

How is the character of contemporary economic development in China illuminated by recent collective labour experience?

Nicholas Walton (University of Glasgow)

China's Economic Growth

Rapid Development

China is an enigma of development. Prior to Mao's death in 1976, the country operated under Maoism. Deng Xiaoping took over from Mao in 1978 and was able to stabilise China's economy and bolster growth. This was achieved through a number of market-oriented, as well as agricultural, policies which aided China's rapid growth between 1978 and 1984 (Lin 1992). This also included population control, such as the controversial one-child policy (Zhu 2003). Agricultural reform allowed market forces greater control in grain production, providing increased food security and profits for farmers (Lin 1992, p.39). Labour market reforms led to abolition of agricultural communes, which meant a switch to job creation in the rural private sector. They also brought forth the end of 'lifelong employment', namely a guaranteed job in state owned enterprises (SOEs) (Traub-Merz 2011).

China also used the colossal force of contemporary globalisation to increase national income. Due to increasing globalisation, countries could now outsource production as liberalisation re-emerged throughout the latter half of the 20th century, which in part led to the deindustrialisation of developed countries like the UK and the growth of manufacturing in developing countries, as was experienced by China. It increased exports through export processing zones (Traub-Merz 2011).

China had a ‘comparative advantage’ in manufacturing as there was an abundance of unskilled labour and low wages (Ricardo 1817). The theory of comparative advantage was developed by David Ricardo. It states that if a country can produce a good at a lower price than its international competitors then it should specialise in the production of that good and trade, using the revenue to import goods that it cannot produce at a low cost. This concept was furthered by the ‘Heckscher-Ohlin (H-O) model’ of international trade, or ‘factor abundance’ model, that states that an economy would specialise in the production of goods that takes advantage of the abundant factor of production (Ohlin 1935; Heckscher 1949); in China’s case, cheap labour. Thus, we see how China’s export market was fuelled, in part, by an abundant supply of labour.

Structural Change

The Lewis model of structural change is a classical model of economic development theorised by Arthur Lewis (1954). Figure 1 graphically illustrates the model. It maps out the movement from a traditional agricultural economy to a modern manufacturing economy utilising ‘unlimited supplies of labour’. It begins with an unproductive agricultural sector and an underdeveloped industrial sector. In the first phase of the model, the amount of labour working in the rural agricultural sector is so high that the marginal product of labour (MP_L)¹ is zero and there is a constant wage. Investment, and capital accumulation, in the manufacturing sector creates jobs which can be occupied by the surplus agricultural labour at the constant wage. As the MP_L of the agricultural sector is zero there is no loss of output. In the second phase, profits from the manufacturing sector are reinvested, in China’s case by the state, and thus capital increases which provides

¹ The output produced by one additional worker.

more employment opportunities. Throughout the second stage wage pressures have increased the industrial wage.

However, during the third phase the supply of surplus labour has diminished and the agricultural MP_L is positive and increasing (as illustrated in figure 2), thus there are increased wage pressures as there is now labour scarcity. This is the ‘commercialisation stage’ of the economy, as there is now an established manufacturing sector and a productive agricultural sector (Little 1982; p. 92; Chan 2010). Overall the Lewis model views labour as a factor of production that allows developing economies to accumulate more capital for growth. This was the case in China from 1978 onwards, until recently when the Lewis turning point was reached (Islam & Yokota 2008; Zhu & Cai 2012). It is debateable whether the turning point has been reached, some would argue that the Lewis turning point will not occur until 2020 or later (Das & N’Diaye 2013). This paper shows evidence that the Lewis turning point has been reached.

28 Years Later

The years since Mao’s death have seen the emergence of China as a superpower. One of the greatest changes has been the movement from a socialist economy towards a capitalist society. Experts believe it won’t be long until China is the biggest economy globally, with estimates ranging between 2016 and 2028 (Moulds 2012; Jacob 2013; Matthews 2014). GNI per capita, PPP (purchasing power parity) at current international dollars, increased from \$250 in 1980 to \$9040 in 2012 (*WDB* 27/2/14). Living standards have increased, and life expectancy (in years from birth) increased from 43 in 1960 to 75 in 2011 (*WDB* 27/02/14). However, prior to 1994 we did not see a parallel increase between GDP and real wages. Indeed this was exacerbated by the state-controlled fixed exchange rate dampening the relative value of the Yuan against foreign currencies (Peston & Knight 2013, p.273). This

policy allows perpetually high export demand to continue, though it inhibits workers' purchasing power.

The high demand for Chinese manufactured goods was in part due to the deindustrialisation of the West and increasing global liberalisation. The state facilitated this demand by establishing export-processing zones and utilising them as 'engines of growth' (Chan 2013). Some would argue that the spare labour capacity that existed in the economy during China's development led to a global 'race to the bottom' in regards to migrant wages and working standards (Chan 2003). Though wages have increased over time, they have not increased in-line with real GDP growth. Decentralised power to local governments has led to high levels of inequality in some cases (Iredale et al. 2001). China has been described as 'the world's greatest paradox: a Communist state promoting extreme inequalities' (Peston & Knight 2013, p.275).

This rapid development has not been without its social problems, the most famous of which being the 1989 Tiananmen Square protests. The 1989 protests involved the action by the ACFTU (All-China Federation of Trade Unions) as well as independent student protests (Chan 1993).²

Rural/Urban Split

Labour Migration

One of the most important trends extrapolated from China's almost unique development is the rural/urban split that has manifested, highlighted by the Lewis Model (1954). This built upon Boeke's theory of 'dual society' or 'dualism' (1952). A society governed under one social system is known as a homogenous society, whereas a dual

² Despite China's rich trade union history, this paper will only focus on the recent collective labour experiences that illuminate the character of contemporary economic development in China.

society is where two social systems exist in tandem. In China's case, this phenomenon is most marked between the rural and urban sectors. Boeke discusses how one of the social systems could have been 'imported from abroad' (1952), in China's case export-led growth strategies and the expansion of the manufacturing sector increased the rate of socioeconomic change in the urban sector.

Between 1979 and 2003 it is estimated that the urban population increased by up to 222 million people, an increase of roughly 10 million annually (Zhang & Song 2003). In 2006 it was estimated that there were 130 million rural migrants (Shi, 2008). The main reasons for this migration were the wage differential (Zhao 1999) and surplus agricultural labour (Roberts 2000), as predicted by the Lewis model. Rural migration is inhibited by the *Hukou* (household registration) system which registers residents to a certain place, usually his/her place of birth (Cheng & Selden 1994). It also requires any migration movements to be approved by both local governments of the origin and the destination. Access to public and social services is dependent on the *Hukou* a citizen is registered to, and rural residents have no entitlement to employment, healthcare, housing, pension or food subsidies (Zhang & Song 2003). This has led to the marginalisation of rural workers and, in turn, a rural/urban split (Wong et al. 2003). As the Lewis model hypothesises, it was the rural workers that made China's increased investment and capital accumulation possible.

Another factor that has led to the marginalisation of rural workers is the decentralisation of government power that occurred during the post-Mao era (Iredale et al. 2001). Decentralisation has made it difficult for local governments to implement new laws and 'notices' from the central government, which, in turn, slows reformation. For example, notices urging local governments to provide education for the children of migrant workers have been largely ignored (Zhang & Song 2003). Local governments fear that enacting notices and laws may inhibit the

investment climate and lead to economic losses (Tan 2000). Arguably actions to limit rural to urban migration were necessary as mass exodus of the rural areas can lead to the collapse of the agricultural sector (Boserup 1965).

Working Conditions

Many rural migrant workers suffer atrocious working conditions. In 2002 the average wage for rural workers was only 58% of the average wage of urban workers (Shi 2008). This paper has already covered migrant workers' lack of job security, 84% of whom have no formal contract (Cooke 2008). 80% of rural migrant workers work 7 days a week and each day is longer than that of an urban worker (Shi 2008). Many rural migrants live in substandard dormitories provided by their employers which lack space, furniture or sufficient sanitation facilities (Cooke 2008).

Over 80% of work-related injuries in non-state owned industries involved migrants. The majority of the injuries were in the construction, mining and manufacturing industries, which all employ a high number of rural workers (Cooke 2008). There are also the long-term health problems that can arise many years after their initial cause. A prominent example in China is the respiratory problems caused by drilling and mining. Pneumoconiosis can develop up to ten years after exposure to industrial dust. It is estimated that there are six million people suffering from this disease in China who have received no aid (Hui 2013). Up to 55 people have already died of pneumoconiosis in Leiyang, and many more are said to be contemplating suicide (Rui 2013).

The current situation regarding rural migrant workers has been heavily criticised. Some have even compared it to apartheid (Luard 2005; *Economist* 2011; Park & Xu 2012). There have been social tensions between urban and rural workers, similar to situations

involving foreign migrants in developed countries (Miles 1982; Castles 2010). Others have argued that the systems are historically and ideologically different (Alexander & Chan 2004). Rural migrants can be viewed as ‘industrial citizens’ (Fox 1966; Mason 2007). Standing would refer to them as the ‘precariat’ due to their under-representation by trade unions (2011). The term precariat refers to a ‘new social working class’ of citizens that can only gain intermittent employment and lack job security, not too dissimilar from the ‘proletariat’ (Marx & Engels 2002).

Trade Unions

Trade Union Formation

The difference between trade unions in capitalist and socialist systems should be noted. The former have a pronounced ‘representative role’ while the socialist trade unions have a ‘directive role’ (Clarke 2005). This traditional directive role of the ACFTU was threatened when the Communist Party of China (CPC) dismantled the state-socialist system in 1989 (Chan 1993).

Rural migrants were banned from joining unions in 1948. However, the 14th ACFTU Congress amended this in 2003 (Traub-Merz 2011). Between 2006 and 2008 the membership of the ACFTU increased by 41% from 137m to 193m (Metcalf and Li 2006; *Economist* 2008). It increased again by 24% to 239m members in 2010; of this 88.547m are migrant workers (ACFTU 2010). Membership increased by a further 17% between 2010 and 2013, bringing total membership to 280m, 109m of whom are rural migrants. Nearly one in five are part of the ACFTU (*Global Times (a)* 2013).

Despite its size, it has been said that the ACFTU has very little power (Chan 1993; Chen 2003; Metcalf & Li 2006). Throughout its history, since the union was established in 1925, it has had its influence

diminished by the state. The first major incidence was soon after liberation when the ACFTU tried to establish itself independent from the party, which was not permitted (Chan 1993). The second major conflict occurred during the Hundred Flowers period (1956–57), which saw many union bosses and activists imprisoned (Chen 2000). The most violent conflict was during the Cultural Revolution, even more so than the 1989 protests of Tiananmen Square (Chan 1993). The general trend has been that when the ACFTU tries to increase its influence, or protest its position, it is quashed by the government.

The duty of the ACFTU is to safeguard the legitimate rights and interests of workers, although this is diminished by the ACFTU's role in protecting the interests of enterprises (Traub-Merz 2011). The ACFTU also has the role of promoting economic development and long-term social stability, which again conflicts with the protection of workers' rights (ACFTU 2008). Mediation is tripartite and thus the unions do not side with workers. Instead, they act separately and have a conciliation role as a neutral party (Traub-Merz 2011). Indeed, unions do not legally have the right to strike, nor are they allowed to be actively involved in conflicts. Instead, their duty is to keep production going. As such, many transnational companies (TNCs), like Wal-Mart, resist unionisation efforts (Cooke 2008). The ACFTU takes advantage of the fact that its leaders double as party officials and uses their position to lobby for greater labour protection. As a result, it has been able to give labour expanded legal protection against the abuse of employers in 2008 (Traub-Merz 2011). Arguably this has reduced the ACFTU's role as a conflict mediator; workers have a greater propensity to seek resolution through the courts.

Trade Union Action

Recently, trade unions have been working more to protect rural migrants in regards to their working and living conditions. They have

done this through self-guarding legal rights, job training programmes, job assistance, start-up guidance, subsistence support and relief (*People's Daily Online* 2009). In 2009 1.1148 million rural migrants received training, while 1.2167 million were covered in a scheme to protect rights (Guangping 2009). Five million migrants received employment aid and another five million have been included in legal aid service (*People's Daily Online* 2009). In 2013 the ACFTU claimed to have helped migrant workers reclaim \$1.19 billion in unpaid wages (*Global Times* (b) 2013). The China Society for Human Rights Studies (CSHRS), an NGO established in 1993, has had a greater involvement in the protection of rural workers' rights in recent years (Guangping 2009) though, arguably, such actions may be merely superficial so that peaceful industrial relations are maintained.

The 'Honda Dispute' is a great illustration of the ACFTU's and other trade unions' 'double identity' as an instrument of the state under the CPC's leadership and as a labour organisation nominally representing workers' interests (Chen 2003). The 'Honda Dispute' refers to the strike at the Honda Auto parts Manufacturing Ltd. (CHAM) plant in Foshan, May 2010 (Chan & Hui 2012). The workers had greater bargaining power due to the skills necessary for the production of transmissions; they were not easily replaceable (Martin 2010). Despite the skills required, the workers' wages were barely above minimum wage. 1,800 workers were involved in the strike that lasted 17 days (Chan & Hui 2012). CHAM was reluctant to negotiate and instead tried to intimidate workers, sacking two of the strike leaders. Intimidation was unsuccessful so a small wage increase was offered, though this was rejected as it was well below the wage demanded (Martin 2010).

Protesters claim that during the strike trade unions were not on their side and instead tried to coerce employees to return to work (Chan & Hui 2012). When this failed it is said that 200 trade unionists

were deployed and that physical violence ensued that placed some of the workers in hospital (Martin 2010). After this failed, CHAM offered to negotiate with the employees and on June 4th a resolution for a wage increase of 32.4% for workers and a 70% increase for interns, though calls for the enterprise's democratic reform were rejected. Overall, the Honda dispute illustrates the dual identity of the trade unions and also shows that they do not always protect the interests of their members.

Overall, critics argue that the ACFTU, and other trade unions, are a 'pliable instrument of the state' that satisfies the state's goals instead of the interests of labour (Chen 2003, p.1007; Metcalf & Li 2006). They argue that trade unions cannot resist state policies nor mobilize workers in protest. This is so that industrial peace is maintained and foreign investors are not scared off. Chen contends that prior to the market reforms of the 1980s the ACFTU did not fulfil its representation function as it had been absorbed by the state (2003). In recent years the double identity of the trade unions has been observed.

Collective Action

Labour Strikes

Pearl River Delta (PRD) was one of the first export-processing zones in China, and also an arena for many labour conflicts (Chan 2013). Many of the workers in the PRD were migrants and working conditions were very poor, due to this there were 'wildcat' strikes staged (Chan 2013). Wildcat strikes are protests that are orchestrated outside trade union channels. (Friedman 2013). Until 1982 the right to strike was within the Chinese Constitution; currently strike action is not regulated by law (Dongfang 2011). In 1986 there were nine small strikes in the Shenzhen area, according to the Shenzhen Federation of Trade Unions (SFTU) (Chan 2013). The 'strike of silence' at the Sanyo Semiconductor Factory in June 1986 was most notable, as prior to this

strikes were rare. The workers continued to strike despite being granted a small wage increase. However, in the end those involved returned to work and the leaders of the strike, Chan and Zheng, were fired (Chan 2013).

Strike action can be categorised into two main types: defensive and offensive. Defensive strikes are when workers take action to maintain their current rights and interests (Chan 2013). An example of this is when workers protested after the privatisation of SOEs (Levine 1997) or protesting capital flight as Chinese industry relocates to Cambodia in search of lower wages (Elimer 2013). An offensive strike action is where workers strive for better conditions and fairer wages. China has experienced both offensive and defensive strike action.

In the mid-1990s the number of labour protests began to increase dramatically; 1.1 million people were involved in labour-related demonstrations in 1995, increasing to 3.6 million in 1998 (Chen 2000). Chen claims that these protests were due to subsistence crises and managerial corruption. Workers were receiving below the minimum living wage and their economic plight was exacerbated by managers 'enriching themselves by stripping the assets of enterprises that workers depend on for a living' (2000, p.42; Ding 2000). Labour market reforms were in part responsible for these strikes, as SOEs were privatised and millions of workers were laid off (Chan 2013). Workers were less inclined to protest when employment was guaranteed (Chen 2000). Privatisation also brought poorer working conditions with increased incidents of job-related injuries and disease (Levine 1997). Figure 3 shows the increasing number of labour conflicts post 1996.

Increasing Collective Consciousness

China has experienced a greater number of wildcat strikes. Wildcat strikes are common in part due to many union officials being appointed by management which leaves workers with less opportunity to

participate through official channels (Friedman 2013). Figure 4 shows strike occurrence between 2011 and 2013 as well as the number of successful strikes. It illustrates that there has been an increasing number of strikes in 2013, especially during the summer months. Protests are said to be encountering less brutality, a 'more friendly police force', which is promising for those involved (China Labour Bulletin 2013).

Foxconn, the Taiwanese electronic company, has been involved in a number of labour protests and controversy in recent years. The first notable incident was when an employee committed suicide in 2009. The company responded by increasing wages, but received heavy scrutiny from the global media (Ramzy 2010). In 2010 there were more suicides linked to the plant in Shenzhen, amidst the global pressures there were further wage increases (*Bloomberg News* 2010). More recently, Foxconn's employees have turned to collective action for redress of grievance. In 2012, 3,000–4,000 workers went on strike in Foxconn's Zhengzhou Complex in central China, Foxconn has attempted to deny such action took place (Buckley et al. 2012). In 2013 1,500 workers protested against capital flight in Foshan City, while simultaneously 3–400 workers protested working conditions in the Shenzhen region (Tang 2013). From the example of Foxconn, it is evident that workers are experiencing a greater collective consciousness.

'*Mingong Huang*' is a term that refers to the growing migrant labour shortage in China (Chan 2013). Despite there still being an abundant supply of those able to work in the rural areas, due to the low wages and poor working conditions, rural workers are more reluctant than they once were to migrate for work (Chan 2010). This shortage has shifted power to the workers giving them an increased propensity for collective action (Ruwitch 2014). It could be argued that this suggests that the Lewis turning point has been reached, though others state that this is not sufficient enough evidence (Knight et al. 2011).

Increasing labour scarcity causes wage pressures, but evidence suggests for the meantime there is not a strong link between the two (Golley & Meng 2011). On the other hand, given China's reliance on rural migrant labour it is likely that labour shortages will lead to wage pressures and greater bargaining power for rural workers.

Conclusion

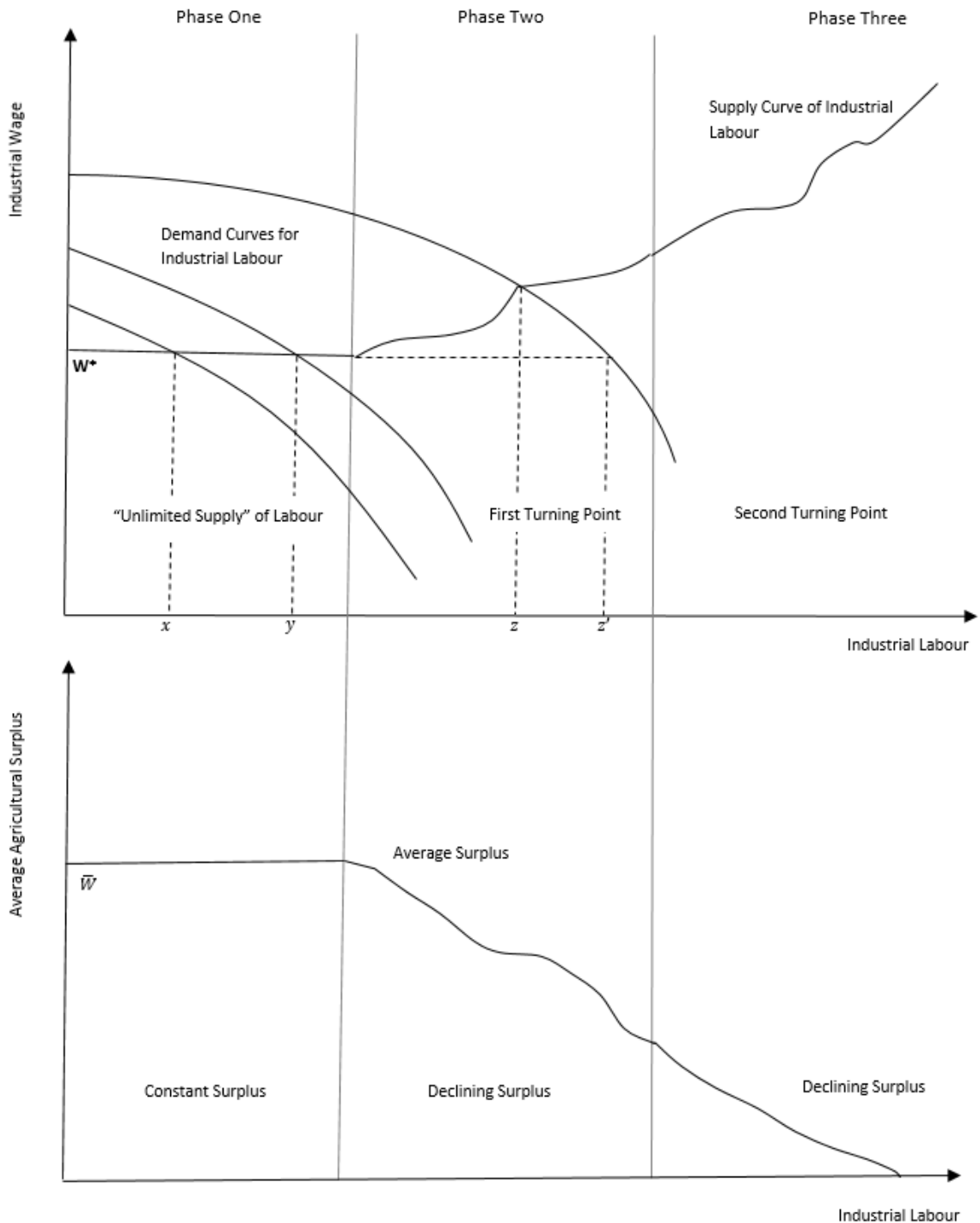
Overall, we have seen how China utilised the abundant supply of rural labour, coupled with export-led growth strategies and increasing globalisation, to promote rapid development (Chan 2010). Throughout, this paper has alluded to the importance of the Lewis model (Lewis 1954) for the analysis of China's structural change since 1978. China's development was partly built upon a strong manufacturing industry that was fuelled by cheap migrant labour. The increased industrialisation of the urban sector led to the increased formation of a dual society (Boeke 1952), referred to as a rural/urban split. We have seen the marginalisation of the rural migrants as they endure poor working conditions and low wages (Wong et al. 2003). In many industrial societies around the world it is the trade unions that would protect worker interests. However, Chinese trade unions have less power and a double identity in some instances (Chen 2003), which means they have more of an incentive to satisfy the needs of the industrial enterprises and keep production going, instead of protecting the interests of workers.

It is due to this plight that workers have gained a greater collective consciousness and this has manifested in an increasing number of wildcat strikes calling for improved working conditions. Not only have we seen increasing incidents of industrial action but China is currently experiencing Mingong Huang, a shortage of rural labour (Chan 2013). Over the last 28 years labour has become a conscious social force, as opposed to just a factor of production, as

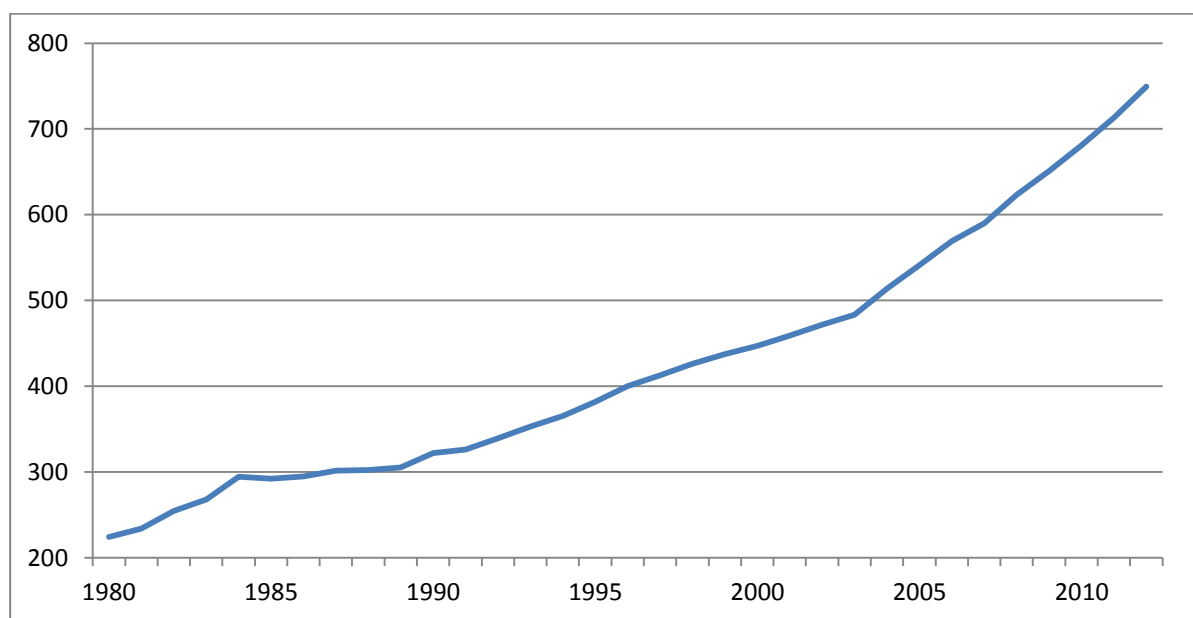
workers are empowered by the realisation that they are what drives the economy. China's unique development was somewhat characterised by the plight of the rural migrants, but recently the tables have turned as workers find their collective voice. If China wishes to keep the machine running then the rights of the workers need to be addressed, because if one cog does not work the whole system breaks down.

Appendix

Figure 1- The Lewis Model of Structural Change



(Adapted from: Ray 1998, p.363)

Figure 2- Agriculture value added per worker (constant 2005 US\$)

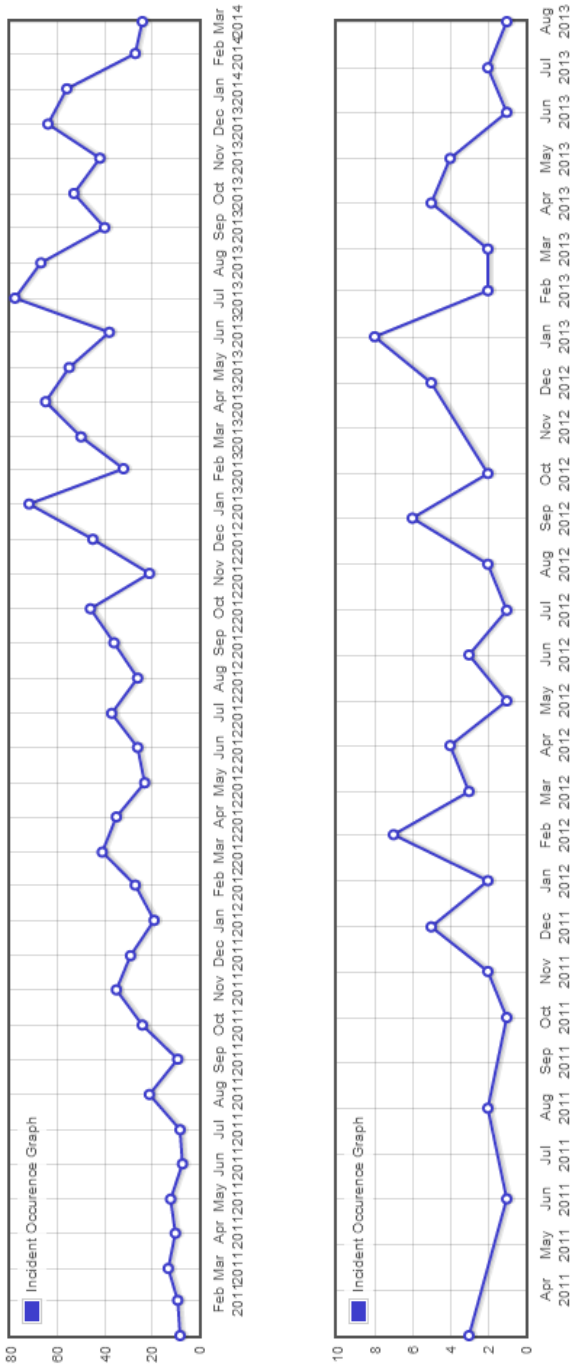
(WDB 27/2/14)

Figure 3- Registered Labour Conflicts, 1996–2009

Year	Number of cases	Increase (%) average annual	Number of workers involved
1996	48,121	n.a.	189,120
2000	135,206	29.8%	422,617
2005	313,773	18.4%	744,195
2006	317,162	1.8%	679,312
2007	350,182	10.4%	653,472
2008	693,465	98.0%	1,214,328
2009	684,379	-1.3%	1,016,922

(Source: Traub-Merz 2011, p. 25)

Figure 4– Strike Occurrence 2011-2013



(Adapted from: China Labour Bulletin 2014)

Strike Occurrence

Successful Collective Action

Bibliography

- ACFTU (All-China Federation of Trade Unions). 2008. Constitution of the Chinese Trade Unions (Amendment): Adopted on 21 October 2008 at the 15th National Congress of Chinese Trade Unions. ACFTU.
<http://english.acftu.org/template/10002/file.jsp?cid=141&aid=470> (18/03/14).
- ACFTU. 2010. Chinese Trade Unions Makes Progress in 2010. ACFTU.
<http://english.acftu.org/template/10002/file.jsp?cid=63&aid=622> (16/03/14).
- Alexander, Peter & Chan, Anita. 2004. Does China have an apartheid pass system? *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, Vol. 34, No. 4. pp. 609–629.
- Bloomberg News*. 2010. Foxconn Raises Worker Pay 30%. *New York Times*.
http://www.nytimes.com/2010/06/02/business/global/02foxconn.html?_r=0 (22/03/14).
- Boeke, Julius. 1953. *Economics and Economic Policy of Dual Societies: as exemplified by Indonesia*. International Secretariat, Institute of Pacific Relations.
- Boserup, Ester. 2005. *The Conditions of Agricultural Growth: The Economics of Agrarian Change under Population Pressure*. Transaction Publishers.
- Buckley, Chris, Chan, Edwin, Standing, Jonathan, Chang, Richard & Laurence, Jeremy. 2012. Foxconn denies China iPhone plant hit by strike. *Reuters*. <http://uk.reuters.com/article/2012/10/06/us-apple-foxconn-idUSBRE8941JF20121006> (22/03/14).
- Castles, Stephen. 2010. Understanding Global Migration: A Social Transformation Perspective. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, Vol. 36, No. 10. pp. 1565–1586.
- Chan, Anita. 1993. Revolution or Corporatism? Workers and Trade Unions in Post-Mao China. *The Australian Journal of Chinese Affairs*, No. 29. pp. 31–61.
- Chan, Anita. 2003. A “Race to the Bottom”: Globalisation and China’s Labour Standards. *China Perspectives*, Vol. 46.
chinaperspectives.revues.org/pdf/259.

- Chan, Chris. 2010. *The Challenge of Labour in China: Strikes and the Changing Labour Regime in Global Factories*. Routledge.
- Chan, Chris & Hui, Elaine. 2012. The Dynamics and Dilemma of Workplace Trade Union Reform in China: The Case of the Honda Workers' Strike. *Journal of Industrial Relations*, Vol. 54, No. 5. pp. 653-668.
- Chan, Chris. 2013. Contesting Class Organization: Migrant Workers' Strikes in China's Pearl River Delta, 1978-2010. *International Labor and Working-Class History*, No. 83. pp. 112-136.
- Chan, Kam. 2010. A China Paradox: Migrant Labour Shortage amidst Rural Labour Supply Abundance. *Eurasian Geography and Economics*, Vol. 51, No. 4. pp. 513-530.
- Chen, Feng. 2000. Subsistence Crises, Managerial Corruption and Labour Protests in China. *The China Journal*, No. 44. pp. 41-63.
- Chen, Feng. 2003. Between the State and Labour: The Conflict of Chinese Trade Unions' Double Identity in Market Reform. *The China Quarterly*, No. 176. pp.1006-1028.
- Cheng, Tiejun & Selden, Mark. 1994. The Origins and Social Consequences of China's Hukou System. *The China Quarterly*, No. 139. pp. 644-668.
- China Labour Bulletin. 2014. China's workers turn up heat in summer of protest. China Labour bulletin
<http://www.clb.org.hk/en/content/china%E2%80%99s-workers-turn-heat-summer-protest> (19/03/14).
- China Labour Bulletin. 2014. Strike Map. China Labour Bulletin.
<http://www.numble.com/PHP/mysql/clbmape.html> (19/03/14).
- Clarke, Simon. 2005. Post-socialist trade unions: China and Russia'. *Industrial Relations Journal*, Vol. 36, No. 1. pp. 2-18.
- Cooke, Fang. 2008. Management and Labour Relations in China. Seminar Notes, Griffith University.
www.griffith.edu.au/__data/assets/file/0008/58517/Seminar.ppt (20/03/14).

- Cowie, Jefferson (1999) *Capital Moves: RCA's Seventy Year Quest for Cheap Labor*, Cornell University Press.
- Das, Mitali & N'Diaye, Papa. 2013. Chronicle of a Decline Foretold: Has China Reached the Lewis Turning Point? *IMF (International Monetary Fund)*, Working Paper WP/13/26.
<http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/wp/2013/wp1326.pdf>
- Ding, Xueliang. 2000. The Illicit Asset Stripping of Chinese State Firms. *The China Journal*, No.43. pp. 1-28.
- Dongfang, Han. 2011. Liberate China's Workers. *The New York Times*.
<http://www.nytimes.com/2011/04/07/opinion/07iht-eddongfang07.html> (16/05/14).
- Economist, The*. 2008. Trade Unions in China: Membership Required. *The Economist*. <http://www.economist.com/node/11848496> (16/03/14).
- Economist, The*. 2011. Where do you live? Town- and country-dwellers have radically different prospects. *The Economist*.
<http://www.economist.com/node/18832092> (14/03/14).
- Elimer, David. 2013. Cambodia's textile workers hang by a thread under Chinese bosses. *South China Morning Post*.
<http://www.scmp.com/news/asia/article/1291466/cambodias-textile-workers-hang-thread-under-chinese-bosses> (21/03/14).
- Fox, Alan. 1966. *Industrial Sociology and Industrial Relations*. H.M Stationary Office.
- Friedman, Eli. 2013. Wildcat Strikes Push China to Write New Labor Laws. *Labor Notes*
<http://www.labornotes.org/blogs/2013/11/wildcat-strikes-push-china-write-new-labor-laws> (20/03/14).
- Global Times* (a). 2013. China's Trade Unions have 280 mln members. *Global Times*.
<http://www.globaltimes.cn/content/817211.shtml#.Uysjz4XJXTI> (16/3/14).
- Global Times* (b). 2013. Chinese trade union recovers billions for migrant workers. *Global Times*.
http://www.globaltimes.cn/content/833686.shtml#.UzA_W_1_vTp (17/03/14).

- Golley, Jane & Meng, Xin. 2011. Has China run out of surplus labour? *China Economic Review*, Vol. 22. pp. 555-572.
- Guangping, Jiang. 2009. Chinese trade unions strive to protect workers' rights and interests in dealing with the global financial crisis. *China*.
http://www.china.org.cn/china/human_rights/2009-11/06/content_18841842_2.htm (17/03/14).
- Heckscher, Eli. 1949. The Effect of Foreign Trade on the Distribution of Income. In Ellis, Howard & Meltzer, Lloyd. (ed.), *Readings in the Theory of International Trade*. Richard D. Irwin Inc.
- Hui, Echo. 2013. In China, losing battle against lung disease and workers' rights. *South China Morning Post*.
<http://www.scmp.com/news/china/article/1274549/china-losing-battle-against-lung-disease-and-workers-rights> (19/03/14).
- Iredale, Robin, Bilik, Naran, Su, Wang, Guo, Fei. & Hoy, Caroline. 2001. *Contemporary minority migration, education and ethnicity in China*. Edward Elgar Publishing Limited.
- Islam, Nazrul & Yokota, Kazuhiko. 2008. Lewis Growth Model and China's Industrialization. The International Centre for the Study of East Asian Development, Working Paper Series Vol. 2008-17.
<http://m.rrojasdatabank.info/chinalewis7.pdf>
- Jacob, Jijo. 2013. China to Replace US as World's Biggest Economy in Eight Years. *International Business Times*.
<http://www.ibtimes.co.uk/china-replace-biggest-economy-eight-years-2022-524135> (13/03/14).
- Knight, John, Deng, Quheng & Lee, Shi. 2011. The puzzle of migrant labour shortage and rural labour surplus in China. *China Economic Review*, Vol. 22, pp. 585-600.
- Levine, Marvin. 1997. *Worker Rights and Labour Standards in Asia's Four New Tigers: A Comparative Perspective*. Plenum Press, New York.
- Lewis, Arthur. 1954. Economic Development with Unlimited Supplies of Labour. *The Manchester School*, Vol. 22, No. 2. pp.139-191.
- Lin, Justin. 1992. Rural Reforms and Agricultural Growth in China. *The American Economic Review*, Vol. 82, Issue 1. pp. 34-51.

- Little, Ian. 1982. *Economics Development: Theory, Policy, and International Relations*. Basic Books, Inc., Publishers.
- Luard, Tim. 2005. China rethinks peasant 'apartheid'. *BBC News*.
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/asia-pacific/4424944.stm>
- Martin, Jorge. 2010. China: Honda workers' strike – The beginning of a new labour movement? *International Marxist Tendency (IMT)*.
<http://www.marxist.com/china-honda-workers-strike.htm>
(20/03/14).
- Marx, Karl & Engels, Friedrich. 2002. *The Communist Manifesto*. Penguin.
- Mason, Paul. 2007. *Live Working, Die Fighting: how the working class went global*. Vintage.
- Matthews, Christopher. 2014. When Exactly Will China Rule the Economic World? *Time Business and Money*.
<http://business.time.com/2014/01/08/chinas-economy-could-be-bigger-than-americas/> (13/03/14).
- Metcalf, David & Li, J Jianwei. 2006. Trade Unions in China. *CentrePiece*. Centre for Economic Performance Summer 2006. pp. 24–26.
<http://cep.lse.ac.uk/pubs/download/CP204.pdf>
- Miles, Robert. 1982. *Racism and Migrant Labour*. Routledge publishing.
- Moulds, Josephine. 2012. China's economy to overtake US in next four years, says OECD. *The Guardian*.
<http://www.theguardian.com/business/2012/nov/09/china-overtake-us-four-years-oecd> (13/03/14).
- Ohlin, Bertil. 1935. *Interregional and International Trade*. Harvard University Press.
- Park, Madison. & Xu, CY. 2012. Is migrant system China's apartheid? *CNN*. <http://edition.cnn.com/2012/12/25/world/asia/china-migrant-family/> (14/3/14).
- Peng, Xizhe. 1987. Demographic Consequences of the Great Leap Forward in China's Provinces. *Population and Development Review*, Vol. 13, No. 4. pp. 639–670.

- People's Daily Online*. 2009. Trade unions across China to aid ten million migrant rural workers this year. *People's Daily Online*. <http://english.people.com.cn/90001/90776/90785/6595642.html> (17/03/14).
- Peston, Robert. & Knight, Lawrence. 2013. *How do we fix this mess?* Hodder and Stoughton Ltd.
- Ramzy, Austin. 2010. 'Chinese Factory Under Scrutiny As Suicides Mount', *Time*. <http://content.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,1991620,00.html> (22/03/14).
- Ray, Debraj. 1998. *Development Economics*. Princeton University Press.
- Ricardo, David. 1817. *The Principles of Political Economy and Taxation*. John Murray, Albemarle-Street.
- Roberts, Kenneth. 2000. Chinese labor migration: Insights from Mexican undocumented migration to the United States. In West, Loraine & Zhao, Y. H. (ed.), *Rural Labor Flows in China*. University of California at Berkeley USA, Institute of East Asian Studies.
- Rui, Zhang. 2013. Lung disease deaths haunt Hunan towns. *China*. http://www.china.org.cn/china/2013-09/11/content_29996700.htm (19/03/14).
- Ruwitch, John. 2014. IBM Factory Strike Shows Shifting China Labor Landscape. *Business Insider*. <http://www.businessinsider.com/r-ibm-factory-strike-shows-shifting-china-labor-landscape-2014-09> (22/3/14).
- Shi, Li. 2008. Rural Migrant Workers in China: Scenario, Challenges and Public Policy. *International Labour Office (ILO)*, Policy Integration and Statistics Department, Working Paper No. 89. http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---dgreports/---integration/documents/publication/wcms_097744.pdf
- Standing, Guy. 2011. *The Precariat: The New Dangerous Class*. Bloomsbury.
- Tan, Shen. 2000. The relationship between foreign enterprises, local governments, and women migrant workers in the Pearl River Delta. In West, Loraine & Zhao, Yaohui (ed.), *Rural Labor Flows*

in China. University of California at Berkeley USA, Institute of East Asian Studies.

- Tang, Han. 2013. China's Young Workers Fight Back at Foxconn. *Labor Notes*.
<http://www.labornotes.org/2013/08/china%E2%80%99s-young-workers-fight-back-foxconn> (22/03/14).
- Traub-Merz, Rudolf. 2011. All China Federation of Trade Unions: Structure, Functions and the Challenge of Collective Bargaining. Global Labour University (GLU), Working Paper No. 13.
http://www.global-labour-university.org/fileadmin/GLU_Working_Papers/GLU_WP_No.13.pdf
- WDB (*World Data Bank*) 'World Development Indicators',
<http://data.worldbank.org/> (27/02/14).
- Zhang, Kevin. & Song, Shunfeng. 2003. Rural-urban migration and urbanisation in China: Evidence from time-series and cross-section analysis. *China Economic Review*, Vol. 14. pp. 386-400.
- Zhao, Yaohui. 1999. Labour Migration and Earning Differences: The Case of Rural China. *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, Vol. 47, No. 4. pp. 767-782.
- Zhu, Andong & Cai, Wanhuan. 2012. The Lewis Turning Point in China and its Impacts on World Economy. *AUGUR*, Working Paper February 2012 (WP #1).
http://www.augurproject.eu/IMG/pdf/The_Lewis_Turning_Point_in_China_and_its_Impacts_LH3.pdf
- Zhu, Weixing. 2003. The One Child Family Policy. *British Medical Journal*, Archives of Disease in Childhood, Vol. 88. pp. 463-464.
<http://adc.bmj.com/content/88/6/463.1.full.pdf+html>