/reservations-country.htm

ive Bargaining	Art. 22 ICCPR Art. 8 ICESCR	ILO 98: No ICCPR & ICESCR: see above	Labour Contract Law: various articles Trade Union Law (various articles)	control over Trade Unions with all having to report to national hierarchy (ultimate control rests with Communist Party) Amongst workers there is a general ignorance of Trade Union and Collective Bargaining. As mentioned above, the right to collective bargaining is 'severely restricted.'63 The right to strike removed from constitution in 1982.
Living Wage	ILO Conventions 26 & 131 Art. 7 ICESCR	ILO 26: 1930 ILO 131: No ICESCR: see above	Ch. 5 PRC Labour Law	There appears to be a lack of uniformity nationwide as to how the minimum wage is calculated. There are also no overtime regulations which often results in failure to pay overtime.
Reasonable Working Hours	ILO Convention 1 Art.7 ICESCR	ILO Convention 1: No ICESCR: see above	Art. 38, 39, 41 PRC Labour Law Regulation by State Council on Working Hours. Various other provisions	Violations are common. Excessive overtime is a big problem Penalties for refusing overtime are also common.
Safe Working Conditions	ILO Convention 155 Art. 7 ICESCR	ILO Convention 155: No ICESC: see above	Code for Design of Extinguisher Distribution in Buildings Various fire	Sandblasting is a problem. Other reported health and safety issues include hair and/or scarves getting caught in the machines, and exposure to dangerous chemicals.

⁶³ 'China: New ITUC Report on Core Labour Standards (*International Trade Union Confederation*) < http://www.ituc-csi.org/china-new-ituc-report-on-core > accessed 13 November 2014



safety laws.
Various Chemical Safety laws.

Living Wage vs Minimum Wage (In context)64

Area	Minimum Wage	Context ⁶⁵	Living Wage (Asia Floor Wage
			2013)
Shanghai	¥1820	1kg rice:	¥ 3132
	€ 216.87	¥6.39/ €0.82/ \$1.04	€ 373.16
	\$ 293.40		\$504.91
		1 pair of jeans (Levi or	
		equivalent):	
		¥610.72/€78.84/	
		\$99.60	
Guangxi	¥830	As above	¥ 3132
	€98.86		€ 373.16
	\$133.80		\$504.91

Regulations on Living Conditions of Workers

Social Insurance

The Social Insurance Law (2010) "provides for work related injury, unemployment insurance and maternity insurance." Notably, there are difficulties when it comes to the implementation of such provisions for migrant workers.⁶⁶ ⁶⁷

hd3.pdf page 18, accessed 16 July 2014

⁶⁷ 'New Social Insurance law aims to improve social welfare system in China' (*China Briefing*, 8 March 2011) http://www.china-briefing.com/news/2011/03/08/new-social-insurance-law-aims-for-an-all-round-social-welfare-system-in-china.html accessed 13 November 2014



⁶⁴ *Ibid.* (n.11, n.12, n.13)

^{65 &#}x27;Cost of Living in China' (*Numbeo*) http://www.numbeo.com/cost-of-living/country_result.jsp?country=China accessed 10 October 2014 66 'China's workers are calling for Change- What role should brands play?' (*FIDH*) http://www.numbeo.com/cost-of-living/country_result.jsp?country=China accessed 10 October 2014

Housing

A 2011 case study by China Labour watch found that workers lived in 'dorm-style housing.' 2-3 people were sharing a room which was roughly 11/12m square metres. The study also revealed that married couples were also living in dorm style accommodation as they could not afford to live elsewhere. The rooms were around €8/\$11 per month.⁶⁸ Another factory study revealed that factory workers could stay in rent-free dormitory style accommodation (paying only towards utilities). 3-5 people might live in one room.⁶⁹

Medical Facilities

Case study in one factory revealed that there was no sick leave provided to workers, and no medical clinic at the factory. To take time off due to illness in this factor, it was necessary to speak with a supervisor. ⁷⁰ Another factory study revealed that first aid kits were usually locked. ⁷¹

Food Arrangements

Sometimes food is provided in cafeterias and the workers must pay. Sometimes board is included.⁷² In other factories, no food is provided, but employees are sometimes given a monthly stipend towards food.⁷³

Child Care

The effect of the *Hukou* system, which requires individuals to be registered in a certain hometown, means that parents often migrate but leave their children in the place where they are registered so that they can go to school, etc. This is because the *Hukou* system prevents migrant workers from being able to enrol their children in the city schools. Ultimately, the system leads to a disruption of family life. ⁷⁴



⁶⁸ 'Investigation of Two Clothing and Apparel Factories in China' (*China Labour Watch*, 29 November 2011) http://www.chinalaborwatch.org/report/61 accessed 23 December 2014

⁶⁹ 'The Failure of Target's Audit System in its Chinese Supplier Factories' (China Labour Watch, 28 September 2011) http://www.chinalaborwatch.org/report/54, accessed 23 December 2014 1bid.

⁷¹ *Ibid*.

⁷² *Ibid.*, (n.68)

⁷³ *Ibid.*, (n. 69)

⁷⁴ Linn Birkeland Seim 'China Struggles with Growing Urbanisation' (*Aljazeera*, 1 January 2013) http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/features/2012/12/20121223142623649526.html accessed 23 December 2014