



An Investigative Report on Hengyang Foxconn

June 10, 2018



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Executive Summary

From August 2017 to April 2018, China Labor Watch dispatched several investigators into Hengyang Foxconn, a factory that predominantly manufactures products for Amazon. CLW's investigation revealed a number of rights violations at the Hengyang Foxconn factory, which manufactures Amazon's Kindle, Echo Dots and tablets. This is CLW's first investigation into an Amazon supplier factory.

The investigation revealed that dispatch workers made up more than 40% of the workforce, a clear violation of the legally mandated 10%. Furthermore, the working conditions between dispatch workers and regular workers were markedly different despite working the same positions.

Whilst regular workers receive five days of training, dispatch workers only receive eight hours of training, which is well below the legal stipulation of 24 hours of pre-job safety training. Dispatch workers are also required to pay the physical examination fees, whereas some regular workers reported not having to pay any fees for the physical examination.

In addition, sick leave is unpaid for dispatch workers, and they are regularly sent on leave during the factory's off season. During this time, they do not receive any wages. Dispatch workers also do not receive any social insurance, nor are contributions made to their housing provident fund. According to the Interim Provisions on Labor Dispatch, dispatch workers are to be registered for social insurance and employers are to make social insurance contributions.

Regular workers are also paid overtime wages, however, dispatch workers earn 14.5 RMB/hour (\$2.26 USD) and are paid the same rate for normal hours and overtime hours. The hourly rate includes an attendance bonus, and workers who take more than two days off or are late more than twice a month would receive wages calculated by a 13.5 RMB/hour (\$2.11 USD) standard for the month.

While there are clear distinctions in working conditions between regular workers and dispatch workers at the factory, all workers are subject to long hours and low wages. Workers put in over 100 overtime hours during peak season, and there was an instance of workers working consecutively for 14 days. The average monthly wage in Hengyang is 4,647 RMB (\$725.22 USD), however, workers at the factory on average earned wages between 2000 – 3000 RMB (\$312.12 - \$468.19 USD) during off-season. As wages are low, workers must rely on overtime hours to earn enough to maintain a decent standard of living. In spite of that, the factory cuts the overtime hours of workers as a form of punishment for those who take leave or have unexcused absences.

Other major issues at the factory include inadequate fire safety in the dormitory area, lack of sufficient protective equipment, absence of a functioning labor union at the factory, and strict management who subject workers to verbal abuse.

The treatment of dispatch workers remains a key issue not only at Foxconn, but also in factories across China. Previously, labor laws in China lacked any mention of dispatch or temporary workers. The "Interim Provisions on Labor Dispatch" came into effect in 2014; however, as dispatch labor remains widely used because of its flexibility, factories continue to abdicate their legal responsibilities as a way to cut down on labor costs. With the dispatch



company being contractually obligated to the worker, this allows factories to shirk responsibility for labor rights abuses. Amazon has the ability to not only ensure its supplier factories respects the rights of workers but also that there is equal pay for equal work. Amazon's profits have come at the expense of workers who labor in appalling working conditions and have no choice but to work excessive overtime hours to sustain a livelihood.

Summary of Rights Violations at Hengyang Foxconn

- The investigation took place during the factory's off-season and it was discovered around 40% of the total number of workers were dispatch workers. Chinese labor law stipulates that dispatch workers must not exceed 10% of the total workforce.
- Before starting work, dispatch workers need to pay 50 RMB (\$7.86 USD) to cover physical examination fees. Some regular workers reported having to pay 60 RMB (\$9.47 USD) for the physical examination, while others did not pay any fees.
- Chinese law stipulates pre-job training to be at least 24 hours, however, dispatch workers only receive eight hours of pre-job safety training.
- Many dispatch workers do not receive a copy of their labor contract.
- Sick leave is unpaid for dispatch workers. Regular workers have 20% deducted from their day's wages for sick leave.
- Dormitories for both regular and dispatch workers do not have emergency exits. The dormitory area for dispatch workers does not have a fire extinguisher and escape routes are not labelled. Fire drills are not performed in the dormitory area.
- Workers are required to arrive to their work positions ten minutes before their shift starts and these ten minutes are uncompensated.
- During each month of peak production season, workers have to put in over 100 hours of overtime. However, Chinese law stipulates monthly overtime cannot exceed 36 hours. During peak season, there was an instance of workers working 14 days continuously without a day off.
- During off-season, the factory schedules dispatch workers to go on leave, resulting in these workers having no wages. Additionally, the factory management will schedule no overtime for regular workers. Due to their low wages, by not allowing workers to work overtime, it forces workers to resign of their own volition. If workers are late, have an unexcused absence, or are on sick leave, the production line leader will also reduce their number of overtime hours. Due to a low base wage, it is a punishment for workers to not be able to work overtime during off-peak season.
- Workers earn an hourly wage of 14.5 RMB (\$2.26 USD) regardless of whether they worked normal hours or overtime hours, which includes a 1 RMB (\$0.16 USD) attendance bonus. If the worker takes more than two days off or if they are late more than twice a month, their month's wages would be calculated by a 13.5 RMB/hour (\$2.11 USD) standard.



• Workers do not earn enough to maintain a decent standard of living during off-season. During off season, on average, regular workers earn 2,000 RMB (\$312.12 USD) a month and dispatch workers earn 2,500 RMB (\$390.16 USD) a month. The average monthly wage in Hengyang in 2017 was 4,647 RMB (\$725.22 USD).



Company Profile1



Entrance of the Foxconn Hengyang factory

Hengyang Foxconn is situated in Baishazhou Industrial Park, Hengyang, Hunan and includes the Flagship Technology (Hengyang) Ltd. Co., Hengyang Shengtian Precision Electronics Ltd. Co., which are all major manufacturing grounds for Foxconn Group's TMSBG CDPC industry group. They are primarily responsible for numerical content, information technology networkers as well as the implementation of other application systems, manufacturing ereader devices, portable microcomputers, portable automatic data processing equipment, multimedia smartwatches, third generation and newer mobile information system cell phones. Products are mainly supplied to Nokia, Motorola, Apple and other well known, global brands and enterprises.

Of particular note is, on China's National Enterprise Credit Information Publicity System, the company's profile displays "Hengyang Flagship Technology Ltd. Co." to have been cancelled as of last year. Hengyang Shengtian Precision Electronics Ltd. Co. remains in a regular operation status. Additionally, the various activities that take place at Hengyang Foxconn, including recruitment, do not display its legally registered name but instead the factory refers to itself as "Foxconn". From the perspective of outsiders, it is very difficult to ascertain which specific Foxconn subsidiary the recruitment notices are referring to.

¹ Information found on Hengyang Foxconn's website: http://www.foxconnhy.com/about/?19.html



Factory Name: Foxconn Technology Group Hengyang Factory Cai Lun Technology Park

(Two)

Address: No. 2 Pioneer Park, Baishazhou Industrial Park, Hengyang, Hunan

Contact Information: Mr. Peng 18674730235

Main Products: eBook readers, tablets, multimedia players, Amazon Echo Dots

Main Clients: Amazon (After 2018, four out of five of the factory's workshops were

manufacturing products for Amazon.)

Total number of workers: Approximately 4,500

Regular workers: Approximately 2,500

Dispatch workers: Approximately 2,000

Percentage of workers that are dispatch workers: 44%

Number of workers interviewed: 20

Department that interviewed workers belong in: Manufacturing department/Quality

control department

Male to female ratio of workers interviewed: 7:13

Ratio of regular to dispatched workers interviewed: 3:17

Interview methods:

1. In-person interviews

2. QQ/WeChat, online conversations

3. Interviewees were not aware of the investigator's identity



Section 1: Recruitment and Resignation



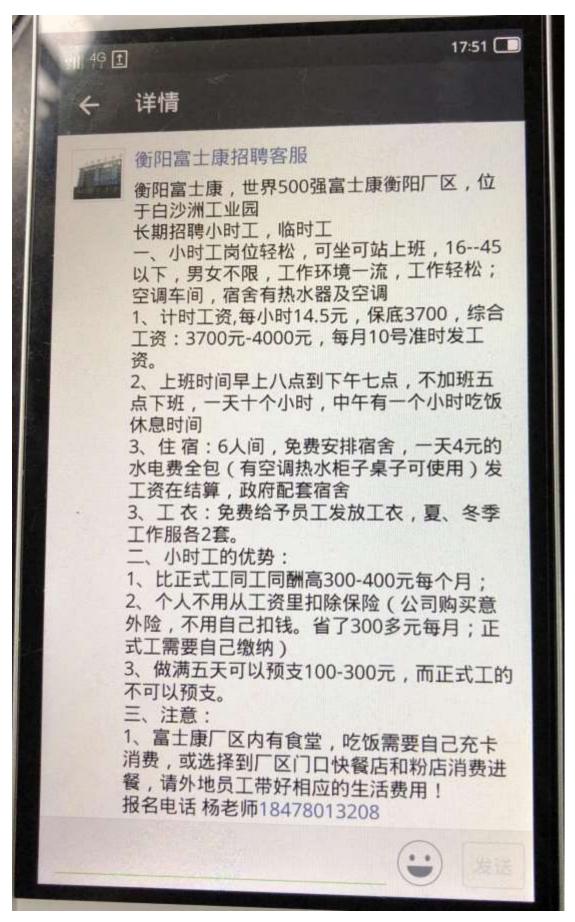
Notice stating that general worker hiring has begun starting March 5; hiring requirements are the applicant must be between 18 and 45 years of age, no gender restrictions, and in good health.





Recruiting notice





(WeChat message from the Hengyang Foxconn Recruitment Customer Service)



Hengyang Foxconn Recruitment Customer Service

Hengyang Foxconn, Fortune 500 Foxconn Hengyang factory area, located in Baishazhou Industrial park

Long-term recruitment of hourly workers, temporary workers

- 1) Hourly workers positions have easy work, are able to sit or stand while working, must be 16-45 years old, no gender restrictions. There is a first class work environment and easy work, air-conditioned workshop, dorms have a water heater and air conditioning
 - a) Hourly wages, 14.5 RMB (\$2.29) an hour, minimum wage of 3,700 RMB a month (\$584.21 USD), total wages: 3,700 4,000 RMB (\$584.21 \$631.58 USD) a month. Wages are distributed in a timely fashion on the tenth of each month.
 - b) Working hours are from 8 AM to 7 PM; if there is no overtime, work ends at 5 PM. There are 10 hours of work each day. There is an hour for meals and rest in the afternoon.
 - c) Dorms: 6 people to a room, dorm arrangements are free, a daily water and electricity fee of 4 RMB (\$0.63 USD) (includes air conditioning, hot water, cabinet, table that are available for use), fees are collected when wages are distributed, dormitory is provided by the government
 - d) Work uniform: workers receive free work uniforms, there are two sets of work uniforms, one for the summer and one for the winter

2) Advantages of hourly work

- a) Earn 300 400 RMB (\$47.37 \$63.16 USD) more than regular workers in the same position each month
- b) Workers do not have insurance fees deducted from their wages (the company purchases accident insurance so workers will not have those fees deducted from their wages, saving workers over 300 RMB (\$47.37 USD) each month; regular workers need to pay for the insurance themselves)
- c) After working for five days, workers can take an advance of 100-300 RMB (\$15.79 \$\$47.37 USD), while regular workers cannot take out advances

3) Notices:

a) Foxconn factory's area has a cafeteria. In order to eat at the cafeteria, workers need to charge their meal cards or choose to eat at the fast food restaurants located outside of the factory entrance. Non-local workers should bring sufficient living expenses!



b) Registration number, contact: Mr. Yang 18478013208

Hiring Requirements

Regular workers may be male or female, between 18 to 45 years old. When applying, applicants must submit the original copy of their ID card, a photocopy of their ID card, which will be kept on record, no deposit fee needs to be paid, workers' documents will not be withheld and the factory does not request new workers to pay any fees.

Dispatch workers may be male or female, between 16 to 45 years of age. When applying, applicants must submit the original copy of their ID card, a photocopy of their ID card, which will be kept on record, no deposit fee needs to be paid, workers' documents will not be withheld and the factory does not request new workers to pay any fees.

Hiring Process



Foxconn Recruitment Center

<u>Dispatch workers</u>: The investigator found the job posting for Hengyang Foxconn on 58 Tongcheng, a website for job postings. When the investigator called, the recruiter said they were only recruiting hourly workers, for 14.5 RMB an hour (\$2.28 USD). For workers staying at the dorms, they need to pay 4 RMB (\$0.63 USD) each day to cover water and



electricity fees and if eating in the cafeteria, workers have to pay for their own meals. The cheapest meal is purported to cost 5 RMB (\$0.79 USD). However, in reality, the cheapest meal would be 7 RMB, which is \$1.10 USD.



Cafeteria food

Regardless of what workshop hourly workers were assigned to, their wage is the same: 14.5 RMB/hour (\$2.28 USD).

The next day, a recruiter from Hengyang Foxconn called the investigator, asking to add their Wechat. The recruiter said that dorming would be scheduled on Monday afternoon, and the interview will be conducted on Tuesday morning.

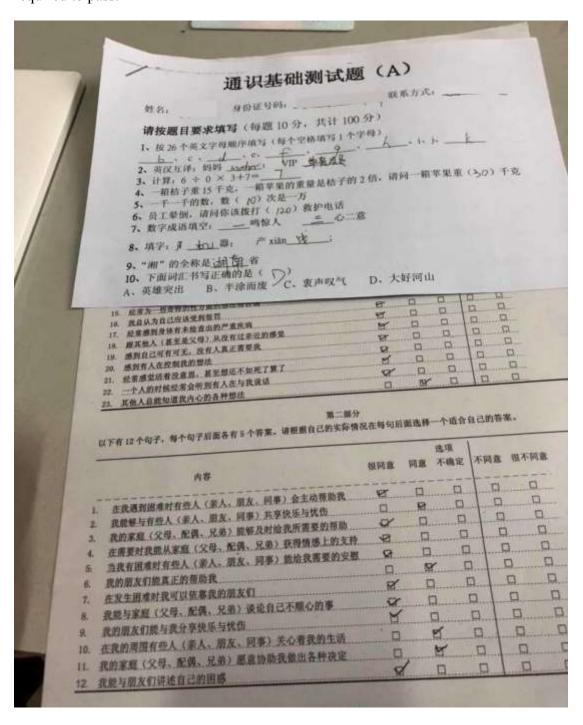
The dorms were just across from the factory, however, the interviews were taking place outside the factory grounds. The investigator was scheduled a dorm room on Monday afternoon.

On Tuesday morning, the investigator waited by the entrance of the dorm building at 6:50 AM. There were already over 10 people waiting and the Shenzhen Qizhong Labor company called two DiDi cars. All the applicants were driven to a vocational school, Hengyang Technology, where the Foxconn interviews were taking place.

At 8 AM, Jiang Qiuxiang, a staff member from Qizhong's recruitment department, walked in and said that of the people Qizhong had recruited, Foxconn would only be hiring 20 of them.

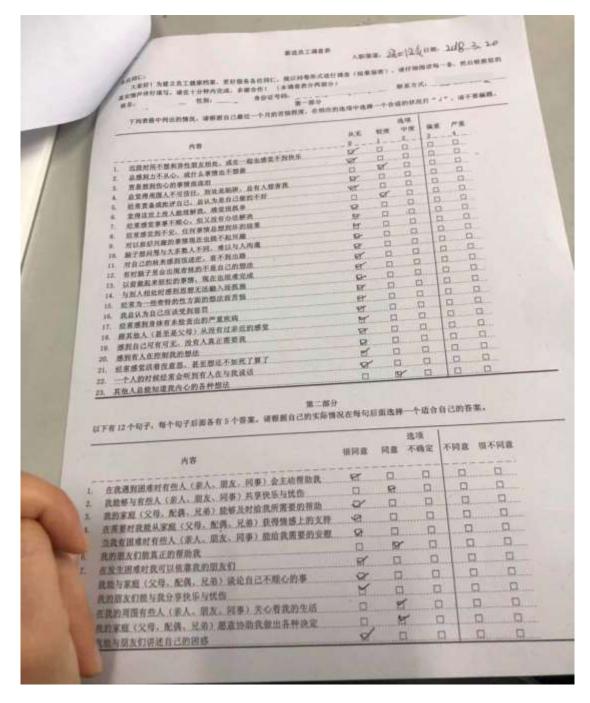


Jiang said there were currently 25 applicants, so some individuals would not be selected. In a short while, a staff member from Foxconn handed out a written test. A score of 60 was required to pass.



Written test for applicants, which tests them on their understanding of the English alphabet as well as simple math



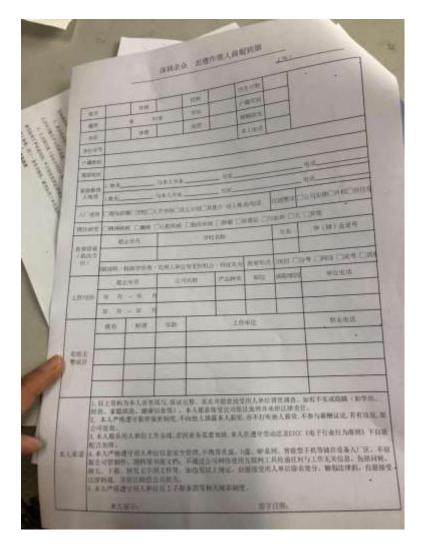


Psychological evaluation test that applicants are required to fill out

There were also some psychological questions. Applicants were asked to place their cell phones and ID cards on the upper right corner of the desk before starting the test.

After filling out the test paper, applicants were handed a personal information form to fill out and were told that they were all considered labor dispatch workers and would be earning 14.5 RMB/hour. 13.5 RMB was the base wage and the other 1 RMB was an attendance bonus. Taking more than two days off a month, or being late more than twice would result in the month's wages being calculated by a 13.5 RMB/hour standard.





Shenzhen Qizhong personal information form for dispatch workers

The Foxconn interviewer came by and sat in front of the desk and asked applicants to do a self-introduction, with a main focus on what they did before and also asked them to roll up their sleeves to check for tattoos. After the interviewer was satisfied, he signed off on a form and passed it to the applicant who would then need to pay 10 RMB to have two photos taken, one with a white background and one with a red background. Jiang Qiuxiang, the recruiter from the Shenzhen Qizhong Human Resources company, said to gather at the classroom at 2 PM so everyone could go together to the Fifth People's Hospital in Hengyang for a physical examination.

Regular Workers: For hourly workers that wanted to become regular workers, they could directly apply at the human resources office located at the factory's second building. At the human resources office, they can sign a contract and switch their factory ID badges and there is no need to notify their labor dispatch company. However, very few hourly workers choose to become regular workers.



Entry Methods: Online recruitment, internal referrals, directly applying

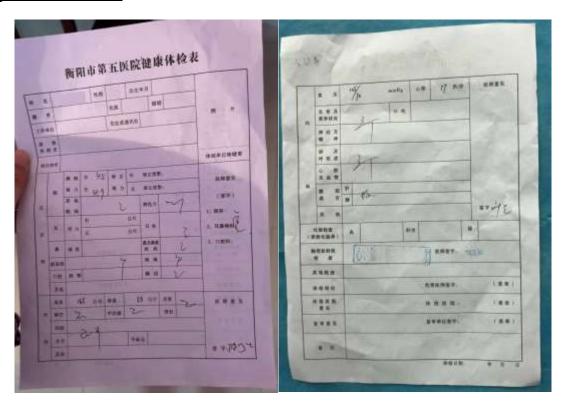
Position Assignments

Workers who enter the workshops can only be randomly assigned to a workshop and cannot choose which workshop to work at themselves.

Student Workers:

During the period of investigation, there were no student workers as there was not enough overtime even for regular workers. According to a worker, there were student workers last year.

Physical Examination



Physical examination forms

For regular workers, a physical examination is required, some workers say they had to pay 60 RMB (\$9.47 USD) for the physical examination, while others say they did not pay any fees. The physical examination covers sensory organs such as eyesight, hearing test; physical measurements such as height, weight; internal health, such as blood pressure, heartbeat, general health of heart, veins and lungs, and a chest X-ray. Workers can obtain the results of their physical examination.





Blood draw station

For dispatch workers a physical examination is required and the corresponding 50 RMB (\$7.89 USD) fee is paid by the worker. The worker cannot receive their physical examination results as the results are directly sent to the factory by the hospital.

Training and Orientation

Before starting work, regular workers undergo five days of training. Interviewed workers do not remember the specific information discussed during training. The time spent in training is compensated.



Third group of dispatch workers' training schedule. Dispatch workers receive a total of 8 hours of training.

For dispatch workers, pre-work training lasts for one day and takes place at the Hengyang Technology school. The topics covered during training fall into three categories. The first category is regulations related to resignation and attendance. One of those regulations was that after working half a month, the worker would need to provide a week's notice in order to



resign. If a worker forgets to swipe in for work, they can inform the manager but they cannot do so more than twice. Everyone who enters the workshop needs to wear a hat, uniform, switch shoes and everyone should purchase a small lock as they will be allotted a small locker.



Locker area for workers

Before entering the workshop, workers can lock their cell phone inside. Men are forbidden to bring in cigarettes or lighters. Women cannot bring anything edible inside. If bringing water, it must be stored in a clear container.

The main points covered in the second category were that photography equipment and electronic equipment with transmission properties are forbidden to be brought into the workshop. If there was some pressing matter that required the worker to answer their phone, they could purchase a basic phone, one that has only calling functions, and the public security office would have to place a special marker on it before it could be brought into the workshop. Each time a worker exits the workshop, they will need to go through security. When going through security, workers are required to take off any headwear and remove any metal objects from their person. If they are discovered to have brought a smartphone, all the contents of their smartphone will be investigated and they will be marked down for a major demerit. If a serious issue is discovered, the worker would be fired.

The third category is an introduction of dorm regulations. The trainer explained that





Hengyang Foxconn had two factory areas. Time spent in training is compensated and is calculated as eight work hours.

The factory provides work uniforms for regular workers and dispatch workers. They do not take fees for the uniforms. At resignation, workers need to wash their work uniforms before returning them.

A portion of the dispatched workers had already worked at the factory for over half a year. Information garnered from their pay stubs revealed that the earliest dispatch workers started working at the factory in August 2016.

1	入职日期	总工时	请假时数	旷工时数	是全
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	入职日期	总工时	请假时数	旷工时数	1.
5	2016/9/14	220	0	0	T

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	入职日期	总工时	请假时数	矿工时数	T
1	2016/8/14	174	0	0	1



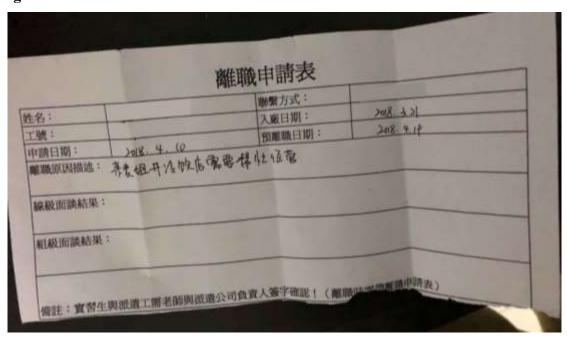
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	2017/2/6	193	0	0	是	15

Pay stubs for the dispatch workers

Probation:

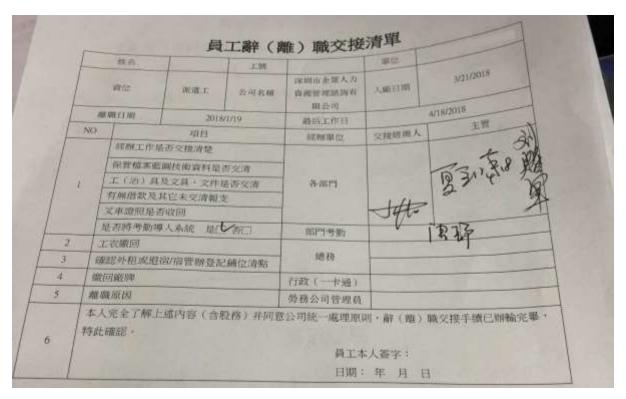
Regular workers have a probationary period of three months. Dispatch workers do not have a probationary period.

Resignation:

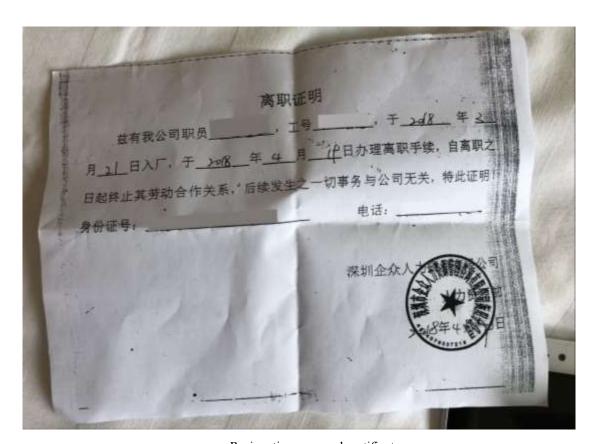


Resignation application form





Employee resignation checklist



Resignation approval certificate

When regular workers resign during the contract period, they need to provide the factory with



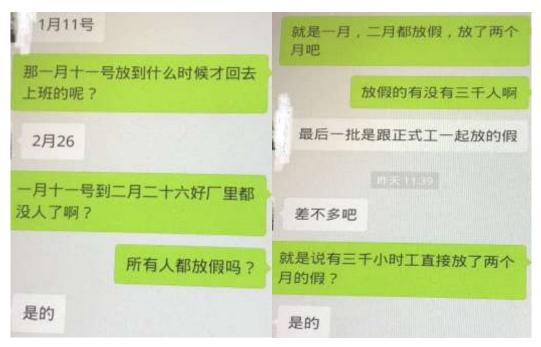
a month's notice. Workers can resign following the standard resignation protocol. After resigning, workers can obtain their wages the following month on the 10th.

Dispatch workers can resign by submitting a resignation application form a week in advance. Workers must obtain the resignation application from the line leader a week in advance and after filling it out, hand in the completed form to the labor dispatch company's human resources department. Once they sign off on the form, the worker would just need to submit it to the line leader. The worker returns the work uniform, hat and factory card at the "Employee Service Centre", fills out a resignation form and signs off on the employee transfer list. The worker then returns the dormitory keys to the dormitory manager, and receives their 50 RMB deposit back if there are no damages to the stools in the dorm room and the keys unlock.

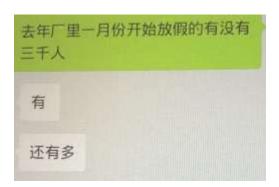
If, at the time of resigning, the total time work does not amount to a month, then the attendance bonus will be deducted from the worker's wages, which amounts to one RMB deducted for each hour worked. The worker can receive their wages the following month on the 10th. If the worker quits without undergoing the formal resignation process, they will not receive their wages and will not be allowed to return to Foxconn.

From April 25 to the end of May in 2018, the factory gave a vacation to nearly 800 workers. Of those workers on vacation, the number of dispatch workers was around 700 and made up 87.5% of the total workers on vacation. According to workers, in 2017, Foxconn No. 2 Pioneer Park had close to 8,000 workers.





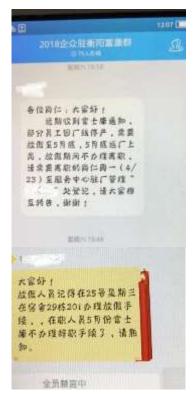
Left: Worker states that many workers were asked to take leave from January 11 to February 26; Right: Worker discusses how there were around 3,000 workers who went on leave January and February



WeChat conversation with worker who said that last year there were more than 3,000 workers on leave in January

From January 11 to February 26, 2018, the factory allowed around 3,000 workers to go on vacation and of those, 90% were dispatch workers. Dispatch workers on vacation do not receive wages and do not receive any economic subsidies. Many of them chose to resign.







Vacation notice for the dispatch workers; translated below

Picture 1: Group name: 2018 Qizhong's Hengyang Foxconn group

Fellow comrades: Hello!

We recently received a notice from Foxconn stating, because of the factory halting production, a portion of workers need to go on vacation until the end of May and return to their positions after the end of May if you do not resign during the break. For co-workers who would like to apply for resignation, please go to the service center located at the factory management office to register. Please help share this information with others, thank you!

Picture 2: Hello everyone! For workers going on break, please remember to complete leave procedures on Wednesday the 25th at dorm building 29, room 201. For workers who will still be working, please know that Foxconn will not be processing resignation applications in May. Please take note.

Picture 3: For those whose names are on my list, come register with me.

Section 2: Labor Contract

The factory signs a labor contract with the regular workers.



Dispatch companies also sign labor contracts with the dispatch workers. Dispatch workers do not sign contracts with the factory. Dispatch companies do not explain the contents or meaning of the contract with the dispatch workers. There are a total of six dispatch companies (Qizhong, Huajie, Tiankun, Huahuisheng, Chuangyi, Taihe) that provide dispatch workers for the factory. Some dispatch companies will give the dispatch workers a copy of the labor contract which has been signed by both parties, while other dispatch companies will not provide a copy to the worker.

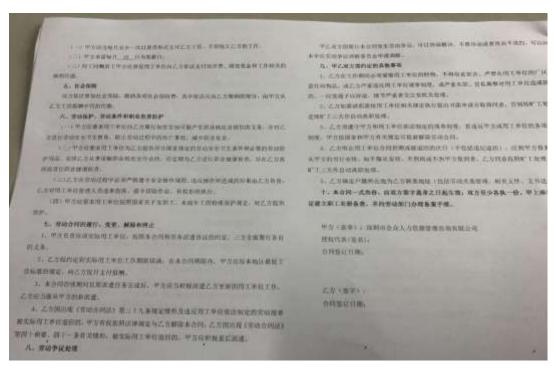
Labor contracts for dispatch workers include: length of contract, work address and description, working hours along with rest and vacation times, labor remuneration, social insurance, labor protection, labor conditions and occupational safety, implementation of the labor contract, revisions, release and termination of the contract, labor dispute resolutions.

Labor dispatch companies and dispatch workers sign a labor contract that lasts for one year. Once the contract expires, a new one is signed.

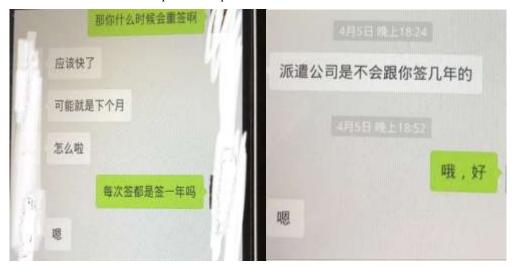
Dispatch workers from the Qizhong company asked a Qizhong administrator for the labor contract. The administrator directly informed the worker that the labor contract had no legal merit to it and would not give the signed contract to the worker.

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Sample of a dispatch worker's labor contract



Conversation with a dispatch worker; translated below

Left: Investigator (Green): Then when will you re-sign it?

Worker (White): Should be soon

Worker: Might be just next month

Worker: Why?

Investigator: Each time you sign, do you sign for a year?

Worker: Yes

Right: Worker (White): Dispatch companies will not sign a multi-year contract with you

Investigator (Green): Oh, okay.

Worker (White): Yes



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保護切結书 在确认、作为 理题意应 法建公司的一名法理是示,被当 可具接触到有关公司及否介的权宜思利和专利信息。进合把需求 信息:公司及否介点有代政的产品或额与之所有信息。利利为构 形定、利益证及其未来的制版和指定发行。或也确认,所有这些 不定、利益证及其未来的制版和指定或行。或也确认	· 是 推图 "以此然不得" 。 土技术
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Section 3: Working Hours

Regular workers			
	Daily	Weekly	Monthly
Normal work hours	8 hours	5 days	21.75 days
Overtime	0.5-2 hours	~1 day	Longest was 80 hours
Dispatch workers			



Daily	Weekly	Monthly	Longest period of
			time
8-10 hours	5-6 days	22-26 days	~280 hours

Overtime:

Workers can choose to not work overtime and just need to verbally notify their production line leader. Allowing a worker to work overtime is a reward used by supervisors for workers who perform well. If a worker is late, misses work, asks for leave, the production line leader will cut down on a worker's overtime and regular workers in comparison to dispatch workers have their overtime reduced much more easily. The most overtime occurred July and August 2017, with two to three hours of overtime each day and 10-11 hours of overtime on weekends. The longest period of overtime was 14 days.

Each assembly line has a production quota, which is easy to reach. Work hours are recorded via a time card machine.



Worker swiping in at the factory entrance

Workers are expected to arrive ten minutes before the start of their shift. Before and after work, workers needed to line up and wait three to five minutes in order to swipe in or out. The time spent waiting in line is not compensated. Wages are calculated starting from the official start time of a worker's shift. The factory records attendance and if there are



mistakes, it can be rectified. If there is a meeting after work, the time spent attending the meeting will be compensated.

Overtime schedule:

	Regular	Overtime during	Overtime during off
	overtime	peak season	season
Daily	0.5-2 hours	2-3 hours	0.5-2 hours
Saturday	8-10 hours	10-11 hours	8-10 hours
Monthly	0-32 hours	62-80 hours	0-32 hours

Work hours:

Two-shift	Work hours	Work hours	Overtime
schedule			
Day shift	8:00-11:30	12:40-17:00	17:00-19:00
Night shift	20:00-23:30	00:40-5:00	5:00-7:00

Workers at Foxconn switched shifts once a month. Each time workers switched shifts, there would be a 24 hour rest period.

Time off schedule:

Day shift	Night shift
Lunchtime: 11:30 AM - 12:40 PM,	Rest time from 23:30 - 00:40,
approximately 70 minutes, 10 minutes	approximately 70 minutes, followed by
break time from 15:00 - 15:10, work is	another 20 minute break from 3:00 - 3:20,
finished by 19:00 at the latest, workers	shift ends at 7:00 at the latest, workers
need to sign in to work before 8 AM the	need to sign in to work before 20:00. If
following day, if there is overtime on	there is overtime on Saturdays, it is for 8
Saturdays, it is for 8 to 10 hours. There is	to 10 hours. There is no overtime on
no overtime on Sundays.	Sundays.





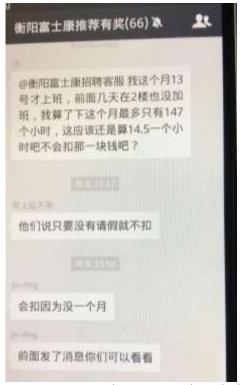
Workers lining up to sign in for work

Section 4: Labor Remuneration and Benefits

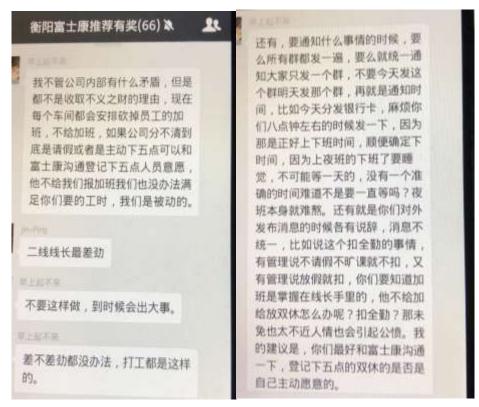
During the investigation, it was off-season at the factory. Regular workers were earning a wage of 2,000 - 2,500 RMB (\$315.79 - \$394.74 USD) a month and dispatch workers were earning 2,000 - 3,000 RMB (\$315.79 - \$473.69 USD) a month. Regular workers earned an average of 2,000 RMB (\$315.79 USD) a month (the actual wages they receive after social insurance is deducted), wages include: 1750 RMB (\$276.32 USD) earned for regular work hours, position evaluation allowance of 200 RMB (\$31.58 USD), position allowance, living allowance of 100 RMB (\$15.79 USD), night shift allowance of 8 RMB a day (\$1.26 USD), regular overtime wages of 15.08 RMB an hour (\$2.38 USD), Saturday overtime of 20.11 RMB an hour (\$3.18 USD), overtime done on legal holidays is paid 30.17 RMB (\$4.76 USD) an hour. Around 400 RMB (\$62.43 USD) is deducted for social insurance contributions.

Dispatch workers are paid by the hour and earned 2,500 RMB a month on average (they do not receive social insurance), 14.5 RMB an hour with a base wage of 13.5 RMB plus an additional RMB for an attendance reward. The reward can only be received if the worker does not take more than two days off a month and if they are not late to work more than twice.





WeChat conversation in the Hengyang Foxconn work group; a worker asked if they would be deducted the 1 RMB attendance bonus as they had only worked 147 hours that month and had started work on the 13th of the month. A Foxconn employee said they would be deducted the 1 RMB because they had not worked for a full month.



WeChat group conversation: a worker voices a complaint that workers should not be deducted their attendance bonus if their line leader was the one who made them take leave and those types of leave should be differentiated from voluntary ones taken by the worker



Dispatch workers who work at the factory for over six months earn a position stability subsidy of 0.5 RMB an hour and a living expenses subsidy of 3 RMB a day. Some workers were awarded a bonus of 100 RMB each month if they worked over 3 months, and some dispatch companies would give workers who returned to the factory 400 RMB which would be paid in cash after they had worked at the factory for a month.

关于企众人力派遣员工薪资福利通知

致企众衡阳分公司全体同仁:

越着公司不断的发展,业务不断的拓张,为感谢广大员工的辛勤付出,从2018年 3月1日起,凡在本公司连续工作6个月以上的员工,工时单价统一上调0.5元/小时, 工资从第7个月开始:工时单价按15元/H(全勤)结算,希望您在未来工作的中能再 接再厉,进一步发挥自己所能与公司共同成长。

特此通知

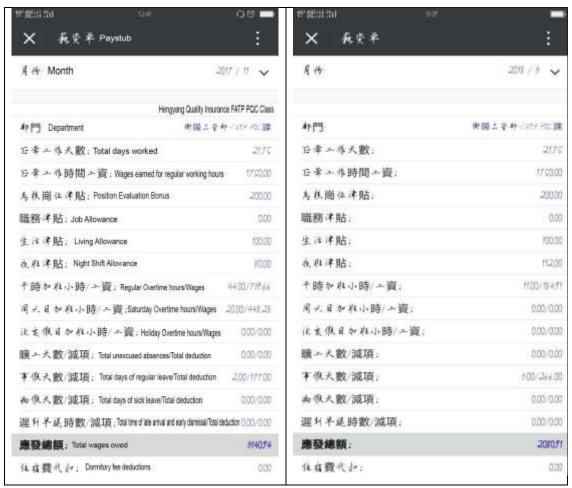


Qizhong company's March 31, 2018 notice stating dispatch workers who have worked at Foxconn for over six months will have a small raise of 0.5 RMB/hour, for a total of 15 RMB/hour (including an attendance bonus)

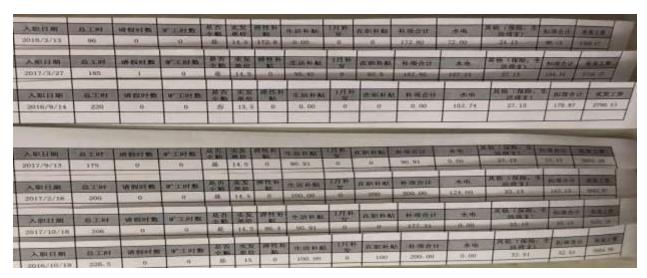
Overtime wages:

	Dispatch workers
Regular workers	
Overtime done on weekdays is to be paid	Overtime done on weekdays, days off, or
1.5 times the regular wages,	legal holidays will all be paid according
overtime done on rest days is to	to 14.5 RMB an hour. Workers who have
be paid twice regular wages,	worked for over half a year will be paid
overtime done on legal holidays is	15 RMB an hour. Those who have been
to be paid three times regular	deducted their attendance bonus will be
wages	paid 13.5 RMB an hour.





Regular workers pay stub available via Foxconn's app



Dispatch workers' pay stub

中国汽工观察

Amazon Profits from Secretly Oppressing its Supplier's Workers

According to the Hengyang city statistics bureau, in 2017, Hengyang residents earned an average of 4,647 RMB (\$725.32 USD) a month.



2017年衡阳市城镇非私营单位在岗职工年平均工资55761元

来源: 市统计层社会科 时间: 2018-06-04 11:17

2017年,衡阳市城镇非私营单位在南肥工年平均工资55701元,月平均工资4647元,比上年增长9.80%。

从执行会计标准类别分组看,年平均工资着速最高的是民间非营利组织比上年增长20.14%,其次是事业单位比上年增长12.94%,企业比上年增长7.20%。 从国民经济行业分组看,年平均工资最高的三个行业分别是金融业991%元,是全市平均水平的1.78倍,卫生和社会工作82278元,是全市平均水平的1.48倍。 信息传输。计算机服务和软件业73330元,是全市平均水平的1.32倍。年平均工资最低的三个行业分别是住宿和餐饮业29961元,是全市平均水平的53.73%,农、 林、牧、海业44038元,是全市平均水平的78.98%,采矿业44579元,是全市平均水平的79.99%。

从平均工资的增长速度来看,增速最高的三个行业是卫生和社会工作19.35%,腐地产业13.56%,科学研究和技术服务业12.76%。增速最低的三个行业是住宿和 餐饮业,下降1.31%,居民服务、修理和其他服务业2.67%,采矿业2.76%。

Wage payment methods:

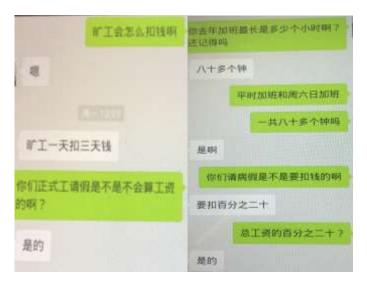
The factory distributes wages every month on the 10th. Regular workers receive their wages at the factory and dispatch workers receive their wages from their labor intermediary. After wages are distributed, paystubs are handed out.

The details for regular workers' wages can be found on their cell phone if they have installed a Foxconn phone app. Regular workers all had an account and password and each person could only view their own pay stubs. A worker just needed to log on to their account to view the details.

Paystub contents:

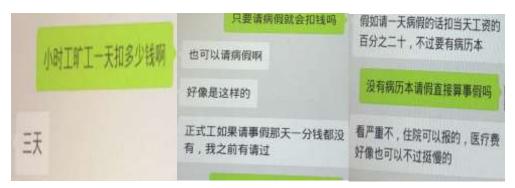
Regular workers' pay stubs list out all the owed wages and deducted wages along with explanations. Some of the possible deducted wages include: missing work, taking a break, sick leave, tardiness, early dismissal.





Left: Worker reports that missing one day of work means they will be deducted three days' wages. Regular workers are not compensated during regular leave.

Right: Worker reports that they worked over 80 overtime hours last year and are deducted 20% of their wages if they take sick leave.



Left: An hourly worker who also reported they would be deducted three days' wage for missing one day of work.

Middle: A regular worker reports that they will be deducted wages for taking a sick leave but will receive no wages for the day if they decide to take a regular leave of absence.

Right: Worker reports that if a worker takes one day of sick leave, they will be deducted 20% of that day's wages and the worker would need to submit their medical history. If there is no medical history but the illness was serious enough to require hospitalization, the worker could be reimbursed and potentially even receive reimbursement for their medical fees. However, the reimbursement process takes a long time.

Dispatch workers' pay stubs vary according to the different dispatch companies. The basic content of the paystubs include: date of entry, total work hours, total wages, how many hours of leave, how many hours of missed work, living stipend, water and electricity fees, halted





material time, attendance bonus, and insurance fees. Pay stubs also include items that workers were unsure of the exact meaning of such as: resignation status and "compensated line time".

Benefits:

	Regular workers	Dispatch workers
Social insurance	The factory purchases social	Do not have five social
	insurance and pays for	insurances (includes pension,
	workers' housing provident	health insurance,
	fund. Around 400 RMB	unemployment insurance,
	(\$62.44 USD) in social	work injury insurance,
	insurance fees are deducted	maternity insurance) and a
	from workers' wages every	housing provident fund. Each
	month. However, one of the	month dispatch companies
	regular workers the	would deduct 20 to 30 RMB
	investigator interviewed, who	from workers' wages under
	had been working at the	the pretense that they were
	factory for a year, said that	purchasing accident insurance
	they had social insurance fees	for workers but workers said
	deducted from their wages	they never saw a guarantee
	starting from their first month	slip and also did not know
	of employment but had yet to	what was covered under the
	receive their social insurance	accident insurance nor the
	card. Whenever they visited	content.
	the hospital, they would have	
	to pay for the visit out of	
	pocket.	
Wages earned during breaks	Sick leave is compensated;	Sick leave is not compensated.
	workers are paid 80% of their	When requesting sick leave,
	regular wages. When	workers must provide a
	requesting sick leave, the	doctor's note. If they do not
	worker must provide a	have a note and their leave
	doctor's note.	exceeds two days, they will
		lose their attendance bonus
		and be deducted one RMB for
		every hour worked.
Paid leave	There is paid annual leave,	There are no forms of paid
	maternity leave, marital leave,	leave.
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	and bereavement leave.	
Legal holidays	The factory provides	No compensation
	compensation.	

Amenities:

The factory has a basketball court, badminton court and a smoking area. There is no health clinic. During training when factory facilities were being introduced, it was explained that the factory regularly opened up its library for the workers; however, neither the investigator nor have other workers ever seen evidence of a library.



Basketball court



Badminton court





Smoking area

Section 5: Dining and Accommodation

企众衡阳分公司宿舍管理规定

一、住宿基本纪律

- 1)每间房按标配居住6人,住宿员工按指定分配的房间入住,不得私自调换房间或床罐,如有同仁离职或 外租,房间居住人数≤3人时,搞曾会根据实际情况给予调配(每人最多做一次课报),如不愿调换者,按居 住人数平接房租和水电;
- 2) 严禁在宿舍内拉帮结派、打架斗般、酗酒、赌博、吸毒等违法违纪行为;
- 3) 臺护宿舍设施、不得拆毁、改制,入住前清检查宿舍的物品景否有提坏,如有请去物业登记报修。若无故版坏者。期价赔偿;室内损坏的东西,如找不到责任者,由住同一確室所有人共同赔偿;
- 4] 节约用水用电、未经批准、禁止使用电炉、热得快等大功率电器、宿舍内不得私自拉接电线或透源用电、 为了个人安全蓄制、离开宿舍后、切记:关择电源开关、关好门腹;
- 5)讲究卫生,严禁随地吐痰、随地大小便,房间定期打扫,垃圾割割宿舍指定垃圾桶,连续查房3次以上, 卫生不依整改的,请宿管网姨打扫,款项员工自行承担(每周一晚上6:30-7:30定期检查);
- 6) 严禁男女混住一席, 严禁在脑舍区域内大声暗哗或在休息时间内做一些影响他人休息的活动。外出顺手 关门, 不得开门就搬;
- 7] 严禁带外人留宿,一经发现、罚款两百元;退宿时,员工应主动交还钥匙、遗失者押金抵扣;

二、房租水电费用标准

- 1) 房费标准: 4元/天 (入住当天开始计算)
- 2) 用电标准: 春季: ≤260度/同 夏季: ≤360度/同 秋季: ≤260度/同 冬季: ≤360度/同 设明: 加級出标准,由住同一確定所有人分摊费用
- 3) 用水标准: 春季: ≤10吨/同 数季: ≤15吨/同 秋季: ≤10吨/同 冬季: ≤10吨/同 该明: 如經出标准,由住局一樣室所有人分雜费用
- 4) 小福利:综合评比每月用水用电最少的房间,同一寝室所有人员房费均按3.5元/天

三、住宿费计算方式

- 1] 在职员工:按4元/天(水电超出标准的房间、由住同一寝室所有人分摊费用)
- 2) 陶职员工: 每月24号之后离职者, 按整月结算房租
- 3) 临时入住: 在钥匙押金50元中按天(5元/天)扣除相应费用(未入职的求职者,费用扣完后请保安清理)

以上紀律、惠请各位住宿同仁遵守执行,共同维护我们这个大家庭的安全、卫生、和谐,创造良好的住宿环境!

为了更好的服务大家,相关责任窗口联系电话如下:【宿警办公室2-3栋207】

驻厂管理(部门分发、工时工资、借支离职、厂内咨询): 王俊良189-4200-0510

宿舍管理(宿舍分发、宿舍调配、物品报修、宿舍稽核):蒋秋香137-8646-6137(暂代)

备注:若反应问题三次以上未能解决或有其他信息反馈,可拨打电话:155-7095-9105(总负责需口)

企众人力资源总公司宣

Qizhong dorm regulation requirements; summarized below



- 1) Basic dorming regulations include: workers should not switch rooms of their own accord; fights are prohibited; workers should treat their furniture well; if any dorm equipment is damaged then the perpetrator will be responsible for paying the cost and, in the event, the perpetrator does not come forth, all tenants in the room must pay for it and split the cost amongst themselves equally; men and women are prohibited from living in the same dorm room; workers are prohibited from letting outsiders stay at their dorm room and if such an incident were to be discovered, the perpetrator will be fined 200 RMB (\$31.39 USD)
- 2) Standards for the dorm's water and electricity fees: Dorm fees are 4 RMB/day (\$0.63 USD); Electricity usage standard: Spring: ≤260 degrees/room; Summer: ≤360 degrees/room; Fall: ≤260 degrees/room; Winter: ≤360 degrees/room; Water usage standard: Spring: ≤10 tons/room; Summer: ≤15 tons/room; Fall: ≤10 tons/room; Winter: ≤10 tons/room; if actual usage exceeds the above set forth limits then all the workers in the room must pay the excess and split the cost amongst themselves equally; Small bonus: each month, there will be a comprehensive evaluation to see which room has used the least amount of water and electricity, for the room that did, all the workers in that room will have their dorm fees reduced to 3.5 RMB/day for that month
- 3) Dorm fee calculation method: 1) employed workers: 4 RMB/day; 2) workers who have resigned: for workers who resigned after the 24th of the month, they must pay for the full month's dorm fees; 3) temporary stay: there will be a 50 RMB (\$7.85 USD) deposit for the key and a daily dorm fee of 5 RMB (\$0.78 USD)

The factory provides accommodation for regular workers. Dorm fees are 110 RMB (\$17.37 USD) a month. Water and electricity fees that exceed the 110 RMB will be split evenly among workers. Dispatch workers pay 4 RMB (\$0.63 USD) a day in dorm fees. Water and electricity fees that exceed the 4 RMB will be split evenly among workers.

Regular workers must take the factory bus to commute to and from work. If workers chose to walk, it would take them 40 minutes.





Free shuttle bus for the Baishazhou Industrial Park District

Living conditions for the regular workers are subpar. One of the regular workers said that when it was raining, the roof of the balcony would start leaking water. The balcony was also very narrow so clothes hung out to dry would be unable to reach sunlight. All the balconies had barriers installed.



Dorm room interior



Dorm balcony



She also said the wall that the sink was attached to had bits and pieces falling off. The lights in the bathroom and shower were all broken so it was pitch black when they showered or used the restroom. They had reported it to the dorm supervisor but ever since moving in to the present, a year had passed without anyone fixing it.



Dorm shower (left) and bathroom (right)

During recruitment, workers were told they would be living in apartment buildings and that it was fully equipped with all facilities. Workers would be able to borrow mops and brooms from the dorm manager but it turned out that they had to purchase their own mops and brooms. In the beginning, it was possible to connect to the dorm Wi-Fi but now it no longer worked.



Exterior of the dormitory

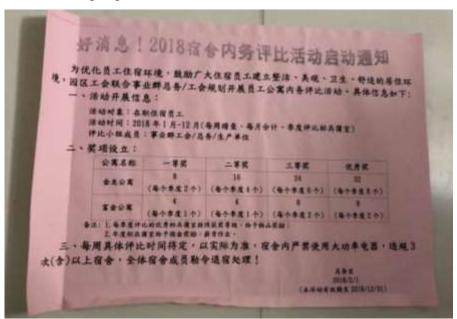


Dispatch companies provide housing for their workers. There are six dispatch workers to a room. Each of the rooms have an independent bathroom and shower.



Workers eating and getting served food at the cafeteria

Workers can choose to stay at the factory's dorms and eat at the factory's cafeteria. Regular workers receive a 100 RMB (\$15.79 USD) living stipend each month but no housing stipend. Dispatch workers who worked for over half a year, receive a daily living stipend of 3 RMB (\$0.47 USD) and no housing stipend.



Notice regarding a dorm competition: From January to December 2018, there will be a weekly inspection of the dorm rooms to see which one is the best maintained; scores will be totaled monthly and prizes will be issued each season.



The factory area has a cafeteria. The first floor of the first building sells set meals that include either two vegetable dishes and one meat dish for 7 RMB (\$1.11 USD) or two meat dishes and one vegetable dish for 8 RMB (\$1.26 USD). When purchasing a meal, it is necessary to purchase three dishes as only selecting two dishes will still cost 7 RMB (\$1.11 USD).



Prices for set meals at the cafeteria: 7 RMB for two vegetable dishes and one meat dish, 8 RMB for one vegetable dish and one meat dish



Left: Cafeteria food; Right: Cafeteria menu for each day from 4/9-13





Cafeteria notice stating that the cafeteria in the Second Pioneer Park will not be open on Sunday April 8

The cafeteria usually operates only in the daytime. Workers who work the night shift say that sometimes they can only eat instant noodles and bread, or go out of the factory grounds to purchase a box meal. While the dishes available at the cafeteria are plentiful and varied, there are not many dishes that workers can actually purchase. Many workers feel that the cafeteria food is unpalatable and bring their own food or go to the factory entrance to buy food.

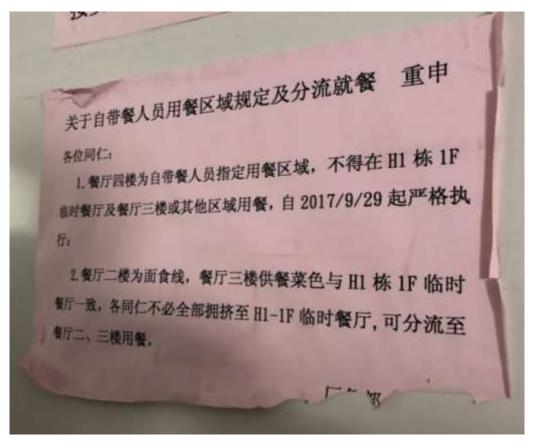


Cafeteria in the Chunman Garden

The other cafeteria in Chunman Garden sells thick noodles and vermicelli noodles. There is



only one type of thick noodles and it costs 6 RMB (\$0.95 USD) for a bowl. The vermicelli noodles are especially unappetizing and very few people purchase it.



Notice reiterating the regulations regarding what areas workers who bring their own meals are allowed to eat in and distribution of diners; translated below

Dear colleagues:

- The fourth floor of the cafeteria is designated as the dining area for workers who bring their own meals and workers cannot eat in the temporary 1F cafeteria in the H1 building or other areas. This will be strictly enforced starting from September 29, 2017.
- 2. The second floor of the cafeteria is the noodle-based food line, the third floor of the cafeteria provides vegetables and the temporary 1F cafeteria in the H1 building provides the same. There is no need for everyone to crowd into the H1-1F temporary cafeteria to eat, people can eat on the second and third floors of the cafeteria.

The cost of the set meals sold by the factory entrance range from 8 to 10 RMB (\$1.26 - \$1.58 USD). A bowl of vermicelli noodles costs 4 RMB (\$0.63 USD). On average the meals sold at



the fast food restaurant that is located on the ground floor of the dispatch workers' dorms cost around 10 RMB (\$1.58 USD), with breakfast costing 4 - 5 RMB (\$0.63 - \$0.79 USD).



Fast food restaurant selling breakfast; menu on the right. Most items cost 1 RMB



Food carts on the street near the factory

For a full day's worth of meals, the approximate cost would be 30 RMB (\$4.74 USD).









Factory cafeteria





Night shift workers eating in the downstairs area of the workshop







Set meals sold outside of the factory

Section 6: Occupational Safety and Labor Protection

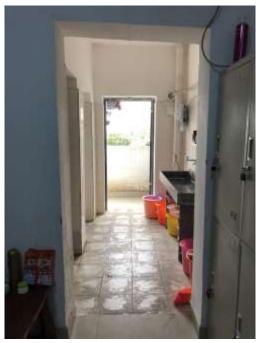
The factory does not have an environment, health and safety committee. Before starting work, dispatch workers do not undergo an environment, health, safety training. Temperatures inside the workshop are 5 degrees Celsius higher than outside temperatures. More than 90% of the workers on the production line will not switch positions. Dispatch workers and regular workers' dorms do not have an emergency aid kit.



Notice reminding workers not to wear their anti-static uniform and shoes outside of the factory



Workers are provided with anti-static work uniforms, anti-static gloves, and anti-static helmets.





Dispatch workers' dorms do not have an emergency aid kit



Hazardous chemicals storage unit

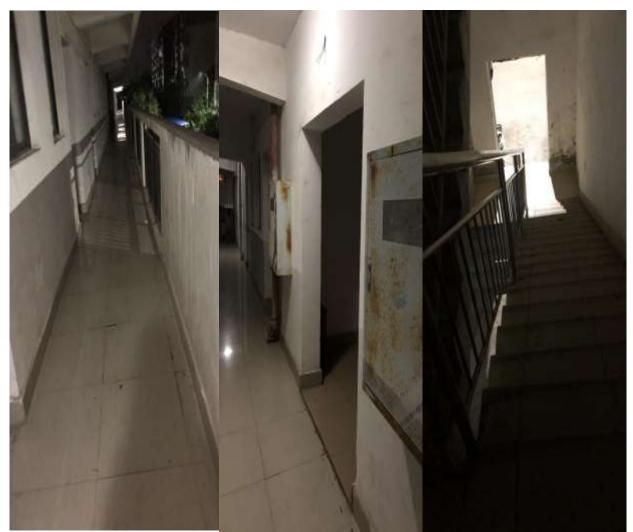
The investigator primarily worked in a position that required them to use a toothbrush dipped in rubbing alcohol to remove dust from speakers. While working in this position, the



investigator had the option of wearing a face mask but the factory did not provide the workers with any kind of personal protective equipment. Excluding for rubbing alcohol, the investigator was not aware of any other potentially hazardous chemical products the workers would come in contact with during production.

Work Injury: During the investigation, a middle-aged female worker, who had been working at Foxconn for half a year, suddenly developed a sharp stomach pain during the middle of her shift and had to be sent to the hospital. The worker had to be taken to the hospital as the factory did not have any medical facilities or a health center.

Section 7: Fire Safety



Dorm stairwells and hallways

Regular workers and dispatch workers' dorms do not have an emergency aid kit. Dispatch workers' dorm area does not have a fire extinguisher, escape routes are not labelled, fire drills



are not performed in the dorm area and there are no emergency exits. The factory workshops had escape routes, labelled emergency exits, and fire extinguishers. The factory organizes fire drills and one occurred October 2017.

There is an emergency escape plan for the cafeteria area.



Fire escape plan for the cafeteria

Section 8: Rewards and Penalties

The factory has specific requirements for attendance management. If a worker has an unexcused absence, the punishment is that for every day of work missed, they will be marked down for a demerit. However, a worker said that if they had an unexcused absence, they would be deducted three days worth of wages. If during work, workers violate OBA standards, they will be punished.

OBA standards are standards that workers need to strictly follow, for example: workers in the exterior inspection positions have to take the following steps: 1) wear anti-static gloves; 2) when picking up the speaker, make sure the USB port is facing yourself; 3) examine every button on the speaker; 4) tear off the film from the side of the speaker and examine if the film



left any marks. If not, the worker is to stick the film back on; 5) remove the bar code and stick it to the bottom of the speaker; 6) remove the film from the bottom of the speaker and check to see if there are any areas that are bulging. If there are no bulging areas, the inspection is complete and the worker is to place the speaker back on the conveyor belt. Each position has different OBA standards but they are required to strictly follow the steps set out in their respective OBA standards.

For example: If a worker is inspecting a product and they are not wearing anti-static gloves or accidentally drops the product on the ground, the production line leader will punish the worker by not allowing them to work overtime. However, the specifics surrounding what happens if a worker violates OBA standards is unclear to both regular and dispatch workers.

The factory also cuts the overtime of workers who take leave or who have unexcused absences.

	情形	行政处分	新克处理
迟到/ 早报	0分钟 <x≤15分钟< td=""><td>1000一次</td><td></td></x≤15分钟<>	1000一次	
	15分钟 <x≤30分钟< td=""><td>警告一次</td><td>近到华县城下工实际时间不计算</td></x≤30分钟<>	警告一次	近到华县城下工实际时间不计算
	30分钟 <x<4小时< td=""><td>警告二次</td><td></td></x<4小时<>	警告二次	
FI	4小哥↑≤X<8小哥↑	记小过二次	
	一天 (8小时)	纪大过一次	一天(8小时)不计器:连续F1 3天成二个月内非连续F14天以 自动离职轮处

Attendance management rules and regulations



Section 9: Labor Union and Grievance Procedures

Labor Union: During training, dispatch workers are informed if they encounter any problems they can file a grievance with Human Resources or the labor union. However, most regular and dispatch workers explained that they have never heard of a labor union and also do not know if there is a worker representative. Workers also did not think to go to one for help.

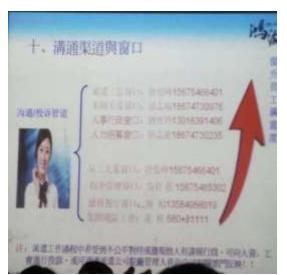
Grievance Procedures: When they have an issue, most of them choose to just keep quiet or resign. They said the complaints window is only a formality and is not of any actual use.

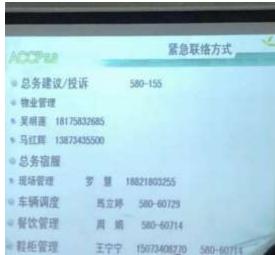


Worker service center

The factory has an employee service center, which is the dispatch companies' factory-based office and mainly handles resignation applications or inquiries regarding wages and work hours.







PowerPoint slides regarding how to file a complaint (left) and emergency contact information (right)

Section 10: Other

Reasons for why workers choose to work at Foxconn: 1) Close to home, making it convenient for workers who need to take care of elderly relatives or small children; 2) Minimal education requirements; 3) Difficulties in finding other jobs

Interviewed workers revealed they were not satisfied with their current wages and that they would like their wages to be 3,500 to 4,000 RMB (\$549.97 - \$628.54 USD). Interviewed workers believed that there was not enough overtime. Dispatch workers hoped they could work 280 hours each month, while regular workers hoped they could work 10 hours of overtime each Saturday and work three hours of overtime each day.

As it is currently off-season at the factory, some regular workers reported that the wages they receive each month is less than 2,000 RMB (\$314.27 USD). Since their wages were so low they might as well work as dispatch workers so they would not have to have five social insurance fees (including old-age insurance, medical insurance, unemployment insurance, work injury insurance and maternity insurance) and a housing provident fund deducted from their wages. The turnover rate at the factory is very high. Many people do not have clear plans for their future and are not satisfied with their current status in life but do not have the capability to improve it.



Worker Treatment:

Workers must report to the line technician before using the bathroom during work hours.

A few of the senior workers were told off by the line leader for working too slowly. Some workers reported crying when being reprimanded by the line leader.

Work Environment:



Qizhong Human Resources notice of resigning employees: Members of the dispatch company's factory based management were resigning and being replaced with new employees

Workers need to swipe their door key in order to enter the workshop and when exiting the workshop, they must pass through security. Upon exiting the factory, workers will have their bags checked but are not frisked.



Investigator's Journal

2018.3.15

On 58 Tongcheng (a website for job postings), I saw that the Foxconn factory in Hengyang, Hunan was recruiting regular workers (contact number: 18478013208). When I called, the recruiter said they were only recruiting hourly workers, for 14.5 RMB an hour (\$2.28 USD). If I were to stay in the dorms, I would need to pay 4 RMB (\$0.63 USD) each day to cover water and electricity fees. If I were to eat in the cafeteria, I would need to pay for my own meals. The cheapest meal supposedly only costs 5 RMB (\$0.79 USD) (but in reality the cheapest was 7 RMB, which is \$1.10 USD). The physical examination fee is 50 RMB (\$7.86 USD) and includes a blood test and a chest X-ray. Over 80% of the workshops at Foxconn manufacture products for Amazon (large and small speakers, eBook readers). Workers who enter the workshops can only be randomly assigned to a workshop and cannot choose which workshop to work at themselves. Regardless of what workshop hourly workers are assigned to, their wage is the same: 14.5 RMB/hour (\$2.28 USD).

2018.3.16

At 8:55 AM, Hengyang Foxconn called me to ask if I was looking for a job, saying that they saw I had submitted a resume on 58 Tongcheng. I said yes and that I was the person who had called yesterday. The recruiter told me to add their WeChat and we could chat on there. I said sure. The recruiter said to get in touch with her first before heading over to the factory and she will schedule an interview time for me. I asked her if I could do the interview Monday afternoon and she said if I went over Monday afternoon, she could schedule a dorm room for me and then she would bring me to the interview on Tuesday morning. She informed me to bring along my luggage and ID card and to call her once I arrived.

2018.3.19

After arriving at Hengyang, I called Ms. Yang, the Hengyang Foxconn recruiter (contact number: 18478013208). She told me to wait a moment and that she would call someone over to come pick me up. After waiting a bit, a number (18302379373) from Chongqing called. He said that he was coming over at once to pick me up. After waiting a little while, a young man arrived and led me to another area. He told me as we were walking that this was where the factory workers lived and that the workers who lived in the building I would be staying at were all hourly workers. Hourly workers earned 14.5 RMB/hour at Foxconn, with 4 RMB deducted each day to cover water and electricity fees at the dormitory, meals at the cafeteria had to be paid for out of pocket and meals generally ran from 5 to 8 RMB. Tomorrow morning at 6:50, I would wait for him at the designated location. Tomorrow there were a total of 6, 7 people who would be going together to interview at Foxconn. The interview location was somewhat far and he said that he would call us a car and we would carpool to the location. The place I would be working at was just across from the dorm and I would only need to walk a few minutes; however, the interviews were taking place at a different location that was not on the factory grounds. A car would come to pick me up for a physical examination and take me to a designated location for the examination.

After explaining, he brought me to the second floor of the dormitory building and told me to sit and wait for someone to come and arrange a room for me. The room I was waiting in had two computers, and two bunk beds, for a total of four mattresses. There was a person sleeping



on the bottom bunk bed. There was one man and one woman in the room, all around 30 years old.

As they were chatting, they said that currently the factory was not lacking workers at all and a lot of people, who wanted to work at the factory, couldn't. They knew that a lot of people were looking for work but were only willing to look for work locally and did not want to go elsewhere. Last week, Foxconn only hired 50 people (there was a total of 6 labor dispatch companies, they stipulated that the Qizhong labor company would recruit 50 people to enter Foxconn), this week they only hired 20 people in total. They told me Foxconn started interviewing at 8 AM and that we were going early in order to fight for an interview slot. After Foxconn finished interviewing the requisite number of people, they would no longer hire people. I asked them when Foxconn needed the most people and they said August, September and October is when the need for workers was the highest.

Currently, the labor companies all wanted to send people into the factory so the factory was almost full. In this area, the number of people looking for jobs exceeded the number of jobs available at the factory.

After waiting for twenty minutes, the man in charge of organizing room placements came over. He took my ID card to register and then brought me to the door of a dorm room. He knocked on the door before walking in and asked, "Your dorm only has four people, right?" After that, he gave me a key and told me to go into the room. It was 4:30 PM by the time they had arranged a place for me. The four people already inside the room were asleep. I asked one of them a question and she said they all worked the night shift. Before I had moved in, the person who had brought me to the living area kept my ID card, saying he would return it to me tomorrow.

2018.3.20

I arrived at the entrance at the dorm building at 7 AM and there were already ten or so people waiting. The Shenzhen Qizhong Labor company called us two DiDi cars and we were driven to a vocational school, where the Foxconn interviews would take place. At the second floor of the school, a classroom door had a sign with the words "Qizhong" taped to it. At 7:20, people starting filing in and waiting. We waited till 8 AM before the classroom door opened.



Training classroom for Shenzhen Qizhong dispatch workers

Jiang Qiuxiang, a staff member from Qizhong's recruitment department, walked in and said that of the people Qizhong had recruited, Foxconn would only be hiring 20 of them. Jiang



said that there were currently 25 of us so some people will not be selected. If there's anyone who cannot attend the second day of training or cannot work the night shift, speak up as soon as possible and give your slot to someone else. In a short while, someone from Foxconn will show up and hand out a written test. There will also be some psychological questions so don't randomly select answers. When the interviewer asks you questions, be sure to properly answer. Around 8:40 AM, a man with a Foxconn factory badge walked in, counted the number of people and handed out the tests. He asked us to take out our cell phones and ID cards and place them on the upper right corner of the desk before starting the test.

After filling out the test paper, they handed out a personal information form for us to fill out. Once we finished filling it, they told us we were all considered labor dispatch workers and we would be earning 14.5 RMB/hour, 13.5 RMB was the base wage and the other 1 RMB was an attendance bonus. If we took more than two days off a month or were late more than twice, then that month's wages would be calculated by a 13.5 RMB/hour standard.

After filling out the questions, a Foxconn interviewer came by and sat in front of the desk and asked us all to do a self-introduction and to focus on what we did before in addition to our educational background. We were also told to roll up our sleeves so they could check to see if we had tattoos.



Training classroom

After my interview, the interviewer signed his name on a form and handed it to me. I went down to the first floor, filled out my basic information, paid 10 RMB, had two photos of me taken, one with a white background and one with a red background. Afterwards, I went back to the second floor and waited for the Foxconn staff member to finish interviewing everyone before walking back into the classroom. Jiang Qiuxiang, the recruiter from the Shenzhen Qizhong Human Resources company, said to gather at the classroom at 2 PM so everyone could go together to the Fifth People's Hospital in Hengyang for a physical examination.





Workers lining up for their physical examination

The physical examination would cost 50 RMB (\$7.85 USD) per person. After the exam, everyone can head back by themselves. The hospital would collect everyone's physical exam forms and send them to Foxconn. We were told we needed to come back to the classroom that we interviewed in tomorrow morning at 8 AM to finish dispatch worker training and we shouldn't be late. At 2 PM, a bus arrived at the training location to bring the people who passed the morning interview to do their physical exams. It was around 4 PM when physical exams finished.

2018.3.21

At 8 AM, I arrived at the training classroom located in the Hengyang Technology School's north building. There were a total of 150 students who had arrived for training in the classroom. Of those, there were 16 people from Qizhong labor dispatch company (the total number of people were actually 20 but two people didn't attend training and the other two did not pass their physical exam).

On the way from the dorms to the training classroom, I hailed a taxi pool. Training started at 8:30. After attendance was taken, the first trainer explained the relevant regulations regarding attendance and resignation. One of those regulations was that after working half a month, the worker would need to provide a week's notice in order to resign. The second trainer emphasized that electronic equipment could not be brought into the workshop. Each time a worker exits the workshop, they will need to go through security. If a worker forgets to swipe in for work, they can inform the manager but they cannot do so more than twice. Everyone who enters the workshop needs to wear a hat, uniform, switch their shoes and everyone should purchase a small lock, as they will be allotted a small locker. Before entering the workshop, workers can lock their cell phone inside.





Notice stating that on October 17th at 1:50 AM, two workers had their cell phones stolen from their shoe lockers. The security department apprehended the person who took the phones by October 17th at 4:30 AM and he was taken away by the police by 6:20 AM. The phones were returned to their owners and workers were reminded to lock their belongings.

Men are forbidden to bring in cigarettes or lighters. Women cannot bring anything edible inside. If bringing water, it must be stored in a clear container.

Training ended at noon and at 1:30, they started taking attendance. After attendance, the third trainer explained relevant information regarding dorms and explained that Hengyang Foxconn had two factory areas. The factory area we would be working at was called Second Pioneer. Second Pioneer had three buildings, which were all manufacturing workshops. The factory area would regularly open its exercise area and library. All workers lived in dormitories outside the factory grounds.

At 3:30 the trainer in charge of attendance came by and handed out everyone's factory IDs. Following that, they organized a bus to pick us all up and take us to the factory area. After arriving at the factory, we lined up, had attendance taken and picked up our work uniforms. While waiting, there was a 30 or so year old woman standing in front of me and we chatted. She told me it was only because she had a small child to take care of that she wanted to work at this factory. She also said the management at this factory was very strict and on top of that, the wages were low.

Around 5:30, everyone picked up their clothes, hat, shoes (everything was old and had a strange scent. Workers were required to wash them before returning). After I switched shoes, I stored my cell phone in the locker and everyone went upstairs in groups.





Lockers for storing personal belongings

I went to the third floor and the people in that workshop had not yet finished their shift and the production line was still running.

The 60 of us were separated into two groups. A group of people told one group that they should arrive at the workshop tomorrow morning at 7:50. The group I was put in was informed that we were to arrive for work at 7:50 PM. After working two night shifts in a row, we would be switched to a day shift. All Foxconn workers would switch shifts once a month. Each time we switched shifts, there would be a 24-hour rest period.

After everything was scheduled, each person lined up and went through security. Following that, we went downstairs to swipe in for work.



Worker checking in for work at the entrance

By the time we swiped in, it was already a bit past 6. However, today's training was calculated to have started at 8 AM and ended at 5 PM for a total of 8 hours. Before going through security, the person who had taken attendance called after me and told me to come at 7 AM tomorrow to work the day shift. After working two day shifts, I would be switched back to the night shift. A female production line leader standing next to her asked me if I was



willing to do so and I said I wasn't. The female production line leader said fine, then tomorrow evening you should get here at 7:50 to work the night shift.

2018.3.22



Workers heading into work for the night shift

I swiped in for work at 7:30 PM and entered the workshop. Around 7:50, everyone on the production line had all arrived. The temperature in the workshop was much warmer than the temperature outside. Each time we entered the workshop, we needed to swipe our entry key and when we exited, we had to go through security.

Around 8 PM, the production line started up. The workshop I worked in was located on the third floor of the third building. We manufactured Alexa Echo Dots (an Amazon smart speaker). There were a total of eight lines but only six were running. The entire line was divided into three parts: the first part at the start of the line was in charge of assembling the speaker, the middle part was in charge of testing, and the end of the line was in charge of packaging. A production line had workers on both sides. They sit facing each other and perform the same work. Each type of work had two to three people in charge of it. The entire line never stopped operating.

Another worker named Hu B. and I were assigned to the third production line and told to sit and observe on the sidelines. Each speaker would be picked up and inspected to check if the attached plastic film, when removed, left any marks; if each button worked properly; if there were any black dots on the surface; if there were any cracks. After inspecting, the label would be stuck on and the plastic film on the bottom would be checked for any signs of bubbling. After every part had been inspected, the speaker would be placed back on the assembly line and the following person would affix the plastic film.



While working on the factory production line, workers needed to wear anti-static gloves. Those gloves were not made of breathable material and workers' hands would start to sweat after wearing the gloves for a short while. Hu inspected the speakers extremely carefully and didn't pause as she ripped off films and inspected things. From 8 PM of March 22 to 5 AM of March 23, excluding from scheduled break times, Hu never once went to the bathroom. The four workers around me also never went to the bathroom. (I went five times in total. Each time I would have to notify the line technician and could only go after obtaining her approval.)

While sitting there observing, my back started hurting. The temperature in the workshop was quite high and it was very warm. In a short while, I started feeling thirsty. The lights on the production line were set on very high and looking at it too long made my eyes tired. The line technician taught me how to follow the steps and remove the plastic film before sticking it back on. She also taught me how to tilt my head 45 degrees while looking under the lights in order to see things clearly. While I was observing, she was always sitting next to me and from time to time would go somewhere else before returning. She watched over us new workers very closely. Across from us, there was a senior scanning worker who wanted us to affix a barcode above the USB port. She said this way if something was wrong, they would be able to tell who inspected the product. The woman across from us who was affixing the plastic films told us that us new workers would be allowed to inspect things slower so as to avoid any potential problems.

Not long after work had started, a woman wearing a pink uniform came over and told us to tie up our hair and put it inside our hats as well as zip up our clothes.

The zipper on my uniform was broken (to be honest, I had discovered it was broken yesterday and had told a few supervisors that I needed to switch uniforms but they only told me that I needed to ask someone else who would then tell me that I needed to ask yet another person. I asked the line supervisor who finally found someone to bring me a new uniform to switch into but that uniform was dirty and smelly and the zipper was still broken as it could only zip up halfway.) I felt like a while had passed before I finally made it to 11:35 PM and I could take a break for an hour. The line technician told us that we could buy some snacks at the cafeteria on the first floor of the first building.

I went to the water dispenser room to pour myself a cup of hot water. I noticed that a few people standing outside the water dispenser room were drinking milk, eating bread and instant noodles. (These people had brought in their food by placing them inside an opaque bag. Food can be brought inside but cannot be brought out, because when exiting the workshop, we needed to go through security.)

After I had poured myself a cup of water, I saw that many people were resting on the assembly line and sleeping, while others had pushed together some chairs and were sleeping on those. Some had even stacked together some foam boards and slept on top of them.

I exited the workshop, went downstairs to my locker to take out my phone. There were a lot of people squatting or sitting on the curbside, eating a boxed lunch or playing with their phones. They all looked exhausted.



I went to the cafeteria on the first floor of the first building but the cafeteria was closed and was definitely not selling any food. I walked around in a big circle and saw a small shop where there were a lot of people purchasing instant noodles. The cafeteria in the second building was open; however, it was only selling vermicelli, which I heard was especially disgusting so very few people bought it. The cafeteria staff also said that they would be closing in ten minutes and if anyone wanted to buy anything they should buy it now. I returned to the small shop; it was very small and mostly just sold bread, instant noodles, and sausages.



The factory's small convenience store that sells ramen and other snacks

Around 12:20, I returned to the workshop. The lights on the production line were still off and there were a lot of people sleeping. I saw that the garbage can by the bathrooms was filled with bread packaging, milk cartons, instant noodle containers; many people will just eat these kinds of food at night to help temporarily quell their hunger.

All the workers I asked were extremely dissatisfied with the factory's cafeteria. They said the food served at the cafeteria was not only of poor quality but also expensive.





Cafeteria

After work, many people would go to the food cart located by the dorm entrance to buy *lufen* (spiced rice flour noodle dish), which costs 4 to 5 RMB for a bowl.



Lufen food stall

At 12:40 AM, the production line resumed operation. The workshop remained humid and hot. I watched everyone working for a moment and felt really tired and thirsty.

I noticed that Hu B., who was sitting next to me, was watching everything very carefully. I thought to myself: she was only 18, would she really have to do this kind of work day in and day out for the rest of her life? As I sat and watched, I thought about China's cheap labor and



wondered exactly how cheap that labor was. I thought working on this production line was just too exhausting.

In my mind, I was both furious and lamenting as my hands continued the repetitive motions. My hands started feeling sore but I managed to make it to 3 AM. The workers across from her stopped their work and rested their heads on the assembly line but the assembly line hadn't stopped yet. I thought we could rest so Hu B. and I got up to go to the bathroom. Upon returning, the line technician told us that we needed to tell her when we went to the bathroom and that Hu B. and I hadn't given her notice before leaving. I said yes. (I had clearly seen that the people across from me were already lying down so I thought I could take a break, which is why I dropped my gloves and got up.) The line leader who was next to me talked with the line technician. In a short while, a man came over to tell the line leader that the production line had stopped.

At this time, the assembly line finally stopped. After twenty minutes, the assembly line started up again and work resumed. Around 3:40 AM, the line technician came over and said to me, "While you might have observed for a whole night, I feel like you weren't watching very closely." I asked her what she meant and she said that it didn't seem like I wasn't watching very diligently. I told her again that I had been watching.

Around 4 AM, the workers across from me stopped working. I continued observing. The workers across from me told me I didn't need to watch anymore as the quota had already been reached. At this time, I saw that some of the people in the work positions behind us had also stopped and were sitting due to lack of work. I felt very tired so I rested my head on the assembly line. After awhile, the line technician came over and tapped me and said I couldn't sleep on the assembly line so I sat up again.

After working at the production line, I sat down for ten or so minutes. The line leader told Hu B. and I that we could finish work at 5 AM. Everyone else would need to work overtime until 6 AM. I saw that there were three people standing in a row behind. Last night was also their first day of work. The line leader told them that they could finish work at 5 AM and must make sure to swipe out of work only after 5 AM. She also reminded us to come back to work at 7:50 PM and not to be late.

The first day of work was finally over. Before, I had been planning on working at the factory for two months but after working for one day, I felt like I couldn't take it anymore. I can't be like those people who worked at the factory for years and years. I don't know how they managed it. The workers who worked with me all looked extremely tired. I saw some people could only stand while working. I saw someone (Wu D.) who was at the end of the production line, sealing boxes who looked especially tired and seemed close to falling asleep. After returning to the dorms, I told my roommates how annoying the line technician was as she had said that I didn't appear to be diligently watching the line. One of my roommates (Zeng Y.) said that if the line technician told you off, you're free to talk back because she doesn't dare bully you but if the line leader told you off then you shouldn't mouth off.

Hu B. said that she felt like the line technician had been fine and that she hadn't told her off. (I felt like because Hu B. had previously worked two years at a factory, she had already



become used to this kind of a lifestyle. I felt that as she was still so young, she could definitely find a better job and get a better life.)

In a short while, another worker (Huang F.), who was around 40 years old, returned. She was angry. She said that she had been working from 11:30 PM to 12:40 AM without rest. She had been constantly cleaning the machines. (The assembly line was operating non-stop. If your movements were too slow, the machines would build up in front of you. You had to clean them all up.) On top of that, the line leader had said she didn't do a good enough job.

At 5:30, the workers in the dorm room had all pretty much returned. They had bought *lufen* from the street cart and were watching TV while eating. Around 7 AM, they started washing their clothes one by one. After brushing their teeth, washing their faces, they climbed into bed and slept. The first day of working on the production line had come to a close. I was absolutely exhausted. I climbed onto bed and quickly fell asleep. On March 23, 2018, at 11 AM, I woke up to go to the bathroom. Everyone else was still asleep. Everyone had been working the night shift continuously for the past three weeks and were already used to sleeping from 7 AM to 6 PM.

2018.3.25

Around 7:50 PM, I arrived at the workshop and by 8 PM everyone had gathered. The line technician called attendance and afterwards, we started working at the production line. The first day I had just been sitting at my work position and observing everyone. The second day, I was switched to using a toothbrush dipped in rubbing alcohol to wipe off the white dust on top of the smart speakers.

The quota for today was 2,800 speakers. Workers sat on both sides of the assembly line. The total number of people sitting in my work section was two, in other words, one other worker and I were expected to wipe clean 2,800 speakers. On average, each person had to clean 1,400 speakers. There were three workers sitting next to me, watching. Two were new arrivals and one had worked there for a year already. Between the three of them, each person had to watch on average 900 speakers being wiped clean.

From 8 PM to 11:30 PM, for the three and a half hours, the workers in front and back of me were all working nonstop. I was the only one who took a bathroom break. During that time, the line technician took a speaker and gave it to me to look, saying I hadn't wiped it clean. She then took two other speakers and gave them to me to look and said that the production label on them had been printed backwards and that I hadn't noticed. She told me to look more closely.

From 8 PM to 10 PM, my back started hurting while sitting at my work position. Around 10:30, I repeatedly started looking at the time displayed on the computer next to me. I felt like time was going by very slowly and I badly wanted to take a break, even if it was only for ten minutes. I finally made it to 11:30 and was able to take an hour's break. I went to the downstairs cafeteria. However, there wasn't much food to buy at the cafeteria and what remained had already gotten cold. Some workers were squatting by the roadside eating buns or instant noodles, while others had bought a boxed lunch from outside and were eating it on the curb.





Night shift workers eating fruit and bread buns at the curbside

At 12:30, work resumed but I was already so tired and my movements grew slower. I brushed with less and less force. There were twenty or thirty speakers building up in front of me that I had yet to brush clean. The worker in front of me was in charge of laser engraving and his movements were very fast and practiced. I asked him if he was a regular worker and if he had been working here for a long time. He said that he had returned to the factory in March. He had worked at the factory for a few months last year but the factory scheduled the hourly workers two months of leave so he resigned. This year he came back again. He said that he was an hourly worker. I asked him how much he earned in an hour. He said that he made 15 RMB an hour because they had counted the half a year he had worked last year, workers who worked for over half a year all earned 15 RMB an hour.

Between 2 AM to 3 AM, I felt like time moved especially slowly. The speakers that remained to be cleaned kept building up in front me. The line technician came over and told me to brush faster and that my movements were too slow.

I didn't say a word back and just mimicked her movements and continued brushing. I no longer had any strength. Around 3:50 AM, there was at last another 10 minutes break. Afterwards, I started working again until 4 AM, when my eyes could no longer stay open. I brushed off dust even slower now. The worker across from me who was doing the same work was very fast. She wasn't dozing off at all. The worker next to me would yawn from time to time but most of the time was focused on her work. At 5:50 AM, I heard that 2,400 speakers had been made and 500 were still needed. The people in front of me stopped their work. The people after me, who were in charge of sticking on plastic film and packaging, continued their work. The worker across from me who had also been brushing off dust was also able to stop working. I asked the worker next to me why we still needed to wait until 7 AM to finish our shift if our work section had already stopped. The worker in the position before mine told me if I didn't have work to do, I could sit there and rest. If I waited until 7 AM, I would earn 30 RMB. It wasn't a bad deal according to her.

At 5:30 AM, the people next to me who were sticking plastic films and those observing also stopped. The people in the packaging section were still working. I was absolutely exhausted



and couldn't help but rest my head on the assembly line. The worker next to me also put her head down for a bit.

In a little while, the worker in front of me started working again and was making slamming sounds. I saw that the worker in front of me had not resumed her brushing work so I also didn't move. After 6 AM, I fell asleep on the assembly line. At 6:50 AM, Hu B. tapped me awake and said we could leave. We stood up and gathered together. The line leader told us that our group would need to come to work at 7:50 AM starting next Monday. We would be switching from the night shift to the day shift. She said that when working we should not doze off and make good use of the time and work fast. Working too slowly would be unacceptable. After 7 AM, we could swipe out and leave. I got in line to go through security. My brain was already muddled with sleepiness. The workers in front of me in the line were yawning incessantly and even the security guard looked exhausted.

I went downstairs where a lot of workers were already lining up before the time card machine. An alarm rang out at 7 AM and everyone cheered. This week we would have two days off. Many of the workers were going to head back home. I returned to the dorm. Two of the workers in my dorm had already returned home and the other two were already asleep. They got out of work at 5 AM.

On March 24, 2018, around 4 PM, I returned to the dorms. Because I hadn't slept enough, my face and eyes were all swollen. After I finished washing my clothes at 6, I was the only one in the dorms as all the workers had returned home. I lay in bed and slept until 10 AM the next day. Tomorrow morning at 7:50 we would have to work the day shift.

2018.3.26



Workers swiping in for the morning shift

At 8 on the dot, we started work. Today I continued brushing the dust off of the Amazon smart speakers. From 8 AM to 11:30 AM, I worked without non-stop. During that time, the line leader told me that I was brushing too slowly and that in the time it took me to brush one speaker, the worker across from me had already brushed two. For the entirety of those three



and half hours, I couldn't stand up and kept brushing. The line technician came over and told me either I hadn't brushed the speaker clean or that I was brushing too slowly. My mood soured but I didn't talk back. Afterwards, the line technician noticed my annoyed expression and didn't criticize me anymore.

At 11:45 AM, I exited the factory to buy food. The boxed lunch sellers were pretty much all sold out and only one seller of rice noodles still remained. I returned to the cafeteria to buy food but there wasn't much left.



Cafeteria food trays were mostly empty

I grabbed two dishes and went to pay. The cashier told me that I had to take at least three dishes so I went back and took another one. In total I spent 8 RMB.

After eating, the worker across from me asked me how much I had spent so I told them 8 RMB. She had taken pretty much the same amount of food as I had so she wasn't sure why she had been charged 9 RMB. I told her that I had initially only wanted to take two dishes but the cashier insisted that I needed to take three. A worker next to me said that even if I had only taken two dishes, I still would have been charged 7 RMB so might as well take an extra dish. After eating, I met a worker I recognized and he said that the boxed lunches sold outside were also 8 RMB and they were also self-serve. You could serve yourself as much as you wanted to eat. After eating, I returned to the workshop at around 12:30 and resumed working until 3 PM, when I was allowed to rest for 10 minutes. At 3:10 PM work resumed until 6 PM.

Today's quota was 3,180. Because of this, we needed to work overtime until 7 PM. The packaging department in the work section after mine was still working.

Today I calculated some figures. The production line I worked on had around 80 workers and the workshop had six production lines running, therefore, given the two-shift system, there should be 900 workers.



Foxconn's Second Pioneer Park had a total of five floors of workshops in operation. The fourth floor of the first building manufactured Amazon speakers, the second floor of the second building manufactured Amazon tablets, the second floor of the third building manufactured Amazon Kindles, the third floor of the same building manufactured small Amazon smart speakers, the fourth floor of the same building manufactured set-top boxes (the brand was not Amazon).

Assuming there were 900 people in each workshop and with a total of five floors which were workshops, the total number of workers at the factory was around 4,500. According to my current understanding of the situation, I estimate that the total number of labor dispatch greatly exceeded the number of regular workers but I wasn't sure exactly how many dispatch workers there were.

Last year, Hengyang Foxconn was the center of Amazon production and recruited many regular workers. The year before, Foxconn scheduled many hourly workers to go on leave for two months and because of this, many hourly workers resigned. The year after that, many of those workers returned to Foxconn. There were even instances of people leaving and returning three times. Labor dispatch companies, for the purpose of attracting previous workers to return to the factory, would promise to give these returning workers a stipend. Some companies would promise them a bonus of 100 RMB each month if the worker worked for five months continuously, while other companies promised them a bonus so long as they worked for one month.

During training, the trainer said that Foxconn had a table tennis table and a tennis court, which were open at regularly scheduled times. However, most people did not make use of them and I also wasn't sure at what time they were open. Every day, everyone was focused on completing the designated quota, and other than working on the production line non-stop, workers don't have much energy left to chat. After work, workers would drag their exhausted bodies out of work and few words were exchanged among them. A majority of the workers at the factory had little education and most of them only finished middle school or vocational school. They were from rural areas and very sincere. They were suited to doing repetitive work that didn't require much mental effort. However, sitting or standing for a long time while working, especially all night during night shifts, might have been possible for them when they were young, however, as they age, their bodies can no longer handle the workload. As society gradually disposes of them, their quality of life also does not improve.

2018.3.27

Today my work was still to brush off the dust from the speakers. This morning, for three and a half hours, excluding for the one bathroom break I took, my hands never stopped moving. At 11:35 AM, I went outside to purchase a boxed lunch for 10 RMB. Because I had gone late, there was only one type of boxed lunch left and all the 8 RMB dishes that you could serve yourself were already sold out.

I went to the factory entrance to buy food. Even though there were more food options, but there was nowhere to sit. Workers were all squatting or standing to eat their food. At 12 PM, work resumed once more. Today we would be working overtime until 7 PM. While I had



already finished my work at 6 PM, I still had to wait until 7 PM before I could finish my shift. Today our quota was 3,420. I brushed off the dust much faster as well as more carefully today and no one criticized me finally.

Starting tomorrow, the quota would return to normal, 3,720, and we would continue to work overtime until 7 PM. I complained to the person next to me about how we had to work overtime yet again. They said if we didn't work overtime, where would our wages come from? The workshop I worked in opened a new line today. There were around forty new workers who arrived today. I heard that Foxconn would not be recruiting any more workers and this would be the last group.

2018.3.28

At 7:50 AM, we gathered together in the workshop and started work at 8 AM. At 9:30, my work position no longer needed to brush the dust off of speakers anymore. The line leader transferred me to the inspection work section. My job was to examine each speaker on the line and scan it to check if it met standards. I was transferred to my new position in the morning and felt like it was somewhat new of an experience so I managed to work until 11:30 AM without noticing the time passing. I went to the cafeteria and ate.



One of the factory cafeterias

Afterwards, I went to find the labor dispatch company manager (Wang Junliang) who was stationed at the factory and asked him when I could resign. He said that I would need to notify the line leader one week in advance (the labor contract stipulated that during the probationary period, I would only need to provide three days notice if I wanted to resign).



Today, the workers on the fourth floor of the first building (approximately 500 to 600 workers) were all on leave because the production line had stopped. They have a three-day leave that starts Wednesday and ends Saturday. This week Qizhong labor dispatch company helped recruit 50 people for Foxconn. They have already finished with physical examinations and interviews today (Wednesday) but must wait until next Monday before they can start working. (This shows that the factory has very few work orders but there are a lot of people searching for work)

There has consistently not been that much overtime at the factory but many people hope they can work overtime because overtime wages are somewhat higher than regular wages. Hengyang Foxconn has a total of three buildings with five floors of workshops in each building. The workshop I was in on the third floor of the third building only opened six production lines and there were two that weren't running, which shows that the factory does not have many work orders and poor efficiency.

2018.3.29

At 7:50, I swiped in and entered the workshop. After we had gathered together for the meeting, I returned to the work position I was at yesterday and started working. Five minutes had not yet passed when the line leader arranged for me to go the fifth production line and brush off debris from the small speakers. (In other words, the same kind of brushing work I was doing before.)

Around 8:50, I had finished my task of cleaning off the dust and had nothing else to do so I chatted with my co-worker. They told me that at this factory the number of dispatch workers exceeds the number of regular workers. Many workers had signed a one-year contract with the labor dispatch companies. After their contract expired, they would sign a new contract with the labor dispatch company. Many people were not willing to become regular workers because regular workers did not have overtime hours, so their wages were lower. Regular workers had a base wage of 1,950 RMB and, on top of that, social insurance fees would have to be deducted. Some labor dispatch companies would even reward workers who had worked for over three months a bonus of 100 RMB each month. Some labor dispatch companies would give workers who returned to the factory a bonus of 400 RMB, which they would receive in cash after they had worked at the factory for a month.

Around 9:10 AM, the line leader of the fifth production line brought me over to the maintenance line to correct the foot padding on the small speakers. There were not that many workers on the maintenance line; everyone on the line either didn't want to work overtime or the other production lines didn't need that many people working on it at the time so they would be sent here. At 11:25 AM, the line technician for the maintenance line told us that we can go eat and to return to our positions by 12:40. It was the first time I had eaten lunch this early. When I went outside, I noticed some workers had already finished eating (I'm guessing they worked at other workshops. When the production quota wasn't very high, it meant less work to do and longer rest periods.) I went to the cafeteria where I ran into a co-worker (Wu D.). He said that today he had told the line leader he had some matters to attend to in the evening and would need to leave work by 5 PM so he wouldn't be able to work overtime. The line leader told him to go to the fourth floor of the first building (the floor where a production line had been stopped and the workers were told to go on leave.) That floor only had ten or so people working and they finished their assigned work very quickly. The



workers in his area were all very bored as there wasn't much to do. The line leader told them to sit there and rest so they could kill enough time to have been there for eight hours before they could swipe out and leave work.

At 12:30, I returned to the workshop and once again started measuring the difference between the speaker's bottom padding. Around 3 PM, there were a few workers whose production line started getting busy again so the line leader called them back. Someone asked me if I was willing to do overtime until 7 PM because there was a production line that was a person short. I said I wasn't willing and his expression darkened but he didn't say anything. At 5 PM, the first production line had one worker short in the speaker inspection work section. Originally, there was someone in that work position but that person left after 5 PM. I wanted to get off work at 6 PM.

Someone called me over to go inspect the speakers (similar to the work I had been doing yesterday). Because the machine on that line was broken and a repairman hadn't been found, the production quota had yet to be met. Approaching the end of my shift at 6 PM, the line was still short 300 speakers. The line leader was extremely anxious and constantly rushed us. One worker also seemed to be annoyed. Everyone was anxious to get off work. Each day's working hours were scheduled well in advance (today we were scheduled to finish work by 6 PM so any hours we work over that wouldn't be calculated as overtime). After work, the line leader of the first line originally wanted the workers to finish their work before letting them go but as all the workers wanted to leave on time, had no choice but to package up what remained and let the workers leave.

2018.3.30

I entered the workshop at 7:50. The workers assembled at 7:55 and after attendance was taken, the line leader told me to return to my previous work position to brush dust off of the small speakers. Today I would be working 8 hours. The production quota was 2,800.





Food carts by the factory entrance

At 11:30, the line stopped and I went outside to eat. The boxed lunch sellers who were by the factory entrance had all been forced to go to the parking lot in front of the factory. It took me



ten minutes to walk over there. Many workers felt like the food at the cafeteria wasn't that good and even though the food carts were further away, they would still rather buy food at the carts.

At 12:40, we resumed work. Today, the worker across from me who was also brushing dust was an older woman. She used to work in packaging. I asked her how long she had worked at the factory and she said she had already worked here for four years now and was a regular worker. It was only in the recent months that she arrived at the third floor to work with the small speakers. Before she used to work on the large speakers. She said that she was 45 years old and had a 10 year old son. The reason she came to work at Foxconn was because it was convenient and allowed her to watch over her son. Each day she would ride a battery-powered moped to work and would bring her own food in an insulated lunch box.



Workers driving mopeds to work

She said that before she had worked on pretty much all the positions for the big speakers. Now that she had been assigned to this line to work on the small speakers, people keep criticizing her for working too slowly. If there were any speakers that had defects, it would be blamed on her not looking carefully enough. She said that there were so many speakers and many people inspecting them so how come each time there was a mistake it was her fault? I asked her if she could bear working the night shift. She said that she was older so it was harder for her to endure the night shift, when before it had been all right. Now her health was getting worse and worse and she felt very tired when she worked. I asked her if the factory had purchased social insurance for her and she said yes, after she had paid for 15 years, she would ask when she could start receiving her pension.



At 4:20, I didn't assemble with the workers and just left the workshop. As I wasn't working on the line that the line technician who was directly responsible for me worked on, I didn't need to assemble with the other workers. I went downstairs ahead of everyone, grabbed my phone and waited in line for it to be 5 PM when I could sign out. There was a worker from the line I was in standing downstairs in the smoking area and chewing on betel nuts. He noticed me and asked me why I had come down so early. I said to him that I never saw him at the meetings. He said yes. He worked at whatever position on the line was lacking a worker so there was no one directly managing him. Each day, whenever the line stopped, he would come downstairs early and wait around in the smoking area until he could sign out.

Majority of the workers in the line are very honest and do not adapt to new situations easily. The work they did was repetitive and required physical labor but not much mental energy. In addition, the overall education level was quite low and everyone was very obedient towards management.

Many of the people working at the factory had worked at factories in Guangdong and Shenzhen before. I asked them if their current wages were lower than the wages they had received at Guangdong. They said it was but they had no choice.

At 5:30 PM, we returned to the dorm. The dorm room had three workers who were asked to go on leave Wednesday and Thursday as their production line had closed. On Friday they would return to work. They slept in the dorm rooms during the day and went to work at night. However, in the afternoon, they had been notified at the last moment that they would not need to work Friday night and to come back to work Saturday night. They were very depressed because hourly workers do not have wages if they do not work. The total work hours for this month had been published and one of the workers in the dorm room had called the line leader to tell them that her work hours had been miscalculated and it was short two hours.

Everyday, people tend to chat while working on the production line; however, they all spoke with the Hengyang dialect so I couldn't understand them.

This week I had two days off: March 31 and April 1.

2018.4.2

At 7:50, I swiped in, entered the workshop and gathered with the other workers. Today my work was to get rid of dust (brushing dust off of the small speakers). I asked the worker across from me, who had already worked there for a year, how many hours he worked this month. He said he had taken two days off this month so he had worked for a total of 170 hours. I asked him what were the most hours he had worked in a month. He said 280 hours and he had earned around 4,000 RMB. I said that if in one month there were 26 working days, with 10-hour work days, that would mean, at most, there were 260 work hours in a month so how did he work 280 hours? He said it had happened last year in June and July when he had worked eight regular hours and three overtime hours (8+3). Normally, the most he would work would be 260 hours.



He signed a one-year contract with his labor dispatch company. After it expired, he planned on renewing it and will continue to be an hourly worker because hourly workers earned higher wages. He said that last year there were student workers but now there weren't, as even hourly workers didn't have overtime so there wasn't a need for student workers. I asked him when he was working 8+3 if it was made possible by pushing back his shift end time? He said it wasn't; the factory had shortened their lunchtime to half an hour. The production quota had increased so workers needed to work faster in order to finish the day's quota.

The factory also had an 8+2.5 work schedule. 0.5 hour was calculated to be half an hour wages. I asked him when he worked in Shenzhen, what his lowest monthly wages were after food and dorm fees were taken out? He said that lowest was 2,500 RMB.

Today's lunch break was from 11:30 to 12:30. At 12:30, work resumed. Today's quota was 3,800 and we would be working 10 hours. The dust brushing work section I was in stopped at 6:30 PM. The packaging section behind me still continued working.

I asked the older woman (a regular worker) across from me how long her contract was valid for. She said that she had signed a three-year contract and her current base wage was 1,950 RMB. The factory divided workers into categories one, two, and three. Of those workers, she was a mid-ranking worker. She had been working at the factory for four years. When she had just started working at the factory, her base wage was 1,500 RMB and later increased to 1,950 RMB but had not increased since. Last year, the most she had received in wages, after deductions were made for social insurance fees was 3,800 RMB. She said that the line leader at the third line had worked at the factory for six years and the line leader's wages were higher than hers. At 7 PM, I swiped out and finished work. I exited through the factory entrance. Foxconn's free bus service transported the regular workers to their dorms. The bus was completely filled with people and it seemed as if the door almost couldn't close.

2018.4.3

At 7:50, I swiped in, entered the workshop, and gathered with the workers before starting work. Today my work was to brush off dust, a quota of 3,800 and a 10-hour workday. At 6:30 PM, the quota was finally fulfilled.

The woman (45 years old) across me said that she had been brushing for so long that her hand was growing numb, her neck was sore, her back was sore, her eyes couldn't see clearly, and her vision was getting worse. Before, her vision was 5.0 but now she couldn't see as clearly as she used to. In the past few days, I got to know a worker. She said that she had been an hourly worker at Foxconn for a year. Before, she would always inspect the exterior; her position had never been changed. Afterwards, her eyes couldn't handle it anymore. She felt that working under bright lights made it more and more difficult for her to see so she asked the line leader to assign her to a different work position. While working at the same work position and doing the same motions over and over again each day, she felt exhausted and her back was sore and her neck, back and arms could barely take it anymore.

One of the workers in my dorm started working at the workshops in March 21. She was getting ready to resign on April 19. The factory-based Qizhong manager told her that she would be paid according to the 14.5 RMB/hour standard for March but as she had not worked



for a full month in April, so she would not be awarded the attendance bonus and would be paid 13.5 RMB/hour.

When working at the factory, we had to wear anti-static uniforms, anti-static hats. We cannot wear watches or accessories in fear of damaging the machines or the other electronic equipment. When working at the workshop became too boring, workers can only pass the time by chatting with each other. As our hands were performing repetitive motions, we can only chat to make the time pass by faster.

The factory had very few young females. Work was very tiring and wages weren't that high. When working we had to wear work uniforms, can't use our phones, can't eat anything and before we could use the bathroom, we had to report to the line technician. It is very easy to get tired when performing simple, repetitive work. The space for general workers to improve and develop themselves is minute and they also lack sufficient freedom. This might be the reason for why more and more young people do not like going to work at factories.

2018.4.4

At 7:50 I swiped in and gathered with the workers. From 8 to 9, my work was to remove dust (by brushing). After 9, I didn't have to continue brushing dust. I was transferred to the outer line to measure the foot pads. The worker across from me said that last year he was an hourly worker but this year he was a regular worker and his base wage was 1,750 RMB. After three months, his wage would be changed to 1,950 RMB (signed a three year contract, there was no specified end period and a probationary period that was not to exceed three months).

Today we would be working 10 hours. We reached the production quota at 6 PM. After we finished, a worker (an older woman, around 45 years old) told me the line leader transferred her to a variety of work positions that she wasn't suited for. It might be because she was getting older so her speed was slower and her reactions were slower. When the line leader was telling her off, she started crying. After I returned to the dorm, an older woman (around 45 years old) in the dorm said that last time the line leader told her off, she also cried. I said that I had been working on the line, doing the same repetitive work and I had no time to rest so I was tired and when people tell me I hadn't done a good job, my mood would naturally turn sour. She agreed.

For Tomb Sweeping festival, we would have April 5th off.

2017.4.7

At 7:50, I swiped in and entered the workshop and started work at 8. Today my job was to remove dust. The IPQC, who wore pink uniforms, would be patrolling behind us workers to see if we were doing work according to SOB standards. If we were discovered to have done something not in accordance to production requirements, she would record our names down and issue a punishment. At around 9, the IPQC said that the worker (Zhou Q.) next to me had picked up a machine with her bare hands. She had picked up three machines and placed them in a box. According to SOB production requirements, workers on the assembly line must wear anti-static gloves. After Zhou Q. had come back from the bathroom, she didn't have the time to wear her anti-static gloves and so she just picked up the machines directly but the



IPQC noticed. Because of this, the IPQC recorded down her name and punished her by saying that she can only work eight hours on Monday and would not be allowed to work overtime.

Around 10, the worker next to me went to grab a machine but their hand slipped and the machine wasn't being firmly supported so it fell onto the ground with a loud bang. When the IPQC heard the sound, she recorded the name of the worker who dropped the machine on the ground and reported it back to the line leader. The line leader asked the worker why they hadn't been firmly holding the machine. The worker said it was because their gloves were slippery so they couldn't properly grasp onto it. That worker was also punished with not being able to work overtime next Monday.

I asked if the factory had a reward and penalty system in place. I felt that even if someone made a mistake that there should be a clear standard and shouldn't be arbitrarily decided by the line leader or the IPQC. A worker said that the reward and penalty system was only applicable to the regular workers.

At 11:30, the break started. After I ate lunch, I went to the worker service center (the labor dispatch company's factory based office) and asked if they could give me a copy of the contract I had signed with the labor dispatch company prior to starting at the factory. A Qizhong staff member (Chen Shaolin) told me that the contract had no legal bearing and the company wouldn't give it to me. It was pointless to sign a contract with the company.

Today we worked for 8 hours. I would have Sunday off tomorrow.

2018.4.9

At 7:50 I swiped in and entered the workshop. Today, from 8 to 9, my work was dust removal. From 9 to 11:30, my work was exterior inspection (inspecting the exterior of the small speaker). In the afternoon, I took a break for an hour and resumed work at 12:30. There was a worker (Dao W.) who started working at Foxconn at the same time I did who asked me how long I was planning to work at Foxconn. I said I was planning on resigning. He said that he was also preparing to resign. He said that of the two other workers living in his dorm room, one of them (Gao L.) had not asked for leave today and didn't say he was going to resign but instead directly quit. There was another person (Yang J.) who was working as normal this morning but in the afternoon, after he ate, he didn't come back to work and couldn't be reached by phone either. He said they planned on just leaving and wouldn't be following standard resignation procedures because they felt it was too bothersome. In addition, they didn't plan on returning to Foxconn afterwards.

From 12:30 to 1:30, my work was to inspect exteriors. From 1:30 to 6:30, my work was to remove dust. The line technician heard me say I wanted to resign and asked me when I planned on leaving and I said next week. I said I was very impressed with the people who have been working at the factory for years. I said that I felt that working the night shift was too detrimental to my health and I couldn't handle it anymore.



The line technician said there was nothing they could do. They had worked at the factory for many years already and even if they left the factory, they weren't sure where else they could go to find work. The wages in the inland areas were much lower than those in coastal areas but she could take care of her family here. Now that her child was older, they needed someone to watch over them. I asked the line technician if she could earn 3,000 RMB a month and she said how could she possibly earn 3,000 RMB a month. I checked with her if regular workers received a stipend for working the night shift and she said that they received a stipend of 8 RMB/night for working the night shift. She said regular workers had social insurance purchased for them by the factory so she feels that she has a safety net. I asked if Foxconn had another factory in Hengyang called Third Pioneer. I heard that factory had higher wages than Second Pioneer. She said that Third Pioneer relocated from Shenzhen to here. Everyone at the factory was not a local and there were very few locals working there. That factory did not really openly hire people, as most of the people hired were the relatives or friends of workers already working at the factory.

One of the workers (Tan Q.) in my dorm started working at Foxconn the same day I did. Today she submitted her resignation application and will be resigning next Thursday (19th).

At 6:30, I told the line leader (Liu Xiaoyan, number: 15675465359) that I wanted to resign and the line leader said she would bring the resignation application for me to fill out tomorrow.

2018.4.10

At 7:50 AM I swiped in and entered the workshop. After we gathered for attendance, I was told to go to the first production line and to inspect the small speakers (511). Today we would be working 10 hours and there was a quota of 3,800. Today the temperature outside was 28 degrees Celsius and the temperature in the workshop was higher than what it was outside but there was no air conditioning. On top of that, we had to wear hats and our work uniforms. All the workers felt extremely warm.

Today they would be distributing wages. From March 21 to March 31, I worked for a total of 72 hours and would be paid according to 14.5 RMB an hour. I would be deducted a daily fee of 4 RMB to cover the cost of water and electricity. In total, 1,006.5 RMB was transferred to my bankcard. Hu B. told me that she had taken one day of leave and received 851.5 RMB but when she calculated her wages herself, she calculated that they should be 861.5 RMB. She wasn't sure why she was short 10 RMB. A worker (Wang D.) in my dorm room said she was short 8 RMB. She said that six other workers who lived in the dorm room next to us, who all started the same day she did, were also short 8 RMB. They weren't sure why.

I heard the worker (Zhou Q.) say that for every worker the labor dispatch company sends to Foxconn they receive 2,000 RMB in brokerage fees. Each month Foxconn would pay 18 RMB an hour to workers. Labor dispatch companies pay hourly workers 14.5 RMB, with a maximum of 15 RMB. Workers who refer others to work at Foxconn receive at least 600 RMB in referral fees.

2018.4.11

At 11:30 I took my resignation application form to the staff member (Wang Junliang) at the factory-based Qizhong management office for their signature. He quickly signed off and



didn't ask any questions. Yesterday, wages were distributed and today pay stubs were hung up on the outside of the worker service center. Judging by the photos I had taken the earliest that a worker had started working at the factory was August 2016 (far exceeded the limit set by the labor dispatch company, labor contract law stipulates that dispatch workers' term limit cannot exceed six months and that they can only serve in temporary, assistive, substitutive functions). The wages for Foxconn's dispatch workers were all hung up on the wall and workers need to retrieve them themselves. Because of this, it was possible to estimate how many labor dispatch workers there were by the number of pay stubs on the wall.



A wall of pay stubs for the Huajie company's dispatch workers



Paystubs for Taihe's dispatch workers





Paystubs for Tiankun's dispatch workers



Paystubs for Huahuisheng's dispatch workers





Paystubs for Chuangyi's dispatch workers



Paystubs for Shenzhen Qizhong's dispatch workers

By counting the number of pay stubs on the wall, I counted that there were around 2,000 labor dispatch workers at Foxconn and that there were less than 5,000 workers in total at Foxconn. According to this ratio, dispatch workers make up 40% of the total worker population (greatly exceeding the regulation stating dispatch workers can only make up 10% of the total workers.)



A worker, Yuan Y., in the dorms resigned from Foxconn today (she did not go through the regular resignation procedure and just won't be turning up to work anymore). I heard that she left because of a family matter. She went to find the line leader and attempted to resign but the line leader didn't approve. Instead, she decided not to take the thousand or so RMB in wages and just left. Three workers who had started at the same time I did had started leaving as of yesterday. They said if they followed the standard procedures they would need to work for another week and didn't want to wait anymore. They planned not to come back to Foxconn so they decided to just leave.

2018.4.13

At 7:50, I swiped in and entered the workshop. Today my job was to remove dust. I would be working 10 hours and there was a quota of 3,800. At 10 AM, the line leader told me I could finish work at 7 PM and it would be counted as overtime. Tomorrow I wouldn't need to go to work. The workers around me all needed to work tomorrow but the line leader told me that I wouldn't need to go to work. They had also gotten rid of my overtime yesterday and the day before and asked me to finish work at 5 PM, meaning I only worked 8 hours those two days. If workers don't work overtime, their wages are low.

I wasn't sure why the line leader didn't schedule me overtime for two days in a row and even wanted me to have a day off tomorrow. I told the line leader that I wanted to work tomorrow but the line leader said there was no space and said that there was a regulation stating that they had to ask ten workers not to come to work tomorrow as one production line didn't need that many people so ten people must not come to work.

I said that Foxconn recruited that many people but didn't give them work. The line leader said that the production lines occasionally lacked people and at other times, had too many people and she had no say in the matter. (Producing the black colored speakers required workers for both laser engraving and dust removal so there was a greater need for workers. When producing the white color speakers, there was no need for laser engraving or dust removing so the production line didn't require as many people.)

She said that usually the workers who have their overtime cut are those that take leave or have unexcused absences. I told her that I have not taken any leave yet, not been absent from work, nor had I ever been late, yet they got rid of my overtime yesterday and the day before, and I didn't need to come to work tomorrow. I said that I would definitely go to work tomorrow. The line leader asked why I was resigning then if I wanted to work. I said I had to resign because of a family matter, and because I didn't have anything to do tomorrow, I definitely wanted to work. The line leader said she would arrange overtime for me today, however, I didn't need to work tomorrow, and promised not to get rid of my overtime hours next week. I said that I won't work overtime today, but I had to go to work tomorrow. The line leader said we would discuss more in the afternoon. If a worker says they won't be at work tomorrow, I could take their place.

At 3:00 PM, the line leader told me that I could go to work tomorrow. I asked her how many people had taken leave. She said there were a few, and said that I must go to work tomorrow. I told her I would definitely be at work tomorrow.



On the production line, there are a few workers each day who do not work overtime. If you have something to attend to or you don't want to work overtime, you need to tell the line manager earlier. The manager records a list of workers who are not working overtime. This was supposed to be an act of compassion. However, some workers say that some production line managers do not arrange overtime, and some workers who do not wish to work overtime are forced to. Some workers who want to work overtime, have their overtime cut. It seems that all the production lines have different standards.

For example, I did not work overtime yesterday or the day before and today, the line leader said that I didn't need to come to work tomorrow. I was wondering why, perhaps the line leader has an opinion about me? Did I offend her in any way? If I don't work overtime, I won't have any money! Therefore, I went to the line leader and offered to work tomorrow. She laughed a little, and then explained to me that everyday there are a few workers who do not work overtime. The line leader saw that I was resigning, and probably thought that perhaps I did not want to work overtime, so didn't arrange any overtime for me. Currently, Foxconn is not in need of that many workers. If there were overtime work, they would consider regular workers first, as their wages are low, and must rely on overtime work for more wages.

2018.4.14

At 7:50 AM, I swiped into the workshop, and gathered with other workers. My job was to brush the dust off the products, and I worked for 8.5 hours. Today's production quota was 3,200 products. There weren't many workers working overtime today. Workers on the second level of Building 3 were on leave, and regular workers on the second level were transferred to the third level to work overtime. There weren't many workers on the third level and 10 workers from one assembly line did not have to work overtime. A worker said that there was no overtime in the months of May, June and July. Many workers hope to work overtime, as without the overtime pay, wages are low. At 11:00am, the production line stopped, and we went for lunch. I went to the cafeteria on the first floor of Building 1, however, I didn't end up buying lunch. Workers who were sitting inside the cafeteria had all brought their lunch.



Many workers bring their own lunch

A lot of workers go to the canteen to buy instant noodles to eat. After buying instant noodles, I went to the cafeteria on the second level, and realized that they were selling set lunches today. But the dining hall is quite small, the food sells out quickly, and seating is limited.



Workers who line up to purchase a meal say there is not much food left. Today, there were a lot of workers on leave, however, there were also workers working overtime.

April 15, 2018 Sunday was a rest day.

2018.4.16

At 7:50 AM, I swiped into the workshop, and today, my job was to brush the dust off the products, and I worked for ten hours. The production quota for today was 3,700 products. At 7:00pm, when I was lining up to swipe out of work, I heard a few workers chatting in front of me. They said that next month, Foxconn would be laying off workers since there were less orders and they didn't need many workers. The factory will send hourly workers on leave; however, they were actually laying off workers.

The factory would not be laying off regular workers, since they had signed a contract. If regular workers were laid off, the factory would have to pay them compensation. The worker was saying that next month, there would be no overtime. This month, there was overtime and workers worked till 7:00 PM, but next month, with no overtime, workers would finish work at 5:00 PM.

The wife of Qizhong Dispatch Company's dormitory manager works on the same floor as me, and she told me that Foxconn pays the dispatch company 17 RMB/hour for each dispatch worker. I said that there were some dispatch companies that deduct 30 RMB from workers' wages for social insurance, and Qizhong had yet to make deductions to my wages. She said that some companies do deduct wages for social insurance fees; however, they are not sure where the money goes. Dispatch workers have never seen a guarantee slip and they are unsure what kind of social insurance was purchased.

2018.4.17

At 7:50 AM, I swiped into the workshop, and today, my job was to brush the dust off the products, and I worked for ten hours. The production quota for today was 3,700 products. I asked whether Foxconn had laid off workers last year, and the worker opposite from me said that he had started working at the factory in February last year. After the New Year this year, Foxconn started sending hourly workers on leave. There were a lot of workers at the factory last year, and there were around 8,000 workers.

The regular workers did not go on leave, however, the hourly workers were on leave for two months, and did not return to the factory until March. The factory did not directly lay off workers, but they arranged for hourly workers to go on leave, and during this time, workers do not receive any wages. This led many workers to resign, as they could not wait two months for work. I also heard that last year, around 3,000 hourly workers were sent on leave, and as they are paid by the hour, there was no guarantee that they would earn a base wage. The factory also did not purchase social insurance for these workers. Foxconn recruits a large number of hourly workers, as they can save a lot of money by not purchasing insurance for workers. The dispatch companies earn money each month from the hourly workers, and they also do not purchase a pension, health insurance, etc. for them. Hourly workers do not receive their wages in full from the factory, and therefore, are not guaranteed a decent standard of



living, which infringes heavily on their rights and interests. This is why the Labor Contract Law places heavy restrictions on the number of dispatch workers.

April 18, 2018

At 7:50 AM, I swiped into the workshop, and today, my job was to remove dust, and I worked for ten hours. The production quota for today was 3,700 products. At 12:00pm, I went to the cafeteria for lunch and the person sitting opposite from me told me she was a regular worker. She said she regretted becoming a regular worker and has been working at Foxconn for over a year. However, the wages for regular workers are very low, and she has to rely on working overtime to earn enough money. There is no overtime work next month. She said that on Mondays to Fridays, work done from 5:00 PM to 6:00 PM was paid at the hourly wage of 15 RMB/hour. On Saturdays, overtime was paid 20 RMB/hour. The worker said that regular wages for workers was too low, and she wants to switch to hourly wage work.

Today was my last day at work, and I will go to the Employee Service Centre tomorrow morning at 10 AM to return my work uniform, hat and shoes, and also undergo resignation procedures. I haven't worked the full month, so there would be a 1 RMB deduction for every hour that I worked. The wages would be calculated according to the 13.5 RMB/hour standard. I was going to have to wait until the 10th of next month for the wages I earned in April to be settled.

April 19, 2018

In the morning, I went to the "Employee Service Center" to undertake resignation procedures. I returned the work uniform, hat and factory card, filled out a resignation form and signed my name on the employee transfer list. Wang Junliang, the company's staff said that there were eight workers resigning today (This did not include workers who had resigned voluntarily). Wang also said that if we were looking for work in the future, we could contact the company, as Shenzhen Qizhong Company has a lot of branches across China. After I had completed the resignation procedures, I went to the dormitory to return the keys. When I returned the dormitory keys to the manager, she said that there should be no damages to the stools in the rooms. She asked me why I was resigning. I said that I couldn't work the night shifts, and she asked "Did you not know that you had to work night shifts when you applied for the job?". I said I knew, but previously I had never worked night shifts, and thought I could manage the shifts, however, I discovered that I really couldn't. The manager said she understands and thought that the recruiting notice did not specify clearly that there were night shifts. After I returned the keys, the manager tried unlocking the door with the key. She then returned the 50 RMB deposit to me, and said if I was looking for a job in the future, I could contact them.



Individual Worker Stories

Hu B.

March 21, 2018

During my interview yesterday, I got to know a co-worker named Hu B. As of this year, she wasn't 19 yet. She said that before she was 16, she went to work two years at a factory in Foshan, Guangdong, that was owned by a Sichuan person. She had relatives over at that factory and that's how she went to work at the factory even though she wasn't of age yet. At that time, excluding her, there were three others working there who were under the age of 16. She said that each time the factory was inspected the factory would ask the under 16 year olds to go on leave. The factory manufactured LED lights.

After leaving that factory, she went to a different factory that manufactured packaging for food items. She worked there for three months and wanted to resign but the boss wouldn't let her so she just left. Her first month's wages were still with her boss, as she hasn't made attempts to take it. When she was at Foshan, Guangzhou, she had two boyfriends, both of whom were not from Hunan. Her mother said she couldn't marry them because she wanted her to marry someone local so she returned here. She is the oldest in her family. She has three sisters and one brother. Two of her sisters were given to other people and raised by them. Her parents grew cantaloupes at their home. She said on the weekends when we have time off, we should take a trip and visit her home.

She told me that after she graduated middle school, she studied at the Hunan Vocational Secondary School for half a semester. The teacher arranged for all of them to work at a Dongguan factory. They worked for two months and earned around 7,000 RMB. The teacher deducted a year's worth of school fees and other fees from their wages and only gave them back 500 or so RMB. She was originally supposed to study at that school for three years but after studying for half a semester, she didn't go back and still had to pay for the remaining half of the semester's school fees. Her father told the teacher that the school didn't need to return the school fees if they would give her a graduation certificate. She said that her teacher didn't agree to it and didn't give her a graduation certificate. I asked her if she had continued studying at that school, if all the wages she had earned working at factories would first be given to her teacher and she said yes, it wasn't worth it for her but the teachers earned a lot of money.

March 22, 2018

While we were observing the production line, I asked Hu B. that when she was working at the factory her school had sent her to, did everyone know she wasn't 16 yet? She said that when her school sent her, no one knew because her school had given her a fake ID, name, age and address. Her emergency contact information was also false. She needed to memorize all of the false information and the teacher would even check to see if the students had memorized it completely. I asked her for the name of her previous vocational school and she said it was called Hunan Vocational Secondary School.



March 24, 2018

Hu B. wanted me to accompany her home. On March 24, 2018, I got on a bus with her at 8 AM and we reached her house at 10 AM. Her parents were in the fields sowing cantaloupe seeds. Her house had three floors but it wasn't furbished. There was still dirt and ceramic tiles stacked up against the wall. I asked her dad if they needed to ask someone to come tile their house. Her dad said that they didn't need to ask someone and they would do it themselves. Her dad used to work in Guangdong. Starting in 1991, he had worked in factories for eight years and earned at most 8 RMB an hour. He assembled cell phones.

Her family was raising six hens and two roosters. Most of their income came from selling cantaloupe. They sowed seeds in April and in June, July and August they could harvest the cantaloupe to sell. After harvesting the cantaloupe, they would start planting rapeseed or rice. Rapeseed would produce seeds the following March and after harvesting those, cantaloupe could be planted again. Her house also had a fishpond that wasn't very large but the fish raised there could be sold for some money. Her parents did all the farm work. Her parents needed to raise her younger sister and brother. Last year she hadn't worked at all and had just stayed at home. This time when she went home she also asked her father for 150 RMB. Her dad said that if he went back to the factories to work he could earn 300 RMB a day. I asked him how he could earn that much and if he had been a technical worker? Her dad said yes, he had worked for so long that he was very familiar with the whole process. I said that the wages at Foxconn were very low but her dad said they weren't and that they were acceptable. In the afternoon, I ate the rapeseed her mother had cooked as well as sautéed lettuce with meat, scrambled eggs and an eel.

I asked him if the eel had been caught from the fields? Her dad said yes, it had been just caught and that it was wild. I said that in Sichuan, eels were expensive. Her dad said that where he was from, eels were also expensive. After we ate, it was around 3 PM. Her boyfriend drove his boss's car to come pick her up. Her boyfriend was 25 and had worked for three years at a factory previously. The factory manufactured Epson printers. He could earn around 4,000 RMB in wages. When he first started, he discovered that there was an issue with the screw on top of the machine and reported it immediately, avoiding a potentially costly disaster. The factory rewarded him 800 RMB and recorded his great service.

I asked him if his overtime wages had been high and he said that his overtime wages were calculated according to minimum wage. The higher minimum wage was, the higher his overtime wages were. I said that a few workers who had worked at Foxconn for years said that their base wages hadn't changed. He said that after I had worked for a while I would understand but I said I found it strange, they had worked there for years but their base wage hadn't increased at all. I asked how could they stay there. Hu B.'s boyfriend also told me that after he had graduated middle school, he went to a vocational school. After studying for half a semester, the teacher arranged for him to go to a factory in Shenzhen and at the time, he was only 15 years old. Afterwards, he didn't go back to school and didn't ask for a graduation certificate and had even referred 80 people from that school to work at the factory he was in. None of them were yet 16. Everyone had obtained fake IDs. Those people hadn't gone through the hiring process with their school but rather directly got in contact with the factory he was in touch with. He had arranged for a bus to take the 80 of them to the factory and had arranged for someone to pick them up when they arrived. At that time, in those two months, he had earned over 20,000 RMB. After those 80 people started working at the



factory, they didn't bother returning to school. Many of those people were originally from Yunnan who then went to Hunan to study at a vocational school. Afterwards, they went to work at Shenzhen. Later on, when the school found out, they had a serious problem with what he had done.

Tao G.

April 6, 2018

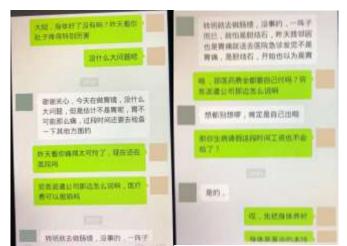
In the afternoon, as I was eating, I talked with an older woman (Tao G.). She was a temporary worker and had worked at Foxconn for half a year. At 12:30, work resumed. When it was almost 1 PM, Tao G. went to the bathroom and when she came back, she kept clutching her stomach. A worker next to her said if she wasn't feeling well she should ask for leave. Her expression looked pained but she continued working on the production line.

I noticed that her stomach seemed to be hurting quite badly. I told her she might have acute gastroenteritis and she should ask for leave. She didn't say anything in response. After awhile, she was in so much pain, she laid down on the production line and even tears started flowing. I noticed the line technician was near me so I called them over. The line technician saw that the woman was in a great amount of pain so they went to get the line leader. After three or four minutes, the line leader came back and at this time, Tao G. was already kneeling on the ground out of pain and tears were streaming down her face. The line leader asked her if she needed them to call her home or if they should call 120. Afterwards, (I wasn't sure where they found someone), they also called her labor dispatch company and two other line technicians came over to lift up the woman and took her away. Starting from when the woman fell onto the ground, up until she was lifted up and carried away, approximately 30 minutes had passed.

As I watched the woman, I felt very anxious. I asked the worker next to me if the factory had a doctor and they said it didn't. I felt that it was very pitiful for the woman to have this sudden outbreak of illness. Each and every worker in the factory all ran the risk of being in the same situation as that woman. When they felt ill, the line leader was called and 120 is not immediately called but rather the labor dispatch company. The factory did not even have the most basic medical equipment or health center.



April 7, 2018



WeChat messages with Tao G.

Left Photo: Investigator (Green): How is your health? I saw that your stomach was in a lot in pain yesterday. It wasn't anything major was it?

Tao G. (White): Thank you for your concern. Today I had a gastroscopy and there was nothing serious but I guess it's not my stomach. Stomach pain cannot possibly be that painful. After some time has passed, I'll have to do some more examinations of other areas.

Investigator: I saw you were in just too much pain yesterday. Are you still at the hospital? What did the labor dispatch company say? Can you be reimbursed for the medical fees?

Right Photo: Tao G.: I went to get a gastroscopy during the shift change. It was fine. It was just a moment of pain. I'm just afraid that it's gallstones. Yesterday my neighbor also had stomach pains and was sent to the emergency room and they discovered it wasn't stomach pain but rather gallstones. In the beginning, they also thought it was just the stomach.

Investigator: Oh, then do you have to pay for all your medical fees yourself? What did the labor dispatch company say?

Tao G.: Don't even dream of it. I'm definitely the one paying for all of it.

Investigator: Then will you not receive any wages for the period of time that you went on sick leave for?

Tao G.: Yes.

Investigator: Well, first focus on recovering.

Tonight I asked Tao G., the worker whose stomach pain had sent her to the hospital, how her health was. She said it was fine. I asked her if the labor dispatch company would reimburse her the fees for her medical visit and if she received wages during the time she spent at the hospital? She said she paid for all the medical fees herself and that there were no wages during her sick leave.

Chen L.

March 22, 2018



At the factory's small convenience store, I ran into the woman (Chen L.) who had just been sitting across from me on the production line while I was observing. She purchased an instant noodle bowl. She said that she was afraid she would be hungry by the time the break at 3 AM happened. As she hadn't brought any food, she had decided to eat a bowl of instant noodles to help take the edge off her hunger.

She was a regular worker at the factory. She said she had worked at the factory around a year. The quality of food at the cafeteria was extremely poor.

The workers would normally go outside and purchase a boxed meal. She said she hadn't worked overtime in a very long time. Each month she would be deducted social insurance, leaving her with 2,000 RMB of wages but most of that would go towards going out to eat and dorm fees so in the end, she didn't have that much left for herself. She said that hourly workers weren't deducted social insurance and because of this, their wages were higher.

Tan Q.

March 25, 2018

In the evening, a worker, Tan Q., told me she was only going to work at the factory for a month because the factory work was too tiring and painful and, on top of that, wages were low. She wanted to work one month of day shifts and quit.

She used to work at a massage place. For each customer, the boss would take 60% and the masseuses would receive 40%. Each masseuse would need to wear makeup but her face was sensitive and the doctor told her she shouldn't wear makeup for at least a month. She was 28 years old and had a 7 year old son. Her parents were in their fifties. Her family also farmed. While working at the massage place, her lowest wages would be around 4,000 RMB. The highest wages she would earn could be 10,000 RMB a month. Her and her husband were divorced so she had to raise her son by herself. Her house had been renovated and had incurred some debt for the renovations. The debt has been paid off now. Last year she didn't want to work so she travelled around Guangdong and spent all of her money. This year she had no choice but to start working again.

Dai L.

March 28, 2018

At 12:30, work resumed. The worker (Dai L.) next to me told me that he was a labor dispatch worker who started working February 9, 2017. He signed a yearlong contract but had already worked for more than a year at the factory. After working for half a year, his wages increased to 15 RMB an hour. He said that many of the workers who started at the same time as him and who had worked for a year were also dispatch workers. The reason so many of them were willing to be hourly workers is because hourly workers will not have social insurance fees deducted from their wages at the end of the month and therefore their wages were higher than regular workers. Regular workers would have a few hundred RMB deducted from their



wages each month to cover social insurance and sometimes, at the end of all the deductions, they would only receive a thousand or so RMB.

I said to him that his contract should have expired by now and asked if he had renewed it with the labor dispatch company. He said they hadn't asked him to sign a new one and in any case, if he did sign a new one it would also be for a year. Labor dispatch companies will not let you sign a multiyear contract and they only offer yearlong contracts.



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Mr. Jeffrey P. Bezos Chairman, President & CEO Amazon.com, Inc. 410 Terry Ave. N. Seattle, WA 98109

May 4, 2018

Dear Mr. Bezos,

I am Li Qiang, the Executive Director of China Labor Watch, a labor rights organization located in New York. China Labor Watch has been operating in the United States for over 17 years. Over these years, we have monitored the labor conditions of the Chinese factories that supply to multinational companies. We have investigated the labor conditions of Chinese factories that supply to Apple, Samsung, Ivanka Trump's brand among others. For more information regarding China Labor Watch, you can search online or visit our website. From 2017 to 2018, we launched an investigation into Hengyang Foxconn, a Chinese supplier that manufactures products such as Amazon's Kindle. Our investigation at the Hengyang Foxconn factory revealed the following workers' rights violations or Chinese labor law violations were occurring during the course of manufacturing Amazon products:

- 1: The number of dispatch workers exceeds 10% of the total number of regular workers and, during offseason reached around 40% of workers. The percentage of dispatch workers is most likely higher during peak-season. This violates Chinese labor law. Foxconn uses a large number of dispatch workers and violates workers' interests via these dispatch companies. This practice in of itself is unethical and illegal.
- Workers are required to arrive to their work positions ten minutes before their shift starts and these ten minutes are uncompensated.
- 3: Dispatch workers only receive eight hours of pre-job training. Chinese law stipulates pre-job training to be at least 24 hours.
- 4: During each month of peak production season, workers have to work over 100 hours of overtime. However, Chinese law stipulates that overtime each month cannot exceed 36 hours. During peak season, there was an instance of workers working 14 days continuously.
- 5: During off-season, the factory schedules dispatch workers to go on leave, resulting in these workers having no wages. During off-season, the factory management will schedule no overtime for regular workers. Due to their low wages, by not allowing workers to work overtime, it forces workers to resign of their own volition.

6: Sick leave is unpaid for dispatch workers.



TEL: 212-244-4049 • EMAIL: CLW@CHINALABORWATCH.ORG 147 W 35TH ST, STE 406, NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10001

- 7: Regular workers earn a wage of 1750 RMB (~\$275 USD) each month but in 2016, average wages in Hengyang were 4231 RMB (~\$665 USD). The base wage is not enough for workers to maintain a decent standard of living.
- 8: Dispatch workers earn an hourly wage of 13.5 RMB (~\$2.12 USD), however, during recruitment, workers are told they will earn 14.5 RMB/hour (~\$2.28 USD) but the wage promised includes an attendance bonus. This is false advertising. In reality, dispatch workers earn 13.5 RMB/hour (\$2.12 USD) and are paid at the same rate for work done during normal hours and during overtime, which is in violation of Chinese labor law.
- 9: The factory cafeteria does not operate in the evenings. The night shift runs from 8 PM to 7 AM the following morning. Many workers can only go to the factory's convenience store and purchase a bowl of instant noodles. If they continue to do so for a long period of time, it will negatively affect workers' health.
- 10: Dormitories for both regular and dispatch workers do not have emergency exits. The dormitory area for dispatch workers does not have a fire extinguisher and escape routes are not labelled. Fire drills are not performed in the dormitory area.
- 11: Before starting work, dispatch workers need to pay 50 RMB (\$7.86 USD) to cover physical examination fees.
- 12: Many dispatch workers do not receive a copy of their labor contract.
- 13: Workers need to line up when swiping in and out of work and waiting in line to swipe in requires waiting for five minutes.
- 14: If workers are late, have an unexcused absence, or are on sick leave, the production line leader will reduce their number of overtime hours. Due to a low base wage, it is a punishment for workers to not be able to work overtime during off-peak season.

I hope that you can compel your suppliers to improve their working situations and to manufacture Amazon products under ethical conditions. China Labor Watch is also willing to work together with Amazon and help improve factory conditions. I hope that after you have received our letter, you will send a reply within 10 business days. If you have additional questions, please feel free to contact me at (212) 244-4049.

Sincerely,

Li Oiang



Mr. Li Qiang Founder and Executive Director China Labor Watch 147 W 35 St, Suite 406 New York City, NY 10001

Dear Mr. Qiang,

Thank you for your letter concerning working conditions at Foxconn Hengyang. Amazon takes reported violations of our Supplier Code of Conduct extremely seriously. Amazon recognizes our responsibility to ensure the well-being of factory workers manufacturing products for Amazon. Amazon's products must be manufactured in a manner that meets or exceeds the expectations of Amazon and our customers as reflected in Amazon's Supplier Code of Conduct, which states suppliers must provide workers a safe and healthy work environment, working hours must not exceed the maximum amount permitted by law, and suppliers must pay their workers in a timely manner and provide compensation (including overtime pay and benefits) that, at a minimum, comply with applicable laws.

Where appropriate, Amazon uses independent auditors to verify compliance with expectations in our Supplier Code of Conduct. Amazon partners with suppliers to drive continuous improvement in working conditions. Amazon regularly assesses suppliers, including Foxconn, to monitor continued compliance and improvement. Amazon's assessments include:

- Site inspection of all areas of the site and any living quarters;
- · Confidential worker interviews or surveys conducted without site management present;
- Review and analysis of site documents or licenses to assess workers' age, contracts, compensation, working hours, and workplace conditions;
- Identification of past compliance issues, areas for improvement, and development of a remediation plan.

After an assessment, a supplier must promptly provide a detailed remediation plan for each issue identified. Amazon tracks remediation closely and conducts follow-up assessments based on findings.

Additional information about Amazon's Responsible Sourcing Program can be found in Amazon's Sustainability Question Bank, online at www.amazon.com/sustainabilityquestionbank.

Sincerely,

Director, Amazon