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**New patterns in the garment industry: State intervention,
women and work in Hawaii**

Chinen, Joyce Naomi, Ph.D.

University of Hawaii, 1989

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NEW PATTERNS IN THE GARMENT INDUSTRY:
STATE INTERVENTION, WOMEN AND WORK IN HAWAII

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE DIVISION OF
THE UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

IN SOCIOLOGY

DECEMBER 1989

by

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Assurances of anonymity and confidentiality prohibit me from individually acknowledging the factory owners and managers interviewed for this study. However, were it not for the willingness of firm owners and managers to share their time, information, and experiences with me, this project would not have been possible. I'm especially grateful to the workers who shared their lives with me; I hope I have done justice to their stories. I would also like to thank those who invited me into their homes for the interview for their hospitality. To all the people in the industry who helped me on this project, my sincere thanks.

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation reports on a case study of the garment industry in Hawaii. Using a political economy framework and the concept of labor process, it looks at both historical and recent changes in the organization of apparel production. The changes in factors contributing to the garment manufacturing process, especially in product markets, labor markets and technology, are described and analyzed. It also looks at how the state was involved in these changes, and what effects these changes have had on workers' lives. In doing so, it looks at the interaction of industries, firms, and individuals and, thus, at how social dynamics at one level of society interact with those of another. It also looks at the interrelationship between marketplace and household, between state and class, and among race and ethnicity, gender, generation and class.

The literature on segmented economies, on the state, and on women and work inform the research issues. These issues are: (1) the historical continuities and discontinuities in garment production; (2) the place of the garment industry in the Hawaiian economy; (3) recent changes in the industry and the timing and nature of state involvement; (4) the nature of the garment industry's workforce; and (5) the lives of workers in both the workplace and household. The research strategy involved a multi-tiered approach and used multiple sources of data linked together in a nested analysis.

Five conclusions are offered based on the findings. First, the garment industry is characterized by a large number of small and marginally capitalized firms. These characteristics place the industry

in the competitive sector of the Hawaiian economy which, in turn, place structural limitations on the degree to which firms in the industry can grow or rationalize production. Second, the industry has been affected by global economic developments which have changed both its traditional product markets and its labor market. Third, the state has played an important part in these transformations on both national and local levels, especially with regard to labor market creation. Fourth, race, ethnicity, and gender continue to be salient factors in this industry. Lastly, marketplace and the household interactions need to be simultaneously considered, for women workers in this study show that they are not only simultaneously oppressed in both spheres, but they are also empowered by participating in both spheres.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iv
ABSTRACT	vi
LIST OF TABLES	xi
LIST OF FIGURE . . . . .	.xii
 CHAPTER ONE	
STATE, GENDER, AND LABOR PROCESS CHANGES IN HAWAII'S GARMENT INDUSTRY	1
Introduction	1
Background and Research Issues	2
Theories of the Labor Process	4
Segmented Economies and the Role of the State	10
Women and Work	16
Overview of the Research Design	21
Data Sources and Analysis	23
Organization of the Dissertation	24
Endnotes	27
 CHAPTER TWO	
THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE GARMENT INDUSTRY IN HAWAII.	28
Introduction	28
The Pre-Industrial Years (pre-1922).	30
The Transition (1922-1941)	34
The War and Post-War Years (1942-1954)	40
The Period of Rapid Growth (1955-1964)	43
The Period of Stable Growth (1965-1974).	46
The Labor Process Within the Garment Industry	47
Summary and Conclusions	54
 CHAPTER THREE	
THE CURRENT STATUS OF THE INDUSTRY AND STATE INTERVENTION	56
Introduction	56
Political Economy and the Structure of the Hawaiian Economy.	57
Changes in the Industrial Composition	
of the Hawaiian Economy	58
Changes within the Manufacturing Sector	61
Internal Reorganization of the Hawaiian Garment Industry	65
Firm Characteristics	66
The Problems Faced by the Industry: New Competitors	73
The Problems Faced by the Industry: Changes in Markets.	74
The Problems Faced by the Industry: Weak Trade Organization	77
The Problems Faced by the Industry:	
Shortage of Skilled Labor	79

Adaptive Strategies Utilized by Firms	82
Market Specialization and Segmentation	82
Increasing Rationalization, Formalization, and Contracting.	85
Vertical Integration of Manufacturing and Retailing	91
Future Prospects for the Garment Industry	93
Firms' Expectations for Themselves	94
Firms' Expectations for the Local Garment Industry	96
The Role of the State in the Garment Industry	98
The Basis of State Interest in the Garment Industry	98
State Actions and State's Resources	101
Fashion Industry Seminars	101
The Garment Industry Training Program	104
Management	110
Fashion Education	114
Implications of the Case Study for Theories	115
Summary and Conclusion	118
Endnotes	120

CHAPTER FOUR

A COMPARISON OF THE LABOR PROCESS IN TWO FIRMS	121
Introduction	121
History	122
Target Markets	125
The Organization of Production	130
State and Industry Ties	135
Summary and Discussion	137

CHAPTER FIVE

THE LABOR MARKET IN HAWAII'S GARMENT INDUSTRY	139
Introduction	139
Data	139
The Old Timers.	142
Family Background	142
Employment History and Recruitment into the Industry.	146
Experience in the Industry.	149
Recruitment into Present Positions	150
Training for their Present Positions	151
The Recent Immigrants	155
Family Background	156
Arrival and Settlement	157
Recruitment into the Industry	160
Experience in the Industry	161
Recruitment into Present Positions	162
Training for their Present Positions	164

The Young Locals . . . . .	.166
Family Background . . . . .	.167
Recruitment into the Industry . . . . .	.170
Experience in the Industry . . . . .	.171
Recruitment into Present Positions . . . . .	.172
Training for their Present Positions . . . . .	.174
Distribution of the Three Subgroups in the Firms . . . . .	.174
Discussion and Summary . . . . .	.176
CHAPTER SIX	
WORKERS' LIVES: THE MARKETPLACE-HOUSEHOLD CONNECTION . . . . .	.180
Introduction . . . . .	.180
Workplace Conditions . . . . .	.180
Remuneration . . . . .	.180
Benefits . . . . .	.190
Health and Safety . . . . .	.194
Reactions to their Work . . . . .	.199
Alienation versus Resistance . . . . .	.203
Household Conditions . . . . .	.211
Household Composition and Living Arrangements . . . . .	.211
Household Division of Labor . . . . .	.215
Leisure and Other Activities . . . . .	.219
Marketplace-Household Relationship . . . . .	.223
Marketplace to Household . . . . .	.223
Household to Marketplace . . . . .	.225
Marketplace-Household Relationship and Alienation . . . . .	.227
CHAPTER SEVEN	
CONCLUSIONS . . . . .	.232
Introduction . . . . .	.232
Discussion of Findings and Conclusion . . . . .	.232
The Structure of the Economy . . . . .	.232
Changes in the Global Economy . . . . .	.234
The State's Role in Labor Market Creation . . . . .	.235
The Continuing Salience of Race, Ethnicity, and Gender. . . . .	.238
The Significance of Marketplace-Household Relationship. . . . .	.240
REFERENCES . . . . .	.243

LIST OF TABLES

<u>Table</u>		<u>page</u>
1	Changes in Employment by Industry, 1975-1985 . . . . .	.59
2	Changes in Workers per Firm and First Quarter Payroll per Worker, 1975-1985 . . . . .	.60
3	Changes in Manufacturing Employment by Industry, 1975-1985 . . . . .	.62
4	Number of Manufacturing Firms by Industry, 1975-1985 . . . . .	.64
5	Distribution of Firms by Year of Start-up . . . . .	.66
6	Ethnic Background of Garment Manufacturers Surveyed and State Population by Ethnic Background, 1986 . . . . .	.68
7	Geographical Locations of Garment Manufacturing Firms. . . . .	.72
8	Background Characteristics of Old Timers	142
9	Old Timers' Method of Locating Present Position	151
10	Background Characteristics of Recent Immigrants	155
11	Recent Immigrants' Method of Locating Present Position	163
12	Background Characteristics of Young Locals	168
13	Young Locals' Method of Locating Present Position	173
14	Distribution of Types of Workers by Firm	175
15	Method of Locating Present Position by Firm	175
16	Mean Hourly Pay by Firm	181
17	Household Budgets for a Family of Four, 1972 and 1986.	188

LIST OF FIGURES

<u>Figure</u>		<u>page</u>
1	Location of Garment Manufacturing Firms. . . . .	.71

CHAPTER ONE

STATE, GENDER, AND LABOR PROCESS CHANGES IN HAWAII'S GARMENT INDUSTRY

INTRODUCTION

The industrial restructuring of global and local economies has received considerable attention in recent years and, consequently, this dissertation examines industrial restructuring in Hawaii. After nearly thirty years of continuous growth, both sales and employment within Hawaii's garment industry declined in 1974. This drop in sales and employment marked the beginning of a decade in which the local garment industry faced serious problems including a shrinking labor force and increasingly intense competition. Individual firms within the local garment industry responded to these challenges in various ways and with varying degrees of success. However, since certain problems like labor shortages require long-term attention, governmental agencies of the State of Hawaii also became involved in this industry's concerns.

The case study of the garment industry which follows examines the nature of the garment industry in Hawaii, the problems it has faced, and the coping strategies it has employed particularly during the 1975-85 period. It will also look at the involvement of the state, the changes undergone by the industry, and the implications these changes have had for the garment industry's female dominated workforce. In this chapter, the literature in three areas will be reviewed and the issues which inform this investigation will be delineated. Following this, the methodological strategies used in investigating these issues will be discussed.

BACKGROUND AND RESEARCH ISSUES

Industrial restructuring can be approached from several theoretical perspectives. One perspective is offered by evolutionary or convergence theories (Kerr et al, 1960; Smelser, 1963), which have been built on the classical work of Durkheim (1964) and Weber (1947). This perspective suggests that the organization of societies and economies tend to converge along a certain line of development and produce certain common characteristics. Thus, access to new resources, technology, and new sources of power or energy bring about changes in social activities with increasing differentiation, division of labor, and interdependence. These changes can enhance the productive capacity of societies, especially when the increasing differentiation is coordinated and rationalized systems of authority are developed (Miller and Form, 1980). Consequently, increasing bureaucratization and stratification tend to occur in the process.

While convergence theories may be useful in looking at the general direction of societal change, they are less useful in explaining why certain groups in society are more likely or less likely to benefit from economic restructuring. The emphasis on division of labor and interdependence means that bureaucratization is interpreted in terms of coordination requirements rather than in terms of control. In short, they neglect the role played by race, ethnicity, gender or other social characteristics in the assignment of benefits. Furthermore, they are less useful in considering the nature of relationships between different levels of society. Therefore, this dissertation will utilize an alternative approach.

Building on the literature on labor process transformations, on segmented economies and internal labor markets, on the role of the state, and on women and work, this dissertation will use a case study approach to explore the following questions:

- (1) What kinds of historical and social factors have affected the labor process of garment production and in what ways has it been reorganized?
- (2) How does the garment industry compare to other industries in the Hawaiian economy in key operating characteristics?
- (3) What were the conditions, nature, and mechanisms for state involvement in the Hawaiian garment industry, and how are the benefits of state involvement distributed among firms within the industry?
- (4) What is the nature and composition of the Hawaiian garment industry's workforce, and what factors have contributed to its formation and change?
- (5) How do the gender-based roles and statuses in both the workplace and the household interact, and how do they affect women workers and their abilities to bring about potential change in their relationships in these spheres?

These research questions guide the investigation of how macrolevel social processes interact with microlevel social processes. They direct the examination toward the operations and linkages among three different units of analysis: industries, firms, and individuals.

The concept of labor process will be used as the theoretical starting point for this study. Since labor process transformations

raise questions about systems of control and systems of exploitation, as well as resistance to them, about economic segmentation, labor markets, and the role of the state, it functions as a useful organizing concept. Finally, it is also useful in considering the role of gender and ethnicity in economic and labor market segmentation. Thus, because this dissertation will examine processes at different levels of society and between different levels of society, the use of the concept of labor process to anchor the analysis was considered the most fruitful approach to take. This section will begin by reviewing the literature in these areas.

Theories of the Labor Process

The central focus of this dissertation is the mutability of the labor process and, more specifically, the changes in the labor process of apparel production in Hawaii. The concept of labor process refers to the social organization of work, and it is used in this study because it presumes particular kinds of changes. The labor process means that certain individuals or groups, their activities and interactions, their knowledge and skills, are organized in relationship to certain materials, settings, and equipment in order to produce a product or service. The labor process is "social" in that the particular organization of work which emerges is characterized by a conflict-based interaction pattern. Because conflict underpins these human relationships, the patterns of work will change in different historical periods.

The concept of labor process was developed by Karl Marx to refer to what he perceived as a dynamic relationship between man and nature in

which man utilized and transformed nature for his own material survival. In this socio-historical process, man changes the characteristics of nature, and in so doing, changes the structure of production from various pre-industrial to industrial capitalist forms. The capitalist mode of production is therefore seen as the result of this continuing dialectical process. Additionally, even under capitalism, the labor process continues to undergo change. If the labor process of apparel production changes in the manner described by Marx, it should be possible to see whether these changes have also occurred in Hawaii. Thus, one of the objectives of this study will be to examine how the labor process of apparel production has changed as Hawaiian society has undergone historical changes from its pre-contact period to the contemporary period. Moreover, in the contemporary period, how is the labor process of apparel production changing in Hawaii?

Theoretical interest in the labor process was revived in 1974 with the publication of Harry Braverman's book Labor and Monopoly Capital. In this work, Braverman argued that the inherently integrated functions of conception and execution have been successively reorganized under the capitalist mode of production. In the move from competitive capitalism to monopoly capitalism the conception and execution functions increasingly have become separated. Capitalists and their representatives, management, are seen to increasingly dominate the conceptual functions and subordinate labor to the execution functions. The consequence of this transformation of the labor process is what Braverman called deskilling.

According to Braverman, deskilling is rooted in the capitalist mode of production which requires continual growth in the levels of obtainable surplus value or profit. To increase the amount of surplus value generated in production, capitalists require ever rising productivity from the production process. This involves the problem of management or control, and it requires the continual reorganization of the labor process. Mass production is instituted in place of craft production, and through the use of various scientific management techniques,¹ the labor process is decomposed into discrete parts and assigned to specific groups of people. Management increasingly takes control over the conceptual parts of the process, and workers then perform only routine, ultimately repetitive, tasks.

The stratification and routinization of tasks means that different categories of workers may then be used for the different tasks. Presumably, the category of workers used will reflect differing skill levels and, therefore, workers can be compensated at different rates. The net result of this degrading process is lower labor costs. Additionally, at the lower skill levels, individual workers are more easily interchangeable and replaceable. This not only reduces labor costs, but also permits the mechanization of certain tasks so that, ultimately, the need for certain categories of wage labor can be further reduced or even eliminated. Thus, Braverman sees the net result of the capitalist rationalization of the labor process to be both the deskilling and degradation of work (i.e., the reduction of both the skill and reward levels associated with work).

A number of interesting case studies of labor process transformations followed in the wake of Braverman's work.² While many of these were descriptive studies, at least two, one by Burawoy (1979) and another by Edwards (1979), were noteworthy in that they both provided direction for further theoretical development. Both stressed that the labor process must be understood in terms of the relations of production which are characterized by class conflict and class struggle, but Burawoy and Edwards each developed analyses which proceeded in slightly different directions.

Class conflict and class struggle, for Edwards, meant that capitalist control must take priority over technological efficiency in the social organization of production for surplus value. Thus, where Braverman saw the transformation of the labor process to be moving from skilled craft production to technologically efficient mass production, Edwards interprets the transformation of the labor process in terms of an evolution in the types of control used by management within the class conflict-ridden workplace: from simple control to technological control, to bureaucratic control.

Simple control is characterized by the direct supervision or regulation of workers and the pace of their work. It tends to be personalistic and, as a result, class relations are often characterized by quite a bit of ambivalence. Norms of reciprocity often coexist with and contradict actual situations of exploitation. By contrast, under technological control, machines structure and set the pace of the work. The mechanized assembly-line paces and exerts the control over workers; the source of control is therefore one which the worker experiences as

more distant and impersonal. Finally, bureaucratic control resembles mechanized control in that it also appears to be impersonal. This is because control is exercised through a myriad of rules and regulations which govern the activity in the workplace. Job descriptions delineate responsibilities, and lines of authority are not only clearly specified, but also clearly circumscribed. Thus, conflict is diffused through an elaborate set of layers, steps, ranks, titles and standard operating procedures. Bureaucratic control, then, represents the most recent of the historically evolving forms of capitalist control.

Burawoy's (1979) study of the transformation of the labor process of a firm over a thirty year period underscores the implications of the shift from competitive capitalism to monopoly capitalism. Building on Donald Roy's study (1952) which examined worker resistance in a truck engine manufacturing company at the end of World War II, Burawoy examines the same firm thirty years later after it had become a subsidiary of a multinational corporation.

In his analysis of the capitalist labor process, Burawoy emphasizes that the hierarchical relations between capitalists and workers which provide the conditions for capitalists' benefit simultaneously create problematic conditions for them. He therefore demonstrates that the class-based organization of production means that the other side of capitalists' efforts to control labor is labor's efforts to resist that control. Understanding the negotiated aspects of work in which workers consent to their own exploitation, in his words, "the simultaneous obscuring and securing of surplus labor," then, is Burawoy's concern (1979: 30). Thus, Burawoy tries to identify the conditions and the

manner in which management and workers come to agree on the coordination of their respective actions in an endeavor which clearly benefits the interests of capital over those of labor.

Most labor process studies, including those of Burawoy and Edwards, are based on studies conducted at the point of production. Factories and other actual workplace settings are the context for these studies, with rich descriptive data providing persuasive support for analyses of the effects of technology, of product markets, and of labor markets on the labor process. However, as Richard Price has emphasized in a review essay, an historical perspective is critical to understanding how these three factors contribute to labor process transformations. Historical developments in these three factors, he points out, are rooted in class relations or "in the tensions, compromises and conflicts which flow from social relations." (1984: 107) Thus, another objective of this study of the garment industry in Hawaii will be to explore how technological changes, product market changes and labor market changes have affected the labor process of garment production and to what extent these have been affected by class conflict and struggle.

Increasingly, however, literature has emerged from other areas which may provide material with which to develop labor process transformation theories further. One area is the feminist analyses of work and family, and the other is political economy, particularly analyses of segmented economies and the role of the state, to be reviewed in the next section.

Segmented Economies and the Role of the State

The sociological literature on labor markets, economic segmentation and state-class relationships helped to identify the following issues for study: 1) the nature of the garment industry vis-a-vis other industries in the Hawaiian economy; 2) the nature of state involvement in the industry; and 3) the nature of the garment industry's workforce. Those literature are reviewed in this section.

At least two major types of frameworks inform the sociological literature on labor markets. These are the Status Attainment perspective which is similar to the Human Capital perspective in economics, and the Segmented Economy and Dual Labor Market perspectives. The status attainment perspective (Blau and Duncan, 1967; Featherman and Hauser, 1976) assumes a single, fairly open marketplace in which individuals compete for jobs based on their possession of various achieved characteristics primarily education or training, experience, and work commitment. The extent to which individuals differ in relationship to these variables is used to explain differences in income and occupational levels.

The Dual Labor Market theories work out of a different set of assumptions. Piore (1975) and others assume that instead of a single labor market, there are at least two labor markets with different operating dynamics. The jobs in the primary labor market, according to Piore, generally enjoy higher remuneration, better working conditions, greater stability, grievance procedures, and better chances for upward mobility whereas the secondary labor market do not. Thus, the type of

labor market in which workers are located is more important than their human capital characteristics according to this framework.

However, other scholars have pointed out that it is not only the labor market that is divided; the economy is also thought to be divided. Segmented economy theories (Averitt, 1968; Beck, Horan and Tolbert, 1978) suggest that different types of industries make up the different sectors of the economy, and that industries present different operating conditions which ultimately affect workers. Core industries tend to be large, unionized, oligopolistic, and capital-intensive, whereas peripheral industries, like garment manufacturing, tend to be small, competitive and labor-intensive. Thus, workers' earnings tend to be associated with the kinds of industries in which they are employed. Baron and Bielby (1984), while still in the dual economy framework, suggest that firms rather than industries should be the basis for considering the dual economy. Thus, core or center firms tend to be, like core industries, large, unionized, oligopolistic, and capital-intensive and peripheral or marginal firms tend to be small, non-union, competitive and labor-intensive.

While these structural theories may provide insight into the constraints faced by the firms in the garment industry, they tend to be quite static. Industrialization can hardly be characterized as static. Marx's conception of the labor process, or work, involves the convergence of purpose, technology and people. According to Braverman (1974), who has renewed interest in this topic, the labor process has continuously undergone change from pre-capitalist to capitalist modes of production. Its purpose has changed from production for use-value (the

immediate consumption by the producers) to production for exchange-value (production for a market in order to derive surplus value or profits). As the purpose of production changes, so also do the knowledge base, the technology, and the social relationships. Class based production characterized by conflicting class interests occurs. Furthermore, with the development of monopoly capital there is increasing tendency to segment and to rationalize the production process. This decomposition of the production process and the specialization which follows tend to decrease workers' knowledge base and skills; consequently, the use of less-skilled, cheaper workers is more easily accomplished.

Various class-based race relations theories such as the internal colonialism (Blauner, 1972; Hechter, 1975), split labor market (Bonacich, 1980; Barrera, 1979), and middleman minorities (Bonacich and Modell, 1980) have asserted that race and ethnicity have historically been used as criteria for distinguishing and stratifying, or fragmenting the different types of labor used in capitalist production. Similar applications have been used to examine gender based inequality in the marketplace (Sokoloff, 1980; Hartmann, 1976; Baron and Bielby, 1984).

Recruitment and control of different types of labor, differential pay rates, benefits and working conditions which ultimately affect material life chances, social acceptability, and power of groups are all affected by labor fragmentation. Racial and ethnic minorities, and women, generally have been located in the secondary or peripheral labor markets and thus have been subjected to low pay and less desirable working conditions. Furthermore, certain industries are much more likely than others to use minority labor. The garment industry is

clearly a case in point. Thus, this study will consider the following questions: From which labor markets has the Hawaiian garment industry drawn? How is this labor market changing, and what is it changing into? How is this process taking place? Finally, what are the implications of such changes for women workers?

In this investigation, the role of the state in the economic development of the garment industry also needs to be considered. Several theoretical frameworks on state actions are available. In addition to the Pluralist and neo-Weberian perspectives, three discernable neo-Marxian perspectives currently exist. These are the Instrumentalist, Class Struggle, and the Structuralist views. The most orthodox of these perspectives is the Instrumentalist or Ruling Class argument which conceptualizes the state as ultimately an instrument of the ruling class. This perspective asserts that the state is a superstructural creation which fosters the conditions under which capital can extract surplus value from production. Thus, the legal structure and the administrative and coercive elements of the state presumably operate to benefit capital.

The Class Struggle view takes a more dialectical approach. It sees the state as the embodiment of class relations and class struggle. Thus, class relations and class struggle are politicized in the arena provided by the state. Those working out of this framework see a continual shifting of alignments between the state and either the capitalist or workers class, and therefore, continual variation in the benefits derived by each of the classes. There has been criticism of both of these views by neo-Marxists who suggest that they present overly

rationalized conceptions of the ruling class. Critics have pointed out that the ruling class may itself be fragmented, and thus, individual members of the bourgeoisie, in their pursuit of self-interest, may ultimately work against the long-term interests of the bourgeoisie class in general. Under such conditions, some theorists known as the Structuralists, assert that the state must intervene.

A third variant on the neo-Marxian perspectives, therefore, is offered by the Structuralists or those who accept the Relative Autonomy argument associated with Nicos Poulantzas. This view holds that the state needs to be organizationally autonomous from the ruling class, and that the state's relative autonomy from capital is a necessary condition for the capital accumulation of the dominant class. The discussions of scholars working within this perspective, consequently, center around the issue of how much relative autonomy the state possesses. Ultimately, however, even these neo-Marxist theorists see the state as serving the interests of the ruling classes, and do not fully grant the possibility of impetus and initiative in action to the state. Still, this last view is the most compatible of the neo-Marxian views with the neo-Weberian analyses of the state's capacity for economic intervention on behalf of the dominant class.

It is important to recognize, however, that state efforts directed at promoting economic development occur within a socio-historical context. Marx asserted that the social context is one of inter-class conflict and struggle, with intra-class competition. Furthermore, this dialectical process also finds class relations to be constantly evolving and expanding. Thus, the developing class relations in the newly

industrializing countries is not unrelated to the evolving class relations in the industrialized countries. The emergence of the Monopoly stage of capitalism has resulted in the rearrangement of class-state relations. As such, the state's willingness and ability to use its resources will probably be affected by the intensity of class conflict.

James O'Connor (1973) addressed the consequences of the state-class relations in industrialized society. In his work, The Fiscal Crisis of the State, he examines the state's participation in the segmentation of capital into monopoly and competitive sectors. State actions in advanced stages of capitalism, he observes, tend to benefit monopoly capital rather than all capital, and have created a particular form of social organization which O'Connor calls the "social-industrial complex." That is, the state increasingly performs two separate and contradictory functions: accumulation and legitimation. The first commits the state to support monopoly capital accumulation by underwriting an increasing portion of the costs of production; the second commits the state to provide stable social conditions within which capital can operate, even as the process of monopoly capital accumulation increasingly produces social dislocation. This also suggests, then, that state policies and actions in other areas, which seem unrelated to the economy, may in fact have important economic consequences. For example, state actions with regard to supporting child care and other family support services may have profound consequences for labor supply as well as for the types of available labor.

In sum, the state's actions can contribute directly as well as indirectly to changes in the labor process. Directly, it can provide certain services which can partially subsidize capital's costs of production, thus enhancing or retarding changes in the labor process; indirectly, it can affect the supply and quality of available labor, thus affecting the types of control utilized in the labor process. And while O'Connor's theoretical framework was designed to address state actions at the level of the nation-state, some of his propositions could be used as well to understand the actions of the state at provincial and local levels.

Women and Work

The labor force of the garment industry in Hawaii resembles that of the garment industry labor force in other geographic locations. It has been heavily female-dominated and is generally paid low wages. Therefore, this study is also concerned with the nature of gender-based stratification and how garment workers' marketplace work and household work mutually reinforce their subordination in both spheres.

As Arlene Kaplan Daniels (1987) has insightfully pointed out, for much too long, sociologists of work have uncritically accepted common sense definitions of work as the starting point from which to build their theories. The consequences of narrowly defining work as employment has been to place artificial limits on the scope of their scholarship and thus leave many gaps in their working models, particularly as they apply to women. When work has been more broadly defined, as "purposeful activity requiring forethought, consideration of alternative ways of reaching the desired outcome, identification,

acquisition and organization of the resources required, and the application of energy toward the desired outcome," more productive and innovative scholarship can be the result.

There are several theoretical approaches to the study of the women and work relationship. As Coverman (1988) has pointed out, there are individualist approaches such as the Status Attainment models, and various structuralist models which range from Dual Economy to Occupational Segmentation, to Marxist and neo-Marxist Class Theories, to Sex Segregation. This study will build on the Marxist and neo-Marxist theories, particularly those literature which have broadened the traditional understanding of how women fit in labor process transformations in the marketplace.

Natalie Sokoloff's (1980; 1988) review of what she calls the critical literature notes that while orthodox Marxist theory was useful in terms of pointing out how gender has been used to create a reserve army of labor which, in turn, has been used to fragment the labor force and undermine the class interests of labor, it did not incorporate much of a feminist critique. Some exceptions were to be found in the work of Hacker and Glenn and Feldberg. Sally Hacker (1982), for example, has shown how, under the guise of meeting its Equal Employment Opportunity requirements, American Telephone and Telegraph brought women workers into certain jobs which it had designated for phase-out. The jobs appeared to provide upward mobility for women, but were merely temporary jobs, stop-gap measures the company had used until its new technology could be installed and made fully functional. Glenn and Feldberg (1982) have examined the corresponding rise in the female work force with the

growth of clerical occupations. More importantly, they have show how certain clerical occupations have become deskilled and degraded with the transformation of the labor process involved in clerical work. Thus, these literature demonstrate that in capital's attempts to rationalize production, women have been negatively affected, even though it may initially have appeared that they were benefitting.

Early Marxist Feminists or Marxist Feminist theories of the household focus on the household and on the way in which women's reproductive labor in the household has benefitted capital. These assertions have been supported not only by the findings of those working within the theoretical model, but also by mainstream studies such as those investigating the equivalent dollar value of household work (Chase Manhattan Bank). The more explicitly Marxist-Feminist analyses like those of Weinbaum and Bridges (1971), however, more explicitly show how women's household consumption work and maintenance work materially support the capitalist system. In essence, they show that women's household work in meal preparation, laundry, nurturance, and other such activities actually reduce the amount of wages employers might have to pay if these services were to be obtained in the marketplace.

Later Marxist Feminist theories, also known as Socialism Feminism or Patriarchal Capitalism, have furthered the potential for examining the relationship of market and household relations. This perspective recognizes that both capitalism and patriarchy are systems of domination and exploitation. Each has its own material base and each operates according to its own logic. However, Socialist Feminist approaches also emphasize the dialectical relationships which exist between Capitalism

and Patriarchy, relations which both support and transform each system. Like the Marxist Feminist theory of the household, Socialist Feminist theory recognizes that women's social reproductive work in the household benefits capital. However, Socialist Feminist theories also recognizes that women's reproductive work in the household benefits men as a group because their portion of reproductive work is reduced. Because men's reproductive work is reduced, they can hold higher paid jobs in the marketplace. Thus, women's reproductive work benefits the patriarchal system and individual men in both the household and marketplace.

Socialist Feminist theories also direct attention to the ways in which patriarchal capitalism supports women's subordination in both the marketplace and household. Because men freed of reproductive work in the household can concentrate on marketplace work, they can occupy higher paying jobs. Women employed in the marketplace who do reproductive work in households, must settle for lower paying "women's jobs" which then prevents them from competing with men for higher paying jobs. Women's lower return for productive work in the marketplace subsequently supports men's lower participation in reproductive work in the household.

Empirically, the women and work literature has made important contributions by exploring the largely invisible intersection between unpaid household work and paid wage/salary work. This intersection permits portions of work in one sphere to be shifted over to the other when it benefits certain groups. Nona Glazer's (1982) work in this area has made an important contribution to understanding labor process transformations in retailing. Whereas the early development of a mass

production-based labor process took production out of the domestic sphere of the household, more recent forms of capitalist labor process may be shifting certain aspects of the productive process of services back into the household through the consumptive work of women. Retailing has become increasingly self-service oriented, which means that certain categories of workers may be becoming displaced, or their work further deskilled.

Thus far, the transformation of the labor process has been examined in connection with the operation of macro-level structures such as the state, and in terms of the characteristics of capital and of labor. But changes in the labor process also have consequences at the level of individuals. If deskilling and degradation of work are the results of labor process transformations, how are they experienced by workers? Is the experience common to all workers, and how do they respond to these experiences? Both Marxist and non-Marxist theories have suggested that the result of more rationalized production processes is increasing dissatisfaction with work. Often this dissatisfaction is referred to as alienation.³ But the concept of alienation is a complex construct with a number of different facets.

Marx identified four aspects of alienation in labor: from that which is produced, from the process of production, from community and from self. Robert Blauner (1964), however, has shown that the degree of worker alienation varies by industry because industries represent different types of work environments. The products that industries produce, the different types of people who work them, and the different techniques of production, separately or together, may affect the degree

of alienation. Because most studies of worker alienation have looked at the marketplace and male workers, the question must be raised: do these factors equally apply to women workers?

To summarize, then, the proposed investigation on the garment industry in Hawaii has emerged out of a review of several strands of existing work. These have included the literature on the labor process, on economic segmentation, on the role of the state, and on women and work. These areas have suggested several types of relationships which should be considered. These include the role of the state in both economic development and changes in the labor process; the role of specific types of labor markets, notably women and racial and ethnic minorities, in labor process transformations; and the effects of these changes on the social psychological states of the individuals involved.

OVERVIEW OF THE RESEARCH DESIGN

The literature on the labor process, on segmented economies and the state, and on gender which were reviewed in the previous section and which guided the formulation of the research questions for this study also suggested some important methodological considerations. That is, the factors related to the labor process operate in a number of different social contexts and these contexts are located at different levels of the social system. Thus, while the social organization of work, or the labor process, may most easily be viewed within the social context of the place of employment in modern capitalist societies, that context is itself affected by social phenomena such as class consciousness, gender, race and ethnicity, demographic change, industry

characteristics, and the levels and phases of capitalist development. Moreover, these factors exert varying degrees of influence in different historical periods. The research design for this study, therefore, needed to reflect an awareness of these complex interrelationships and attempt to adequately document them.

This study will describe and analyze the changes in the labor process within the garment industry in Hawaii. Such a descriptive analysis is desirable because these changes are presumed to have different effects depending upon how specific groups are related to it. In order to anticipate what these changes in the labor process might be, the study begins with an historical analysis of the labor process of garment production based on a reanalysis of historical data collected by Emma Lila Fundaburk (1965). The results of this historical review will be used as a backdrop from which to interpret the contemporary pattern.

The research issues which this study attempted to address flowed out of social processes which 1) occur at three different levels of the social system and 2) manifest themselves in differing forms. For these reasons, a multi-level strategy was used. The study focussed on three different units of analysis, each of which represented the social forms found at the different levels. Thus, industries, firms, and individuals were the units of analysis examined, and the study attempted to demonstrate how the labor process is linked to these three units of analysis, how these units are linked to each other, and to other formal organizations such as the State, trade organizations, etc.

In order to accomplish this, a three-tiered, concentrically-nested research design was utilized. The starting point was an examination of

macro-level processes of the composition of the economy and the place of the garment industry in it. The study then proceeded to examine processes which are located at successively more specific or micro-level contexts (i.e., the composition of the industry, the role of the State, and the composition of the labor force within firms). Each stage utilized different sources of data, but the analyses of subsequent stages were nested in the analysis of the preceding stage. Finally, the data collection for this study of the garment industry was carried out over the six-year period from 1980 to 1986; this made it possible to study the three-year period when the implementation of the Garment Industry Training Program took place, as well as the three year period after the Program ended to determine the effects of the Program.

Data Sources and Analysis

Several separate sets of data were used in this study. These included census materials and government records, interviews with governmental and program staff, interviews with firm owners or managers, and interviews with workers. These were supplemented with other available material such as newspaper and magazine articles.

The quantitative data which were available from government censuses provided the context within which the garment industry could be compared with other industries in the Hawaiian economy. It also permitted detection of patterns of stability and change within the economy. Most of the data analysis, however, was qualitative in nature. The interviews with firm owners or managers provided information on what was going on within each of their shops, the reasons for these occurrences, their relationship to the state and to the industry organization, and

their expectations for the future. Similarly, the individual worker interviews provided information on the nature of recruitment into the job, conditions of work, changes in the workplace, and the workers' domestic lives.

While separate analyses were performed on the individual sets of data and these yielded interesting results, what is more important is that the data sets were linked so that it was possible to look at the relationship between changes in the labor process within firms and the effects on workers. Thus, the results of the analysis of one data set were theoretically linked to those of the other data sets. This meant that microlevel phenomena could be linked in a meaningful way to macrolevel phenomena.

ORGANIZATION OF THE DISSERTATION

Chapter Two examines the history of apparel production, the development of the garment industry in Hawaii, and the labor process as currently practiced in the industry. It will show that the nature of apparel production changed in Hawaii from the pre-contact and pre-capitalist period, through a transition period characterized by small tailor and dressmaking shops, to a capitalist industrialized period of factory-based production. Throughout these periods, socio-historical factors such as the second world war, statehood and tourism affected the industry, and similar factors such as tourism and international capital still affect it today.

Chapter Three looks at the current status of the Hawaiian garment industry as it is located in the global economy. The focus of this chapter is on the problems the industry currently faces, the coping

strategies employed by firms in the industry, and the relative effectiveness of these strategies. It will rely on interviews conducted with manufacturing firm owners and managers. The chapter also describes how the State of Hawaii became involved in the industry, the nature of its involvement, and the consequences of this involvement.

In Chapter Four two firms out of the thirty-eight firms whose owners or managers were interviewed are examined. These two firms represent the two dominant types of operations found in the industry. The historical development of each of the firms and labor process changes which have been going on in these firms will be more specifically examined. This provides the background for the discussion of the labor market in Chapter Five.

Chapter Five describes the three types of workers found within the industry. It analyzes the social and historical factors which affect the labor market creation and recruitment of the three types of workers into the industry: the Old Timers, the Recent Immigrants, and the Young Locals. The background characteristics of each of the worker groups are examined as well as how they were recruited into the garment industry.

Chapter Six looks at workers' lives. It describes the working conditions faced by the workers in the garment shops, as well as their domestic activities in their respective households. In particular, it attempts to understand the interacting relationship between workers' marketplace and household roles.

Finally, Chapter Seven utilizes the findings of the previous chapters in order to show how the macrolevel factors such as industry characteristics of low capital, competitive product market structure,

and labor shortages can be related to the working conditions faced by workers in firms. It also asserts that the varying situations faced by different women workers in their home will affect the level of consciousness and the degree to which the status quo is supported.

ENDNOTES

¹ The principles of scientific Management were discussed by Frederick Taylor and include such notions as the use of time-motion studies to permit the decomposition of a mass of work into its component steps and remuneration rates based on the relative difficulty of each component part (this latter aspect known as the Babbage Principle).

² See, for example, A. Zimbalist (ed.), Case Studies on the Labor Process and Barbara Garson, All the Livelong Day: The Meaning and Demeaning of Routine Work for descriptions on the organization of work in a number of different industries.

³ It is important to note, however, that the concept of alienation is not the same as job dissatisfaction. Alienation involves estrangement; thus, as Seeman (1967) and others have noted, a worker can be alienated and yet be satisfied with his/her job.

CHAPTER TWO

THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE GARMENT INDUSTRY IN HAWAII

INTRODUCTION

This chapter will examine the development of the garment industry in Hawaii and the historical changes which have occurred in its labor process. It provides some background for considering the labor process which currently exists in most manufacturing firms in the industry and the current status of the industry. The chapter will be organized around the following questions. First, what are the historical continuities and discontinuities in the social organization of the garment production process? In particular, what are the social characteristics of the producers of the garments, the technology and locus of production, and the purpose of production and to what extent to these change over time? Second, what has been the effect of these changes in the labor process, and what implications do these have for social conflict? Finally, how do historical and external factors such as Contact with the West, demographic changes, the Second World War, Statehood, tourism and immigration affect the organization of production?

Most of the data used in this chapter are from a four-volume study of the Hawaiian garment industry undertaken by Emma Lila Fundaburk and her associates at the University of Hawaii Economic Research Center in 1965. In that study, Fundaburk describes the development of the garment industry in Hawaii as having evolved through four historical periods: the Pre-Industrial Years (prior to 1922); the Transition (1922-1941); the War and Post-War Years (1942-1954); and the Period of Rapid Growth

(1955-1964). Other sources of data, particularly government statistics, will be used particularly for the period from 1965-1974. Finally, data collected from interviews with firm owners or managers will also be used. The analysis presented in this chapter will preserve the period distinctions made by Fundaburk, but it will also strive to understand the events or patterns of each period in terms of the implications that those events or patterns might have for the restructuring of the labor process.

According to Harry Braverman (1974), the development of an industry within the capitalist mode of production hinges on the transformation of two factors related to production. The first is its commoditization or transformation of purpose--from production for use-value to production for exchange-value, from which surplus value (or profit) can be derived. The second is the transformation of the labor process. Although these two transformations may occur at different points in time, and over different lengths of time, neo-Marxist theorists claim that both are necessary conditions under capitalism.

The transition in the first factor is discussed by Braverman with reference to Marx's discussion of the difference between productive and unproductive labor. Keeping in mind that this distinction does not involve a prescriptive or moral judgement, Braverman notes that "...Marx defined productive labor under capitalism as labor which produced commodity value, and hence surplus value for capital. This excludes all labor which is not exchanged against capital" (Braverman, 1974: 411). What is stressed here is that under capitalism, the value of an item or service is not to be found intrinsically in the item or service, but

rather extrinsically to it, in the surplus value it produces.

Accordingly, the shift in the economic production of items or services from predominantly unproductive to productive labor signals a shift from a pre-capitalist to a capitalist mode of production. This shift from pre-capitalist to capitalist modes of garment production in Hawaii will be described in the forthcoming discussion of the Pre-industrial and Transition periods.

The transformation of the labor process (i.e., the social organization of the productive process) was the second factor. This may involve the incorporation of new types of workers, changes in workers' activities, and changes in type of technology used. Such changes as well as the continuities in the labor process of garment manufacturing will be examined below.

THE PRE-INDUSTRIAL YEARS (PRE-1922)

The pre-industrial years include the century-and-a-half after Contact as well as the millenium before the British Captain James Cook's arrival in the Hawaiian Islands in 1778. The contrast between the pre- and post-contact eras are substantial and deserve some attention here.

In pre-contact Hawai'i, the predominant form of dress for women was the pa'u, a rectangular piece of kapa (or tapa) fabric which was wrapped around the woman's body from her waist, the length reaching to mid-thigh or just below the knee. Some women also wore additional pieces thrown loosely over their shoulders but these were optional. Men wore the malo or loincloth which was made of the same material. Each family member required a set of pa'u or malo because sharing personal clothing was socially unacceptable. Sheets of kapa were also used as coverlets for

sleeping as well as for clothing. Additionally, kapa sheets were used as items of ceremonial exchange such as for dowry, and as an acknowledgement of kinship relations. Finally, parental competence was also indicated by the kapa, for if a child did not have a sleeping kapa, it was taken as an indication that the child had lazy parents (Handy and Pukui, 1972).

The production of kapa was clearly an important activity and it was delegated to the women in the households. Kapa was usually made in early summer from the inner bark of certain trees which were first soaked in water, then pounded, formed into sheets, and laid out to dry. Thus, in pre-contact Hawai'i, kapa production was clearly for use-value. That is, its production was for immediate consumption or use by the immediate household of the producers rather than for a market and exchange-value. The labor process involved the combined use of indigenous resources, traditionally conveyed technical knowledge, and physical skill and labor obtained within the household.

After contact, and particularly in the early 1800s with the start of the sandalwood trade and then the whaling industry, fabrics made of silk, satin and gingham began to replace the kapa fabric for the pa'u and malo. This was especially true among the Ali'i, or chief caste. An even more important change in dress began in the 1820s and 1830s with the coming of the New England missionaries who introduced dressmaking and tailoring techniques. New England-style dresses which were called "Mother Hubbards" were modified to fit the larger frames of the indigenous people; pieces of kapa with calico-style printing were often sewn together for this purpose. Later, these dresses took on more

form-fitting styles from which emerged the holoku, a long, fitted outer dress which was worn with a loose-fitting undergarment, the muumuu. Eventually, the latter came to be worn as an outergarment as well.

The Great Mahele land division and reappropriation of 1848, the Masters and Servants Act of 1850, and the Reciprocity Treaty of 1876 all paved the way for nearly a century of plantation-dominated sugar economy. Although the first sugar plantation was started in 1835, the sugar industry did not really develop until the last half of the 19th century when the aforementioned institutional arrangements were implemented. When the sugar industry did get going, it created a need for the production of work clothing for the imported labor.

Fundaburk found no public information on garment production prior to 1880. However, a Register of Foreigners Residing in Honolulu in January 1847 listed eight Tailors (Greer, 1970: 92-95). From this Register, and the patterns noted by Edith Abbott (1910) in the continental U.S., it can be inferred that dressmaking, when it was done, was usually performed within the household. Men's clothing on the other hand, was constructed outside the home. The tailors' names on the Register also suggest that all but one were male, and all were Caucasian. Since about 95% of the population of Hawai'i in 1850 was indigenous, kapa production probably continued, but it was probably being replaced by the alternative materials available through the mercantile trade and the growing pressure to dress in the western mode.

By 1880, when a City Directory was published, a small number of shops had emerged in Honolulu under the headings "clothing manufacturers," "tailors" and "dressmakers," as had one sewing machine

dealer. In contrast to the 1847 Register of Foreigners, most of these merchants had Chinese surnames, and it was very likely that they had recently completed their labor contracts with the sugar plantations. Since there is no evidence to the contrary, most garment production locally probably continued to be done in the households or by individual craftspeople on a made-to-order basis, using family members as unpaid workers.

The first indication of the use of paid workers in the garment production process was seen in a study conducted by Francine Blascoer (1912) for the Young Women's Christian Association. The study suggested that Portuguese women, who had also come as contract labor for the sugar industry, were likely to be employed as seamstresses and needlewomen, usually for \$1.00 to \$3.00 per day. The work day was usually eight and a half hours, but the work was very sporadic, usually between three to six weeks per year. Most of these women reported that their skills were learned informally in the household as part of their domestic education. No mention was made of the techniques which were used, but since sewing machine technology was available, it was probably used by at least some of the shops.

In the pre-1922 years, then, the production of garments in Hawaii underwent considerable change. Among the indigenous people, production of garments was for use-value rather than for exchange-value. Women were the producers, and production involved working with indigenously obtained materials and the application of technical knowledge, skill and effort. In the period after Contact (post 1778), new fabrics and dressmaking techniques were introduced and these, over time, had the

effect of displacing traditional kapa production. Additionally, the concept of production for exchange-value was introduced, first, with sandalwood production and, later, with the development of the sugar industry. Thus, commoditization and capitalization eventually encroached upon the entire Hawaiian economy, including the production of clothing.

Proletarianization was very limited until the last quarter of the 19th century, and was mostly found in the sugar industry. By the beginning of the 20th century, however, it began to be seen in other sectors of the economy as well. The producers of clothing also underwent some change. Initially, clothing was produced exclusively by women, for household members. But, by the mid-nineteenth century, there were a handful of Caucasian males commercially operating as Tailors, and by the end of the century, Chinese men operated the shops. It is only in the early twentieth century, however, that any evidence is seen of proletarianization; this is seen in the sporadic employment of immigrant Portuguese women as seamstresses. Clearly, then, production of garments was pre-capitalist in this period, both in terms of its objectives and in terms of its organization or labor process. These conditions changed, however, in the period from 1922 to 1941, and they resemble the conditions found earlier in the continental United States in a stage Edith Abbott (1910) termed "the transition."

THE TRANSITION (1922-1941)

Three notable trends emerged in 1922, and the developments of the following twenty years were built on these trends. These were the establishment of the first factory-manufactured clothing firm, the

importation of ready-to-wear garments manufactured on the mainland, and the proliferation of home sewers.

The first factory, the Hawaiian Clothing Manufacturing Company, Ltd. (later renamed Sailor Moku Products, Ltd.), produced men's, ladies' and children's clothing exclusively for the wholesale market, and used its own trademark in labeling its mass produced manufactured goods. Most of its production was in "sailor moku" or overalls, and this coincided with the growth and solidification of the plantation-based sugar industry. It served as a model for organizing the production of ready-made clothing for future firms. Within two years, another firm emerged, and in a few years after that, yet a third, the Union Supply Company, which became a major supplier of uniforms for the military. The number of firms increased steadily so that by 1941, there were fifteen firms listed as garment manufacturers in the City and County Directory.

The second important trend was the importation of ready-to-wear garments which were manufactured in the continental U.S., especially for the newly developing tourist industry. It signaled the growth of local retailing directed toward an external market. An advertisement for local retailer Liberty House which ran in the Paradise of the Pacific magazine, for example, urged tourists to purchase their vacation wardrobes after they arrived in Hawaii. It noted that the store carried the same known brand-names such as "Jantzen" and "Gantner and Mattern" at prices comparable to those on the mainland, but additionally, "in colors and materials suitable for Hawaii's balmy climate" (Fundaburk, 1965, II, 1: 24-25). The trend in importation of retailing merchandise

also meant a net outflow of money. Within a few years, a 1926 Chamber of Commerce report was published which expressed concern over the dollar costs of importing ready-made clothing to the islands, and supported the idea of factory production to serve the local market.

Finally, Fundaburk notes the growing number of home sewers as well as dressmaking, tailoring and made-to-order retail stores. The number of dressmakers and tailors listed in city directories in the 1920s and the 1930s hovered around a couple hundred each, and there were also about a dozen sewing machine dealers and companies. However, the growth in the number of home sewers is even more important. Home sewers not only supported the machine dealerships, but they also formed the basis for the industry's labor force. Most of these home sewers had attended one of a number of private sewing schools which provided informal education to a large number of second-generation Japanese American women.

These sewing schools provided second-generation Japanese American women with several important opportunities. For the teachers, it often provided a career and an opportunity to generate income. For the students, they provided an opportunity to socialize with peers. The significance of these opportunities for young Japanese American women is better appreciated when one considers that these women were often not able to attend high school, and were faced with a very limited and ethnically stratified labor market. Just as factory manufacturing in Europe and the continental U.S. had been built on the pre-existing pool of skilled craftspeople, "this vast reservoir of sewing knowledge in

Honolulu was a substantial foundation for the development of factory manufacturing of garments in Hawaii" (Fundaburk, 1965, II, 1: 25).

Together, these trends set the stage for the developments of the next twenty years. The first factory served as a model for those that followed, shifting the locus of production from households and small commercial shops to factories. While work clothing was being produced locally, ready-made vacation wear was still being imported. However, this changed in the 1930s as individual tourists began to patronize the small made-to-order shops, such as Musashiya the Shirtmaker, for specially-made shirts in the 1930s. The shirts were copied from the shirts worn by Japanese American school children in Hawaii, whose mothers had constructed them from scraps of brightly printed kimono cloth. These shirts came to be known as "Aloha" shirts. Recognizing the demand, factories such as King-Smith began producing them in large quantities.

By the mid-1930s, the garment industry began producing these aloha shirts for a larger, export-oriented market. In 1936, two firms, Branfleet (later Kahala Sportswear) and the Kamehameha Garment Company, produced factory-made aloha shirt sportswear for sale on the mainland. This shift from factory-made work clothing for local consumption to factory-made sportswear for sale on the mainland provided the direction and product line which continues to dominate large segments of the industry today. However, this shift was not without problems. The fabric for the shirts was produced by textile manufacturers on the mainland and printed either on the mainland or locally. These printers, known as textile converters, only dealt in large yardages.

Thus, manufacturers, especially those with limited capital, were faced with a very serious dilemma. They were forced to choose between purchasing small quantities of fabric and running the risk that their competitors would have the identical printed fabric, or purchasing the entire run of a printed fabric and running the risk that the print would be one to which consumers would not take.

These changes in product markets and the locus of production were accompanied by shifts in the social characteristics of the garment manufacturers and their workers. In 1880, according to the Honolulu City Directory, apparel production for the marketplace was carried out by tailors, and most of the tailors' surnames were Chinese. The 1922 lists were mostly Japanese, reflecting the increasing movement of Japanese from agricultural work to the urban labor force. However, by 1941, when factories had emerged, the surnames of owners of apparel producing shops were ethnically diverse, although mainly Chinese and Caucasian. When considered with the shifts in the market, this pattern of greater diversity in the ethnic backgrounds of owners probably reflects the greater capital requirements of factory production vis-a-vis entrepreneurial shop or household production. For example, the Union Supply Company reportedly required \$200,000 in capitalization, and this was pooled among its four owners.

A 1939 Bureau of Labor Statistics report by James Shoemaker showed that only about 10% of the workforce in this industry were men. Among the predominantly female workforce, the ethnic composition had changed from largely Portuguese in 1912, to nearly 80% Japanese or Chinese. A 44-hour week (5 days of 8 hours per day, and 4 hours on Saturday) was

typical with the median hourly earnings for women being 25 cents, considerably lower than those of women in the garment industry in the continental U.S. The report also noted that the technology was fairly simple (Fundaburk, 1965, II, 1: 85).

This period, from 1922-1941, can be considered the transition period because it reflected the changes in the labor process. With the establishment of factories, there was increasing proletarianization of the producers of garments. That is, the producers of apparel increasingly became wage workers with mass production for a market as the objective of production. Although the sex distribution of the workforce remained largely female, the distribution of their ethnic backgrounds changed. The ethnic backgrounds of the firm owners also seemed to have changed, reflecting greater capital requirements. Initially, the factories produced garments for the local market, but by the end of this period, they had developed a product for the local tourist market which was then extended to the export market. By the end of this period, then, commodity production for exchange-value was established. And, while there is less in the way of specific description of the changes in the labor process, the shift in the locus of garment production, from households and small commercial shops to at least a mixture of small commercial shops and factories, was reflective of the transformation of the labor process from craft-production to mass-production. It therefore signaled the institutionalization of capitalist production.

THE WAR AND POST-WAR YEARS (1942-1954)

The period from 1942 to 1954 saw the development of a somewhat autonomous industry at the local level. In large measure, this was produced by the conditions posed by World War II which curtailed shipping and made both the importation and the exportation of clothing difficult. It also brought large numbers of new types of visitors to the islands--military personnel and various defense workers.

The curtailment of shipping, especially of "non-essentials," between Hawaii and the continental U.S. during the years from 1942 to 1945 meant that retailers of ready-to-wear clothing could no longer obtain their stocks of merchandise as easily as they had been able to in the past. It also meant that the fledgling garment manufacturers had trouble getting their sportswear products to their newly established markets and therefore needed to develop new markets for their products.

The establishment and formalization of working relationships between the manufacturers and the retailers turned out to be the solution to their respective dilemmas. However, this required some adjustments in the presentation of goods. The resulting accommodation consisted of local retailers not mentioning that the goods they were selling to the local consumer were produced in Hawaii, and local manufacturers began to use the term "handblocked prints" to describe their patterns instead of the previously-used "Hawaiian prints." Printed clothing became more acceptable to the local population as the shortages of mainland ready-to-wear clothing continued throughout the war, and by the end of the war years, a local market for Hawaiian garments had been established. More important for the garment industry,

was the development and the cementing of mutually beneficial relations between manufacturers and retailers which persisted for most of the next forty years.

The second development which resulted from the war was the influx of military and defense personnel who immediately became consumers of Hawaiian sportswear. Additionally, they ended up becoming publicists of the products of the garment industry. Initially, these people purchased Hawaiian clothing to wear locally as well as to send back to their homes as souvenirs. This had a ripple effect of introducing and popularizing Hawaiian made clothing to a new, non-tourist market in the continental U.S. which proved to be especially fruitful in the post-war export-rebuilding phase of the industry.

After the Second World War the growth in the number of firms continued. In the years immediately following the war, the number of firms in Honolulu climbed from 17 in 1946 to 48 in 1950 (Fundaburk, 1965, I, 1: 40). This increase in the numbers of firms brought experimentation with new fabrics, designs, and prints and, with the experimentation, changes in the technology of printing. Most of the textile printing immediately after the war was done by mainland textile converters. By 1950, however, the technology of "screen printing" had been refined, led by companies like Alfred Shaheen and Von Hamm Textiles. This procedure permitted the printing of smaller yardages, especially suited for local designers. More important, it permitted brighter and more shaded prints which, from 1947 on, received greater national and international exposure through yearly Aloha Week publicity events.

These developments in technology led to the 1949 formation of a trade association, the Hawaii Garment Manufacturers Guild. It was initiated by the ten largest local manufacturers in the interest of promoting their Hawaiian fashions nationally, as well as to begin working together on concerns of the industry. High on their list of concerns were the need for skilled machine operators and for greater publicity to enable the industry to expand markets. The result of additional promotion and publicity was a fairly rapid growth of the industry's volume of production; in the years from 1952 to 1954, this amounted to \$5-6 million in wholesale volume (Fundaburk, 1965, I, 1: 44). Financing was also a problem for many of the firms, particularly the newly established ones. As the Japanese-American owner of one of the firms established during this period recalled (in pidgin),

"...the big problem was access to money--the discrimination was awful, the younger folks don't really know, only had Bank of Hawaii and Bishop Bank and they wouldn't give you credit for loans because they said this was just a fad business--really hard until statehood and the tourists, and new banks like CPB (Central Pacific Bank) and City Bank." (interview 2/21/85: 2-3)

The Second World War and post-war years, then, can be regarded as the Industrial Period when the Hawaiian garment industry developed autonomously and became fully established. Because of their isolation from the national export market during the war years, manufacturers established cooperative relations with local retailers which continued until very recently, and were able to create a local market for their goods. Additionally, the military personnel stationed in Hawaii during the war years who bought the locally produced Hawaiian sportswear helped

to extend the national interest in Hawaiian sportswear beyond its former, strictly tourist, constituency. This turned out to be quite important when, with the development of the new screen-printing technology and publicity, the industry began to define itself as an industry and to expand its national export markets.

THE PERIOD OF RAPID GROWTH (1955-1964)

Fundaburk refers to the years from 1955 to 1964 as the period of rapid growth. In this period, the industry increased its volume of production and export. There were also increases in the number of firms, greater organization and professionalization, and greater attention paid to the industry by representatives of business, labor and the state. Interest groups outside of Hawaii also became interested in the industry, including national and Japanese manufacturers and organized labor.

From 1955 to 1964, the industry trebled its annual wholesale volume from \$7 million to \$20 million. The local market established during the war and post-war years continued to support industry products, but additionally, with the tremendous growth in tourism, a substantial tourist market developed. The increase in publicity and interest in Hawaii as it became the fiftieth state of the U.S. in 1959 helped the local garment industry, but so also did the aggressive efforts by Hawaiian manufacturers to increase their sales in the continental U.S. As expansion took place, however, the industry increasingly began to face problems.

In the mid-fifties, the industry began an organized effort to address its most important concern--the need for skilled machine

operators. Through joint efforts with the Department of Education, the Hawaii Garment Manufacturers Guild created a training course for power machine operators at Honolulu Technical School (now Honolulu Community College) which involved aptitude screening tests and 45-75 days of training. The proposed target group was young women aged 18-35. The effort failed, chiefly for the lack of students, but it signaled the first of several efforts at state and industry cooperation.

Although labor supply continued to be the major problem, financing also continued to be a problem and it became more acute as manufacturers required greater capitalization to expand their markets. Increasingly shortages in capital and labor interacted as those firms which exported to the continental U.S. also found themselves subject to Federal minimum wage laws and higher labor and production costs.

While the industry had grown considerably over time, it also differentiated in this period as well. Out of about 49 firms operating in 1956, twenty-seven had 20 or fewer employees and only three firms had over a hundred employees, with the employees in the larger firms accounting for 35% of the total industry employment. The nature of employment also changed. Increasing division of labor and specialization of the productive process occurred, particularly in the larger firms. By 1956, there were sixteen different production occupations listed, and an accompanying contingent of office and management occupations. The key occupation, of course, was power machine operator, and it was mostly filled by young women who possessed at least an eighth grade education (Fundaburk, 1965, II,2: 234-235; Department of Labor and Industrial Relations, 1957). Although ethnic

backgrounds are not mentioned, most of the production employees were Japanese American women. As one of the manufacturers of this period noted, it was because the women were not able to find employment in other areas of the economy.

"...in those days mostly Japanese, because nobody else could sew--mostly nisei--because not much opportunity in jobs. So the quality was really good, the caliber was, if could go to school like today, they would go to college."
(interview, 2/21/85:2).

Initial interest of organized labor in the islands' garment industry began in 1958 when the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union sent a representative to investigate conditions. They did not proceed with plans to organize garment workers in Hawaii, but as a result, a State investigation of the practice of "homework" was initiated. Homework, the practice of employees engaged in paid production work in their homes, had been outlawed in the 1930s because the difficulty in supervising employees' work contributed to the greater likelihood of the exploitation of workers. However, the practice continued in Hawaii. The first attempt to organize in the industry came in 1961, when the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union won the right to represent some 233 workers of the largest garment-textile firm (Fundaburk, 1965, II, 2: 318-320).

In the meantime, the garment industry continued to expand and markets went beyond the continental U.S. to Japan. This was facilitated by greater efforts to "professionalize." Through the establishment of a local chapter of the Fashion Group, Inc., an international fashion industry organization, linkages were created with trade organizations. Expansion had two interrelated effects. On the one hand, it led to

greater popularity, respect and demand for Hawaiian designs and products; on the other hand, it led to overproduction as many non-Hawaiian firms began to engage in "copy-cattng." This saturated the market and led to a slight decline in the industry's sales volume in the mid-sixties.

This period, then, was characterized by tremendous growth and change. There was greater attention paid to marketing locally, nationally and internationally. The industry also faced continued labor shortages, and the beginnings of labor conflict, which led to state and other organizations developing interest in the industry. In the next decade, the industry continued to grow, but at a slower, more sustained pace.

THE PERIOD OF STABLE GROWTH (1965-1974)

Overall, the general trend from the mid-1960s through the mid-1970s was one of stable growth. The number of garment manufacturing firms continued to grow, from 96 in 1967 to 120 in 1972. Employment grew from 2,500 employees in 1967 to 3,300 in 1972. (Schmitt, 1977: 410) The pattern of growth in production volume continued until 1974 when it peaked at \$66 million (Salmon, 1979: 74). Much of this was based on the continuing growth of the tourist industry. Between 1964 and 1974, the number of tourists rose nearly fivefold, from 563,925 to 2,786,489 (Hawaii, 1983: 201). Thus, like other participants in the Hawaiian economy during this period, the garment industry benefitted "because in the boomtime Hawaiian economy of 1955-74 there was ample room to accomodate everybody" (Kent, 1983:106).

Tourists to Hawaii in this period were generally quite affluent and came with a generous vacation budget. Consequently, they easily could be persuaded to purchase the colorful aloha shirts and muumuus to wear while on vacation. Firms within the garment manufacturing industry found a constantly flowing supply of consumers for their products. This was to change after 1974, and these changes will be discussed in the next chapter. However, in order to assess these changes and their implications, the labor process within firms in the garment industry will be examined.

THE LABOR PROCESS WITHIN THE GARMENT INDUSTRY

The construction of garments is a complex process involving a number of steps and a number of different skills. When carried out on a large scale for a ready-to-wear market, and with a number of employees, the process is made considerably more complex because it requires coordination between the market, the people who are employed, and the various steps involved in the construction of the garments.

The production process usually begins with the design process. Sometimes, the design is bought from a free-lance designer. More often, however, garment manufacturing firms employ a designer who conceptualizes a garment or creates images of garments in the form of sketches. A tall order is required of designers; they are expected to produce images which simultaneously support current trends and styles, and break out and initiate new trends. In essence, then, the fashion industry requires that the designer, at one and the same time, lead and applaud a parade. She or he must borrow from the available styles, or silhouettes, and materials, but must also seek inspiration from other

sources and come up with original material. Fashion, or the trend, however, is "a look," and the production of more than one design is required of the designer. Each of the several designs created must be consistent with the others. Often, especially in the case of muumuus, designs are created in at least two lengths: floor length and street length. In essence, then, the designer is expected to develop a number of different styles of garments which are each reflective of a given "look," and that "look" should be consistent with current fashion, yet deviate from it and thus break new ground.

The sketches, or designs, must then be translated into construction parts. Patterns which are used to guide the cutting of fabric pieces must be created or drafted. This is a complex task requiring considerable skill, for the degree to which a garment fits well on its wearer heavily depends on the expertise of the patternmaker. Depending upon the size of the firm and the resources available to it, the designer might produce the patterns, or one or more patternmakers may be employed to handle this technical process. Another alternative is to have this step be contracted out to an independent patternmaker. Independent patternmakers create the patterns on a contract basis for several different firms out of their designs. Additionally, since people require different sizes of garments, the patterns must be "graded" into different sizes. That is, the pattern must be reproduced in several different sizes. Again, depending upon the size of the firm, this step, like that of patternmaking, may be performed by a designer, a patternmaker, or a grader.

Sample garments are produced from these patterns. These samples are usually made in only one size and are taken with swatches of fabric to retailers to solicit orders. Depending upon their size, garment manufacturers often have one or more salespeople who solicit orders from retailers. These individuals can be employed, or they can work as independent sales representatives, representing a number of different manufacturers for sales commissions. Once the orders are placed, the production process can be initiated. In the interests of efficiency, the number and size of the orders will be a major consideration in determining when the laying and cutting process will begin.

Laying and cutting of the fabric proceeds as orders are taken. These steps, as with those prior to them, can be contracted out to independent layers and cutters, or can be done in-house. Sometimes firms will employ part-time layer-cutters who are regular employees of another firm and who moonlight on second jobs after regular factory hours. This practice reinforces the low wages paid in the industry because it keeps the size of the workforce down which works against labor organizing, and because it provides low-wage workers with more opportunities to earn even though it is at low wage levels.

Before laying and cutting, however, the patterns have to be transformed into markers. Markers are the planned arrangement of graded patterns on a given amount of fabric which are reproduced on carbon paper so that laying and cutting of new orders and reorders can be carried out on short notice. Markermaking requires that workers possess knowledge about how pieces should be arranged in relation to the grain of the fabric and about the amount of fabric that is available.

Skilled markermakers are those who can arrange the patterns in relationship to the grain and save on the yardage required. The ability to save yardage and thereby reduce material costs requires knowledge about the number of orders that have been or will be placed. However, because of the competitive nature of the garment industry, timing is especially critical. Being the first to get a new product on the market often translates into extraordinary or mediocre sales. Thus, quite often the laying and cutting process is initiated with incomplete knowledge and with the risk of either running short of fabric, or getting stuck with an oversupply of fabric. In either case, the results are negative. If manufacturers run short of fabric, retailers will have to be shorted; that would mean not only lower immediate sales, but also the possibility of lower or no sales in the future because of retailer dissatisfaction and, therefore, a reduction in potential profits. On the other hand, if manufacturers are stuck with an oversupply of fabric, it means capital will have been tied up which will not generate a return and, consequently, a loss rather than a profit will be realized.

Once the fabric has been cut, the pieces must be bundled and sewn. Again, this process can be contracted out or can be done in-house. Most of the manufacturers have put together a combination of contractors and in-house staff. The reasons for this are manifold, but ultimately related to cost. First, the volume of orders and the amount of time required to fill orders may be greater than can be accommodated by the in-house sewing staff. Second, the garment may require the operations of specialized equipment which the manufacturer may not already possess in the shop. These situations would necessitate the hiring of additional

staff, or the purchase of new equipment. However, given the unpredictability built into the steps previously mentioned, the cost of maintaining a large staff on a continuous basis would be too costly. Furthermore, with the trend of even greater competition in the industry, and the growing availability of contractors, the cost of maintaining a large staff or an inventory of equipment on a continuous basis is often seen as unwise and undesirable. Thus, contracting at least part of the sewing process is seen as necessary if not desirable.

Contract sewing firms vary tremendously. There are some which possess specialized equipment and employ a fairly large workforce in order to handle on a regular basis large contract sewing orders, and others which are small operations with a few simple single-needle machines and a few seamstresses. In both cases, but particularly in the latter case, the contracted order may be further subcontracted out to homesewers. Although homesewing is illegal, the practice has continued and increased in recent years. Periodically, there are charges brought against firms which employ home sewers, but these are generally rare occurrences. The issue of home sewing is complicated because homesewers fall into two groups which experience different life situations and, therefore, different levels of exploitation. One group is composed of retired sewers who engage in home sewing to make a little extra money; the other group is composed of immigrants and refugees, often with young children, who engage in home sewing in order to contribute to their household incomes and care for their children or because of difficulty finding jobs in the larger labor market. The latter group of home

sewers are clearly more likely to be working under more exploitative conditions.

Overall, the number of contractors has increased over the past two decades. In a large measure, this has been due to the influx of new immigrants and refugees from Asia, particularly from the Philippines and the Malay peninsula. These new immigrants often work in contracting firms, learn the operations and the clientele, and then form their own contracting firms in much the same way as Dominicans, Haitians and Chinese have done in New York City (Waldinger, 1986). Capital requirements for most contracting jobs are low, and the immigrant community often provides easy access to a low cost, if not skilled, supply of labor.

Even before the proliferation of contracting, the sewing process itself began to change in-house. There was a shift from the whole garment construction method to the unit construction method (also known as section work). The whole garment method of construction was based on a craft model of dressmaking or tailoring, wherein a single individual was responsible for the construction of the entire garment. This meant not only that the individual had to be skilled in a variety of operations, but also that she had a clear understanding of the intended outcome, and the relationship between the requisite operations and the intended outcome (e.g., why two lines of gathering stitches was better than one, why sleeves should be sewn on after the shoulder and side seams are sewn rather than before, etc.).

As the volume of production increased, rationalization of the labor process led to adoption of the unit construction method. This required

that the production process be broken down into clusters of operations. Initially in-house, these clusters, or sections, are arranged in sequential order — preparation work (e.g., sewing labels on certain pieces, or collars or yokes), detail work, and finishing work. These clustered operations varied in the amount of skill required, and thus, labor could be disaggregated according to levels of skill. Moreover, a la Babbage, the different types of work which corresponded to different levels of skill could also be remunerated at different prices. Contracting of sewing operations, then, is but a later and more complex stage of the rationalization process.

After the major sewing operations are completed, the garments go through a process called "finishing." Depending upon the design and style of the garment, this process includes activities such as sewing buttons and buttonholes, if required, hemming, pressing, and the final checking of the garments for imperfections. These functions are usually handled in-house, although sewing of the buttonholes and buttons may be contracted out.

Finally, shipping signals the end of the process. This stage involves the arranging and packing of the garments for shipping or delivery. It also involves the billing process. Some of the manufacturers use a practice known as factoring. That is, they have an account with a bank or financial investment company which handles transactions, extends credit or loans, and related services. For a service charge, the factoring company will immediately pay the manufacturer for the shipped goods. The factor then deals with and collects from the retailing firm. Similarly, when a manufacturer needs

money to purchase fabric for an order, they may get credit or an advance to do so from the factoring company. Many medium-size manufacturing firms use factors. Other firms, however, do not engage in this practice and "carry their own money." These firms either cannot afford the service fees of factoring companies or prefer to take their own chances on collecting their bills and getting regular loans and credit from banks.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This chapter has examined the development of the garment industry in Hawaii from its pre-industrial beginnings to 1974, using both existing data and data recently gathered on the industry. It has found that some common threads run through the history of the production of clothing. The work has been predominantly done by women, and in the post second world war, by economically disadvantaged nisei women. It has also found that the organization of the process of producing clothing has undergone substantial change.

Production of clothing in pre-contact Hawai'i was done by women using indigenous materials and the application of traditional knowledge and skills. The labor process, therefore, was characterized by a unity of conception and execution functions and production was for the purpose of immediate consumption rather than for exchange in a market. When new materials and new techniques were introduced, the old kapa-making was replaced by sewing, initially in the home and later by dressmakers and tailors. By the first quarter of the twentieth century, the production of garments changed from clothing that was made-to-order to that which

was ready-made. Garments were produced in factories using proletarianized labor and for the purpose of generating surplus value.

Marketing therefore became an increasingly important concern and there ensued a search for wider markets. But the access to those new markets was constrained by external political factors, notably the Second World War. Following the War, the markets in the continental U.S. began to develop once again. With statehood status and the development of the tourist economy, largely fueled by external capital, the garment industry once again expanded, this time at a phenomenal rate. Additionally, technological developments in printing made Hawaiian made garments even more attractive. This led to greater interest in Hawaiian garments and more competitors entered the market.

By the mid-seventies, however, the growth of the garment industry had peaked. The industry has therefore moved into yet another transition period where new patterns have been emerging. The labor process which currently exists in the industry has been undergoing change as the industry confronts new problems and attempts to address these new challenges. This is the focus of the next chapter.

CHAPTER THREE

THE CURRENT STATUS OF THE INDUSTRY AND STATE INTERVENTION

INTRODUCTION

The contemporary situation of the garment manufacturing industry and the process of state intervention in the industry will be examined in this chapter, guided by a political economy framework. Consequently, the chapter will begin with a general examination of the structure of the Hawaiian economy and the garment industry's place in it. It will argue that the garment industry in Hawaii is characterized by competitive capital. The analysis then shifts to the internal structure of the garment industry where the focus will be on the factors which have affected the labor process of garment manufacturing in the 1970s and 1980s, the problems these have generated, and the specific ways in which the capitalist class has changed the labor process of garment manufacturing in order to address these problems. Finally, since the ability of the capitalist class to address all of these problems is limited, the assistance provided by the state will also be examined. One of the issues to be examined in this section is the basis for state intervention, particularly why the state assisted a competitive sector industry. Other issues include the mechanisms through which state involvement took place, and the significance of such involvement.

Multiple sources of data were used in this analysis. The discussion on the structure of the economy and the garment industry's place in it relied on available census materials. The section on the problems faced by the industry relied on data gathered in

semi-structured interviews with 37 garment manufacturers, whereas the discussion on state intervention is based on files of the Department of Planning and Economic Development, the Garment Industry Training Program, and interviews with personnel in both agencies.

POLITICAL ECONOMY AND THE STRUCTURE OF THE HAWAIIAN ECONOMY

A political economy framework asserts that the study of economic processes cannot be separated from political processes. While neoclassical political economists, exemplified by Milton Friedman, assert that capitalism functions best when the role of politics in the marketplace is limited, neo-Marxist political economists assert that mature capitalism involves greater participation of the state in the economy. Marxist scholars have noted that as industrial capitalism progresses, capital develops along two lines, monopoly capital and competitive capital, each differing in their respective characteristics and comparative advantages. Competitive capital continues to be subjected to market forces, whereas monopoly capital develops in relationship to the state. The state's capacity to create and maintain conditions favorable to capital accumulation without detracting from its legitimacy is the key to monopoly capital's development.

Determining what kind of capital is represented by the garment industry is the first task of this chapter. Monopoly capital is presumed to develop in relation to the state which subsidizes much of the costs of production. Monopoly capital, therefore, tends to be seen in industries where capital is concentrated in a few firms, where there is market domination, and where economies of scale are used.

In contrast, competitive capital is dispersed across many firms, with limited market shares, and with low capital intensity. Given these distinctions, this chapter will compare the garment industry's characteristics with those of other industries in the Hawaiian economy and assert that it is an industry characterized by competitive capital.

Changes in the Industrial Composition of the Hawaiian Economy

Generally speaking, the economy of the State of Hawaii is dominated by a large tertiary or service sector. Over 80% of the state's firms and employment falls into this sector which includes Transportation and Utilities, Wholesale and Retail Trade, Finance, and Services. Agriculture and Mining make up less than 1% of the state's employment and firms, while the remainder of employment is in Construction and Manufacturing.

Overall, the Hawaiian economy has grown. The number of firms grew from 17,096 in 1975 to 25,742 in 1985; the levels of employment grew from 251,698 workers in 1975 to 327,338 workers in 1985. However, the economic growth has not been uniform. While all industries grew in the number of firms, only some industrial areas grew in terms of employment. Retail and Service industries together provided 62.5% of the employment in Hawaii in 1985, an increase from 54.7% and 57.4% in 1975 and 1980 respectively. The figures in Table 1 show that while the extractive industries such as Agriculture and Mining in Hawaii's economy maintained about the same level of employment during the decade from 1975-1985, Contract Construction and Manufacturing actually lost considerably in levels of employment. Thus, in a manner similar to the nation as a

whole, the already small secondary sector of Hawaii's economy has declined even further, and the economy has become more dependent on growth in the service sector.

Table 1
Changes in Employment by Industry, 1975-1985

<u>Industry</u>	<u>Number Employed</u>			<u>Percent Employed</u>		
	<u>1975</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1985</u>	<u>1975</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1985</u>
Agriculture	1,261	1,771	1,697	.5	.6	.5
Mining	220	225	186	.1	.1	.1
Construction	25,925	26,184	17,022	10.3	8.4	5.2
Manufacturing	23,344	25,515	20,914	9.3	8.2	6.4
Transp. & Utils.	22,803	29,634	30,447	9.1	9.5	9.3
Wholesale Trade	15,214	17,107	18,281	6.0	5.5	5.6
Retail Trade	64,816	84,153	92,080	25.8	27.0	28.1
Finance	22,258	29,593	29,939	8.8	9.5	9.1
Services	72,815	94,777	112,582	28.9	30.4	34.4
Nonclassifiable	3,042	3,066	4,188	1.2	1	1.3
Total	251,698	312,025	327,336	100	100.2	100

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, County Business Patterns - Hawaii, Table 1A, 1975, 1980, 1985.

The restructuring of the Hawaiian economy in the direction of greater reliance on the tertiary sector has a number of important consequences. The number of workers per firm is affected, and so is the payroll per worker. As indicated in Table 2, firms in Manufacturing employed an ratio of 29.7 workers per firm as compared to between 10.1 and 13.8 workers per firm for the service sector, and 14.7 workers for the economy in general. Only transportation and utilities employed a greater number of workers per firm. Thus, the decline in the manufacturing sector means that the relative potential for firms to generate jobs is reduced. More important, from the perspective of

labor, the potential for better benefits packages is reduced. Furthermore, this pattern is replicated in remuneration levels, as indicated by First Quarter Payroll per Worker figures.

Table 2
Changes in Workers per Firm and
First Quarter Payroll per Worker, 1975-1985

<u>Industry</u>	<u>Payroll per Worker (in \$)</u>			<u>Workers per Firm</u>		
	<u>1975</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1985</u>	<u>1975</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1985</u>
Agriculture	1,895	2,479	2,923	7.3	8.3	7.5
Mining	3,300	5,000	6,941	15.7	37.5	13.3
Construction	3,399	4,480	5,905	18.1	15.9	10.0
Manufacturing	4,363	3,115	2,455	29.7	30.7	21.2
Transp. & Utils.	2,941	4,753	5,369	34.0	33.4	28.0
Wholesale Trade	2,768	3,568	4,863	11.2	10.6	10.0
Retail Trade	1,413	1,971	2,626	14.0	14.9	13.7
Finance	4,366	3,132	2,333	10.1	10.0	9.5
Services	1,859	2,675	3,721	13.8	15.3	15.0
Nonclassifiable	1,239	1,752	2,286	3.2	2.7	2.2
All Industries	2,147	2,954	3,823	14.7	14.8	12.7

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, County Business Patterns - Hawaii, Table 1A, 1975, 1980, 1985.

The decline in both of these factors indicates a negative trend, for both the community at large and for labor in particular. This is because both the possibilities of employment and those forms of employment which have greater potential for generating higher income are declining. Clearly, then, the shifts in the composition of the Hawaiian economy, especially the decline in the secondary sector, are worthy of concern.

Changes within the Manufacturing Sector

As indicated in Table 1 above, between the years 1975 and 1985, manufacturing industries' share of employment in the Hawaiian economy declined by about one third, from 9.3% to 6.4%. Its share of firms also declined, from 4.6% to 3.8%, according to Table 2. However, this decline in employment and in the number of firms was not equally distributed throughout manufacturing. Thus, the internal changes in manufacturing will be examined.

Table 3 presents the number of employees and their representation in the manufacturing sector by the standard industrial classification codes (SIC codes) for the years 1975, 1980 and 1985. These figures provide an indication of various industries' potential for generating employment within manufacturing. They indicate that food processing employed the greatest proportion of workers in the manufacturing sector, about 40%. Apparel manufacturing was a distant second, employing 16.7% in 1985, up slightly from 1975. Printing and Publishing was third, but it was also a high growth industry. While the increase in the apparel industry employment in this period was only 3.2% or 109 jobs, the figures nevertheless indicate that the apparel manufacturing industry generated employment in a period when manufacturing as a whole had declined by 10.4%.

Table 3

Changes in Manufacturing Employment by Industry, 1975-1985

<u>Industry</u>	<u>Number Employed</u>			<u>Percent Employed</u>			
	<u>1975</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1985</u>	<u>1975</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1985</u>	<u>% Change</u>
20/Food	9,845	10,875	8,444	42.2	42.6	40.4	-14.2
22/Textiles	-	-	59	-	-	.3	-
23/Apparel	3,387	3,893	3,496	14.5	15.3	16.7	+ 3.2
24/Lumber & Wood	590	597	330	2.5	2.3	1.6	-44.1
25/Furniture	648	618	440	2.8	2.4	2.1	-32.1
26/Paper	239	266	239	1.0	1.0	1.1	0.0
27/Printing	2,572	3,039	3,309	11.0	11.9	15.8	+28.7
28/Chemicals	391	357	259	1.7	1.4	1.2	-33.8
29/Petroleum	416	-	-	1.8	-	-	-
30/Rubber & Plastic	216	195	255	.9	.8	1.2	-18.1
31/Leather	95	149	111	.4	.6	.5	-16.8
32/Stone & Clay	1,438	1,309	972	6.2	5.1	4.6	-32.4
33/Primary Metal	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
34/Fabric. Metal	794	679	552	3.4	2.7	2.6	-30.5
35/Machinery	189	271	216	.8	1.1	1.0	+14.3
36/Electric	-	157	56	-	.6	.3	-
37/Transp. Equipt.	376	537	330	1.6	2.1	1.3	-12.2
38/Instruments	-	37	25	-	.1	.1	-
39/Misc.Manuf.	1,157	1,369	734	5.0	5.4	3.5	-36.6
--/Administrative	727	680	610	3.1	2.7	2.9	-16.1
Total Manuf.	23,344	25,515	20,914	98.9	98.1	97.2	-10.4

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, County Business Patterns - Hawaii, Table 1A, 1975, 1980, 1985.

As indicated earlier, changes in industry composition are important because they have implications for the class structure and thus the well-being of workers and owners. In 1975, manufacturing industries were generally associated with higher remuneration levels than other industries, and the payroll figures appear to confirm this general pattern. Although manufacturing employment constituted 6.4% of total employment in 1985, the first quarter payroll for manufacturing constituted 7.3% of the Hawaiian economy's first quarter payroll in the same year. However, this pattern does not uniformly apply across industries in the manufacturing sector. While the apparel category made

up 16.7% of manufacturing employment in 1985, its payroll made up only 9.6% of the manufacturing payroll or just under three-fifths of what it would be under conditions of parity. Thus, the apparel manufacturing industry is clearly a low-paying industry, one of the major features of a competitive sector industry.

Three other characteristics also seem to be associated with the position of the apparel manufacturing industry in the competitive sector of the economy. These are the number of firms within the industry, the size of the firms, and the degree of capital intensity. These industrial characteristics are important because they have implications for the ability of firms to dominate their product markets, to rationalize production, and thus to be successful in deriving surplus value or profits. Concerning the relationship between the number of firms and the ability to dominate their product markets, Table 4 shows that there were 120 firms in the apparel industry in 1972; 157 firms in 1978; and 145 firms in 1982. In contrast, the petroleum processing industry was made up of only 5 firms in 1972 and 1982 and 3 firms in 1978. Clearly, the petroleum manufacturing industry, with fewer firms, was in a better position to dominate the market and extract greater surplus value than the garment industry which tends to be much more competitive.

Another factor which makes the large number of firms in the garment industry problematic is the small size of the workforce within the firms. Generally, the larger the number of workers per firm, the greater the possibility exists for utilizing economies of scale, division of labor and thus rationalization of the production process.

This is the case unless firms have already substantially rationalized and mechanized their production process, in which case, the lower numbers of workers per firm should also be accompanied by greater capital intensity. Neither of these is the case with respect to the garment industry. Again, these data indicate that the garment industry is a competitive sector industry.

Table 4

Number of Manufacturing Firms by Industry, 1975-1985

Industry	Number of Firms			% with 50+ Employees
	1972	1977	1982	1982
20/Food	209	220	221	16.7
22/Textiles	-	-	-	-
23/Apparel	120	157	145	14.0
24/Lumber & Wood	38	43	43	2.7
25/Furniture	26	30	32	6.9
26/Paper	11	13	10	22.2
27/Printing	117	157	177	10.0
28/Chemicals	21	22	21	9.5
29/Petroleum	5	3	5	40.0
30/Rubber & Plastic	11	12	18	12.5
31/Leather	-	-	-	-
32/Stone & Clay	42	53	53	10.2
33/Primary Metal	3	-	-	33.3
34/Fabric. Metal	33	36	42	8.8
35/Machinery	28	38	33	-
36/Electric	-	-	-	-
37/Transp. Equipt.	6	21	11	22.2
38/Instruments	-	-	-	-
39/Misc.Manuf.	55	83	85	1.4
--/Administrative	22	24	26	27.3
Total Manuf.	773	949	967	11.4

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Census of Manufactures - Hawaii, 1972, 1977, 1982; County Business Patterns - Hawaii, 1982.

Finally, these aggregate data provided a last indication of the degree of rationalization. This can be seen in the proportion of total workforce involved in production work. A higher proportion would

generally indicate a lower level of rationalization because according to Braverman, rationalization usually involves the growth of management which is itself accompanied by the expansion of white collar office workers. The data provide no such indication. Although manufacturing industries in general employ about two production workers for every administrative worker, the garment industry employed about four production workers to every administrative worker. Thus, once again, the garment industry is a competitive sector industry with low levels of production rationalization.

INTERNAL REORGANIZATION OF THE HAWAIIAN GARMENT INDUSTRY

Since it has been established that the garment industry in Hawaii is a competitive sector industry, this section focuses on the firms which compose the garment industry in Hawaii, particularly the problems encountered by them, and the adaptive strategies which they have employed. The data used in this section were collected in interviews with the owners or managers of garment manufacturing firms between September 1984 and February 1986. The interviews ranged in length from one-and-a-half to two-and-a-half hours and covered topics such as the firm's history, the problems it faced, the degree of formalization in the workplace, recent changes (if any), and their participation in and assessment of the activities of the Fashion Guild of Hawaii, the Department of Planning and Economic Development, and the Garment Industry Training Program.

The sampling frame was derived from a list of 130 apparel industry related firms which was provided by the director of the Garment Industry Training Program. The list included designer-wholesalers, contractors,

clothing manufacturers, accessory manufacturers, textile printers, and apparel equipment suppliers. From this list, 55 firms were identified by the Garment Industry Training Program Director as manufacturing firms. From this list of 55 firms, 49 manufacturers were contacted and 37 were interviewed yielding a 75.5% return rate. Of the 6 firms not contacted, three had gone out of business and three were located on the neighbor islands.

Firm Characteristics

The economy of Hawaii is characterized by small businesses, and the garment industry is no exception. It is composed of a large number of small firms. As can be seen in Table 5, the growth in firms seems to be fairly stable. Each decade has brought in another new cohort of firms, which, after a shake-out period, represents about one-fifth of the firms in the industry. Thus, while the proportional representation in the industry seems to be greatest among those firms beginning in the 1970-79 period, it is reasonable to expect that this cohort of firms will likely replicate the patterns of earlier cohorts because of the intense competition which characterizes firms in this industry.

Table 5

Distribution of Firms by Year of Start-up		
<u>Start-up Year</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
pre-1940	1	2.7%
1940-1949	8	21.6%
1950-1959	7	18.9%
1960-1969	7	18.9%
1970-1979	13	35.1%
1980-present	1	2.7%
Total	37	100.0%

Ten of the firm owners (25%) had worked in the garment industry earlier as designers, sales representatives, or production managers before starting their own firms. However, most of the firms began not only with very little capital, but just as often, with very little expertise. Simple entrepreneurship prevailed in most cases; the impetus was simply perceiving an opportunity to make a profit, and pursuing it. This appears to have been the case in the past as well as with the more recently emerging firms. One firm owner worked in a surfboard shop and decided to try selling his own creations. He and his partner started their operation ...

"with no money, no business experience or contacts on April 1--we've done everything on April Fool's Day so we could say it was a joke if it failed ... [we] both came up with \$2,300 each [and] really did not have any experience in the garment making industry ... we didn't even know what 'grain' meant, so we made some things where the grain didn't match -- looked like a clown suit." (Interview, 5/16/85: 1)

Thus, while prior experience in the industry was a basis for the start-up of some of the manufacturing firms, it did not appear to be a requisite factor.

Most of the manufacturing firms started as limited partnerships or as family enterprises, although a good proportion of them have incorporated. This is noteworthy when viewed in relation to the finding that only three ethnic groups were represented among owners of the manufacturing firms in this sample. Table 6 shows that Caucasians had the greatest representation with 45.9%, followed by Japanese-Americans at 37.8% and Chinese-Americans at 16.2%, all well above their representation in the state's population.

Table 6

Ethnic Background of Garment Manufacturers Surveyed
and State Population by Ethnic Background, 1986

<u>Ethnic Background</u>	<u>State</u>		<u>Manufacturers</u>	
	<u>Total</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>%</u>
Unmixed				
Caucasian	239,444	23.4	17	45.9
Japanese	235,232	23.0	14	37.8
Chinese	48,832	4.8	6	16.2
Filipino	115,611	11.3	0	-
Hawaiian	8,104	.8	0	-
Korean	13,313	1.3	0	-
Black	23,031	2.3	0	-
Puerto Rican	4,263	.4	0	-
Samoaan	3,830	.3	0	-
Other	12,756	1.2	0	-
Mixed				
Part Hawaiian	203,085	19.9	0	-
Non Hawaiian	115,250	11.3	0	-
Total	1,022,751	100.0	37	99.9

Source: Hawaii Department of Business and Economic Development, State of Hawaii Data Book, 1988, (November 1988): 41.

More important, the ethnic distribution of ownership was found to correspond to the historical period of start-up. About half of the firms owned by Japanese-Americans and Chinese-Americans were started prior to 1960. Also, all of the Chinese owned firms and four of the six Japanese owned firms which began prior to 1960 were family enterprises. The significance of this is that prior to the 1960s, the opportunities for well paying employment were not as widely available to these ethnic groups. Consequently, many chose to open small businesses and employ themselves.

This pattern of self-employment, especially within the context of a racial ethnically segmented labor market, has been studied by many others including Light (1972), Bonacich and Modell (1980), Glenn (1983),

and Waldinger (1986). Most of these studies emphasize that this pattern is associated with immigrants who utilize family members as unpaid labor. In this case, however, it appears that it was a second generation ethnic phenomenon and it points out one of the unique features of the pre-statehood Hawaii, that of a semi-colonial economy (Fuchs, 1961; Daws, 1968; Kent, 1983). Hawaii's attainment of statehood status in 1959 and the ascendancy of Democratic Party politics have expanded occupational opportunities for these Asian-American populations, particularly in local government. Consequently, there is less pressure to enter entrepreneurship among these groups. However, access to good jobs have not been as easy for Filipinos and other Asian immigrants. Thus, their patterns tend to parallel those found on the Mainland U.S.

Gender is another factor in the ownership of garment manufacturing firms. About 35% or 13 out of the 37 firms surveyed were owned by women. Additionally, over half of these firms owned by women (7 out of the 13) were started after 1970. This pattern not only parallels the growing labor force participation of women, but also the growing pattern of entrepreneurship among women because of dissatisfaction with the limits on upward mobility that they face because of discrimination based on gender in many established workplaces. Thus, in much the same way as ethnic entrepreneurs have gone the route of self-employment, women have also pursued entrepreneurship. Furthermore, even when they were not the sole owners of firms, women played important roles as designers or production managers in the nine couple-owned enterprises.

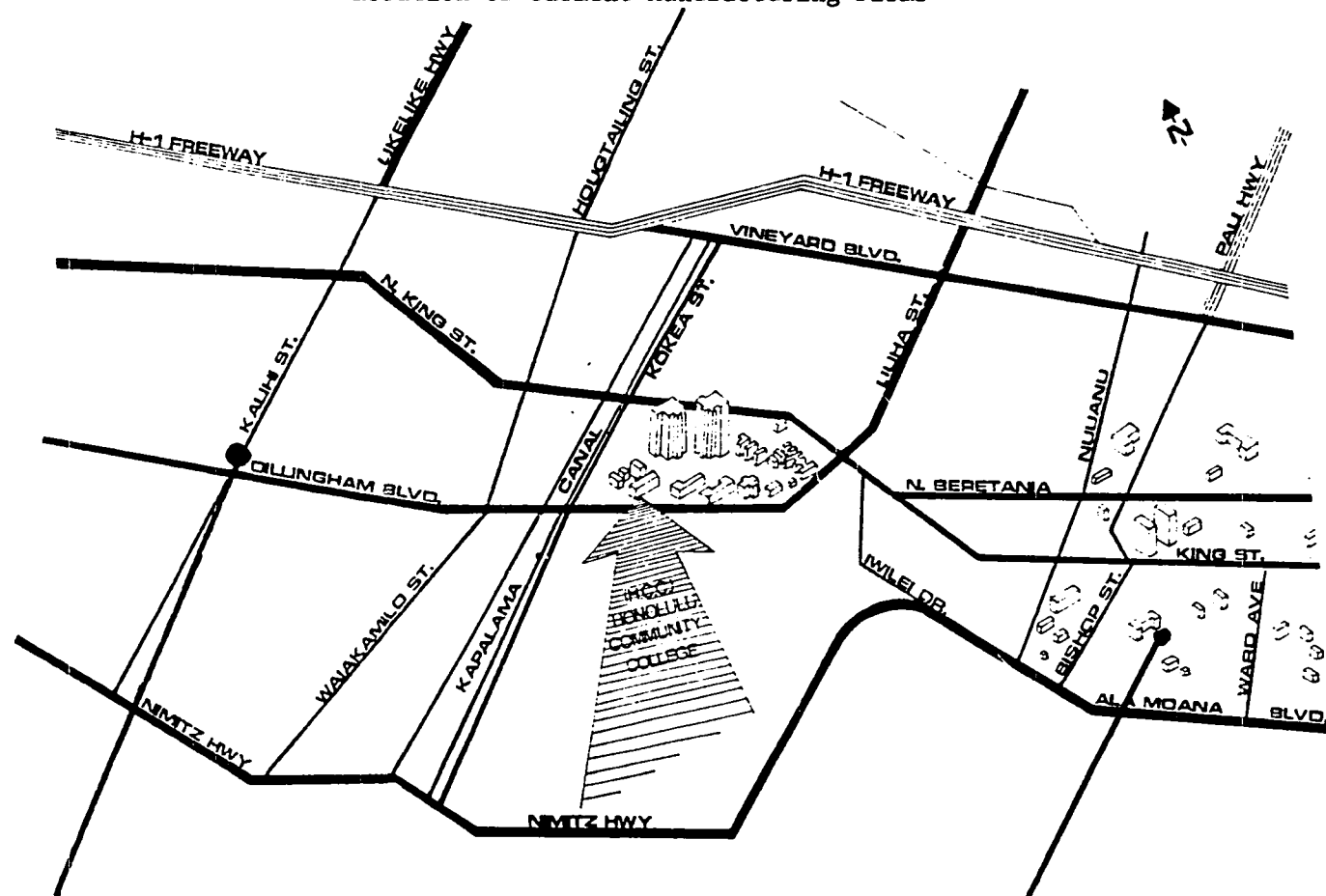
Since most of the firms were individual or family-run enterprises, they generally operated with limited capital, fairly simple equipment, and small workforces. As a result, they were not generally able to take advantage of economies of scale. Instead, the operational norm was one of flexibility. One owner noted that when he began his business,

"...no office workers in those days -- I was jack-of-all-trades -- janitor to delivery, spreading, cutting, to fixing machines ..."
(Interview, 2/21/85: 2)

Indeed, in the struggle to survive in the garment industry, the line between manufacturer and contractor was often a blurry one. At least four of the thirty-seven firms (10.8%) reported that they had "contracted in" large amounts of their production work mostly in the initial start-up years. This means that during the down periods (e.g., while their products were getting established in the marketplace), in order to maintain an adequate cash-flow, they often served as contractors to other manufacturing firms. At least two other firm managers reported contracting in some production work periodically, "when the factory was slow" (interview, 10/29/84).

One consequence of this flexibility in the definitions of contractor vis-a-vis manufacturer was that most garment manufacturers are concentrated in two geographical areas. Table 7 shows that the firms are largely concentrated in the two light industrial areas of Kapalama (with Kalihi and Iwilei adjacent to it) and Kakaako (with Ala Moana and Kapiolani adjacent to it). Kapalama and Kakaako are located at either ends of the downtown Honolulu business district. No more than three miles separate them (see Figure 1). In addition to being centrally located, these areas offer facilities at low rents.

Figure 1
Location of Garment Manufacturing Firms



71

Kapalama

Scale
1 inch = .3 mile

Kakaako

Moreover, they are adjacent to low income residential communities and are served by a reliable bus system.

Table 7

Geographical Locations of Garment Manufacturing Firms

<u>Location</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Iwilei, Kalihi, Kapalama	16	43.2%
Kakaako, Ala Moana, Kapiolani	13	35.1%
Other Honolulu	4	10.8%
Other Oahu	3	8.1%
Other	1	2.7%
Total	37	100.0%

The manufacturing plants are clustered in three- or four-story buildings and are located above, below or next to another garment manufacturing firm. This permits them to not only take advantage of contracting out the overflow or contracting in orders if necessary, but also to expand or reduce their spatial needs as required.

A closer examination of garment manufacturing firms in Hawaii found that they are generally small, entrepreneurial enterprises. Firm owners were found to be not only limited in start-up capital, but also in expertise about garment construction in many cases. The finding about the ease with which the industry can be entered helps to explain the high proportion of ethnic minority and female ownership, as well as the large numbers of firms found in this industry. However, only some of the firms are full manufacturing firms and they often convert into contracting firms according to their economic situations. This is probably why the firms are physically concentrated in but a few geographical locations.

The Problems Faced by the Industry: New Competitors

Intense competition is a perennial problem faced by the industry, a consequence of the large number of firms producing apparel in Hawaii. As several manufacturers have noted, "everybody's a competitor." However, in addition to the sheer number of firms, there is the problem of the limited local market. This results in several specific problems for the manufacturers. First, there is the problem of other manufacturers "knocking off" a given manufacturer's product.

"Everybody's competing for a space in the store, so everybody is a competitor ... if you have a good product, you always have people coming in to knock off some of your stuff -- lots of times, they're around for a year, year and a half, and then they're gone." (Interview, 1/28/86: 2).

Especially during the early 1980s, the industry was hard hit by a few "factory-to-you" and "Swap Meet" operators who presumably "stole" many of the existing manufacturers' creations. Owners and managers of firms related horror stories of these operators essentially buying their garments from a retail store, ripping them apart for patterns, modifying them with shorter zipper or with slightly different trimming, and then selling these counterfeit garments directly to consumers at just over the wholesale price. Many manufacturers complain of this practice, and feel justifiably frustrated. This is exacerbated by the ease with which it can be done.

"... people knock off your designs -- within three weeks they've got your design -- [I'm] looking for something else, but it's hard finding out what buyers will buy." (Interview, 12/06/84: 3).

Only a few manufacturers felt that this practice was just a natural part of operating in a very competitive industry and that, ultimately, the variety and quality of products will be improved as a consequence of the competition.

Finally, the encroachment on manufacturers' turf was not only limited to other manufacturing firms and the factory outlets. Even retailers, the traditional customers of manufacturers, appear to be becoming competitors. Several manufacturers noted that several of the large retailers like Liberty House and the larger mainland department stores like Sears and Penney's are using contractors and creating the items that they formerly bought on a wholesale basis from the local garment manufacturers. "Retailers are converting their own fabric and contracting" and, in so doing, are bypassing the manufacturers.

(Interview, 6/19/85: 3)

The Problems Faced by the Industry: Changes in Markets

Until the mid-1970s, Hawaii's garment manufacturing industry enjoyed growth, much of which was tied to the burgeoning tourist industry. Colorfully printed Muumuus and Aloha Shirts became synonymous with tourists. Local residents also purchased and wore Muumuus and Aloha Shirts, but the items they wore were more conservative, and constructed of cotton fabrics printed with small, calico-like prints. Consequently, when the tourist market began to change, it had important implications for the garment industry.

Two things contributed to this change. First, the price of fabric began to rise. This affected many of the manufacturing firms which had established printing arrangements with Japanese textile manufacturers

and converters in the 1950s and 1960s because, unlike American manufacturers or converters, the Japanese firms would produce and sell smaller units of fabric to local garment manufacturers. As the Japanese national economy developed, the cost of doing business with firms in Japan also rose. One manufacturer noted that they started changing their designs in the early 1980s because the Hawaiian Prints were no longer selling. He attributed the lack of sales to the high costs of Hawaiian prints which drove up the price of the garment. "As long as it was about \$2.30 a yard, not so bad, but now it's \$3.70." (Interview, 2/21/85: 4)

The second factor which sorely affected the industry was a result of the major changes in the technology of air transportation. The "jumbo jets" which could carry hundreds of passengers meant that economies of scale could also be used in tourism, Hawaii's major service industry. The expansion of the lower cost excursion fares meant that many of the more recent tourists were less affluent and on a limited budget. Consequently, these tourists were less likely to purchase the vacation extras of the matching aloha shirts and muumuus sets for themselves and their families, particularly when the prices for those items were rising because of higher fabric prices. Thus, the garment industry found that it could no longer rely on the market in "tourist uniforms."

"Also, "the tourists have changed their buying habits--price-wise, they wouldn't pay the price, even for the quality, except maybe in the specialty stores." (Interview, 6/15/85: 3).

Another firm owner saw yet another reason for the decline of this market:

"People don't know how to dress--we have to educate the public to be more fashion conscious --you know, women are to please men, to be attractive to men--it's nature, it's in nature. The problem with Americans is that they disregard Nature--they try to impose their own ideas on it." (Interview, 1/28/86: 9)

When the tourist market declined, manufacturers began looking for other possible markets. Without much capital to seek out new markets elsewhere, many focused on local residents as a market. The internal competition, therefore, increased. Additionally, the local resident market has itself undergone change. Manufacturers have noted that sales of the traditional muumuu and aloha shirts which have been purchased by residents over the last two decades have declined. This is partly related to the product saturation in the resident population, but it has also been reflective of the shift in norms about dressing for special events.

"Before, people used to wear muumuus to a lot of parties--every party you got to have a new muumuu or shirt. But now, just jeans and T-shirt and slippers--no more class!"
(Interview 2/21/85: 4)

Some manufacturers have taken the position that Hawaii needs to adjust to being one among many vacation destinations worldwide, and adjust the product to the new tourist market. Instead of producing items for the tourist to wear in Hawaii, these proponents suggest that the manufactured apparel should reflect a more universal "look," one that can be worn in many different vacation sites throughout the world. This trend is called "leisure wear" or "resort dressing."

Not surprising, this is the emphasis or direction preferred by the State of Hawaii's economic development program specialists.

Additionally, the ethos of the local business community has shifted from a casual, local orientation to a more worldly one, which is interested in participating in the global economy. While formal business suits have not totally taken over, business-looking attire and "career dressing" has increasingly become the norm, and this has facilitated the development of the "local business lifestyle look." That look often involves attire for different social functions, and it has meant that the industry is not only segmenting their markets, but also segmenting the products of a particular consumer group. Thus, one manufacturer of men's aloha shirts reported that they

"have different target markets for each line. [One] is for the 25-50 year old conservative businessmen's lifestyle; [another is for] the mature gentlemen's evening wear; [another] is for young men; [still another] is our tourist line; and [the last] is our budget-priced line ..." (Interview, 7/8/85: 2)

In short, the decline in sales to tourists and the challenge from imports has necessitated changes in the garment industry's product market. This has intensified the competition among firms in the marketplace, because there are more firms selling in an increasingly saturated local market. That has meant more diverse and smaller production outputs, with lower possibilities of rationalization.

The Problems Faced by the Industry: Weak Trade Organization

According to O'Connor, trade organizations are "active instruments in the creation of attitudes, in the dissemination of sound opinion, and in the promotion of practices which may become widespread." (1973: 66)

The Fashion Guild of Hawaii was organized in the late 1950s to represent the interests of garment manufacturers. It is publicly recognized as the trade organization of the garment industry, and continues to officially represent it in relationship to governmental activities. This is in spite of the fact that membership has declined precipitously, and many of the major manufacturing firms have not continued their membership. Thus, only twelve of the firm owners or managers, about one-third of those surveyed, reported that they were members of the Guild. Furthermore, of the twenty-five owners or managers whose firms were not members of the Guild, sixteen reported that they had formerly been members of the organization, and at least six were among the original members of the organization.

The ostensible impetus for the development of the Fashion Guild was to promote Hawaiian wear. However, according to one manufacturer, the real impetus was the labor movement:

"It was to keep the unions out. Everybody joined except Shaheen, and he got unionized. So when everybody was paying \$1.35, he was paying \$1.85." (Interview, 2/21/85: 3)

The result was that all of the Guild members paid about the same package to workers. These included medical benefits, vacation with pay and life insurance, plus various bonuses ("after ten years they get outer island trip, after fifteen years, trip to Las Vegas -- better than giving it to Uncle Sam!"). (Interview, 2/21/85: 3)

The decline in membership can be seen as but one reflection of the various changes in the industry, particularly of the fact that the firms within the industry have become more heterogeneous. Some firms have expanded and entered into new markets on the mainland, whereas other

firms have continued produce for the local market. The consequences of doing the latter appear to have been quite negative. These manufacturers faced not only a limited local market, but the "golden egg," the tourist market, began to shrink bringing greater competition among these firms, and, consequently, lower sales and profitability. This being evident, the state government, particularly the Department of Planning and Economic Development, has attempted to encourage the industry to look toward markets beyond Hawaii, to produce garments for the export markets. This has met with mixed reactions and is reflected in the perceptions about the Guild.

Among the number of differing perceptions which exist regarding the Guild, is one that it is irrelevant to the concerns of the smaller local firms. One firm which is no longer a member of the Fashion Guild reported that they do not belong because they feel the Guild concentrates mainly on exports.

"Our trade is local -- I mean, Duty Free may be considered export, but it's sold locally ... the Guild seems to be emphasizing exporting and could help manufacturers by helping them with their relationships with the local retailers..'"
(Interview, 11/1/84: 5)

In short, the diversity of firms, changing markets, and the higher level of competition have made it difficult for the Fashion Guild to be effective as a trade organization.

The Problems Faced by the Industry: Shortage of Skilled Labor

A major problem identified by firm owners or managers was the one of finding and keeping personnel. While some the labor force of many garment firms was stable, labor turnover was quite high in certain

firms. The explanations given by the owners and managers for the high labor turnover often did not recognize the actual conditions of the work or the low pay. Instead, owners and managers often took a "blaming the victim" approach and defined the problem as one of individual workers rather than because of the class-based relation between workers and owners.

Personality traits were often used as explanations. One firm owner suggested several reasons for the high turnover rates in her firms. She felt that many of the women were not very adaptable and would often quit for "trivial reasons." They often would rely on her to tell a coworker something when grudges among women would arise and coworkers would not speak to each other. Finally, some of them don't like the pressure of having to meet production quotas based on time-motion studies or the fact that she could not afford to pay all the benefits expected by full-time employees. Her solution to this problem was to "nicely force them into part-time." (Interview, 9/04/84: 2-3)

Cultural traits were also utilized to explain problems with the workforce. One firm owner suggested that the ethnic backgrounds of his changing workforce was the source of the problem.

"90% are Filipino, Chinese or Vietnamese--almost none are experienced and almost none can converse in English--they're basically unskilled." (Interview, 6/19/85: 3)

The attribution of labor problems to ethnic or cultural factors is much more an indication of the changes in the labor market from which garment workers are drawn. The older generation of workers were generally of ethnic backgrounds similar to the firm owners. As the older generation of ethnic workers retire and leave the labor force, the industry has

been faced with the need to find other sources of labor. Since the new ethnic workforce represented quite a difference from the one to which firm owners and managers had become accustomed over the past three decades, cultural differences were often seen in problematic terms.

Changes in the personnel of retailing firms have been yet another set of personnel changes with which garment manufacturers must deal. Since manufacturers sell their products to retail stores, the buyers of those stores play a critical role in the survival of the manufacturing firm. According to one manufacturer who has since changed to a different product line, they faced "a change in buyers--the personnel--lots of customers that we had [previously worked with] retired." She went on to say that in the past, the buyers of the department stores knew their merchandise, knew what would sell, and would regularly place orders with them for those items. But as they retired, the stores hired new buyers who were not familiar with the firm's products, and who would not place orders, or who would not know what would sell and therefore not have confidence in the firm's products." (Interview, 6/15/85: 3)

The problems faced by the industry, in short, seem to be both structural and historical in nature. The structural problems seem to be the result of a large number of small firms in a very limited and very competitive market. This situation is the result of the low technology and capital requirements which facilitate easy entry into the industry. Thus, the economic climate in which garment manufacturing firms operate is a very competitive one. To these structural conditions, there have been added two different types of transformations. One of these is the change in labor force caused by the retirement of a certain cohort of

individuals; the other is a change in the industry's product markets and economic relationships in an increasingly international economy. Thus, firms within the industry have had to develop various mechanisms to cope with these changes.

Adaptive Strategies Utilized by Firms

Because of the variability of the market, manufacturers have responded in a number of different ways and, as a result, these have brought about changes in the process of garment production, distribution, and consumption. These strategies include increasing incidences of market segmentation and/or specialization; formalization of operations within the workplace; use of contracting; and extending the firm operations into the retail area. These coping strategies have been used individually or in combination in various firms with varying degrees of success.

Market Specialization and Segmentation

Some of the firm owners or managers reported that they have either upscaled or downscaled their products and have directed their marketing efforts toward a more specific segment of the apparel market. In general, marketing efforts which are directed toward the upper levels of the apparel market tend to be somewhat safer in that consumers in these groups are more affluent and have more discretionary income. Additionally, the purchasing patterns of people in this group are less likely to be affected by economic fluctuations and thus provide a more reliable market. Finally, they are more likely than other social groups

to consistently require new apparel. One manufacturer felt her market to be ...

"... working and busy women, some country club women, mostly career and executive class types who just are too busy to sew and want to look good ... [I like to] dress people to make them feel good, because when they feel good, they project a positive self-image and that helps them to succeed in what they want to do."
(Interview, 9/04/84: 2)

Others manufacturers have diversified their target markets and their risk-taking by setting up a series of "lines." These lines are usually identifiable by a name and a label. Each of the lines is oriented toward a particular group of consumers, with each group being distinguishable from the others by virtue of a particular constellation of demographic characteristics. For example, a firm may produce two separate lines, each with a different "look." One line may be directed to a young adult local female, while the other line would be directed toward older local females, with both markets being in the middle income range.

In the same vein, another firm would produce one line for the local resident market, another line for the local tourist market, and still another line, perhaps in T-shirts, which might appeal to both former and latter markets, and a lower-budget or recreational market as well. Thus a men's shirt manufacturer reported that their men's lines, [names of lines] are geared toward "local males, aged 26 to 55 years, who work downtown." However, because they recognize "the limits of the existing market, the problems posed by print and production quality locally, and the changing look, we are going after the younger visitor with

'the old Hawaii look,' and thus the impetus for the [name] line."

(Interview 10/29/84: 3)

Most of the major firms whose products are directed toward local consumers are concentrating on producing apparel for men. At least two of the major firms reported that they have redirected their production from women's wear to men's shirts. This pattern is meaningful given the fact that there are but three basic men's aloha shirt styles: the full, button-down shirt with short sleeves; the full, button-down shirt with long sleeves; and the three- or four-button pullover shirt. The "fashion" in men's shirts is limited to the changes in the prints and/or the type of fabric used. This means that the designing and pattern-making costs are much lower than in women's fashions, where constant innovation in styling and designs is required. Since the pace of innovation in styling and designs is slower, it is much easier to take advantage of economies of scale, rationalize and automate more of the steps in the production process, and thus derive greater profits.

Even in women's clothing, a certain amount of change in the nature of the product has taken place. There has been less tailoring and a move to the "oversized" look. Thus, styling, or the lack of it, has been another coping strategy. One manufacturer noted that in the last two years, their styles have generally become more simple.

"Simpler styles are easier to produce and take less production time but we add things like piping, and so on, so it's not home-made looking ... if it's Carol and Mary, we probably can't make it too simple, but if it's for Sears, we can try--depends.'" (Interview, 11/1/84: 3)

Increasing Rationalization, Formalization, and Contracting

Another response that manufacturers have made to the problems faced by the industry, has been to attempt to rationalize their production operations to increase efficiency and productivity. One indication of the attempts to rationalize production methods can be seen in the shifts in the types of production methods used by the manufacturers. The majority of the manufacturers have used and continue to use the section method of garment production. Based on Frederick Taylor's principles of scientific management, this method breaks up the process of constructing a garment into a series of limited operations which can then be assigned to several different people, each of whom will repetitively carry out a single operation (or single set of operations), and then pass project on to the next person in the assembly line. When this method of production is used on large orders of a few items, it permits the manufacturing firm to be considerably more efficient. This is in direct contrast to the less efficient whole garment method of production in which a single worker performs all of the different operations required to construct a single garment. Prior to 1980, 14 of the 37 firms, about 37.8%, were using the whole garment method of production. However, at the time they were interviewed, only half of those firms had continued to use this method. The other half had shifted to the section method of production.

Another pattern which seems to have accompanied the increased rationalization of production is the contracting out of certain production operations. Twenty-eight of the thirty-seven manufacturing firm owners or managers (about seventy-five percent) reported that they are utilizing contractors with greater frequency. Although cutting and

patternmaking can be contracted out, sewing operations are most frequently contracted out.

There are several reasons for this. Surplus value can be derived either by increasing productivity per worker or reducing the cost of the worker. The small scale of garment production operations in Hawaii make it difficult to do the former. Since the volume of production is so low, it precludes the use of capital intensive sewing technology for assembly work. The second reason has to do with the sewing process itself. As Lamphere (1979) has pointed out, most of the "time" spent in the garment assembly process is in the handling of the pieces rather than in the actual sewing operation. Consequently, even with a large volume production, only a few operations can be mechanized. Because of this, reducing the cost of labor is the only way to increase profitability. This, then, lays the foundation for the use of contractors.

By using contractors, labor costs can be shifted to the contractor rather than having to be borne by the manufacturer. While the relationship is mutually beneficial, it is generally more beneficial to the manufacturer than to the contractor. As one firm owner put it, the reason he uses contractors is:

"... because of the savings on capital expenses -- overhead and equipment costs ... I just got a bill for 4.5% for workman's comp ... [the contractors] probably use homework and other methods I don't even want to know about ..."
(Interview, 2/14/85: 3)

The practice of contracting out work is not new. A number of contractors have worked with the manufacturers in Hawaii's garment industry, and this has been going on for several decades. Most of the

older, established contractors have worked with the designer-wholesaler firms which farm out all of the production operations. What is new, however, is the rapid rise both in the numbers of new contractors, and in the institutionalization of contracting as a regular part of the production plan within the manufacturing firms. They now contract out some production work,

"...between 20-30%, more the first six or seven months of the year, up to 75% and in the last six months, less ... because we 'don't want to hire any more people in Hawaii and don't want to invest in any more equipment.'" (Interview, 5/16/85: 6)

This contracting pattern, then, is very much like that described by Nee and Nee (1972). They note the relationships between "inside shops" (i.e., manufacturing firms) and "outside shops" (i.e., the contracting firms) which characterize the garment manufacturing shops in San Francisco's Chinatown. They note that ethnicity often serves as a basis for labor exploitation in that the labor force of the Chinatown contractors are generally immigrant Chinese women. This pattern is also replicated in New York city, according to Waldinger (1984, 1986), where the latest wave of immigrants, Chinese and Hispanic, are entering into the apparel trade as entrepreneurial contractors.

Manufacturers, then, appear to be transferring the labor-intensive assembly operations of garment production to contractors. Most of the manufacturers report that they have a pool of contractors with whom they deal on a regular basis. These contracting firms vary in size as well as in their specialization; thus, manufacturers select particular contractors based on the item they intend to produce, on its expected

volume, and on the specific contractor's performance on previous jobs. Most of the manufacturers reported that they keep the difficult sewing functions "in-house." They felt that their own sewers were more skilled and qualified to handle the complex sewing operations. The sentiment that the sewers of contractors were less skilled and less reliable appeared to be fairly widespread. Thus, while contracting may be seen as a solution to the problem of labor costs, and is therefore increasing, as a practice, it is not without its share of problems.

The size of orders is another consideration in selecting contractors. However, even here, there seems to be quite a bit of a discrepancy among manufacturers about the size of contractors. To one firm manager, a large contractor can be "anywhere from ten to forty to same as ours [workforce size]" (Interview, 7/8/85: 4). To another firm manager, "A large contractor was one that had about ten sewers, a small contractor would be one with a single sewer, and a medium size contractor would be one with about four sewers." (Interview, 1/30/86: 7)

Because of the diversity of opinion among manufacturers about what constitutes a contractor, the practice of homesewing appears to be on the rise. Many of the firms reported using homesewers, a practice which has been illegal for some forty years. While some of the manufacturers knew it is illegal to use homeworkers, others did not appear to be aware of the legal status of this practice. One garment manufacturer reported that he did not know it was illegal until officials from the federal government cited the firm for the violation and made them pay a fine. The fine was not large; it was essentially what sewers would have gotten in overtime pay. However, the manager reported that he learned a

valuable lesson from the incident. That lesson was to keep two separate lists of contractors: one for the public record, and one for his personal, private use. Homesewing, therefore, is not likely to disappear.

In a pattern similar to that reported by Waldinger (1986), most of the contractors seem to be immigrants or refugees. When asked about the ethnic backgrounds of the contractors they used, most of the manufacturers reported that they were Filipino or Chinese. One firm uses about ...

"... six to eight contractors on this side--most of them small family oriented with two or three machines. The ones we use on the other side are contractors who then sub-contract the work out--most of those are immigrants because I need an interpreter when I deal with them--one of those is the Vietnamese girl who used to work here--I'm really proud of her, and I try to help her out when I can." (Interview, 5/16/85: 6)

Another manufacturer reported that many of the contractors that she uses "are Filipinos who are younger; some are Japanese who are older; and there is one Chinese contractor." (Interview, 1/30/86: 7) This pattern has been noted by those in the larger business community as well. (Bottorff, 1985: 49-57) These contractors are located mostly in Kalihi.

While most of the contracting pattern is local, many manufacturers are also using off-shore contractors. There are two major patterns in off-shore contracting, even though in both cases, lowering labor costs is the key consideration. One pattern is to contract the production work to contractors in the continental U.S., especially in the Los Angeles area. This is particularly the case when the market for the

product is in the continental U.S. A major manufacturer noted that "the workmanship may not be as good in southern California, but the labor costs are so much lower." (Interview, 5/16/85: 6) He added that the labor costs are lower in San Diego, but he would probably deal with contractors in Los Angeles since the fabric is shipped to and unloaded in Long Beach."

Another pattern of off-shore production is to go overseas. One of the major men's shirts manufacturers reported that they are using contractors who are ...

"... off-shore. About 20% of our manufacturing is done in Taiwan [because of] price, and it was our new line of knit shirts--it's a polo shirt."
(Interview, 7/8/85: 4)

However, while some of the manufacturers have been initiating contracting overseas, others have been returning to Hawaii. "70% of our production is in contracting ... 5-10% in Japan and India ... [but we] have decided not to go to the mainland or offshore." He felt local contractors were the beneficiaries of his firm's \$1.5 to \$2 million a month in sales. "We're giving them what they want -- employed people."
(Interview 3/13/85: 7)

While contracting is an attractive arrangement for most manufacturers, it is not without problems. Many of the firm owners and managers reported having at least one bad experience with the contractors whose services they have used. Most report that they have had to develop various kinds of strategies of dealing with contractors.

"Sometimes they don't understand—you know, language problems, but they're very cooperative ... [sometimes] loss, or something missewn—if they have a sample to follow they have to correct it and sometimes we deduct it if it ends up that we have to do it [again]." (Interview, 1/30/86: 7-8)

"...always have to set standards high -- you have to be there with the specs and monitors, and do checkups and give feedback ... [the arrangement] works on excellence -- have to do your planning and training." (Interview, 3/13/85:7)

"[the problems have included] everything from non-delivery, to damaged goods to miscuts -- depends on the contractor and the circumstances ... [so they] make sure that there is a contract that they sign." (Interview, 7/8/85: 4)

Vertical Integration of Manufacturing and Retailing

Another pattern which is on the rise is vertical integration. This is especially the case among those manufacturers who were hardest hit by the wave of copy catting in the late 1970s and early 1980s. As manufacturers faced competition from retailers and from factory outlets, some have responded by creating opportunities for themselves in retailing and direct sales to the customers. At least eleven of thirty-seven owners or managers interviewed, about 33%, reported that their firms have incorporated retailing into their operations. Some of these retailing operations are in boutique settings. One manufacturer reported that her firm continues to produce muumuus, but they also produce blouses and dresses in Missy and Juniors. However, since last November, she has shifted into retailing and has stopped wholesaling. She has opened her own boutique and plans to try "next two years more

retail--that's the way garment industry is going to be." Her current average per month sales from her retail outlet has been \$20-25,000. That's about half of the \$45-50,000 that she sold previously in wholesale. (Interview, 4/10/85: 2-3)

Still others have taken a less expensive "factory outlet" approach to retailing.

"Well, we've decreased our factory operations. Our primary market is on the mainland and so we've made a qualitative shift -- there's been a 50% decrease locally in manufacturing and an increase in manufacturing overseas; a shift in product line -- about two-thirds of our focus is on sportswear and separates now, and we used to only do dresses. And we've begun to diversify, not just in our products -- also in our productive structure -- as recently as five years ago, our dress line was 90%, now it's 65% -- we've gotten into the textile distribution business and expanded, and we're also into the uniform and identity wear." (Interview, 11/06/85: 3)

Finally, some have incorporated the production process into the retailing process. One of the major firms in the industry has turned the factory into a tourist stop. The first floor of the large building is made up of the garment factory operations and a macadamia nut chocolate processing operation. A large retail area filled with circular racks of aloha shirts, muumuus, rompers, etc. in bright prints, and various knick-knacks and touristy products (cartons of macadamia nut chocolates) is located between the garment factory area and the chocolate area. Because it is a food operation, the macadamia nut chocolates are prepared in a glass-enclosed area at one end of the building. Visitors can watch the mechanized preparation process through the glass. At the opposite end of the retail area is the garment

manufacturing factory. The "factory" is separated from the retail area by a waist-high wall, so visitors can watch the garment operations. Over each area of the factory is hung a sign which describes the operations being carried out in the area such as cutting, elasticizing, and sewing. Most of the women are in their forties or fifties and appear to be Chinese or Southeast Asian. The supervisor is a heavy-set Caucasian woman. Clearly, both garment factory and the macadamia nut chocolate operations were "come-on" gimmicks designed to sell the products in the retail area."

To recap, the garment industry in Hawaii has attempted to adapt to changes in their product market and labor market in a number of ways. It has attempted to further rationalize its labor process, and these efforts have involved greater use of section work and contracting. The contracting operations have been wide-ranging in nature. Some firms have used off-shore production plants, but generally local contractors have been used. These contractors can vary in size from very large established firms to individual home sewers, and they tend to be largely immigrant Filipinos and Chinese.

Future Prospects for the Garment Industry

The recent changes in the garment manufacturing industry, the problems it has faced and the adaptive strategies it has employed raise a number of questions about its future. This section examines the anticipated scenarios that garment manufacturers had for themselves and for the local industry as a whole.

Firms' Expectations for Themselves

A major consideration for the future of the garment industry is the life or death of particular units of operation--the individual firms themselves. When asked what they expected would be in store for their firms in the next five to ten years, nine of the thirty-seven owners or managers (about 25%) replied that they didn't know what they would be doing in the near future.

Much depends on the life stage of the people who run these firms. Many of the firms which began during or just after the Second World War have owners who are in their sixties or seventies. These people, like the people who have been their workers for the past three decades, are aging and anticipating retirement. One manufacturer noted that in addition to the problem of their traditional workforce approaching retirement, a lot of people who got into the business about the same time as she did are retiring and not able to find people to carry on the business because "no sons or daughters willing to carry on."

(Interview, 11/1/84:5)

Some of those manufacturers who have offspring willing to take over have already turned over the reins of responsibility to their children. At least eight of the 37 firms were being run by the adult offspring of the original owners, and three other firm owners were grooming their children to take over the business. Such a transition, however, is not always easy to make. Several of the sons who have taken over management of the operations from their fathers mentioned that there are certain areas of disagreement. One of these areas concerns the firm's membership in the Fashion Guild. The son of an established manufacturer

who has taken over the reins reported that they are members of the Fashion Guild. However, he sounded a little annoyed, and suggested that he would prefer that they were not in the Guild, but had not been able to persuade his father that they should terminate their membership. (Interview, 6/19/85: 7) Another son who had taken over his father's business echoed this sentiment.

"We've been in [the Guild] from the beginning--sort of tradition. I would rather get out, and I don't go to meetings--they're not doing anything for us." (Interview, 2/21/85: 7)

Membership in the Fashion Guild was an area of disagreement between the generations of firm managers. Generally, the fathers had taken out memberships in an earlier historical period when it was more productive to do so. The sons, however, were not able to see much benefit in retaining membership when they were not receiving any direct benefits.

In another case, the passing on of management had not yet occurred even though the son was very much involved in the firm operations. The tension between them was quite evident in their interaction. The manager reported that he is now having to think about how to pass on the legacy that he has built. Although he would like his son to take over, there seemed to be problems with this because his son doesn't seem to be ready to take over the reins. In fact, the son seemed to be operating in the shadows of his father. It was interesting to observe their interaction at one point in the interview. The son left work a bit earlier and told his father he was going fishing, and even invited his father along. While they talked, the son appeared to walk out, although he didn't really totally walk out while his father was talking. (Interview, 3/13/85: 7)

On the other hand, some of the members of the industry appear to be quite optimistic about the future of their firms. Most of them see their markets and/or production increasingly locating on the mainland. One manufacturer foresaw his firm doing production out of the state of Hawaii because the firm's market is on the mainland and labor is cheaper and more abundant on the mainland. Thus, the firm will be using more mainland contractors. (Interview, 5/16/85: 9)

Finally, a few firm owners, who are middle-aged, are reassessing their livelihoods and making alternative decisions about their lives.

"After forty, you start rethinking and rearranging your priorities. You're not so much after establishing yourself and proving yourself; you're more concerned with what you want to do and making your own statement ... I had a lot of support from my Mid-Life Support Group, other women about my age too ... I enjoy having contact with people and creating, I had proved to myself that I could handle the administrative end and I wanted to do things on a smaller scale." (Interview, 9/04/84: 1)

Thus, the stage of the life cycle in which firm owners are located affected their views of the future of their firms. Many manufacturers who are approaching retirement have apprehensions about the future of their firms. Some have already retired and passed on the operations to their children but it appears that this has not been without its problems.

Firms' Expectations for the Local Garment Industry

The interviews with firm owners and managers revealed confusion over the future of the local industry. Most agreed that any sizable expansion of the industry was clearly out of the question. Beyond that, however, there was no real consensus. Seven of the 37 firm owners or

managers interviewed clearly expected the industry to decline. As one manufacturer put it,

"We don't have the production capability -- Hawaii is not a manufacturing state. It's a service-oriented state ... we're losing the skilled seamstresses and even though contractors on the mainland may not do as good a job in terms of workmanship, their labor costs make them too attractive to pass up." (Interview, 5/16/85: 9)

Another seven owners or managers anticipated segmentation within the industry with some firms dominating or expanding while other firms reduce their production. As one of the big manufacturers noted,

"... in five years, the same five guys ... the five majors will be here, but 80% of the others will be gone and replaced by other firms -- they'll be new creative guys, of course." (Interview, 7/8/85: 6)

The level of confusion about the future of the industry was best summed up in the words of the owner of one of the most successful firms in this industry:

"We're looking at an evolutionary system and we don't know where we are--the industry in general includes craft, production or industrialized output, and merchandising--the really creative side is selling and retailing so it may not be as important any more that it is made here. ... the industry will survive and grow if the product is strong enough--it's the product mystique, not the Hawaiian mystique, so it can be produced anywhere. ... it [Hawaii] will wind up being a crafts center--because of the bohemian, fun-in-the-sun atmosphere. Hawaii is strong in crafts, arts and crafts--and you can never take people's desire to create and express --there'll be new bursts of life--you can kill the industry, but something else will emerge. It's like the bamboo forests. Did you know bamboo forests die? The whole forest will just die at some point and then a whole forest of bamboo will emerge--that's what will probably happen." (Interview, 3/13/85: 4)

The future of the garment manufacturing industry in Hawaii is clearly problematic. Some firms seem to be expanding while others are declining. Even the leaders of the industry expressed ambivalence about the industry's future if not their own. Under such conditions of instability, new initiatives were required.

THE ROLE OF THE STATE IN THE GARMENT INDUSTRY

The previous discussion has examined the internal reorganization of the garment industry, the problems it has faced, and the adaptive strategies it has used to address those problems. In short, it has focused on the economic side of the industry's political economy. It found the garment industry to be operating under very competitive conditions because of its small scale, low capitalization, changing product market, and decreasing labor force. While firm owners have attempted to adapt to these problems with changes in their marketing procedures and greater rationalization of the process, they have had only mixed success in addressing the various problem areas. Thus, this section of the chapter turns to the political aspects of the political economy of garment manufacturing in Hawaii. It examines why and how the resources of the state bureaucracy were mobilized to assist the industry and some of the consequences of those activities.

The Basis of State Interest in the Garment Industry

Prior to 1974, there appears to have been only occasional and very transitory interest and activity in the garment industry on the part of the state. The few instances of state interest and involvement included a study of Manpower Needs of the Garment Industry (1957) done by the

Hawaii Territorial Department of Labor and Industrial Relations, and a 1964 memorandum of the Hawaii State Department of Planning and Economic Development.¹ The 1964 memorandum merely notes the existence of this industry and its potential for growth. There is no other evidence of expressed State interest beyond the statistical data on the numbers of firms, workers, etc. on the industry which continued to be collected by the U.S. Census Bureau.

In 1974, however, the sales and employment figures of the garment industry dropped after a decade and a half of rapid and sustained growth. To a great extent, this decline was related to the limits placed on production by the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) and the drastic price hikes of the petrochemical companies which produced a global recession in 1973 and 1974. The cartel's restriction of oil production and price setting produced a situation of rationing and severe shortages of this resource, and consequently higher prices. Most industrial nations, whose economies had relied on low cost and abundant supplies of petroleum, experienced severe cutbacks in industrial production and employment.

Similar negative repercussions were felt in Hawaii. Additionally, employment in many of the major industries of the state had been slipping. Employment in the Federal sector had been declining, in part because of the cutbacks in military expenditures in the post-Vietnam era. Moreover, employment in the sugar and pineapple industries continued their two-decade pattern of decline (Schmitt, 1977:125).

These conditions provided the context for the personnel in the Department of Planning and Economic Development (DPED), the central

depository of data collected by other state agencies, to become sufficiently concerned about the situation of the garment industry. In April of 1975, a report on the garment industry prepared by Calvin Lee, a DPED economic development specialist, was circulated to firms in the industry.² By the end of 1975, the economic picture was beginning to improve. The number of jobs in the garment industry had inched upward once more, and had reached 3,588 statewide. The DPED projected a 2.4% annual increase in employment and a 5% annual growth in sales in its State Plan document (1977a: 9-2 - 9-4).

The next indication of DPED interest in the garment industry was a pair of DPED-sponsored seminars with various industry-related participants in January, 1977. The list of people attending the meeting included retail store representatives, banking representatives, DPED personnel, and a number of the members of the Fashion Guild of Hawaii (Hawaii, DPED, 1977b). These seminars provided the basis for the DPED to embark upon a path of greater involvement with the garment industry. Before describing this process, however, it should be noted that it was an economic downturn or crisis which sparked the interest of the State in the garment industry.

These findings raise an important theoretical question of the political effects of economic downturns on the State. Clearly, it is in the interests of the State and to government personnel to have a healthy economy. Assisting those who run the economy is, therefore, of political interest to the State and governmental personnel. Similarly, avoiding economic crises is also in the interest of the State. This leads to the second theoretically important observation. That is, that

the State, if it is to be effective in avoiding economic crises, must take a proactive role. It must establish a mechanism for detecting economic directions and it must be able to influence those who operate in the industry. The DPED as a formal organization within the government of the State of Hawaii provided a place for both information collection and economic initiatives. Its planning branch collected information which was used by its economic development branch. The next section describes one such initiative.

State Actions and State's Resources

Fashion Industry Seminars

The proceedings of the January 13-14, 1977 meeting and the March 10-11, 1977 follow-up meeting, clearly show that the personnel in the Department of Planning and Economic Development took the initiative in recommending that a thorough investigation of the industry be conducted by an independent consultant. The DPED even proposed to underwrite the expense of the study.

"Mr. Gerakas discussed hiring a consultant to come here to work with each organization as well as with the Fashion Guild. He mentioned meeting Arnold Kinsler in Los Angeles who was willing to come to Hawaii to assist the fashion industry ... The State would consider paying his fee, and the fashion industry would pick up his travel and per diem expenses..." (Hawaii, DPED, 1977b :1-2)

A follow-up meeting was scheduled for March of 1977, and at that time, Arnold Kinsler, the proposed consultant was present. The meeting ended with a number of ideas for proposed projects, and a reminder from Gerakas to the attendees that they must work through the Fashion Guild.

"... because we're an ad hoc group. We have no official standing and the State cannot deal with you individually. You got to work through your Guild and it's important for that Guild to be a strong organization. Let me say this, we were prepared in the last two or three years to put a lot more money here than we have. However, we have not been able to get the match from the Guild. We could do all sorts of things for this industry together if you support your organization and as Ray said, be willing to spend money to make money." (Hawaii, DPED, 1977c:62)

By June 1977, a proposal for an industry-wide study had become formalized, and the process for solicitation of bids from consultants for this study had begun. As it turned out, it was not Arnold Kinsler's firm, but Kurt Salmon Associates, a national consulting firm with considerable experience in garment industry studies, which was awarded the \$100,000 contract.³

Most of the investigation was conducted in 1978, and the results were published in 1979 (Salmon, 1979). The study identified both strengths and weaknesses of the industry. With respect to the first item, it noted that the local garment industry had two major strengths: the first was an acknowledged reputation for quality workmanship in its products while the second was an abundance of creative designers. The report pointed out, however, that one of the major strengths of the industry, the quality of workmanship, was being threatened because of the aging and approaching retirement of the existing workforce of the local industry. That the current workforce was aging was seen to be a potential weakness.

Another weakness was that the market for the industry's products had been undergoing change. The local market was described as limited

in size, a characteristic which contributed to intense internal competition and lower profitability. The tourist market, which for many years was fueled by the garment industry's growth, had undergone a shift in market composition and tastes. First, there had been an increase in packaged tours directed toward budget-conscious tourists. One effect of appealing to this market was that these tourists spent less money on "extras;" Hawaiian style clothing was considered one of those extras, and sales in this area appeared to have lost ground as an effect. Moreover, the study reported that the tastes of the higher income tourists had undergone change. The appeal of "Hawaiian wear" has been replaced by the desire for more universalistic "resort wear;" consequently, the future prospects of firms in this product area were expected to diminish.

In addition to the needs assessment and evaluation of the Hawaiian garment industry, the Salmon report made specific recommendations in two areas: marketing and production. These recommendations, in turn, became the blueprint for the next series of state activities. The marketing concerns, which largely revolved around the need to expand the industry's markets, particularly to develop markets outside of Hawaii, were assigned to the DPED marketing department. In this area, the DPED marketing department underwrote part of the cost of putting on trade shows which featured Hawaiian products locally, on the mainland, and in Europe. The concerns regarding production, on which this chapter focuses, were addressed by the development of the Garment Industry Training Program (GITP).

The Garment Industry Training Program

The Garment Industry Training Program was a three-year program supported by funds appropriated by the Legislature and administered by the DPED. It was designed to address the production problems identified in the Salmon Associates report. In fact, the form proposed for the GITP was an exact replica of the proposed recommendations in the Salmon report. The GITP was designed to develop the knowledge base and skills of two classes of people involved in the process of production within the garment industry: labor and management.

Because of the anticipated labor shortage, a major portion of the GITP was directed at the development of a pool of skilled labor. The primary objective here was develop a new supply of skilled workers for the industry in order to replenish the industry's present labor supply which had been declining because of aging and retirement. A related objective was to maintain the supply of existing garment industry production workers, and to upgrade their skills. It was suggested that one way to do this was to provide opportunities for upward mobility for those already in or aspiring to take up cutting or marking positions which pay more than sewing positions.

The proposed program in Power Machine Operation presumed recruitment of a sizable population of students and a careful assessment of students' dexterity and speed prior to, as well as throughout, the students' training process. The training in machine operation was also supposed to include extensive work in fabric handling, machine operation and speed development. Finally, it was also expected to include a period of actual internship in a factory. After this period of

evaluation, training and internship, graduates of the Power Machine Operators classes were to be placed in jobs within the industry.

As mentioned above, the second part of the GITP was directed at firm owners and managers. The objective here was to upgrade the knowledge base or provide information on the latest production techniques to management personnel. This was done with the expectation that were management to implement these techniques, increases in efficiency, reduction of waste, and enhanced productivity would result in their factories.

The process of implementing these recommendations required setting up the facilities and locating resources and personnel to carry out this program. The establishment of a formal linkage between the Department of Planning and Economic Development and the University of Hawaii Community College System and, in particular, a contract with Honolulu Community College, was the mechanism used. HCC's resources (classroom and office space, sewing and cutting machines, instructional material and administrative support services) were utilized on a contract basis. In the start-up period, from October 1980 until January 1981 when the program was fully under way, the Program was physically located on the HCC campus. After that, space limitations forced the GITP to move to another location two blocks from the campus. (Interview with GITP coordinator, May 1983).

An Advisory Committee composed of industry representatives, DPED specialists, and UH and HCC administrative and instructional personnel was established to oversee the program. This committee hired a full-time GITP coordinator, one full-time and one part-time teacher and

a clerical staff person. During most of the contract period, the program was located in leased facilities in an industrial building near the campus which housed a private electronics school and several garment manufacturing firms. At the end of the three year contract period, the program returned to the HCC campus where it has continued to function under the College's Special Programs Division.⁴

Most of the GITP was focussed on the training of power machine operators to meet the projected shortages in sewing personnel. The original plan of the GITP was to train and certify 300 operators per year (Interview with GITP Coordinator, 1983:2). The classes were supposed to be eight weeks in length, with students spending the last two weeks in an actual factory setting as "interns." At the end of the two week internship, students were to be "certified" depending upon the evaluation received from the factory supervisor. Certification would have meant that the student would be eligible for a pay rate of 5% over minimum wage (GITP Progress Report, 1981:9). The original proposal also called for the screening of applicants for manual dexterity and other abilities.

The interviews with the GITP Coordinator and the Progress Reports submitted by the GITP to the DPED indicate that several of the program objectives were not met. Foremost among these shortfalls was the number of Power Machine operators trained. According to the GITP Progress Report of 1984, there were nineteen Power Machine Operators classes held between 1980-84, and of the 423 students who enrolled, 337 were certified (GITP Progress Report, 1984: 22-23). This figure is well below the 300 per year (or 900 over the contract period) anticipated in

the proposal. Additionally, the planned testing/assessment and internship aspects were dropped. According to the GITP coordinator, these activities were dropped because of the difficulty the Program experienced in recruiting students, because of concerns regarding liability during the internship period, and because the downturn in the economy in the 1981-82 years meant that the garment industry did not grow as quickly as had been expected by earlier projections (Interview with GITP coordinator, 1983).

The Power Machine Operators curriculum was, therefore, modified. The first six weeks of the course became very structured, covering factory setting, procedures and operating machine techniques. In place of the internship, the last two weeks of the eight week class became individual oriented. "If the student needs to work on speed, that is the focus; if on a specific exercise, then that. It really depends on the student." (Interview with GITP Coordinator, 1983) At the end of the eight-week session, students get one or both of two types of certificates. The first is the basic certificate which states that the student has completed 240 hours of garment operators training; the second is a certificate of proficiency which states that they have attained a certain level, and "are truly qualified." (Interview with GITP Coordinator, 1983).

Recruitment of students seems to have been the major concern for the GITP's Power Machine Operators classes. As the GITP coordinator noted, "not too many people aspire to be power machine operators" (Interview with GITP coordinator, 1983). He acknowledged that one problem is the low wages, which average just over the minimum wage.

As a result, the students who were recruited to the Machine Operator classes were those who were not easily employable, but who were looking for a quick route to jobs; thus, they were largely immigrant and refugee women.

The Program quickly adapted to this pattern and hired one of their early students to help with translating. They also produced a glossary of industry terminology in Vietnamese, Laotian and Chinese. In addition to the language problem, the enrollment in the classes fluctuated according to the ebb and flow of federal funds for the various refugee resettlement programs. According to the GITP coordinator, the composition of...

"...the earlier classes were nearly 50% refugees--first Vietnamese, later Laotian--the Vietnamese were good students, but the Laotians were difficult since they were not only illiterate in English, but also in their own language--many of them had never had any education, had just been farmers keeping their farms and families together." (Interview, 1983)

Initially, the refugees received support such as federal employment grants which permitted them to support themselves through the training period. When that program expired, however, the numbers of refugees dwindled, for even eight weeks was too much time to be spent on training which took time away from income generation.

Immigrants, especially Filipino immigrants, have been the staple population of the GITP. The GITP coordinator felt that they were the best students because they have some familiarity with dressmaking from their experiences back in the Philippines, but he also added, "there's also a lot of untraining to do too, because they tend to spend too much

time on certain operations, and we need to get them to cut down on the time they spend on those."

Other immigrant groups have participated in the classes, but have not done as well. The GITP coordinator noted that they have had some Koreans, but they seem to drop out more frequently, especially when they find out what they will be earning. Their disappointment with the low wages is probably amplified when they compare the wages to the income opportunities in other areas of employment. The GITP has also had a few Samoans, Tongans and other Pacific Islanders, but "they don't seem to do too well -- some were too clumsy, or they don't like to work in the factory setting, and also, Samoans seem to have a bad reputation." (Interview, 1983). Samoans form the largest proportion of the Pacific Islander immigrants. They generally rely heavily on extended kin networks and spend considerable time and energy nurturing those kin relations; unfortunately, these activities often conflict with factory schedules and consequently they have higher absenteeism than workers of other ethnic groups.

The GITP coordinator estimated that Power Machine Operators classes had about a 78% placement rate for their students, and a retention rate of 50%...

"...as near as we can determine--it's hard because the shops hiring the students have to make a decision at the end of three months (the probationary period) as to whether or not to retain or lay off the operator--most choose to lay off, because it means commitment of more money on the part of the company."

The Program had also expected that the students would receive further in-factory training and upgrading of basic skills, something that the

eight-week class could not provide, but this apparently has not been the case.

In addition to the Power Machine Operators classes, classes in Spreading, Cutting and Marker-making (SCM), and Pattern Manipulation (PM) were held. Of the 129 enrolled in the eleven SCM classes offered in the 1980-84 period, 97 completed their classes. In the five Pattern Manipulation classes which ran between 1982-83, 34 of the 43 enrolled completed their classes (GITP Progress Report, 1984: 24).

Management

As noted above, the garment industry's production workers were not the only personnel targeted by the DPED for training. The training of management level personnel in garment firms was also a concern of the GITP. This effort involved a two-tiered program of action. The first effort was directed toward manufacturers as a general group. A number of no-cost one- and two-day seminars on a variety of topics related to management were organized. Invitations to these seminars were sent to all firm representatives in the industry. The seminar topics included Management Engineering for the Apparel Industry; Work Measurement and Standards; Time Study; Sewing Standard Data; Production Planning and Control - Product Costing (GITP Progress Report, 1981:5). Seventy-four individuals representing thirty firms attended at least one of the seminars. Four firms sent representatives to all six seminars however, the mean number of seminars attended was 2.6. (GITP Progress Report, 1982:20). Two other seminars were held in August of 1981. These were both one-week Mechanic-Technician Workshops led by a mainland

representative of the Union Special Company, manufacturer of the type of single needle sewing machines very often found in Hawaii's factories. Twenty-two individuals representing sixteen companies attended these workshops "which were designed to help factory personnel diagnose and make minor repairs and adjustments to the most commonly used machines, in order to avoid unnecessary service-maintenance calls." (GITP Progress Report, 1982:10)

The second effort concentrated on providing information and knowledge specifically tailored to the individual needs of a small number of firms. Invitations to submit proposals were sent to nine consulting firms (GITP Progress Report, 1982:35). Peter August and Associates, a firm based in Los Angeles and whose principal also resided in Kona, Hawaii, was selected to evaluate the production set-up of a number of firms and then, based on the evaluation, to make recommendations to the management of these firms.

A selection process was established by the Advisory Group. The group also established that the primary criterion for selection was the firm's potential for growth. Firms in the industry were invited to apply for the free assessment and evaluation of their respective factories. The GITP coordinator reported that only nine firms applied. From these, eight firms were selected for the individualized attention. The one firm which applied and was rejected was judged to be "simply too small." On the other hand, one of the firms initially selected for study went out of business and had to be replaced by another, and a second firm declared bankruptcy and reorganized under another name (Interview with GITP coordinator, 4/13/84).

Each firm received the services of the industrial engineering consultant at no cost since the DPED-GITP subsidized the cost of the consultant's services. Peter August, the industrial engineer, spent three to six days with each firm. During this time he observed, evaluated, and provided a confidential report with specific recommendations to each of the eight firms. The report concentrated on the following areas: space utilization and layout; material and machine utilization; work flow and work methods; employee motivation; and management effectiveness. In addition to the specific recommendations made to the individual firms, Mr. August also prepared a summary report of averages and ratios based on the eight-firm study against which other firms in the industry could compare themselves.

The Summary report of Peter August and Associates was submitted to the GITP on May 27, 1983. It describes the distribution of the eight firms which were studied on the abovementioned areas. The annual sales of the eight firms studied ranged from a low of \$200,000 to a high of just under \$2,500,000. It was noted that "only four manufacturing firms out of the 130 firms listed by the GITP had annual sales exceeding the largest company included in the survey." (August, GITP Progress Report, 1984:27) Seven out of the eight firms employed less than fifty employees. More important, over half of the firms were found to be functioning with less than adequate sales to employee ratios. "Only two manufacturers have sales per employee within the expected range of \$35,000 to \$40,000," and only one exceeded this range. The Peter August report also notes that the single company exceeding the expected range was making extensive use of outside contractors.

In the areas of space utilization, plant layout and workflow, it was found that most of the firms were doing an adequate job. Two firms were found to require additional space and, at the time of the submission of the report, had either acquired or were in the process of moving to larger facilities. The ideal layout of the factory's work stations is a circular or U-shaped pattern, which permits a straight line flow of work. Most of the firms had either an adequate or better than adequate plant layout. No firm had a layout that created "excessive backtracking and crisscrossing." (August, GITP Progress Report, 1984:28). However, when workflow within departments within the plant was examined, the picture was not as favorable. Six of the eight firms had some backtracking, and two firms had "extensive backtracking and crisscrossing."

To recap, then, the Garment Industry Training Program was a two-pronged effort created by the Department of Planning and Economic Development to address the needs and issues related to production within the garment industry. The Program had two foci: creating and upgrading the pool of skilled labor within the industry, and developing the managerial skills and knowledge of firm managers. This latter focus was carried out both on a general level by industry seminars and workshops and on a specific level through the services of an industrial engineering consultation. In both the general and specific cases, the GITP demonstrated direct state involvement in the production process in the private sector.

Fashion Education

The Garment Industry Training Program was a very visible and concrete expression of state interest and involvement in the local industry. In the process of conceiving and implementing the program, however, other aspects of the state's educational activities were also affected. Thus, the whole concept of fashion education was reassessed. The result of the reassessment was the differentiation of the existing fashion curriculum into three specialized educational tracks. Short term training in specific skills primarily sewing machine operation would be carried out by the Garment Industry Training Program under the existing Special Programs arrangement. General technical training in skills such as pattern grading, markermaking, laying and cutting would be carried out under a revised two-year Associate of Science degree program. Thus, beginning in the 1985-86 academic year, the Honolulu Community College Fashion Design and Merchandising A. S. degree program became the Fashion Technology program with a transfer-oriented design option. Most of the design and merchandising functions, however, were assigned to the University of Hawaii at Manoa's Textile and Clothing program, a four-year B. S. degree program (Honolulu Community College, 1985-86: 79; University of Hawaii, 1989-91: 208).

While these changes are important, they apparently are not without precedence. Examination of the history of land-grant educational institutions suggest that state support goes back to the mid-19th century in the United States with the 1860 Land-Grant College Bill and the 1862 Morrill Act which both set aside land and suggested curricula in agriculture, mechanic arts, military tactics and liberal and

practical education for the industrial classes. A resource handout developed by Oma Umbel describing the development of Home Economics at the University of Hawaii for her TxCl 101 class provides similar progression in Hawaii. The Territorial Legislature in Hawaii established the College of Agriculture and Mechanical Arts in 1907 and it opened in 1908 with three departments, among them Household Economics. While most of the education was in the domestic arts, the emphasis shifted with historical developments. Thus, in the 1960s, when the fashion industry was in its growth period, a major in Clothing design was established (1980).

IMPLICATIONS OF THE CASE STUDY FOR THEORIES

This case study demonstrates that the State can and, in fact, did take the initiative in involving itself in the garment manufacturing industry. There did not seem to be any evidence that the State initiative came as a result of a formal request from the industry for such service, although it is quite possible that the idea could have emerged from informal interactions between government personnel and industry people. Instead, it appears that the State created the social context of the two seminars to lay the foundation for its initiative. These two pieces of data, taken together, tend to lend at least crude support for both the autonomy thesis of the neo-Weberian and the relative autonomy thesis of the structuralist neo-Marxian theories as opposed to the instrumentalist and class struggle neo-Marxian theories, or the pluralist theories of the State.

Another interesting finding of this case study concerned the area within the private sector in which the State intervened. Neo-Marxian theories suggest that, in order to accomplish its accumulation and legitimation functions, the State aligns itself with Monopoly or Core Capital rather than with Competitive or Peripheral Capital. This case study has shown that the State not only took the initiative, but also that it did so in the competitive sector of the economy as well as in the monopoly sector industries. This finding suggests that the State used its capacity in two ways to engage in autonomous action. In the extractive area, it utilized its authority to collect information to monitor potential effects on its tax base and on demands for services. In the administrative area, it coordinated the various organizations and agencies within it to carry out specific objectives.

Under certain conditions, the state can and will intervene in the competitive or peripheral sector of the economy. Historical changes can create possibilities for new state-capital alignments and the socialization or public subsidization of certain costs of production. In the case of Hawaii, the historical combination of factors included the decline of the oligarchical control of the Big Five over the political economy (the five major corporations which dominated Hawaii for nearly 100 years), Hawaii's attainment of statehood status, and rise of new ethnic politics. This shift in the ethnic composition of the dominating political regime tended to be more compatible with small business or competitive capital. Thus, the findings seem to run counter to the expectations of neo-Marxian theories which suggest that it is the

monopoly or core sectors of capital which will necessarily benefit from State actions.

Still, the question remains: Why did the State center so much of its actions with regard to production on training and education? This question appears to be best addressed by neo-Marxist O'Connor in his study of changes in the U.S. political economy during the 1960s. O'Connor asserts that this period was characterized by a substantial expansion of the educational system which then served as the main agent of socialization for the next generation of workers. This was especially critical since the development of new technologies made family or factory based training obsolete.

"Technical-administrative knowledge became a significant form of labor power (and increasingly of capital) with the new rationalized social organization of the labor process and technology in the form of new State and Junior College systems, private R&D companies, 'think tanks,' and federal contracts. The relative importance of living laborpower declined, and the importance of capital equipment (or dead labor) increased. Statistical studies indicate that the growth of aggregate U.S. production is caused increasingly less by an expansion of labor inputs and the stock of physical capital, and more by upgrading labor skills, improving the quality of physical capital, and bettering the organization and control of work ..." (O'Connor, 1973:114-115)

But that training has had to rely on a knowledge base, and that has meant that the enhancement of production techniques has had to also engage in a reorganization of the knowledge base.

"For the worker, the concept of skill is traditionally bound up with craft-mastery -- that is to say, the combination of knowledge of materials and processes with the practiced manual dexterities required to carry on a

specific branch of production. The breakup of craft skills and the reconstruction of production as a collective or social process have destroyed the traditional concept of skill and opened up only one way for mastery over labor processes to develop: in and through scientific, technical, and engineering knowledge. But the extreme concentration of this knowledge in the hands of management and its closely associated staff organizations have closed this avenue to the working population. What is left to the workers is a reinterpreted and woefully inadequate concept of skill: a specific dexterity, a limited and repetitious operation, "speed as skill," etc. With the development of the capitalist mode of production, the very concept of skill becomes degraded along with the degradation of labor and the yardstick by which it is measured shrinks ..." (Braverman, 1974:443-444)

In short, the reliance on the state for the training of the garment industry's labor market not only transfers the cost of training from individual factories to the state, hence facilitating private capital accumulation, but it also legitimizes the possibility of a labor process transformation which involves deskilling.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

This chapter has examined both the place of the garment industry in Hawaii's economy and the internal organization of the industry. It noted that the garment industry appears to be a low wage industry within the manufacturing sector because of a number of interacting structural characteristics. These include low start-up capital requirements which tend to facilitate a proliferation of firms in this industrial area. The large number of firms, in turn, aggravates the already intense competition. Ultimately, this affects the levels of profitability. Thus, when the Hawaiian garment industry faced a string of new

challenges such as declines in traditional product markets, growing global competition, and a shrinking labor market because of the aging of its traditional workforce, the state stepped in. The Garment Industry Training Program and the reorganization of the fashion curricula in the two-year and four-year colleges followed.

ENDNOTES

- ¹ This combination has recently been altered. The election of a new governor (after the occupation of three terms by the former governor) resulted in a reorganization of the DPED. The new Division is called the Department of Business and Economic Development (DBED), and represents an attempt to reverse a perception that Hawaii is an anti-business state.
- ² A memorandum dated May 2, 1975 from A. Gerakas, head of the Economic Development Division to firm representatives calls attention to the report which was presumably enclosed, but the report itself was not in the file folder (DPED, I.P.P. Garment Industry Studies and Kurt Salmon Associates 1978, filed under section "5. Studies and Reports").
- ³ A memorandum (not dated) from A. Gerakas to H. Kono requests approval to undertake the Garment Industry Analysis. The effort, as outlined, involved two phases. Phase I, with an approximated cost of \$70,000, was to study A) Sales and Marketing, and B) Production and Labor. Phase II, with an approximated cost of \$30,000 was to study C) Design and Styling, D) Finance and Management, and E) Industry Organization. This memorandum was one of five documents included in section "5. Contracts" in the DPED internal file (I.P.P. - Garment Industry Studies, Kurt Salmon Associates, 1978).
- ⁴ The original plan called for the integration of the GITP into the existing Fashion Design and Merchandising Program at Honolulu Community College. It was thought that the GITP could be worked into a Certificate program within the FDM program. However, because of budget constrictions, this was never done. Instead, the GITP continues to function under the Division of Special Programs in a semi-self supporting capacity. That is, students who enroll are charged a tuition and fees, and the class must enroll a certain number of students in order to achieve a break-even amount for the compensation of the instructor.

CHAPTER FOUR

A COMPARISON OF THE LABOR PROCESS IN TWO FIRMS

INTRODUCTION

The previous two chapters have examined the historical changes which have occurred in the labor process of garment production in Hawaii, the current problems faced by the garment industry, the adaptive strategies used by various firms within the industry, and state actions in relation to the industry. This chapter focuses on two manufacturing firms and the variability of the labor process within them. The firms serve as examples of two predominant types of manufacturing firms currently found within the industry: those which are successful and expanding, and those which are holding on or declining. The commonalities and the differences in their respective histories, target markets, organization of production and their relationship to both the industry's trade organization and to the state will be examined to understand how these patterns affect workers on the shop floor.

The two firms were selected from the 37 manufacturing firms whose owners or managers were interviewed. The firms were selected on the basis of the firm's general pattern of growth, on the nature of their relationship to the state, and on their willingness to permit their workers to be interviewed. A sample of workers from each of the firms were interviewed about their work, whether it had changed and, if so, in what ways it had changed. Thus, this chapter will rely on data collected from interviews with owners and managers of the two firms as well as interviews with a sample of workers from each of the two firms.

This will set the stage for the discussion of labor market recruitment in the industry, and the interrelationship of marketplace and household, the topics of the next two chapters.

The chapter will begin with a comparison of the historical development of each firm, focussing on the backgrounds of the owners of the firms. It will then examine their target markets, with emphasis on how those markets were created and the consequences of those product markets for the viability of the firms. Most of the attention, however, will be devoted to examining what has occurred in the organization of production in the two firms, the implications that firm-state relationships have their organization of production, and the perceptions that workers have of that organization of production. Pseudonyms will be used in discussing both the firms and the employees in these firms.

HISTORY

The two firms examined in this chapter have very different histories. One of the firms, which will be referred to as Tropical Sunsets, has been in manufacturing for over forty years; the other firm, Casually Chic, has been in business for about a decade. It was this latter firm which received the industrial engineering consultant's services subsidized by the state.

Tropical Sunsets was started toward the end of the Second World War by a local couple in partnership with two sisters. They got started...

"... during the war--my husband used to make lauhala bags [woven from leaves of the pandanas tree], and I did the lining. Well, the lauhala came from Hilo, and my husband used to get the lauhala from one of the sisters who lived in Hilo. Her sister lived in Honolulu and was

sewing Khaki for the Army and Navy stores. Anyway, the sister who lived in Hilo decided to move here, and in the beginning she was staying with her sister--so we used to go over to drink coffee and talk story. And [at] that time, it was during the war, the Army and Navy guys--they would go down to Hotel Street and buy all kinds of souvenirs--they would buy anything. So after work, my husband would go down to those stores and take orders, and we would make up tablecloths and things--it was a simple block print and [we would] sew up the sides, and Mrs. K and her sister did the sewing."

Since the couple and their friends were without any real industrial background, initially they made some mistakes. They bought a small factory "downtown" but stayed there only a short time because their two friends quickly discovered that the machines "were the wrong kind of machines--we didn't know it when we bought the place, we didn't know the difference, so we had to get the power machines." Then, when they got the power machines, "we got complaints about the noise from the machines, you know, power machines, it shakes the floor, so we came here."

Because of the lengthy history of the firm, and because she had taken time out to raise her children, the owner and production manager could recall neither the amount nor the any of the details regarding the nature of start-up capital. Neither could she recall very much about the employees in the early days. However, by the time she came back to the firm in the mid-1950s, they...

"... had about sixty employees--all women except for one man, the part-time maintenance man. [The women were] ... in their thirties and forties, all kinds--Filipino, Chinese, Japanese, and Caucasian--differences at times, so a few years back it was predominantly Chinese, then Filipino ... mostly second generation ... mostly married with children."

They have been in their current location since 1946 and have 10,200 square feet of space. They currently sublease 1400 square feet to other businesses because they have so much extra space. The excess space has been the result of a fire that occurred in the building in the mid-seventies. The owner noted that "the machines all had to be serviced--it took five or six months to rebuild, and I had to let some girls go--so we cut down to twenty-eight girls now." Of the 28 employees, only one works in the office; all others are in production.

Casually Chic, on the other hand, is a fairly young company. It was started in 1974 as a partnership between two friends, both of whom were trained in the fashion design area and graduates of the University of Hawaii at Manoa's fashion program. Although they had limited capital, they did have access to somewhat appropriate facilities. They used "[my] auntie's sewing school ... in the evenings and on non-class days." They had about 800 square feet of space and used her machines. The partners basically did everything themselves, and had only one part-time seamstress. Two years later, one partner left the business, selling her share to the present owner who then brought into the business various family members; today the firm remains a family-run enterprise.

In the first year after taking over, the owner "did all the designing, pattern-making, spreading, cutting and marking." The following year, the firm moved to a new location, leasing a room in a light industrial building. Once there, they hired a marker, and "when we got the other rooms, hired a grader, marker and cutter." They also had a presser, but no trimming person. While they did not have a bundler, they "designated a person to be the floor supervisor, but it was flexible and she would also help out wherever needed." They also had an independent sales representative.

By the fifth year of operation, Casually Chic had a total of fifteen employees in both the office and production areas, and a regular in-house sales representative. Sales representatives can be considered either in-house or independents. The in-house sales representatives are employed by a firm and exclusively promote the firm's lines. The independent sales representatives are self-employed and handle several firm's products or lines; they usually work exclusively on a commission basis.

TARGET MARKETS

A comparison of the two firms revealed that they were oriented to different markets, and this appears to be reflective of their histories. From its beginning, Tropical Sunsets was oriented toward a market that was "mostly tourist--I think everybody was going after the tourists--it was a good market." They produced "men's shirts, boys' shirts, little girls' muumuus, ladies muumuus, sundresses--everything--combinations."

Still, even though most of the manufacturers were directed toward the tourist market, competition did not appear to be too intense.

"To me, we didn't feel like we were competitors--everybody had their own styles and prints, and every buyer would look for something that the others didn't have."

While among industry people there existed the perception that it was the diversity in styles and prints that reduced the degree of competition, it should also be noted that the structural conditions of the tourist market in that historical period probably contributed more to the lack of competition than did the diversity in styles and prints. The situation presented by a constantly growing flow and rapid turnover of tourists in Hawaii in the two post-war decades, by its very nature, tended to provide a fresh supply of consumers for the Hawaiian and Polynesian wear produced by the local manufacturers.

Even today, Tropical Sunsets continues to be oriented toward a tourist market of "men's, women's and children's, but primarily ladies' swimwear." The swimwear seems to be a major selling item, and there is a market of "mature and older ladies" who like their firm's swimwear. Locally, they sell directly to the stores doing tourist business. They also sell to retailers primarily in the sunbelt parts of the mainland: Florida and California, Arizona, Nevada, Maryland. They also have a sales representative in Chicago, and another handling Oregon, Washington and northern California. It is noteworthy that at least one of the independent sales representatives whom they use also handles another local firm's sales and both firms are aware of this arrangement.

Recently, the sales of Tropical Sunsets have declined, like those of many other local companies serving the tourist market. As noted previously in Chapter Three, this is largely a result of the changes in the local tourist market. That has also contributed to the obsolescence of Polynesian and Hawaiian dressing. For Tropical Sunsets, then, January and February are slow months, when their "sales are half, sometimes less" than other months. During "April, May, June ... [the sales are] ... 60,000 to 65,000 [dollars per month]." August and September are slightly lower than these three months, and November and December are lower still."

Casually Chic, on the other hand, began with an orientation toward the local market. Initially, they produced only one line, Junior Polynesian, which they sold to Sears and Penney's. This was their muumuu line. Muumuus are generally shapeless or flared dresses which are often worn by women in Hawaii. The type of fabric and print used in construction indicate whether the wearer is a local resident or a tourist. Generally, tourists wear muumuus made of garishly colorful printed fabric, whereas local residents usually wear muumuus made of sedate, calico printed fabric, often trimmed with eyelet threaded with ribbon. Both types of muumuus, however, are sold in the Hawaiian and Polynesian sections of department stores. It was with this latter type of muumuu that Casually Chic initially established its signature in the industry.

In 1976, Casually Chic added two additional lines, Missy Sportswear and Missy Polynesian, to this Junior muumuu line. At that time, they held only a small percentage of the market because they were "not very

big and [we] did not have the production capacity to begin with." In contrast to Tropical Sunsets, Casually Chic did face considerable competition in its start-up stage. This was partly because of the nature of the industry and partly related to the nature of the local market at the time they entered the industry. The local market in the mid-seventies was fairly limited in size, and there were already a large number of firms, each competing for a piece of that limited market. This was just the opposite of the garment industry and the marketplace in the booming war and post-war years when Tropical Sunsets entered the marketplace. Consequently, as a 1970s firm, Casually Chic found that they had to be careful about the types of retailers to whom they sold their line: "we quit selling to ... [a retailer] ... because we found some of our styles being 'knocked off.'" Moreover, this already competitive situation was further aggravated in the latter half of the 1970s by the rise of the direct retailing phenomenon, which was discussed in Chapter Three.

They are currently producing three lines: Junior Polynesian, Missy Polynesian and Missy Sportswear. These lines designate both the type of size sequence and the type of market. The Junior designation indicates products designed for adolescent to young adult women, who presumably have thinner figures; the Missy designation indicates products designed for more mature women. Within those lines are specific products. The Polynesian designation indicates that the products are usually muumuus, and those may be either floor length or dress length, the latter often referred to as "shorty muus." Thus, Junior Longs and Missy Longs refer to the production of floor length muumuus for these two target markets.

Additionally, as part of the Missy line, Casually Chic also produces items which are designated Missy-Petite. These are products designed for adult women with smaller frames.

Sportswear is a market into which Casually Chic has been expanding. Most of this expansion has been in blouses, particularly for the Missy or older women market, but they are also producing Junior Tops, T-shirts, Pants, and other sportswear. As they have established themselves in this area, they have evolved and moved into sportswear coordinates and jackets. With this move, they initially decided to get out of the Junior Longs, Junior Tops, Missy Longs and T-shirts in order that they could move "into more sophisticated, resort lines, and maybe looking at the mainland for markets." However, they have continued production of these products because of the continued demand in this area, and added the sportswear, coordinates, and dresses to their list of products. Finally, they have been marketing their products on the mainland.

According to the firm manager, two factors have accounted for this shift. First, the firm has found the Junior market to be "too volatile." That is, the Junior market tends to be very competitive because it is driven by fads. There is constant pressure to innovate and develop imaginative products which are in vogue for only a brief period of time. This creates a very risky investment situation for the firm. Second, the firm has found that their Missy sportswear sells well with the middle-age to older local women. The firm manager emphasized that "ladies my mother's age just love our tops." That is because the firm's blouses seem to combine a "look" of local, middle-class

respectability with comfortability suitable to Hawaii's hot and humid weather. These features particularly appeal to middle-aged Asian American women who often have more disposable income because their children are generally grown and launched from the home. Thus, at this point, Casually Chic's production is being "geared to women with money in their pockets," and they sell to the "major department stores—we're in every department of Liberty House."

THE ORGANIZATION OF PRODUCTION

From its inception, production at Tropical Sunsets was organized around a loose division of labor. Some jobs were set and people assigned to them specialized in those tasks alone. In other jobs, which were called utility positions, people were moved around. Thus, "the seamstresses did nothing but sewing, ... the utility girls were either utilized or stayed at home." Women who held utility positions performed a number of different jobs, each of which were necessary to the production process. However, because the limited scale of production, none of the jobs would constitute a full-time job by itself. Thus, utility positions were flexible composites of jobs which generally totalled to a full-time position. The work in these types of positions, however, varied from day to day. Thus, depending on what sorts of jobs were combined, on certain days there might not be enough work for a full day and workers would be told to stay at home.

Sewing production was organized in terms of whole garment, "except for hemming and buttonholes." That meant that each seamstress sewed the entire garment from start to finish. All of the production work was

carried out in-house because of the low volume of production. Thus, when asked whether they have used contractors, the production manager of Tropical Sunsets replied, "no, we don't try to, we don't even have enough work for us." When faced with low levels of work, some manufacturing firms have taken in work and functioned as contractors. However, this was not the case at Tropical Sunsets. It has neither contracted out nor contracted in any production work.

Because of the decline in sales, Tropical Sunsets has reduced its employee count and cut its work week. They currently have twenty-eight employees, less than half of their employee count in their peak years. They also operate on a four-days per week schedule, from 7:30 A.M. to 4:00 P.M., and sometimes certain workers only work two or three days per week. They report that "they (the women) seem to like it--some of them went to work some other place on Friday, but then they quit--they like the extra day to do errands, and just to rest."

Production is still organized along whole garment lines. There was some attempt to change that. In 1983, the current production manager attended a Garment Industry Training Program-sponsored seminar on Time Measurement and Incentive Pay (i.e., how to implement piecework procedures). She said ...

"after seeing lots of manufacturers were switching over, we tried it (section work and paying piece-rate) for a while but we had to go back ... [because] they just couldn't do it -- for some reason, production actually went down, and they just never seemed to come back up since then."She thought that it might be because the women are "very proud of their sewing and they just didn't like it (the process of just working on pieces."

She also speculated that it might not have worked because "maybe so many fabrics and thread -- too many styles."

Decisionmaking and supervision continue to be directed by the owner and production manager, and employees' work "is assigned to them--unless we find out that they can't do it, but we pretty much know their capability." Similarly, workers do not have much flexibility in deciding how to do their assigned work because "they have a sample to follow--and they cannot deviate from it unless they feel that it should be sewn another ways--but they would have to talk to the forelady first." This reflects the kind of control Edwards (1979) referred to as simple or direct control, where activities in the workplace are controlled by management in a personal and direct way. Still, there is some indication that the transition to mechanical control may be fairly easily made given a little more stability in sales. In the sewing area, there continues to be one floor lady who disperses the bundles and works on buttons and buttonholes. Thus, the employees know what to do each day because "the bundles are there when they come in--there is one lady that services them so there's a continual flow." Furthermore, while no formal procedure exists to evaluate employees' work, it is checked "actually all the time, because the supervisor also does the buttonholes, so most things would have to go to her sometime."

In contrast to Tropical Sunsets, the productive process at Casually Chic has undergone change. In the early years, the sewing/production operations at Casually Chic were organized on a whole garment basis ("when we were really small"). Later, when they had "about ten employees, we switched over to section work." Even then, the division

of labor was fairly simple: "the not-so-skilled did the preparation work, and the more highly skilled did the lace and yoke areas." They contracted out some of their production work, but this was "very small--about ten percent." When they contracted out work, it was largely because the orders exceeded "plant capacity--[we were] constantly working overtime [and] needing to meet delivery dates." They have always had enough work, and thus have never contracted in any production work.

At this point, Casually Chic produces six sizes in most styles, and have produced about fifty styles in each line per year. The firm employs a total of fifty employees. There are three employees in administrative jobs, with the rest in other phases of production. The firm has divided its operations into five areas: cutting, production, design, shipping, and administration. Each area has one person assigned as supervisor, although generally these individuals also do the work in the assigned area like other workers.

In general, the firm operates with a loose division of labor and authority structure. The production manager reported that personnel decisions are made by the owner if it concerns the design area, and by himself if it concerns administrative and production areas. For the most part, the tasks appear to be self-evident, and "everyone knows what to do--there's a daily routine from 7:00 A.M. to 3:30 P.M." While these have been the regular hours of operation, it appears that overtime on Saturday mornings is a fairly frequent occurrence, averaging about twice a month normally, and every weekend during peak season. Although the factory has certain rules, they are "not printed" and there is no formal

rules manual. Neither is there a written job description for each job. Furthermore, except for the daily tabulation of the number of pieces sewn, there is no evaluation record kept on workers' job performance.

In the direct production area (sewing and finishing), a "ticketing system" has been set up with the assistance of the industrial engineering consultant. They figure out the number of pieces a worker is supposed to be able to sew, and keep track of how many pieces the woman sews each day by the use of tickets. Determination of how many pieces a woman should sew is based on judgment calls about how difficult the sewing of a piece would be, but they have used time-motion studies at times. If workers exceed 100%, they are paid an incentive amount; however, most of the time, the workers don't make a hundred percent. In general, the ladies run "about seventy percent" but the production manager seemed fairly satisfied with that level of productivity. If it falls below that level, he looks at the worker's overall pattern of production and also what they were doing that day.

"Sometimes you notice ... that she had a bad day; then you check back and see that 'oh, they started on a complicated style, so the production level is low' ... that's why I like to cut more than forty, because it takes about forty to get used to sewing something different, and just when the seamstress gets used to the style she would have to quit ... also, I know who does the easy work and who does the hard work (the preparation work vis-a-vis the detailed work)."

They have continued to contract out work when they have an overflow of work and have to meet certain delivery dates, and "when the work is too difficult or too time-consuming for the ladies here." The contracting out of work has increased, and a number of the contractors

they have used have been home sewers. The production manager mentioned that they were unaware of the fact that home sewing work is illegal, and only learned of it when their firm was "busted by the Feds" in 1983 for this. They received a light fine which basically amounted to "back pay for overtime" that the federal Department of Labor agents determined was presumably owed to the home sewers.

STATE AND INDUSTRY TIES

Tropical Sunsets no longer belongs to the Fashion Guild of Hawaii, the industry organization, although they had a long history as very active members of the Guild up until the mid-seventies. The major reason for dropping out of the Guild was "I just didn't have the time." Additionally, "the older ones (the older firms) have left, and there's lots of little ones--new ones--I guess they're doing their best, but there's been so many drastic changes in this industry."

Although they were familiar with the state Department of Planning and Economic Development activities and those of the Garment Industry Training Program, they hadn't used very many of its services. The production manager reported:

"The first Market Week Show, we went in," but they haven't participated since because they had "no sales--but it was kind of fun--our booth was across from what's-his-name and we would yell across the aisle at each other, 'you sold anything yet?' The buyers would come by and say, 'oh, hi' and tell you 'oh, we don't need anything from you today, we just came down to look at the new ones--we know where to find you, so we're not going to buy from you here'--so it was mostly just talking story and socializing."

They have, however, been able to use some of the services of the GITP. The production manager attended some of the seminars--"the ones on production, costing and machine repair"--and sent some of her employees to the cutting and grading classes. She found those to be beneficial.

The other firm, Casually Chic, has been a member of the Fashion Guild of Hawaii "since 1979 or '80, or before ... [it was] ... during the revival period when Fred Popejoy was the Director." Although the production manager felt that they were not getting much in the way of benefits from their membership in the Guild, he felt it was important to belong to the Guild for the "unification of the industry." When queried about why Guild activities did not benefit the firm, the production manager reported that it was because Casually Chic at this time has geared its products to the local market, whereas the Guild's activities were more beneficial to those firms whose orientations were directed more toward the export market.

The production manager of the firm was very familiar with the Department of Planning and Economic Development's activities and the Garment Industry Training Program. He noted that, in general, "the State has been very supportive of the industry, sponsoring trade shows and getting buyers to come, but for our company, it didn't help because the state is export-oriented." He noted that he attended the seminars on Time Measurement and other activities of the Garment Industry Training Program, however, and in 1982, the firm applied for and received the Garment Industry Training Program subsidized services of the industrial engineering consultant, Peter August. "He really helped me organize myself ... now I know exactly what I'm going to do each day

... I'm more productive, so the company is more productive ... he helped us set up the standard production methods." Finally, he felt that the state should continue to support the marketing efforts of the industry outside Hawaii, and felt that they should allocate more funds for promotion. He was also very supportive of the Garment Industry Training Program concept and the Honolulu Community College Fashion Design and Merchandising program because the graduates have "practical skills." He reported that he has hired six graduates of HCC and is very pleased with them because "they aren't afraid of hard work--the Manoa ones [graduates of the University's four-year fashion design program] have too high expectations and end up as salesgirls at Liberty House."

SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

In this chapter, two firms were selected out of the fifty-six manufacturing firms studied earlier for further study because they represent two very different types of firms currently to be found in the garment industry of Hawaii. Using the pseudonyms of Tropical Sunsets and Casually Chic, the historical development of the two firms, their respective markets, their methods of organizing production, and their relationships with the industry organization and the state were examined.

Tropical Sunsets, in most respects, is typical of the older generation of garment manufacturing firms in Hawaii. Like most of these older firms which emerged during or soon after the Second World War, Tropical Sunsets was started by entrepreneurs with virtually no real knowledge of garment manufacturing. However, most were able to survive

and thrive because of the growing tourist market which emerged in the post-war and post-statehood years in Hawaii. In contrast, Casually Chic, the other firm, is typical of the younger generation of manufacturing firms which emerged in the 1970s decade when the growth period in tourism was largely leveling off. These firms, while also entrepreneurial, entered garment production at a more competitive time and with a better developed knowledge base. Those elements, coupled with the establishment of closer ties with both the industry as a whole and various state-supported agencies, have permitted these newer generation firms to establish themselves and successfully expand. In the next two chapters, the nature of the labor supply and the working conditions faced by labor in these two firms will be examined.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE LABOR MARKET IN HAWAII'S GARMENT INDUSTRY

INTRODUCTION

It is clear that there are labor process transformations going on within the garment manufacturing industry in Hawaii, and that these are being expressed in different ways in various garment manufacturing firms. A closer examination of labor process changes in two firms revealed both similarities and differences between these firms. In this chapter, the labor force in these two firms will be examined to explore the nature of the garment industry's labor market. The focus will be on determining the process by which particular social forces produce populations which possess certain social characteristics. These social characteristics then become the basis for recruitment into the garment industry's labor market.

Data

The owners or managers of the two firms were contacted for permission to interview their employees in their off-work hours. In both cases, firm owners gave their permission to interview their employees, but they refused to give the researcher a list of the employees saying that their employees would not want such personal information given out. No amount of explanation about social science sampling procedures could penetrate their resolve. Thus, an alternate procedure for contacting the employees had to be devised.

Firm owners agreed to the alternate procedure. This consisted of the researcher giving a five- to ten-minute presentation to the

employees of each firm about herself, about the purposes of the study, and about questions on the interview. This was followed by a request for volunteers to be interviewed for the study and the distribution of cards with phone numbers where the researcher could be contacted and interview sign-up sheets. In one firm, the presentation took place during the half-hour lunch break in the lunch room. In the other firm, it took place just after the lunch break in one location, and just after starting time in another. These presentations and appeals for volunteers resulted in twenty-five interviews between the two factories, seven from Tropical Sunsets and eighteen from Casually Chic. Apart from the obvious benefit of obtaining subjects, this procedure also permitted the researcher to determine the age and ethnic distribution of the employees in each of the firms, and determine how representative of the firms' workforce were the resulting sample of volunteers.

At Tropical Sunsets, workers in the lunchroom were seated around three different tables. Three other lunch tables were open, an indication of a much larger workforce in the past. The distribution around the tables was generally based on ethnic backgrounds and age. The older Japanese women were seated at one table, and the older Chinese women at another. The third table was mixed in ethnic representation, but were mostly Filipina, and the women were younger in age compared to women seated around the other two tables. Since none of the Chinese volunteered to be interviewed, the worker information is deficient in this regard. There was not lunchroom at Casually Chic; workers take their lunches in shifts and generally sit around the parking lot or go around the corner to one of the two fast-food establishments. There

appear to be no over- or underrepresentation of various types of workers in this sample.

Each of the employees who volunteered to be interviewed was contacted by phone and an appointment was set up for the interview. The interviews took place in their homes, or in a coffee shop nearby their home or workplace. Most interviews were scheduled for one-and-a-half to two hours, however most of them took much longer. Detailed notes were taken during the interview, and the notes were written up into narrative form following the interview.

The sample of twenty-five employees consisted of two men and twenty-three women. Two administrative workers were interviewed in addition to twenty-three workers who were engaged in various aspects of production, from designing and overseeing production, to laying, cutting, markermaking, bundling, sewing and finishing. The employees in these two firms clustered into three subgroups: Old Timers, Recent Immigrants, and Young Locals. Furthermore, these subgroups reflect the historical conditions and recent changes in the garment industry in Hawaii, and are therefore disproportionately distributed across the two firms.

This three-fold classification scheme reflects changes which have taken place in the garment industry's labor force, as well as in the entire structure of the local industry. Furthermore, the classification scheme is helpful in comparing the work experiences and home lives of the participants which will follow in the next chapter, and the ways in which the type of firms for which they work might interact with and affect both these individuals' work experiences and their home lives.

Pseudonyms will be used to refer to each of the workers in order that both the similarities and differences in their backgrounds and their personalities may be revealed.

THE OLD TIMERS

Older workers in the garment industry are generally issei (first generation) and nisei (second generation) Japanese-Americans. Although there are also persons of other ethnic backgrounds in the Old Timer category, all of the eight women and one man who were interviewed and who fit this category were Japanese. Most of the women were in their sixties or seventies, around retirement age; the man was in his seventies. They had each spent over twenty years, or most of their employed lives, in the garment industry.

Table 8

Background Characteristics of Old Timers

<u>Name</u>	<u>Firm</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Birthplace</u>	<u>Ethnicity</u>	<u>Generation</u>
Rose	CC	57	Papaikou, Hawaii	Japanese	2
Dorothy	CC	64	Hamakupoku, Maui	Japanese	2
Fred	CC	69	Hanalei, Kauai	Japanese	2
Sharon	CC	50	Makawao, Maui	Japanese	2
Kimie	CC	64	Paia, Maui	Japanese	2
Lorraine	CC	61	Aiea, Oahu	Japanese	2
Kay	TS	73	Honolulu, Oahu	Japanese	2
Lillian	TS	66	Kurtistown, Hawaii	Japanese	2
Michiko	TS	64	Yamaguchi, Japan	Japanese	1

Family Background

First and second generation Japanese women formed the backbone of the industry for many years. Among those interviewed for this study were one issei woman, seven nisei women and one nisei man, as shown in

Table 8. Six of the eight nisei were born on the neighbor islands, and two were born on the island of Oahu, where the majority of Hawaii's population resides. The issei woman, Michiko, was born in Japan, but raised in Hawaii. The parents of the Old Timers, like most Japanese immigrants to the United States, were from the prefectures of Fukucka, Hiroshima, Yamaguchi and Okinawa.

Most Japanese immigrants in this historical period came to Hawaii as contract laborers. Five of the nine nisei reported that their fathers had worked on sugar plantations, and one woman, Rose, reported that her parents were private sugar growers who sold their crops to the sugar plantation and processor, a practice which was quite common in Hawaii (Liu, 1984: 201). Two of the nine Old Timers, Lillian and Fred, reported that their parents had raised other crops, coffee and rice. Kimie's father was a construction contractor and a part-time pineapple farmer.

The nisei generally described their mothers as being housewives, but also added that their mothers often helped their fathers in the fields, took in people's laundry, or did cooking for bachelors. These were activities in which women in sugar plantation communities were often engaged. Only two of the women reported that their mothers were regularly employed, and in both cases, their mothers worked at a pineapple cannery.

These patterns were consistent with what is known about the 1920s and 1930s in Hawaii. In this historical period, the sugar and pineapple industries still dominated the Hawaiian economy. The contract labor system and the immigration patterns, which were weighted toward men,

created communities with very unbalanced sex ratios. Immigrant women, therefore, found an important economic niche providing services such as meals, laundry, mending, etc. (Takaki, 1983: 78-79; Beechert, 1985) Additionally, the 19th century American ideal, as expressed in the Cult of True Womanhood (Cott, 1977), presumed that married women did not and should not work at paid jobs. Thus, married women often engaged in informal economic activities while their husbands, sons, and unmarried daughters worked in the formal economic sector (Kessler-Harris, 1982; Weiner, 1985).

In most cases, individuals in this group could not recall their parents engaging in many leisure activities in their spare time. In fact, only three of the women could recall with much detail their fathers' activities. Kimie's father, a construction contractor, "really made a point of spending time with us kids on weekends--he took us to the beach, we would go pick lilikoi (a fruit picked for its juice) and warabi (fern shoots used for pickles or in vegetable dishes) in the mountains." Dorothy noted that her father, who worked in the sugar mill,

"liked to go fishing--he fished a lot, and he liked to do gardening and putter in his shop doing little carpentry--he would keep his tools cleaned and orderly--lined up, neat and precise."

Lillian reported that her father worked at another job on a ranch to supplement the income from his coffee farming.

The lack of leisure time also applied to their mothers. Most of them reported that their mothers didn't really have much spare time, and if anything, tended to the household and/or the children in their spare

time. Dorothy noted "she really didn't have spare time--we had ten children in the family!" At most, the mothers of the women did some sewing, but this was "for the children."

Most of those interviewed came from fairly large families, and had between six and ten siblings. There did not seem to be a particular pattern of birth order, although it is general knowledge that among the nisei population older siblings were often obligated to prematurely terminate their formal education and seek employment to supplement their family incomes. In this group of eight interviewed, however, only three were older siblings, while five were younger siblings.

Low levels of formal education were characteristic among the Old Timers, with only three out of the nine in this group having graduated from high school. Six of the eight women had only seven to nine years of formal education. Only two of the women, Sharon and Lorraine, and the man had finished High School. Similarly, judging by the reports given by these individuals about the occupations of their siblings (mainly blue-collar or clerical occupations), low levels of formal education seem to characterize their families of orientation.

After terminating their formal education, however, the Old Timers enrolled in private sewing schools for training. Six of the eight women reported that they had attended some sort of dressmaking or sewing school. This was a very common pattern especially for nisei women. Sewing schools were an important women-centered institution in Hawaii from the 1930s through the 1950s. The schools were entrepreneurial operations which performed several important functions. First, for the instructors who were women, they provided an opportunity to earn income

and gain social recognition in the community for their skills. Second, they provided students with dressmaking skills which could be turned into income-earning skills. Finally, they provided a socially respectable context for female-centered self-improvement and sociability for single women.

All of the Old Timers were married, and had been for quite a long time, the range being between 26-50+ years. Most of the women's spouses were retired, but were formerly employed in skilled blue-collar work (i.e., carpentry, mechanic, etc.). Only one of the Old Timers did not have children; thus, marriage and parenthood characterized most of the domestic situation of the group. In general, the size of their families of procreation were smaller than those of the previous (issei) generation. Five of the Old Timers reported having three to four children, and three reported having only one or two children.

Employment History and Recruitment into the Industry

Only one of the Old Timers, Sharon, had worked consistently in the garment industry from the time she secured her first job. Most of them reported working in various blue-collar or service jobs before getting into the garment industry, and their family and community networks were often instrumental in getting these jobs. Two of the women, Michiko and Kimie, had worked initially in pineapple canneries; Lillian had started working in one of the local coffee mills in Kona sorting beans, and Lorraine and Rose had worked in food preparation contexts. Dorothy had worked as a domestic for the office manager of the sugar mill where her father worked, while Kay had worked in a nursery. The single male began

his employment as a painter. Most of them got their first jobs through referrals from relatives or friends, although one reported that she "just applied--everybody said 'smile to the big haole (Caucasian) man'." Two of the women, Lillian and Dorothy, reported that their employers had approached their families to locate workers.

Most of the Old Timers spent between two and three years on their first job, and one woman worked for four to five years on her first job in her sister's restaurant. Only one woman, Kimie, reported working less than a year on the first job. The Old Timers gave a variety of reasons for leaving their first jobs. Sometimes, the reasons for leaving were beyond their control. This was the case with Michiko who had worked in the pineapple cannery until the season was over, and Kimie who lasted only six weeks in a pineapple cannery and quit after fainting twice in that period. Other times it was based on their own rational choices. One woman left because she found out that "the pay was better in the garment industry." However, most of the time, the job changes were the result of a number of factors coming together. Dorothy reported that she terminated her housemaid job when she got married and moved away. Lorraine reported that her (employer who was also her sister) had to vacate from the place (where the restaurant was located) because the lease was up, and at the same time, she and her husband "had an opportunity to buy this place (their home)." And yet another, Sharon, reported that "it (her place of employment) was so far, and I met this lady through church and she asked me to work for her." Still another reported she had coincidentally met a friend who knew about a

job opening just as she was becoming dissatisfied with her job picking flowers:

"this business, you have to work even when it's stormy--rain or shine--it's outside, so I was worried about catching cold, and then Mrs. M--she lives right down the street--I saw her at a PTA meeting and she told me about this job."

After leaving the first job, over half of the Issei and Nisei entered the garment industry, usually in dressmaking or tailor shops, and they generally obtained these jobs through friends or family members' referrals.

Only two of the Old Timers went on to other jobs before entering the industry; one woman worked in food preparation at a hotel for about four years, and the other worked in a pineapple cannery for fifteen years. Both women suggested that moving into the garment manufacturing line of work entailed conscious decision-making on their parts.

Lillian, who had worked in food preparation, recounted that:

"those days no hourly limit--it was whatever they wanted you to do--and pay was so cheap--\$25 a month, long hours--sometimes you just sleep couple hours, especially election time, so many parties--we used to go to sleep at five o'clock and get up at seven to serve--so I moved to Hilo and was taking up dressmaking..."

Dorothy had a similar story:

"I was a trimming supervisor (at the pineapple cannery) for fifteen years, and I also worked part-time as a sushi maker near Aala Market on Saturdays and Sundays, and off-season--I felt I needed an easier job--I thought to myself I couldn't do it until sixty-five!"

Fred, the nisei man, worked in a number of different jobs, mostly unskilled blue collar work, at one of the local pineapple canneries

before being moved into an office job. He got into the garment industry somewhat informally. He reported that he was dissatisfied with office work, and the company for which his wife was working as a seamstress needed a delivery boy and layer. Initially, he picked it up as a side job, doing it after his full-time office job. However, he found that he preferred it to the sedentary office work he was doing at the cannery. He therefore moved into the garment industry and stayed with the firm for two years before moving on to better jobs in the industry.

Experience in the Industry

After entering the industry, only two women spent their entire work history with the same firm. Most of the Old Timers moved from firm to firm, staying roughly about two to five years with each firm. This pattern of frequent job changes was due to a number of social factors which are interrelated. These include the low capitalization of the firms in the industry which foster firm instability; the female dominated workforce in which employment demands often conflict with domestic demands; and the low wages and limited career mobility potential within the industry.

One of the most frequently given reasons for leaving a firm was marriage and/or pregnancy; this was the case with at least three women, and for one of these women, a reason more than once.

Another frequently given reason for leaving was that the business was reducing or closing its operations; at least five women mentioned this reason. Problems with pay, and conflicts or dissatisfaction with their supervisors were other frequently cited reasons for leaving.

One woman reported that "we never were able to cash [our paychecks] right away." In most cases, when the women did have problems in their workplaces, it appeared that they stuck it out while putting out the word that they were interested in finding another garment manufacturing job, and quit only when they had found a better job. Still, two women reported trying another line of work. One tried waitressing, but decided that "night jobs are too hard." The other tried working for a food packaging firm "to try something different;" she stayed there only three months, because she found "too much gossiping--eventually it comes around to you—I decided best thing was to leave."

Recruitment into Present Positions

The length of time the Old Timers were employed by their present employer correspond closely to the age of the firms for which they worked. In Casually Chic, the decade old firm, the range was from three to eleven years, with seven years being about the average. On the other hand, in Tropical Sunsets, the forty-year old firm, the length of employment was much longer. Two women had worked for Tropical Sunsets continuously, one for thirty-eight years, the other for thirty-two years, and a third woman had worked twenty-five years for the firm.

Table 9

Old Timers' Method of Locating Present Position

<u>Method</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Family/Friends	8	88.9%
Instructors/School	0	0.0%
Job advertisement/Agency	1	11.1%
Total	9	99.9%

As Table 9 shows, with the exception of one woman who found out about the job opening through an ad in the newspaper, most of the Old Timers found their way to their present positions through informal referrals. Two of the women reported knowing individuals who were relatives of one of the firms' owners. Lorraine, who is the supervisor in the cutting department at Casually Chic, reported that she got a job with the firm because "my daughter knew Joanne's ex-husband." Similarly, Kimie reported she got a job at Casually Chic because "Joanne (the owner) is the niece of my neighbor." The others knew people who were already working at the firm, who informed them of the job openings in the firm.

Training for their Present Positions

For the most part, the Old Timers in both firms possessed a combination of dressmaking or sewing school training and many years of production experience in the industry, and this prepared them for their present positions. Their years of experience, employment in a variety of firms, and contact with other workers who often shared the tricks of the trade allowed them to take on new jobs with relative ease. Dorothy and Lorraine at Casually Chic both made note of this. Dorothy felt that

she had been prepared for her position at Casually Chic by her "past experience—Kimie gave some pointers about this and that, but those weren't anything new." Lorraine, in cutting, had attended dressmaking school and thereafter relied on experience. "I learned on my own—I observe things—I was getting used to it at [two other firms]. It was mostly observing, asking opinions." Similarly, when Fred began at Casually Chic, "I had to learn in one week--[I] had it after a couple weeks." He had many years of experience from previous employment at other firms, so he learned his work "more or less on my own — every factory, the set-up is the same."

Only in a few cases was the worker unskilled when they began their jobs with the firm for which they worked. Kay, the bundler at Tropical Sunsets, reported that she had no previous experience that prepared her for her job. The people at the firm showed her what to do and ...

"I picked it up on my own. In those days, it was simple. It's an easy job--that's why I can work even though old age. Sometimes I forget, then I check the book." (note: One of the other workers interviewed told me that Kay had put together a reference book of the different styles and the different items that are required in the bundling of each style.)

Sharon, who works as a seamstress at Casually Chic, had not had appropriate training for her work and, consequently, felt uncomfortable when she first started on the job. "I didn't have production experience. My previous experience was in whole garment. The forelady trained [me], and it took about a year." She said that initially, she was placed at a machine that was in the middle row of the room and felt self-conscious about being too slow. "I asked to be moved to the wall

because I was so nervous." There she was able to relax and build up the appropriate production speed. However, although she has become quite skilled, she doesn't think there is much chance for advancement.

Indeed, there is very little possibility of upward mobility within firms. Because the firms are small in size, there is not much formal hierarchy within the factories. Thus, unless workers shift departments (e.g. from sewing to finishing, or laying and cutting, or vice versa), the only change in their positions that they can expect within a firm is the remote possibility of moving into a supervisory position. Consequently, moving from firm to firm for slightly higher wages is a frequent pattern.

Supervision is an important function in any organization. In both firms, it was found that all of the supervisors were Old Timers. Additionally, the supervisors had not received training that would have prepared them for their positions. Usually, seniority and familiarity with the organization were the criteria for being placed in the position. For example, Lillian did not receive any special training to prepare her for her supervisory position at Tropical Sunsets. She noted that "I used to do what I'm doing now, only thing was that there was someone above--I guess you can say it was 'hand me down' experience." Finally, when that person left, Lillian inherited the position.

In a similar vein, Kimie was one of the first sewers hired at Casually Chic, and she felt that her employers considered her years of experience in production sewing in the industry made her a logical choice for floorlady. Rose, the supervisor for the finishing area at Casually Chic, described how she got her position.

"There was no one to do it, so I volunteered to serge since I knew a little bit--eventually I got stuck. Before, Kimie used to supervise both sewing and finishing. Gradually, if you want to, you can learn--I taught myself."

Since there is no mechanism for training supervisory personnel, most firms have relied on seniority or years of experience in garment manufacturing work as the basis for selecting supervisors. This has encouraged a highly personalistic mode of supervising workers. This pattern, in turn, fosters considerable potential for disagreements and conflicts among workers as well as between workers and supervisors. Moreover, since the supervisors have very little training in industrial or human relations, conflicts and disagreements often fester unresolved until workers' dissatisfaction progresses to the point where they finally quit. The nature of supervision in the garment industry, therefore, also contributes to instability in its workforce.

Of the three subgroups of labor that currently support the garment manufacturing industry in Hawaii, the Old Timers are the ones upon whose labor the industry was built. This group is primarily composed of second generation Japanese American women, although one can find people from other ethnic groups in Hawaii represented as well. Most of the Old Timers were trained in private sewing schools and have fitted their employment in this industry among the various life cycle events in their lives such as marriage and children. However, while gender has been an important organizing feature of their lives and of the industrial labor pool, it is equally important not to neglect the roles played by their racial ethnic and working class backgrounds. Because most of the Old Timers grew up in low income immigrant families, most of them were

forced to terminate their formal educations to assist their families economically. Consequently, the kinds of jobs they entered tended to be found through extended kin and community networks and in lower-wage industries like the Hawaiian garment industry in the 1940s and 1950s.

THE RECENT IMMIGRANTS

In the sample of workers interviewed, six women were recent immigrants. As Table 10 shows, the Recent Immigrant group was largely composed of Filipino women, although there was one Japanese woman in this group. The age range of this group was quite wide, ranging from twenty-five years to forty-five years. All of them came to the U.S. in the period from the late sixties to the late seventies. This characteristic is consistent with the pattern of the increase in immigration to the U.S. which followed the enactment of the immigration law of 1965 (Hawaii Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1979). With the exception of the Japanese woman, all of these recent immigrants have become naturalized citizens.

Table 10

Background Characteristics of Recent Immigrants

<u>Name</u>	<u>Firm</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Birthplace</u>	<u>Ethnicity</u>	<u>Generation</u>
Magdalena	CC	45	Ilocos Norte, Philippines	Fil., Chi.	1
Hatsuko	CC	45	Wakayama, Japan	Japanese	1
Rosita	CC	30	Nueva Ecija, Philippines	Filipino	1
Juliana	CC	25	Ilocos Norte, Philippines	Filipino	1
Angelina	TS	40	Tarloc, Philippines	Filipino	1
Maria	TS	28	Bataan, Philippines	Filipino	1

In examining their backgrounds, this section will pay particular attention to the women's reasons for migrating and their process of

settling in Hawaii. It will also attempt to understand how the conditions in the country of origin and the women's family circumstances affected their decision to migrate, and the kinds of conditions they met upon arrival in Hawaii.

Family Background

While there are similarities in the family backgrounds, there are some notable differences. The parents of three of the six Recent Immigrants were involved in agricultural or fishing activities. The occupations of parents of the other Recent Immigrants were more mixed. Magdalina's father was Chinese and was a businessman involved in the import and export trade; Maria's parents were also involved in small scale entrepreneurial activities with a vegetable stall in the village marketplace. Finally, Juliana's late father was a bus driver; when he died, her mother obtained a work visa and became a baby sitter in Hong Kong before remarrying via correspondence with Juliana's Portuguese step-father.

Most of the Filipina came from fairly large families, ranging from four to eleven children, with seven being the average number. Four of the six Filipina were first or second in birth order. The Japanese woman, Hatsuko, came from a family of five children and was the youngest. An examination of the occupations of the siblings of these women showed considerable variation. There appeared to be a split among the older Filipina. The siblings of Angelina, who had quit school after the seventh grade, seem to be farmers and housewives. On the other hand, the siblings of Madaglina, who had a junior college diploma, seem

to be largely professionals, technicians, or in business. There seemed to be just as much difference in the occupations among the siblings of the younger Filipina.

Most of these women had graduated from high school and had done some work at the college level. Two of the older immigrant women, Magdalina and Hatsuko, had junior college diplomas in areas not related to garment production such as nursing and dietetics; two of the younger women, Rosita and Juliana, held Associate in Science degrees which they recently received from local community colleges, one in fashion design and the other in accounting. Only one of the women had not graduated from high school; Angelina reported that she went to "only seventh grade, because I no like school--my grandmother force, but no like--I like go play...stay home after seventh grade and help do laundry with my grandmother and aunty."

Arrival and Settlement

Most of the women came to the U.S. and Hawaii as a result of family circumstances. Nearly all the Filipino women were from the Ilocos region of the Philippines. One interesting pattern was that the parents of three of the six immigrant women had resided in Hawaii previously. Hatsuko's parents had settled and worked in Hawaii, but had returned to Japan before she was born. Rosita's mother had been born in Hawaii but had been taken back to the Philippines at around age 3 or 5 years. Maria reported that her mother had been born in Hawaii, and apparently didn't know she was an American citizen until a few years ago when she had visited and had been informed of the fact by a cousin in California.

This finding is consistent with theories of migrant contract labor which suggest that the orientations of migrant workers contribute to the exploitative conditions under which they work (Piore, 1979; Glick). Those contract workers with orientations characterized as "sojourners," vis-a-vis those of "settlers," seem more willing to be exploited by the host country because they plan to return to their home countries. Most of the 19th century Asian contract laborers, it turned out, returned to their countries of origin. However, it also appears that at least some of the "sojourning" of the earlier group of immigrants, particularly those who had come to Hawaii to work as laborers on the sugar plantation, resulted in connections to Hawaii which, in turn, made it an attractive migration destination in the next generation.

Three of the six women came to Hawaii because of their marriages, but even here, the presence of kin relations seemed to have made a difference. Hatsuko had come to Hawaii because she had married a local Kibei (Japanese American who had been born in the U.S. but who had been sent to Japan to be raised or educated). Her husband's family had had a close relationship with her family and their marriage had been arranged. Magdalena had been in the continental U.S. earlier as an exchange nurse and had stopped in Hawaii to visit relatives on the island of Lanai on her way back to the Philippines; on Lanai she met and, soon after, married her husband. Finally, Angelina reported that she had come to Hawaii because her husband had decided to immigrate.

Economic and political conditions in the Philippines played an important role in the decisions of Filipino women or their families to immigrate to the U.S. During the period of time when most of these

women immigrated, the Philippines were dominated by the Marcos dictatorship and under martial law. By the late seventies, economic conditions in the Philippines appeared to be getting worse. Rosita reported on her family's reason for the move to Hawaii: "it was more for the economy." Her family were farmers in the Philippines and hard hit by the economic conditions. Although the political conditions were not specifically mentioned, Maria, whose mother had discovered that she was an American citizen, hinted that her parents had decided that migration to the U.S. would be a form of insurance for their children:

"They have an orchard and a shop in the market--it's like the open market here--and they sell vegetables and fruits--whatever is in season in the market--and they are probably going back next year."

Once in Hawaii, the women faced problems of settlement and adjustment. Most of the women could speak some English, but at least two had difficulty with the language. Most of the women apparently relied on a network of family or friends for employment leads. Four of the six women in this group reported that they initially found jobs through informal referrals, usually by family or friends, and only later through formal sources. "I helped my friend do inventory of stores--Foodland's--two stores--it was just for one month--just to give her a hand." Another found employment through her stepfather: "...a bookkeeping job--through my stepfather--the owner of the company is my stepfather's friend--I'm still working there part-time." Thus, in the initial settlement period, most of the Recent Immigrants relied on family and friends for job leads.

Recruitment into the Industry

Only one of the women, Maria, reported that she applied for a job as a cutter after seeing the job advertised in the newspaper. She had attended a fashion school in the Philippines and, expecting to cut with a pair of scissors, was surprised to find that she was expected to cut with a straight blade knife. She reported that "I was afraid, but they teach me." Another woman, Hatsuko, went to an employment agency which, even though she did not have any experience sewing, sent her to a firm which needed sewers. There she learned how to sew, but experienced considerable stress because of the forelady whom she describes as mean.

Most of the women mentioned getting jobs in the industry through referrals of family members or through a school. Rosita got her first job sewing and selling in a small shop through her aunt who knew the owner. The aunt also helped Rosita get her second job doing finishing work for a major contracting firm. Similarly, Angelina's sister-in-law knew the forelady at one of the major garment manufacturing companies and helped her get a job sewing and pressing. Both Angelina and Magdalena had been through the Garment Industry Training Program. Angelina continued to rely on her family network to secure jobs, while the program placed Magdalena in her first sewing job.

Migration to Hawaii has resulted in upward mobility for some immigrant women, but downward mobility for most of them. Women who had received more formal education prior to immigrating generally had to take lower status jobs than those they had previously occupied. Magdalena, who had been a nurse, couldn't continue in this line of work because:

"the exam too strict, so I cannot pass - they say I need to take more courses or go two more years of school, so I just stayed home and be a housewife because of my boy."

The same was true of Hatsuko who had worked as a teacher in Japan before she married. She reported that she gave up any thoughts of teaching when she got here because of the language problems.

On the other hand, younger women like Rosita and Juliana appear to be have been able to receive more formal education because they were younger when they migrated and, therefore, seem to be in slightly better positions here compared to what they would have been in had they remained in their homeland.

Experience in the Industry

As with the Old Timers, the Recent Immigrants had a variety of experiences once they were recruited into the industry. Several of the women mentioned working for several different firms before their present employment, whereas some had been employed by their firms continuously. Angelina worked in the garment industry sewing and pressing, but decided that "I don't like pressing and the forelady sassy, so quit." She then found a job in housekeeping at a major hotel through a friend, but worked there only six months because "I got sick--lots of pressure." She then stopped working for two years before starting again with Tropical Sunsets.

Most of the older immigrant women seem to have experienced quite a bit of stress adjusting to work in the garment industry. Some spoke of the stress that they faced in terms of getting sick. Hatsuko said that she worked at her first job for two years before quitting due to illness

(she referred to it as "woman sick;" she had a miscarriage and then a hysterectomy). After staying home for a year, she got another job as a sewer after seeing an advertisement in a local Japanese language newspaper. She remained there for a "long time--ten years or so, including five years of home sewing.

Magdalena reported that she had difficulty adjusting to the pace and limitations of production work.

"I had headaches and I used to cry--oh, that (supervisor) was too bossy. I had to sew two dozen a minute and I got bursitis--you know, because it's only one motion, over and over again--the doctor said it's bursitis."

On the other hand, the younger immigrants such as Rosita, Juliana and Maria seemed to have less difficulty adjusting to work in the industry and did not mention these kinds of adjustment problems. Thus, age seemed to be a contributing factor to the amount of stress experienced by the Recent Immigrants.

Recruitment into Present Positions

As a result of their immigrant status, most of the women in this group had been employed in their present positions for a shorter period than the Old Timers. Only one of the immigrant women, Maria, had been employed steadily in her current position for a substantial length of time, just over eight years. Two of the six immigrant women, Magdalena and Hatsuko, had secured their positions earlier in the year and they had spent only four months and seven months respectively in their present positions. Each of the other three women, Juliana, Rosita and Angelina had spent three to four years in their present positions.

Table 11

Recent Immigrants' Method of Locating Present Position

<u>Method</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Family/Friends	2	33.3%
Instructors/School	2	33.3%
Job advertisement/Agency	2	33.3%
Total	6	99.9%

Table 11 shows that, as expected, the predominant method of locating their present jobs was through their immediate social network. However, what is noteworthy is the fact that their network included not only friends and family but also instructors in the training programs in which some of them had been enrolled. Thus, Rosita had been referred to Casually Chic by her Fashion Design and Merchandising instructor at Honolulu Community College nearly three years ago. In fact, her instructor had also sent her to jobs with two other garment factories during her program of study. Similarly, Juliana has worked as an office clerk at Casually Chic for three years. She had been referred to the job when it was a part-time position by her instructor at Kapiolani Community College, and after a year, she went to full-time status.

Friends who worked in the shops and therefore knew when openings would occur were often the source of referrals about jobs. Although she had gone through the Garment Industry Training Program's Power Machine Operators program for "about six months," Angelina found out about the opening at Tropical Sunsets through a friend: "My friend--before she worked at Tropical, now mainland--she told me they want cutter." Similarly, Hatsuko, who has been employed as a seamstress at Casually

Chic for a little over six months, found out about the job opening from some of her coworkers with whom she used to work at a former workplace.

Finally, two of the immigrant women reported that they had responded to advertisements which had been placed in the classified section of the newspapers. Magdalena, who had limited experience in the industry earlier, had responded to an advertisement and had begun working as a button setter and serger at Casually Chic only four months before. Maria, who had just arrived in Hawaii, immediately started at Tropical Sunsets after responding to their advertisement for a cutting position and has remained there ever since.

Training for their Present Positions

Most of the women reported that the company had trained them for their respective jobs. However, four of the six women reported that they had previously worked in the local garment industry, and therefore, possessed experience which was of use to them in their present jobs. The other two women possessed unrelated work experience or informal training, which did not really help them prepare for their jobs.

Maria, for example, had attended fashion school in the Philippines. She had learned dressmaking techniques which she thought she could apply at Tropical Sunsets. However, she soon found out that it was not the case:

"The newspaper said they wanted a cutter, and I thought they meant scissors so I thought I could do it--but no, it was the straight blade--Dale taught me how to cut--I was afraid, but they helped me along--took less than a month."

At least two women, Angelina and Magdalena, had participated in the Garment Industry Training Program's Power Machine Operators Training Class and had been employed in the industry briefly before joining their respective firms. Magdalena had worked as a single needle operator and was now working in the finishing department alternating between setting buttons and serging or sew-serging operations. Angelina had worked in both sewing and pressing before entering her present position as a layer and sewer. Although she initially applied for a cutting position at Tropical Sunsets, Angelina just couldn't overcome her fears about the job of cutting. Part of her concern was the inherent hazardousness of the job, but she was also concerned about the consequences of making a mistake:

"I told Dale 'I no like' [because] scared--make mistake the first time, the whole thing gone--can lay, but no like cutting--sometimes cannot memory the material--no like."

Two other women held technical degrees in their respective areas of work. Rosita had an A.S. degree in Fashion Design and Merchandising from Honolulu Community College, and previously worked in other garment industry related jobs. As she pointed out, "the experience [that I received from] FDM helped me to get to know the industry, but mostly from experience--but Joanne trained me." Similarly, Juliana had received her A.S. degree in accounting, but reported that her community college education helped her "only in the accounting side." She received the rest of her job training from the company and said that it was "fast--I had a good teacher so it only took a couple months."

Finally, since Hatsuko possessed several years of previous sewing experience, she received no special training when she began work. Neither did she experience problems adjusting to the new setting and noted that both the owner and the forelady were "yasashi" (kindhearted)."

In short, the second subgroup of labor to be found in Hawaii's garment manufacturing industry, the Recent Immigrants, is largely composed of Filipina. Most of these women were from the Ilocos region of the Philippines, one of the poorest areas of the country. Their migration to the U.S. with their families in the 1970s can be understood in terms of two coincidental changes: first, changes in the U.S. immigration law in 1965 which made it easier to enter the U.S. and, second, economic dislocations and the period of martial law in the Philippines which provided the impetus for seeking better living conditions. Most of the Recent Immigrants had family ties to Hawaii and these networks helped them to settle and find jobs. However, the net result of these women's migration was mixed. For some of the older women, it has meant downward mobility from teaching and nursing positions; for the younger women, it has generally meant greater educational opportunities. The location of subsequent jobs has been, therefore, much less reliant on family and friends.

THE YOUNG LOCALS

Of those interviewed, ten individuals (nine females and one male) did not fit either the Recent Immigrants or Old Timers category. Although there was diversity within this group in terms of their ethnic

and age composition, the Young Locals could not simply be considered a residual category because they had several common characteristics. Nearly all of these people were third- or fourth-generation Hawaii residents (one woman was a second-generation Caucasian from the mainland). Most of the individuals in this category were not married and under thirty years of age, although three individuals were in their forties. More important, however, was the fact that most of these individuals had had some formal technical training either for dressmaking or production work in the garment industry, and in most of these cases, the technical training was obtained through a technical degree program offered at a local community college underwritten by the state.

Family Background

As seen in Table 12, among the ten individuals in the young locals category, seven were born on Oahu (five in Honolulu), two on the neighbor islands, and one on the mainland. Additionally, most of the parents of these individuals were born in Hawaii, although this was less consistently the case among the older members of this group. These patterns correspond with the general pattern of urbanization and population concentration on the island of Oahu (Schmitt, 1977:11), as well as the post-World War II and post-statehood expansion and the diversification of Hawaii's economy.

Table 12

Background Characteristics of Young Locals

<u>Name</u>	<u>Firm</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Birthplace</u>	<u>Ethnicity</u>	<u>Generation</u>
Bill	CC	24	Honolulu, Oahu	Chinese	3
Amy	CC	25	Honolulu, Oahu	Japanese	3
Joan	CC	43	Waipahu, Oahu	Japanese	3
May	CC	27	Honolulu, Oahu	Jap., Fil., Span.	3
Betty	CC	22	Kaunakakai, Molokai	Japanese	2-3
June	CC	27	Honolulu, Oahu	Jap., Chi., Haw., Fil.	3
Laura	CC	49	Pearl City, Oahu	Chinese	2-3
Sheila	CC	34	Lanai City, Lanai	Hawaiian Filipino	3
Mary Beth	TS	57	Milwaukee, Wisconsin	Caucasian	2
Ann	TS	48	Honolulu, Oahu	Japanese	2-3

The mothers of this group were more likely than those of the issei and nisei group to be formally employed (only two of the mothers of the Young Locals were housewives), and there appeared to be more variation in the occupations of both the mothers and fathers of this group than among those of the Old Timers group. In the Young Locals group, three of the fathers held food service jobs (two cooks and a self-employed baker), two held skilled construction trade jobs, two held maintenance type jobs, one was an agricultural worker and another a white-collar worker. Two of the mothers worked in clerical jobs, one worked as a sales clerk in her husband's business, and the rest worked in various service jobs, including laundry, custodial work, and domestic work.

In contrast to the Old Timers, the individuals in the Young Locals category were able to describe some of the leisure activities of their parents. This is understandable in light of the decline of the hours of the workweek in Hawaii from around 60 hours in 1919, to around 40 hours in the early 1960s (Schmitt, 1977:129). The leisure activities of both parents were varied (more among fathers than mothers), but generally

gender-linked. Thus, the most commonly mentioned leisure activities for fathers were fishing and gardening or yard work, whereas mothers' leisure activities were described as sewing, housework, and then gardening.

Most of the individuals in this group came from fairly large families of four or more children, and only three were from two-child families. Five of the ten were youngest children, two were oldest children, and the rest were middle children. Like themselves, their siblings were generally employed in either blue-collar or service occupations, and none of the siblings were employed in a professional occupation.

All of the Young Local group had graduated from high school and, all but three had two or more years of post-secondary work at local community colleges. Five had Associate of Science degrees or Certificates of Achievement in Fashion Design and Merchandising from Honolulu Community College. One of the two women who had not attended the Honolulu Community College Fashion Design Program had attended a private dressmaking school, and the other had attended a sewing class.

Five of the Young Locals group were single, three were married (one for the second time), one was divorced, and one was widowed. None of those who were single had children, but all of the others had one to three children who either lived with them or nearby them. In all but three cases, the Young Locals resided in the home of their parents. This is a common phenomenon in Hawaii because of the tight housing market and high cost of living. The implications of this residence pattern will be discussed further in the next chapter.

Recruitment into the Industry

All of the members of this group had been employed previously in areas other than apparel manufacturing. Most of the younger members had worked at two or three jobs before entering the garment industry. Their work experiences were age-linked, in the form of summer or part-time work in state-sponsored youth programs, student employment, or counter-help settings.

For the older members of this group, work experiences were more varied, and often tied to gender-specific roles as daughters, wives and/or mothers performed within the family context. Mary Beth, one of the older women in this group, worked in a variety of short-term jobs after starting as a counter clerk in her parents' bakery; her jobs in her early adult years were often short-term, and she left these jobs because of marriage and pregnancy. She stayed at home for thirteen or fourteen years and then worked for eight years as a clerk in an art supplies store she owned with her first husband. Another older woman in this group, Laura, had a similar pattern of employment. She reported that "I stayed home and took care of my dad until I got married—he had had a stroke." Then, as a housewife, she had done babysitting at home for nine years before her husband passed away.

Individuals in this group entered garment industry work by way of both formal and informal referrals. Ann got into the garment industry by chance when a neighbor who was the forelady at the garment manufacturing firm "was looking for girls, and she asked me." At that point, she had no industry experience, but "I just loved to sew." She started in sample making. Betty got into the industry because a

manufacturer knew a friend of her family, and had mentioned that he had an opening. Another woman found a job as a seamstress through a newspaper ad. Most of the others, however, got into the industry through the education-industry network. In some cases, this was a formal referral. In two of the cases, there was a referral from an instructor to the manufacturing firms; in other cases, there was a process of informal referral. Friendships formed as students during their years of formal education often formed the basis for news about job openings.

Experience in the Industry

Because most of the members of this group were young, their experience in the industry was generally limited. However, two of the women in this group had twenty or more years of experience, and another had eleven years of experience. Most of the others in this group, however, had between three to ten years in the industry.

The work records of these individuals were fairly stable given the nature of the industry, where firms often face cash flow problems and even bankruptcy. Ann had spent twenty years with the same employer, and Mary Beth had spent eleven years with hers. In general, most of the members of this group had spent at least two years with each of their previous employers unless there were illnesses, pregnancies or work problems which seemed to insoluble. A number of individuals complained about stressful working conditions attributable to various difficulties with supervisors. Often these difficulties were linked to the discrepancy they experienced between expectations of engaging in skilled

and creative work and the actual realities of production work. This was especially the case with the two women who had attended private dressmaking school. Laura said that she had difficulty with her supervisor at the first place she worked after getting her dressmaking certificate because "I didn't have the training." Similarly, Joan had this to say: "I had a lot of pressure from the boss' wife, I guess I wasn't prepared for the kind of production demands." Lastly, Bill left his job after a year because "I didn't like it--I felt I wasn't getting anywhere."

Still, even with problematic situations, these individuals generally stayed on. For example, Joan had worked for "maybe a year" at the first firm where "the checks were bouncing," "four to five years, maybe longer" at the firm where she was experiencing so much pressure, and four to five years at her last former employer's firm even though "the checks bounced, sometimes we had to wait to cash our checks, and the guy was so picky."

Recruitment into Present Positions

As was the case with the Old Timers, there was considerable variation in the length of time that individuals in the Young Locals category had been in their present positions, and this was clearly related to the type of firm for which they worked. In some cases, the kind of work in which they currently engaged was different from the type of work in which they started. At Tropical Sunsets, the older firm, Mary Beth had been in her current position for over eleven years, and she had not experienced any change in her position. Ann, on the other

hand, had been with Tropical Sunsets for about twenty years, but had occupied a number of different positions. On the other hand, at Casually Chic, the eight workers in this category had been with the firm for less than seven years; four had been in their positions for two to three years, and another four had been in their positions for four to six years.

Table 13

Young Locals' Method of Locating Present Position

<u>Method</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Family/Friends	5	50.0%
Instructors/School	3	30.0%
Job advertisement/Agency	2	20.0%
Total	10	100.0%

As Table 13 shows, the most common method of coming to these positions was through referrals from friends or relatives. Half of this group (five individuals) got jobs with their respective firms in this manner. Joan describes the process by which she came to her present position:

"I heard through some of the ladies at work who worked part-time for Casually Chic that they were going to open over here, and we all decided to go together because we didn't really like our boss there, and we knew they (Casually Chic) were going to expand." (note: she was then working at another manufacturing company which was doing contracting work for Casually Chic.)

However, as was the case with the Recent Immigrant group, referral from the school was the method used by three of the subjects. In two of the cases, the referral was from one of the instructors, but in one case, it

was simply being in the right place at the right time and taking advantage of the situation.

"Joanne was a guest speaker at my FDM class, and I just figured to go for it,' so I approached her at that time with my some of my designs, since I was free-lancing at the time, and I got picked up after a month's vacation in Europe after graduation."

Finally, newspaper advertisements were used by the remaining two.

Training for their Present Positions

Nearly all of the individuals in the Young Locals category had received formal garment production training. In five of the ten cases, the training was obtained at one of the state-supported community colleges in its two-year Associate of Science program in Fashion Design and Merchandising (now called Fashion Technology). In two cases, the training was received through a private dressmaking school. In once case, it was through a garment industry sponsored training program. Finally, only two of the Young Locals received no specific training.

DISTRIBUTION OF THE THREE SUBGROUPS IN THE FIRMS

The preceding examination of the employees of two garment manufacturing firms revealed that the firms relied on three identifiable categories of labor: Old Timers, Recent Immigrants, and Young Locals. The three types of labor, however, were not found in the same proportions in the two firms. Table 14 shows the distribution of these types of workers in the two firms.

Table 14

Distribution of Types of Workers by Firm

<u>Worker Type</u>	<u>Tropical Sunsets</u>		<u>Casually Chic</u>	
Old Timers	3	(42.9%)	6	(33.3%)
Recent Immigrants	2	(28.6%)	4	(22.2%)
Young Locals	2	(28.6%)	8	(44.4%)
Total	7	(100.1%)	18	(99.9%)

Although the numbers are small, Old Timers were a slightly larger proportion in the older firm, Tropical Sunsets, whereas Young Locals made up a larger proportion of the workforce in Casually Chic, the younger firm. There was very little difference in the proportions of Recent Immigrants represented in the two firms. This suggests that the age of the firm may be related to the kinds of workers the firms are recruiting from the garment industry's labor market.

The differences in recruitment are a matter of degree.

Table 15

Method of Locating Present Position by Firm

<u>Method</u>	<u>Tropical Sunsets</u>		<u>Casually Chic</u>	
Friends/Family	5	(71.4%)	10	(55.6%)
Instructors/School	1	(14.3%)	4	(22.2%)
Newspaper Ad/Agency	1	(14.3%)	4	(22.2%)
Total	7	(100.0%)	18	(100.0%)

Table 15 suggests that the older firm, Tropical Sunsets, is much more likely than the younger firm, Casually Chic, to have recruited labor through the use of friendship and family networks. This is the method more likely to be used by the Old Timers (88.9% from Table 9 above). In contrast, Casually Chic is slightly more likely to use referrals from

educational institutions and classified advertisements, a method more likely to be used by the Young Locals (20.0% from Table 13 above). Thus, in much the same way as Hillsman and Levenson (1982) found in New York, educational institutions appear to play an important role in placing racial and ethnic women in these types of jobs.

DISCUSSION AND SUMMARY

Some patterns are evident from the preceding examination of the backgrounds of the Old Timers, the Recent Immigrants and the Young Locals, who make up the garment industry's workforce. Clearly, the current composition of the workforce in this industry is a product of a number of distinct but interrelated factors. Among these are the historical changes in the global economy, the historical development of the Hawaiian economy, certain policies and actions of the state, and the personal backgrounds and life stages of individuals.

The changes going on in the world economy in both the 19th and 20th centuries seem to explain the emergence of two of the three subgroups of labor, the Old Timers and the Recent Immigrants. The Old Timers were a labor pool created by the 19th century economic development processes in Hawaii. They were the offspring of contract immigrant workers who had migrated to Hawaii from Japan to work on the sugar plantations prior to the labor movement in Hawaii. The limited household incomes of their families compelled most of these women, as single daughters, to drop out of school and seek employment. Since most of them had attended private sewing schools and the garment manufacturing industry was developing, they sought employment in the garment industry which, because of its low

wage and low technological innovation changes, permitted them to flow in and out of the workforce between their domestic responsibilities.

The Recent Immigrants, on the other hand, were largely Filipina. Their immigration to Hawaii occurred in the late 1960s and throughout the 1970s, in an historical period when two factors coincided. First, the national development of the Philippines involved considerable political and economic turmoil and, second, the 1965 U.S. Immigration Law implemented a more liberal family reunification policy which lifted quotas which had limited Asian immigrants to the U.S. In Hawaii, institutional criteria blocked those who had been educated in the Philippines from obtaining higher-paying jobs. Additionally, family and friendship networks which were associated with low-wage industries generally directed them to the garment industry.

In the case of the Young Locals labor pool, the situation is much more complex. In contrast to the Old Timers and the Recent Immigrants, the most of the Young Locals have higher levels of education and are third- or fourth-generation Asian Americans. Their presence in this industry cannot be explained simply from a human capital or status attainment perspective because lack of formal education or difficulty with language and culture does not appear to be applicable in the case of the Young Locals. It suggests the need to look beyond human capital factors to more structural explanatory factors. Such an examination would concentrate on the opportunities available to Young Locals because of their unstable working class families, on their minority racial and ethnic backgrounds, and on the fact that they are women.

It has already been suggested that the readjustments in the global economy have played, and continue to play important roles. Another factor which should be considered is the state. Nation-states, through their migration policies, may either foster or restrict the movement of peoples. From 1920 until 1965, the U.S. immigration laws generally restricted immigration from Asia. The 1965 law produced conditions for an influx of new immigrants who, although formally educated, could be defined as having certain deficiencies in human capital such as language difficulties and questions about the quality of their credentials, and in a tight job market situation, relegated to a peripheral or low-wage labor market. This group, the Recent Immigrants, could then be tapped as a source of labor which could be paid lower wages because of their presumed lower human capital.

At a more local level, actions by the state also have provided a basis for the creation of a new sources of skilled labor. In the case of Hawaii, the publicly supported institution of higher education was utilized to develop these pools of labor. Both the Young Locals and the Recent Immigrants represent these state-created pools of labor. Young Locals were generally trained through an A.S. degree program in Fashion Design and Merchandising, now called Fashion Technology, whereas the Recent Immigrants were trained through a shorter, more limited Machine Operator program. Furthermore, they were not only educated by the educational institution, but they were also "placed" in the industry through formal and informal education-industry linkages. Thus, the formation of the garment industry's labor market represents a confluence

of historical factors, state actions, and the social definitions given to various characteristics of various groups of people such as race, ethnicity and gender.

CHAPTER SIX

WORKERS' LIVES: THE MARKETPLACE-HOUSEHOLD CONNECTION

INTRODUCTION

The focus of this chapter is on workers' lives. It will not only examine how their employment affects their domestic lives, but also how their household work affects their lives as employees. The conditions of their work lives and their family lives are intimately connected, and the interacting demands of both help to create and maintain their class positions. However, the interacting demands of marketplace and household paradoxically form the basis of their empowerment. The first part of this chapter will concentrate on the conditions of work at their work sites, especially as those conditions apply to the differences in firms. Following that, workers' household situations and domestic lives will be examined. Finally, the chapter will look at the process by which household and workplace factors interact and discuss the implications these have for maintaining their subordinate statuses in both spheres. As noted in Chapter Five, the garment industry's labor force is composed of three subgroups. Thus, wherever there are differences in how the household and workplace factors affect these three subgroups of labor, these will be identified and discussed.

WORKPLACE CONDITIONS

Remuneration

The earnings of workers in the garment industry are quite low. In June of 1986, the period during which most of the workers were being

interviewed for this study, the average earnings for workers in Hawaii's Textile and Apparel Manufacturing industry was \$169.42 for a 37.4 hour week, or \$4.53 per hour (Hawaii DLIR, 1986: 2). In comparison to the industry average, the mean hourly earnings of workers in both Tropical Sunsets and Casually Chic were approximately 10% higher as can be seen in Table 16. This can be attributed to the fact that both firms were manufacturers with full design staff; the higher paid design staff tend to skew the payroll upward. Industry averages, on the other hand, also include contractors who do not employ design staff; thus, contracting firms tend to have lower payrolls. Table 16 also shows that there was only a slight difference between the two firms with the mean hourly pay in Casually Chic being about 3% higher than that of Tropical Sunsets.

Table 16

Mean Hourly Pay by Firm

<u>Firm</u>	<u>Mean Hourly Pay</u>	<u>Standard Deviation</u>
Tropical Sunsets	\$4.88	1.70
Casually Chic	\$5.04	1.17
Garment Industry June 1986 Average Earnings (a)	\$4.53	not available
Minimum Wage (b)	\$3.35	

Source: (a) Hawaii Department of Labor and Industrial Relations, Research and Statistics Office, Labor Area News, July 1986; (b) Hawaii Department of Business and Economic Development, State of Hawaii Data Book, November 1988: 346.

Examination of the remuneration practices in the two firms revealed both similarities and differences. Remuneration varied according to the type of work that workers performed and the length of time an employee had worked for the particular firm. Workers who are paid on a salary

basis generally received higher remuneration levels than those paid on an hourly wage basis. According to Caplow, this last pattern can be attributed to the fact that ...

"... wages are paid for a specific amount of work, as measured either by pieces produced or by time spent on the job. Thus the wage earner's lack of property rights in his job is implicit in the form of compensation." (1954: 177)

Thus, wage workers are considered much more expendable, or at least replaceable, than are salaried workers who are usually considered more valuable and are usually in positions closer the top of the organizational hierarchy.

Salaries are often the mode of remunerating office personnel for several reasons. First, the volume and flow of administrative work tend to be more stable in contrast to the peaks and troughs that characterize production work. Second, office workers' daily activities require them to interact with greater frequency with the owners or managers of firms. This fosters a perception among both the managers and the office workers that there is greater commonality of interest between them than that which exists between either of them and production workers. Third, because of this perception, office personnel are often subject to contradictory expectations in their role performance; they are permitted greater autonomy in performing their work, yet are expected to do overtime work without additional compensation.

The full-time office worker at Casually Chic, Juliana, is paid on a salary basis, and her salary is higher than production workers who are paid on an hourly wage basis. Juliana receives "\$650.00 gross every two

weeks." At \$1300 per month, it works out to a little over \$8.00 per hour. Betty, a part-time administrative assistant at the same firm who is soon to graduate with a baccalaureate degree in business, is currently paid \$4.25 on an hourly wage basis. However, she has been told that she will receive a salary and much higher compensation when she begins full-time work.

Below office workers and above production line workers are those in the "conceptual" stages of the production process. At Casually Chic, only the full-time designers and the production manager are salaried; everyone else is paid on an hourly wage basis. Bill, one of the designers, receives \$1000 per month (which is equivalent to about \$6.25 per hour), while Amy, the production manager, is paid \$920 per month (which equals about \$5.75 per hour). Rosita, who works part-time as a patternmaker and designer for Casually Chic, currently receives an hourly wage of \$7.00 per hour. While a number of designers and a production manager were employed to handle this part of the production process in Casually Chic, only three people were involved in the same part of the production process in Tropical Sunsets: the owner-manager, her daughter who served as production manager, and the firm's combination designer-patternmaker.

Following in the production process, and in remuneration levels, are the layers, cutters and bundlers. There appeared to be differences in the remuneration patterns of supervisory personnel between the firms in both the cutting and the sewing process. Maria, who does both laying and cutting at Tropical Sunsets, is paid a salary of \$800 per month which is equivalent to an hourly rate of \$6.24. Her assistant, Ann, on

the other hand, is paid \$3.65 on an hourly wage basis. Similarly, Kay who puts together the bundles for the sewers is paid an hourly wage of \$4.00. On the other hand, at Casually Chic, both supervisory workers and regular workers are paid on an hourly wage basis. Lorraine, the supervisor of the cutting department, earns \$5.40 per hour. Fred, the part-time cutter at Casually Chic, earns \$5.20 A hour. Laura, June, May, and Joan who work full-time in this department as layers, cutters, markermakers, and bundlers all are paid an hourly wage ranging from \$4.10 to \$5.10.

Further down the production process are the sewers. At Tropical Sunsets, Lillian, the forelady for sewing, is paid a salary of \$1,100 per month. This works out to \$8.50 per hour. The sewers are paid hourly wages. Angelina is paid \$3.70 per hour and Michiko is paid \$3.85 at Tropical Sunsets. In contrast, Kimie, the forelady for sewing at Casually Chic is paid an hourly wage of \$5.55, much less than her counterpart at Tropical Sunsets. On the other hand, there is only a small difference in the sewers wage rates between the two firms, with sewers at Casually Chic generally receiving slightly higher wages. Sheila, Hatsuko, Sharon and Dorothy, all sewers at Casually Chic, receive between \$3.75 and \$4.25 per hour. Additionally, both firms use an incentive pay system in which workers who exceed their assigned production levels in a specific pay period receive additional compensation. Most of the workers in both firms reported that they seldom exceeded their production quotas and, therefore, do not receive more than their base pay most of the time.

After the garment has been sewn, but before it is shipped to the retailer, it goes to the finishing department. Rose, who has worked as the finishing supervisor at Casually Chic is paid a wage of \$5.00 per hour and incentive pay which is based on her production level. As a new worker in the finishing department at Casually Chic, Magdalena makes \$3.75 per hour "plus bonus" (i.e., the incentive pay). However, she reported that she has yet to be able to produce enough to obtain the bonus pay in the three months since she started working there. Mary Beth who has worked as a presser, packer and shipper in the finishing area of Tropical Sunsets for over eleven years receives an hourly wage of \$4.20.

Clearly, the level and mode of remuneration are functions of a workers' status in the firm hierarchy. Salaried workers tend to be located higher in the organizational hierarchy, and wage workers lower in the hierarchy. Additionally, workers in the later stages of the production process, because they are presumed to be merely "executing," are paid less than those in the earlier stages who are presumed to be "conceptualizing." These distinctions, often referred to in the vernacular as "brain versus brawn" reflect folk judgements made about the value of different types of work in the society.

While both firms incorporated these notions into their remuneration systems, there were also important differences in the ways in which each of the firms used the salary-wage distinction. Tropical Sunsets, the older firm, tended to use the distinction in the traditional manner. Thus, all supervisory personnel were salaried. On the other hand, Casually Chic tended to use the salary-wage distinction in its efforts

to further rationalize its production process. It also integrated production supervisors into its system of paying a base wage plus an incentive pay based on production. This practice has important implications, for it suggests that in its efforts to further rationalize the labor process of garment manufacturing, it is incorporating into the wage system workers who are further up in the organizational hierarchy. It therefore suggests that a proletarianization process is occurring in a manner similar to that which occurred in clerical work. Glenn and Feldberg (1982) reported that the white collar occupation of clerk which formerly was considered to be a relatively high status one with greater autonomy and higher remuneration, eventually became decomposed into smaller job units so that deskilling and degradation of certain parts of the occupation occurred. In the garment industry, it appears that higher order occupations, particularly supervisory personnel, are becoming proletarianized.

This tendency toward ever greater rationalizing of the salary-wage system also has differing implications for the different types of workers. It suggests that those workers, however skilled, who enter the industry at a later date are more likely to be remunerated in the form of wages rather than salaries. Thus, Recent Immigrants and Young Locals are more likely than Old Timers to be subjected to the wage system. It also suggests that the Immigrants and Locals are more likely to be remunerated at a lower level than they would have been if they had been paid in the form of a salary.

While seniority is a contributing factor to wage levels, it plays a less important part in garment manufacturing firms. Because of the

intensity of competition in the garment industry and the small size of the firms, there is not much opportunity to for a well developed internal labor market to be created within firms. Thus, the differences between workers' wages are miniscule, and are generally on the order of a few cents among sewers, a couple dollars at most among the technical production workers, as well as between sewers and technical production workers. Without a well developed internal labor market, the loyalty dimension of seniority becomes more salient, and particularistic practices dominate in the process of wage assignment.

In general, most workers felt that they should receive higher wages for their work than they were receiving at the time. Sharon who sews for Casually Chic felt that "our job is a skilled job--for the amount of things we have to do, I think it's really underpaid." Clearly, their expectations were not without merit. Table 17 below lends support for their concern over their wages. In 1986, average weekly earnings of \$414.12 were required to support a low income budget for a family of four; \$654.46 for an intermediate budget; and \$1034.48 for a high income budget (Hawaii DPED, 1984: 372). As noted above, in June of 1986, the average weekly earnings in the garment industry were \$169.37 (Hawaii DLIR, 1986:2). Additionally, their economic positions have eroded over time. When the difference between the amount required for a low income budget and the earnings of garment workers are compared for 1972 and 1986, the gap had increased by about 10%. Thus, garment workers have not only been paid low wages, but they have also been subjected to low wages in an economy where the cost of living has been increasing at a faster pace than have their wages.

Table 17

Household Budgets for a Family of Four, 1972 and 1986

<u>Type of Budget (a)</u>	1972		1986	
	<u>Yearly</u>	<u>Weekly</u>	<u>Yearly</u>	<u>Weekly</u>
Low	\$9,118	\$175.34	\$21,534	\$414.12
Intermediate	\$13,617	\$261.86	\$34,032	\$654.46
High	\$20,579	\$395.75	\$53,793	\$1,034.48
Garment Industry (b)		\$89.08		\$169.37
% gap between Garment Industry & Low budget		49.2%		59.1%

Source: (a) Hawaii Department of Business and Economic Development, State of Hawaii Data Book, November 1984: 372;
 (b) Hawaii Department of Labor and Industrial Relations, Research and Statistics Office, Hours and Earnings, 1972-1986: 77-79E.

The problem of low wages, therefore, tends to be aggravated by the slow pace of increases in their pay, and by the way in which raises were awarded. In part, these problems are symptomatic of the larger changes taking place in the garment industry, particularly the growing intensity of competition within the industry, and greater rationalization of the production process with more direct linkage of wages to performance. According to the Garment Industry Training Program Director and older workers, from the 1950s through the early 1970s, the general practice throughout the industry was to give all employees a raise, a Christmas bonus and then close down for two weeks. This was the pattern to which most of the Old Timers were accustomed, and which Kay confirmed. She used to get raises of fifteen to twenty cents and the procedure was one in which "usually beginning of the year [they] used to give bonus and a present every year --the bonus would be \$25 and they would increase it

every year you worked by \$5. Everybody would get raises at the same time."

This, apparently, is no longer the case and, thus, the absence of raises in recent years was another problem identified by workers in both firms. However, workers in Tropical Sunsets also expressed considerable ambivalence about their disappointment with the recent lack of raises. This was because, on the one hand, they realized that the gap between their earnings and their living costs was growing and on the other hand, they also realized that the company had suffered economic losses after the fire. Kay reported that "I used to get raises every year, but lately didn't have--after the big fire, business slowed down--I guess they lost some accounts." Workers in Casually Chic, on the other hand, expressed with greater clarity what they felt was the reason they were underpaid. Kimie, a supervisor at Casually Chic felt it was because of the company's philosophy of 'if they want to go, let them quit," a philosophy with which she disagrees.

While there was general dissatisfaction about the lack of pay raises in both firms, workers generally felt that raises in wages were the result of things they could not control or influence. None of them had broached the subject of a raise with their supervisors. They merely assumed it was a unilateral decision of the owners/production managers. "It's up to the boss." Since raises had been given out yearly in the past at Tropical Sunsets and everyone had received raises at the same time, the workers simply assumed that no one had been getting raises since they had not been given raises over the past two or three years (which appeared to be a correct assumption).

This reticence of workers to approach their supervisors seems to be a product of several factors. Beyond the obvious one that most of the workers were women whose gender role socialization tended to make them less assertive was their presumption that their supervisors should be able to see the quality of their work and reward them accordingly. As Maria noted, "I want it to come from them." However, the factor that probably most contributed to this lack of assertiveness was the fact that there no longer seemed to be any formal or informal procedure for the granting of raises. In this anomic situation, without norms to guide workers on what constituted reasonable expectations, passivity rather than activity seemed to be the logical result. Moreover, this was a result which tended to benefit the owners rather than workers. It therefore appears that the pattern of low wages will probably continue.

Benefits

In examining worker benefits, it is important to distinguish between formal benefits and informal benefits. Formal benefits refer to non-wage forms of compensation for which the firm directly incurs certain costs on behalf of some or all of its workers. These include such items as medical insurance, life insurance, vacations, workman's compensation, etc. Some of these formal benefits may be required of firms by the state. Formal benefits can be distinguished from informal benefits which are those items or services for which the firm may indirectly pay. In the case of the garment industry, informal benefits include such things as surplus fabric, notions, or garments which are sold to workers at wholesale or discounted prices.

Although there were differences in the package of benefits in the two firms, there were also some basic similarities. This was because all firms were legally mandated by the state to provide such formal employee benefits as group medical insurance, temporary disability insurance (TDI), workman's compensation insurance, and seven holidays. Beyond these requirements, the firms differed in the extent to which they added other items to their formal benefit package. Additionally, it appears that the medical insurance plan that is offered is not of as good a quality as those of other medical plans. Nearly all of the married women in both firms reported that they had chosen to be covered under their husbands' medical insurance plans because those were far more comprehensive.

The deteriorating position of Tropical Sunsets has definitely had an important effect on the benefit package of its employees. It had offered a life insurance plan and bonuses in the past but has since discontinued it. While workers are entitled to vacations, the length of which is based on seniority, workers are generally required to take their vacations in July or August and in December when the factory closes down its operations for 2-3 weeks at a time. Thus, the vacations are, in a sense, a kind of unemployment. On the other hand, because Casually Chic has been expanding its market and operations, the firm has been able to expand the benefits which it has been able to offer to its workforce. The production manager at Casually Chic reported that they offer profit sharing, credit union, a vacation plan, in addition to a dental and a medical plan which includes vision and drugs.

This was confirmed by the workers at Casually Chic, although they noted that they had not received any profit sharing in the last two years.

In addition to these formal benefits, there are a number of informal benefits. At Tropical Sunsets, workers are permitted to purchase surplus fabric and notions at wholesale prices, a practice of which many workers take advantage. A similar practice goes on at Casually Chic and, as Dorothy pointed out, some of the workers may even bring in their fabric and have it included in the stacks so that the pieces can be cut while the cutters are doing their stacks. Workers are also permitted to enter the factory and use the patterns or sew items in the factory prior to the start of the workday. The only restriction is that the patterns not be taken out of the factory. It appears that many workers do make use of these informal benefits.

Most workers reported that they were generally satisfied with the benefits they were receiving. There was slightly more dissatisfaction at Tropical Sunsets where workers were predictably disappointed that they had lost their life insurance coverage, bonuses and profit sharing, but this was expressed more in terms of despair than resentment. In both firms, however, workers agreed on the need for sick leave benefits. At present, workers in both firms are covered only by TDI, temporary disability insurance which is required by state law. As Angelina noted, "with TDI, gotta stay home at least one week." This means that TDI is only useful in instances when there is prolonged inability to work. Most workers would like to be able to take off only a day or two at a time when they are sick. At present, they do not have that option and would have to lose 20% to 40% of their weekly earnings if they take off

for a day or two. As May noted, it is difficult to be sick because "staying home from work means no pay for that day, and that is very hard" because of her family's precarious financial situation.

While sick leave was the concern of nearly all workers, it was only among the Old Timers that there was an expressed desire for some sort of retirement plan. Clearly, this was a group-specific item. Both the Recent Immigrants and the Young Locals did not see a retirement plan as a priority item. In fact, given the amount of worker mobility within the industry, it is probably not worthwhile to have retirement plans. That being the case, it is understandable why the production manager of Casually Chic saw the profit-sharing program as a replacement for a retirement plan.

In general, workers perceptions were more positive about benefits than they were about their wages. This is probably because workers considered benefits to be optional items or extras that the firms offered to employees whereas wages were seen as a direct exchange for their labor. Thus, there was considerably more concern about low wages than about low benefits. In spite of this general satisfaction, there was one benefit that workers agreed would be desirable. That item was sick leave. There were also important differences between the two firms. There was an erosion of benefits in Tropical Sunsets whereas, in Casually Chic, there was an expansion of benefits, a difference which was the function of the different statuses of the two firms in the industry.

Health and Safety

The awareness of and concern over health and safety problems in the workplace varied considerably among the workers. In general, safety issues were more salient among workers than were health issues. This is understandable in that safety-related elements are usually more obvious than the elements that are hazardous to health. Additionally, differences in the physical set-up of the plant, differences in the type of work in which workers were involved, and the area in which workers functioned all seemed to affect workers' health and safety concerns.

Problematic health and safety conditions existed in both firms; however, there were also differences in the nature of the problems found in each firm. Tropical Sunsets had been forced to temporarily close its operations by a fire in the factory several years ago. By the time it had rebuilt, the firm had lost many of its workers and original customers. Consequently, its production volume has steadily declined over recent years. The firm now has a much smaller workforce which makes the work areas in the factory roomy and easily accessible. Most of the Old Timers felt that the factory was a safe place to work. The situation was quite the opposite at Casually Chic. The firm's volume of production had been rising, and there had been an increase in the number of employees, with the increase in staff outpacing the available production area. Crowded working conditions were clearly an issue of considerable concern.

The problem of crowding was clearly a concern for a number of workers at Casually Chic. Cutters use both the straight and the circular blade power knives, and cut fingers or hands, which are a

common occupational hazard anyway, are even more likely to occur when there is little space. Laura, who lays and cuts the fabric and who has accidentally cut herself more than once, echoed this concern with even more urgency.

"The aisles are narrow, and people constantly walk behind you. The fabric is slippery and [pieces] can slip on the floor, and we sweep [the floors] only during the 2:30 break. There are big bolts [of fabric] under the table and they stick out--it's dangerous ..."

Other workers in Laura's area, the laying and cutting section, also confirm her assessment. Additionally, Fred who is one of her co-workers in the cutting department, was concerned with the electrical wiring. He recounted a story of an inspection which had taken place where the state inspector, who turned out to be a friend of Fred's, had almost completed a very critical report on the firm, one which could have recommended shut-down of the firm. When the inspector found out that Fred worked there and might be without a job if he turned in his original report, he tore it up and passed the firm. However, he told Fred about the wiring.

Fred notes:

"The wires are my main concern. I don't know if people know [about it but], the state inspector said it was dangerous. Lots of exposed wires on the floor. I told Donald (head of production at Casually Chic) about it five years ago. No sense talk. He said 'I'm going to do something about it,' but nothing has been done. If it concerns money, no results."

By contrast, those working in the design and administrative areas felt that although they were pressed for space, their own immediate work areas were safe and posed no threat to health. Clearly, then, the type

of job and the kinds of equipment used in a work area make a difference in workers' perceptions about the safety conditions in their workplace.

As mentioned earlier, health hazards are often less detectable than safety issues. However, while they could not explicitly identify any health problems, many of the workers in both firms sensed that certain conditions existed which might be hazardous to their health. One of those conditions was identified by Lorraine, the supervisor in the cutting department. She felt that the best thing about working in her immediate area was that they got "natural air." She noted that others in the factory have air conditioning, but she preferred working downstairs and relying on the breeze that blew in from the outside. This is significant because, increasingly, the industry is using synthetic fabrics, and the fabric, dyes and chemicals used to set the dyes can be hazardous to health and safety (Mullings, 1984: 130; Stellman, 1977: 235-237). Like Lorraine, a number of workers at Casually Chic reported concerns about the air quality and allergic reactions to the chemicals used on the fabric or to the fabric itself. Like Lorraine, Fred was concerned about the quality of the air.

"Up to now, not enough air. It get's hot and some people get sick from the fabric chemicals. My hand gets itchy. You can smell the dye. The state inspector was in two weeks ago and now we have five or six fans—the air is circulating, and we get good air and it's cooler.

Another problem which workers in both firms sensed might contribute to health problems was dust. Although workers were not aware of it, the medical condition called Byssinosis (or "Brown Lung" Disease) has been linked to textile and garment work for at least the past two decades

(Stellman, 1977: 137). Additionally, another set of medical symptoms have been identified recently called the Closed Office-Building Syndrome (Chavkin, 1984: 81-85). These have been associated with air-conditioned workplaces. Sheila, a sewer at Casually Chic, suffers from a number of health problems caused by dust (Byssinosis or brown lung disease), the chemicals on fabrics, cold from the air conditioning, and perhaps the air conditioning itself.

"The dust, [it's] certain material only, mostly flock material. [wearing] the kerchief helps. Six to seven out of the twelve [workers in the sewing area] off and on use kerchiefs. [Also, the] chemicals on the fabrics. My eyes water and get red from the smell. It was cold when I was on the old machine [because] it was right by the vent where the cold air comes. I had to cut my boys' old socks to put over (she points to her wrists). It was [having] like rheumatism."

Despite the recognition of these problems, the firm does not appear to have any formal procedures to address these situations. They neither require protective masks nor a specified period of time to "air out" the chemicals in the various types of fabrics.

Production work has often been associated with various stress-related physiological symptoms such as back pains, ulcers and other stomach and intestinal symptoms, and psychological symptoms as depression, absenteeism, and hysteria. Industrial sewing is an activity full of contradictions. On the one hand, there is tremendous pressure from the pace required to meet production demands and the degree of close supervision; on the other hand, there is boredom from the sheer mass of repetitive work. This combination of pressure and boredom often results in a number of accidents on the power machines. Seamstresses

have been known to sewn their fingers on the power machines. While Sharon felt that her immediate work area was a safe place to work, she also displayed some of the symptoms characteristic of the production requirements of industrial sewing. For example, she reported that she is constantly nervous. One indication of this condition was her report that the best thing about working in her area is that "I can see whoever comes in the door--I feel more confident." This condition is not helped by the constant and high-volume of noise. Some of the noise is from production. Power machines emit a very loud sound which vibrates through the floors. Since the operation of sewing is of short duration, there is constant irritation from the starting and stopping of machines. Often, there are also various other production machines in the area. Sharon also identified the noise "from the buttonhole machine, tat-tat-tat." And, finally, there is often the constant droning of the air-conditioning.

Line workers were not the only ones subject to stress. Supervisors were especially prone to the stress of production work. For example, Lillian at Tropical Sunsets noted that she is experiencing "so much pressure, cannot sleep -- wonder if I can get it out -- especially now when we work four days rather than five days, but [my] legs don't hurt [as they did previously from standing on them all day]." Kimie, the sewing supervisor at Casually Chic also complained of feeling overburdened and sometimes taking some of the work home to do.

In short, workers' awareness of health and safety problems were related to the firms for which they worked and the area in which their work was located. The expansion of Casually Chic has aggravated safety

and health problems in the workplace, while Tropical Sunsets have had less of these problems. Nearly all cutters reported having cut their fingers or hands accidentally at some time in the course of their work and, therefore, were more aware of factors which contribute to greater potential for accidents than other workers who worked, for example, in design or administrative jobs. Cutters also are the first people in the production process to work with the fabric. Thus, allergic reactions to the chemicals used in the fabrics were also of major concern. Sewers, who work with the already cut bundles were more likely to mention the dust problems or stress-related symptoms, and stress problems are often mentioned by supervisory personnel.

Reactions to their Work

Workers' reactions to their work seems to be related to the firms for which they worked, the nature of their work, and their place in the organizational hierarchy. The firms for which they worked affected workers' reactions to their work because, as seen in Chapter Four, the firms differed in their operating conditions with Tropical Sunsets basically attempting to maintain the status quo, while Casually Chic was undergoing expansion and growth. These differences contributed to workers' expressions of anxiety or frustration, or satisfaction with the autonomy they were permitted to exercise in their work.

For many of the workers at Tropical Sunsets, anxiety prevailed about how much longer they would be able to work there. All of them noted that after the fire, the volume of work has declined. One indication of the slowdown in business according to Ann, one of the

cutters at Tropical Sunsets, is that "most often I use scissors" to do the cutting. Others pointed to the reduced work week and the fact that the number of workers has declined. Michiko, one of the sewers, reported that "lately, Dale (the production manager and daughter of the firm owner) has been sewing too." Thus, Michiko was worried that if the firm was not filling sewing positions she might be laid off soon.

In addition to the concern about impending joblessness, however, there were also expressions of enjoyment about the variety of work which they had to perform because of the cutbacks. The reduction of personnel meant that not much specialization of tasks could be permitted at Tropical Sunsets. Thus, people had a variety of tasks, and that was seen as making work interesting. Ann reported that she did a lot of "floating...I do what is available--cutting, bundling, laying, also hemming."

In contrast to Tropical Sunsets, production at Casually Chic has been growing at a rapid pace. Workers at Casually Chic, therefore, have noted the increase in the volume and the pace of work. This has produced several different effects. On the one hand, the expansion of Casually Chic's product market has produced greater specialization and interdependence of jobs along the production line; on the other hand, it has produced greater diversity of product lines which has required workers to be more adaptive to different styles, fabric, and conditions. Fred, one of the cutters, noted that he has been cutting new fabric. "Now it's more polyester and silk--soft fabrics, harder to handle--before it was all cotton." He pointed out that cutting cotton

fabric was easier and safer since it doesn't slip. Thus, he is not very pleased with this trend.

On the other hand, after having "floated all over, laying, [and then] bundling," May now has the job title of marker maker and a certain amount of control over her work. The job requires the placement of the patterns on a limited amount of fabric taking into account such factors as the print of the fabric (i.e., whether it is unidirectional or bidirectional), how the fabric will fall, type of fabric (i.e., to what extent it will unravel). Moreover, every foot of fabric saved or used by a marker maker means a multiplied cost or savings of twenty-five to thirty yards at four to five dollars a yard, for a sum of \$100 to \$150 per cut. May reported that "it's frustrating [to try] to fit it in the yardage" and, with the increase in production, her job has been made more difficult because of the "variety of styles and more sizes." Depending upon the style and width of the fabric, she can make one to four markers in a day. "[I] usually try to have a couple of styles [done] ahead of the cutters, [but whether I can do it" depends on the design department, how fast they produce the patterns." Thus, specialization of tasks can also hold up the workflow.

Casually Chic's growth has increased the level of specialization in the production process, but this trend has also proceeded in fits and starts because of the constraints of the physical plant. June, who does laying and cutting described this:

"If I finish my work the day before, I look at the cut tickets and work on what needs to be done ... it takes about a half-hour to hour-and-a half, depending upon how much I have to lay, and I share the table with two other

people so I have to compete for space. Usually, the first or second week [of the month] I just do my work, but by the third or fourth week it's hectic and back to the old routine, because the bundlers don't do the small cutting, and [there are conflicts because of] personality and not enough space on tables."

Other factors contributing to how workers felt about their work was their position in the organizational hierarchy and the nature of their work. Workers in higher positions of the production hierarchy generally found their jobs more interesting and therefore more satisfying. This was expected since it involves greater "conceptual" activity which makes the work inherently more interesting. Rosita, who works in the design department of Casually Chic, enjoyed "the creativity of the work--trying to come out with something out of this cloth." It also involved more autonomy and authority. Further down on the production line, work becomes more a matter of execution and thus variety becomes a critical factor. According to Sharon, her work of samplemaking was enjoyable because it was interesting.

"The best part is sewing samples. I like to do one-of-a-kinds, some are challenging, not one whole day doing the same old thing. It gets boring and makes me sleepy ... there's nothing I dislike about the job unless it's continuous everyday, same thing, I get bored and sleepy if I have to continue ... making blouses--plenty in a bundle, whereas so many things to do on the dress that you don't get sleepy [because] you have to think."

Finally, good social relations in the workplace were mentioned by workers of both firms as an important factor in their work. In fact, the opportunities for sociability provided by the workplace seemed important to many of the women workers in this study. This finding was

not unexpected, and while this orientation is often treated as a gender-based social fact, it should be emphasized that it is more a function of the social status of workers who do not have many other social rewards or opportunities for social mobility (Kanter, 1982).

Alienation versus Resistance

It is difficult to discuss work, particular low wage work, without addressing what Marx called alienation. Marx conceptualized alienation as an unnatural condition of estrangement from product, process, self, and community, a state of affairs which was a result of the capitalist mode of production. He considered work as a natural activity, one which joined man and nature in an intimate relationship. In short, man could realize his essential creative humanness in the process of dealing with nature for his material existence. However, this process can become subverted if the products of man, once created, are turned back upon him. When this occurs, man's work is experienced as alien and man, therefore, becomes estranged from his creations.

According to Marx, this is what has happened under capitalism. Man's products are expropriated from him, and his productive activities become directed toward producing for capital rather than for his immediate use. In this process of commodification, the purpose of production changes from use value to exchange value. As man becomes estranged from his product, he also becomes estranged from the labor process, by losing control over the integrated functions of conception and execution. Related to this loss of control and fragmentation of the conception and execution function is the fragmentation of community into

oppositional classes: capitalists and workers. Finally, man loses his sense of self because he experiences himself as alien or not related to his creations, to the process of creation, and to his community.

There have been numerous studies of worker alienation since Marx, many choosing to focus or highlight selective aspects of the concept. Some scholars such as Robert Blauner have focussed on how structural factors such as type of industry and technology influence the probability of worker alienation. Others, like C. Wright Mills (1951), focussed on the issue of control in the labor process, particularly on the tendency of bureaucratic authority structures not only to rationalize the labor process in commodity production, but also to rationalize interactions so that even social interactions become commoditized. The net result was alienation of workers from their selves; in short, there is a loss of sense of self and of self-esteem. Self-esteem, therefore, would only be associated with one's level or status in the organization and negative psychological consequences were expected to follow. However, Melvin Seeman's study (1967) which focussed on the powerlessness aspect of worker alienation did not find the degree of negative consequences for personal life which were expected to follow from worker alienation.

Randall Collins (1975:60) returned the discussion of alienation to the distribution of authority by distinguishing between those who "give orders" (who identify with the organizational ideals which legitimize their order giving) and those who "receive orders" (who are alienated from the organizational ideals). The result of the type of status on individual outlook, according to Collins, was that the former group

developed modes of behavior which were self-assured and independent whereas the latter developed modes which were subservient and fatalistic.

Melvin Kohn's 1976 study of alienation returned, at least somewhat, to the original Marxian conception. Kohn looked at alienation in relationship to (1) ownership or lack of ownership of the means of production; (2) position in the authority structure; (3) degree of self-direction (i.e. closeness of supervision, routinization of work, and complexity of work). He found that the degree of self-direction appeared to be most related to alienation as expressed in terms of four psychological factors (Kohn 1976: 119). On the other hand, Kalleberg and Griffin (1980), in their national sample survey found a weak relationship between occupational status and feeling fulfillment with work, but they also found that social class is very much related to work fulfillment. Defining class in Marxian terms of dimensions of ownership and control over others, they found that employers (those who were owners and who exercised control over others) had highest satisfaction; managers (those who were non-owners but who exercised control over others) were second, and workers (those who were non-owners and who did not exercise control over others) had the lowest satisfaction levels.

Most of the literature on worker alienation has examined male workers, and there has been an implicit assumption that the situation would be similar for women workers. The validity of this assumption was one of the topics of this study. Also, the study was interested in determining whether women's domestic roles and gender in general made

a difference in the lives of these workers and, if so, what those effects would be.

On the basis of Marx and other scholars' criteria for determining alienation, the garment workers in Hawaii could be considered objectively alienated. Certainly this seems to be the case in relationship to the first three aspects mentioned by Marx. They produce apparel products which are appropriated from them for sale in the market in exchange for wages. They do not determine or participate much in decisions about how they will be involved in the production process, and most of them are excluded from participating in the conceptual part of the process. As workers, they are objectively placed in a different class from the owners of the firms who both own and control the means of production. However, on the last criterion, estrangement from self, the determination is more difficult to make.

That there exist widespread feelings of powerlessness among the workers in this study is clear. One indication of these feelings of powerlessness may be seen in workers' responses to their dissatisfaction with their low wages, limited benefit packages, and health and safety conditions in their work environment. Most of them reported that they have not approached their employers about making the desired changes, and they have rarely challenged their employers. While these data may indicate a high degree of worker passivity and, by extension, of powerlessness, it is also important to be mindful of the fact that garment workers also expressed the recognition that the objective situations of the firms or the particular characteristics of the owners made it unlikely that they would be able to attain their personal goals

even if they attempted to do so. Thus, questions can be raised about the degree to which workers have indeed internalized powerlessness.

For most workers, the sense of powerlessness appears to be limited to the work setting rather than being internalized by the individual and generalized into other aspects of their lives. Only one of the Old Timers gave any contraindication of this. Sharon reported feeling a longstanding condition of nervousness which appeared to be a result of her past experience with the pressures posed by close supervision. There was no other evidence of widespread self-estrangement. Instead, many workers reported that they are involved in activities of their respective religious organizations or of their families, activities characteristic of working class life.

The alienation of labor is an important issue because it has implications for the society as well as for individual workers. Since class is conceptualized in relational terms within the Marxian framework, class consciousness and resistance are also important social phenomena to examine because they may have implications for social control and social change. Braverman (1973: 29) defines class consciousness in terms of the social cohesion of a class as reflected in the members' (or portion of members') expressions of understanding and activity. Braverman says that class consciousness is manifested in three ways: absolute expression (widespread and long term recognition of class position in society), long-term relative expression (the gradual changes in traditions, organization, etc.), and short-term relative expression (mood swings). For example, unionization and the institutionalization of labor and industrial relations generally

indicate the absolute expression of class consciousness, whereas the gradual inclusion or exclusion of minorities, women, and other groups into the formal organizations would be considered a long-term relative expression of class consciousness. Finally, support for certain political candidates or issues which are temporary can be considered short-term relative expressions of class consciousness.

In the workplace, resistance can be an expression of class consciousness, an expression of individual identity, or a combination of both. Resistance can be a focussed, well-defined and public expression of protest and struggle against management in the form of speeches, letters, strikes, demonstrations, or marches. It can also be a conscious, but less public struggle and protest against management. Or, it can be individualized and isolated instances, rather than a sustained effort of protest or struggle against management.

Generally, worker resistance and class consciousness have been defined in terms of the presence or absence of public expressions of protest and labor organization. If resistance is defined in these terms, as a well defined organization of workers confronting management, then the conclusion with regard to workers in these two firms would be that there was virtually no evidence of resistance. However, there is growing recognition that this definition of resistance has been much too limited, that it has ignored many subtle and subversive instances of resistance such as worker slowdowns, sickouts, etc. which are less public and nonconfrontational. Moreover, the strict definition of resistance generally tends to be gender based, emphasizing a male model of resistance.

In light of the new literature on women workers' resistance patterns, the case against the presence of worker resistance in the garment industry is less clear. Certainly there is no evidence of any labor organizing activities. The only mention of the possibility of forming a union was made in jest by one of the workers at Casually Chic. Resistance, when it occurred, happened in a more subtle manner.

One instance of resistance took place in Tropical Sunsets when management attempted to change the production process from whole garment production process to a combination process of section and piece work. This was resisted by the sewing production staff. When asked about this, Michiko replied, "they tried, [it was] something new, different, [I] didn't like it--harder for us, if zipper don't fit." The problem from the worker's perspective was that she would have to work with the previous sewer's mistakes which would consequently slow her down and make it more difficult to produce her quota of pieces. According to Dale, the production manager of Tropical Sunsets, production levels actually dropped below normal when they tried to implement the new system. Consequently, they went back to the old system of whole garment production.

Even when the whole garment method of production was used with incentive pay, most of the workers at Tropical Sunsets did not even attempt to make the incentive pay. As Angelina said, "only four old Japanese ladies and Belinda--so even if they like make shishi (they need to urinate) they no like stand up." Thus, workers understand that they would have to go to such extreme measures as foregoing basic physiological functions in order to achieve the production levels

required for the incentive pay, and simply, but silently, resist. There is also some evidence that workers at Casually Chic have not fully cooperated with the piece rate system. A 100% rate would be the ideal rate as calculated by a time-motion study of particular operations. Donald, the head of production, reported that most of the time the women average about 70% and he was generally satisfied with that.

Another indication of subtle collective resistance can be detected in that older workers, who have a better sense of the industry because of their lengthy experience in it, are encouraging the younger workers to look for other lines of work. Sheila said she probably wouldn't stay in the industry because "I want to do something different, I'm getting sick of sewing, plus the older ladies tell me 'you don't want to stay in this industry--no future.'"

Generally, however, there was little evidence of conscious, public collective resistance. Most of the resistance action was performed on an individual basis even when it might benefit others in the workplace. When she realized that the increasing use of contractors and homesewers by Casually Chic was causing more work for her and her staff, Kimie took action.

"... it takes a lot of time to do the alterations [because you] have to take off the stitching and redo, and I tell Don it's a waste of time, but he doesn't listen. So for six months I put it in black and white how much time [we] spent on it and gave it to him."

Kimie's challenge of Donald, however, only resulted in more careful checking of contractors, not the end of their use.

In short, there were only a few instances of resistance and most of these instances were individualized rather than collective. There are several reasons for this pattern. First, and most obvious, workers are fragmented because they are drawn from different ethnic and age populations. Thus, there seems to be very little, on the surface, that they share in common. Second, the class, gender and cultures of the workers tend to stress conformity to authority rather than the challenge of authority. And, finally, the differences in the three subgroups' life stage means that they have different definitions and stakes in work. They are, therefore, less likely to reach consensus on what actions need to be taken.

Thus far, this chapter has discussed the working conditions and the responses of the garment workers to these conditions. While conditions which could be objectively considered alienating were found, the fact is that the stress and alienating conditions at work do not seem to have permeated their lives. For this reason, the domestic aspects of garment workers' lives and their relationship to work lives will be examined.

HOUSEHOLD CONDITIONS

Household Composition and Living Arrangements

The living arrangements of workers generally varied according to the worker category. This is because of the peculiarities of Hawaii's housing market in which housing is both limited and very expensive. Most of the land in Hawaii is owned by a few private estates or corporations and the federal, state or county governments. This has limited the availability of affordable homes. With inflation and the

recession of the early 1980s, the situation has progressively worsened over time, and it is estimated that at the present time, 90% of residents cannot afford to purchase their own homes. On Oahu, where 80% of Hawaii's population resides, the median purchase price of an existing single-family home was \$117,800 in 1981; it was \$177,600 in 1987 (Hawaii, DBED, 1988:563). The high cost of housing, therefore, requires flexible housing arrangements including sharing of homes with offspring or kin and, where possible, purchasing homes through the pooling of several household members' incomes.

Nearly all of the Old Timers could be considered to be in what Family Life Cycle theorists call the pre-retirement stage. They lived with their spouses who were either already retired, or like themselves, approaching retirement. Their offspring were all over eighteen years of age, and most of these offspring had either left the household or were about ready to leave the household. In at least two cases, however, adult daughters had returned to the household following divorce. In both of these cases, young children were not involved. The returning daughters were both employed and contributed to the family income. The economic situation of the Old Timers was generally quite stable. Since most of their spouses had been skilled trades workers, their family incomes had been sufficient to purchase homes several decades earlier when the housing market was still fairly open. They, therefore, owned their homes or apartments which were mostly located in working class or lower middle class neighborhoods.

Lorraine's household is quite typical of the Old Timers. Her husband was a carpenter prior to retirement. He now works part-time as

a groundskeeper at the airport just to keep busy and earn a little extra income. All but one of their four children have left the home; their daughter returned after her divorce and contributes about \$75.00 a month toward the household expenses. The mortgage on their three-bedroom home in Kalihi Valley, a working class neighborhood, is \$270.00 per month and almost paid up.

There was more diversity in the living arrangements of the Recent Immigrants. In two out of the six cases, workers and their spouses were living in publicly-subsidized rental units. Madaglina, her husband and their son rent a small two-bedroom apartment public housing project. Her husband had just started as a maintenance worker for the state government after working at a laundry for many years. The rest had purchased either townhouse units or detached single family units. However, two of the four Recent Immigrants who were purchasing their homes were doing so in a cooperative arrangement with other family members. Angelina, her husband, and their children, for example, were purchasing a single family home, but had remodeled the house so that her husband's brother and his family could rent the basement unit from them. The rent from this unit made up about half of their monthly mortgage payment. Similarly, Juliana was purchasing a townhouse unit with her brother and his wife. Each of them was employed and their pooled earnings permitted them to make the mortgage payments.

Seven out of the ten Young Locals were single. That is, they had either never married, or were divorced or widowed. Six out of these seven lived with their parents and siblings. This is in spite of the fact that many of them are in their late twenties or early thirties.

Most of the households of the Young Locals could be characterized as "households of necessity." Their households were generally chaotic and their families often bordering on dysfunctional. Often included in these households were grandchildren or nieces and nephews whose parents were unable to take care of them properly.

Three out of the seven, Sheila, May, and Laura, were from families with histories of violence, chemical addiction, or criminal activities coupled with family members who had various medical and psychiatric problems. May lived with her grandmother, her mother who was being treated for schizophrenia, her brother, a male cousin, and her eight-year old nephew, the estranged son of her sister. May's father was a drug dealer before her parents divorced, and her brothers' heavy use of drugs disturbs her. Sheila was a battered wife prior to her divorce and is now a single parent living with her parents. Laura's late husband was an alcoholic and had heart problems, and her son has a congenital medical condition. She lives with her son, a grandchild and two daughters, one of whom is the mother and abuser of the grandchild. Ann was taking care of her elderly mother. June's mother had just died and her father was having a difficult time coping. Thus, five of the six Young Locals who lived with other family members in their households were not only wage earners but also the primary care-givers in their families.

Generally, those Young Locals who were married were in better positions economically. In two out of the three cases, workers were purchasing homes and their earnings were pooled with those of their husbands to that end. Even here, however, there was an undercurrent of

instability. Joan's husband had been previously married and since his two sons lived with them, the family experienced the stresses and strains usually associated with blended families. Amy, her husband, and their year-old son were living with her parents while the house they were planning to purchase was being built. Mary Ann had remarried after an earlier divorce; she and her husband lived on a boat. Although her adult daughter was not living with them, she was having marital problems and seemed to be relying heavily on Mary Ann for emotional support.

Overall, then, there seemed to be very different patterns of household compositions among the workers. The Old Timers generally had the most traditional pattern of household composition and stable living conditions whereas the Young Locals had the most complex household composition and chaotic conditions. The household composition and living conditions of the Recent Immigrants were much more diverse. As a result, the routines of their daily lives were very much affected by these differences.

Household Division of Labor

In nearly all of the cases, the division of labor in the households of these workers followed traditional gender lines. This was especially the case among the Old Timers and the Recent Immigrants. In these households, cooking, cleaning and laundry were almost always done by the women. The males in the households were generally responsible for "outside work" such as yardwork, taking out the garbage, and washing the car, household tasks which, as Sarah Berk has pointed out, are discrete,

at wider intervals than with other household tasks, and which give them a greater amount of discretion about when to do them (1989).

Many of the Old Timers and Recent Immigrants went grocery shopping with their husbands because the women in these groups generally did not drive. Two interrelated consequences follow from this dependence upon their husbands. First, they were dependent upon their husband's moods and schedules. As Angelina noted:

"Grocery--sometimes Friday, sometimes Sunday--depends on how clean the house. I look at the ads--if got sale at Star [market], then I go to Star, wherever. Before I drive, my husband said only one place. Now I drive, about two years now--because before I want to go different places but my husband wants to stay home and take a rest."

Probably more important, however, was that this dependence reinforced the patriarchal relations in the household. Taking their wives grocery shopping was defined as men helping out in the household. Because it took time out of his schedule, women were expected to compensate by doing the bulk of the rest of household work. Thus, domestic work was her responsibility, and her husband "helped out" in a few tasks.

In general, domestic work was arranged around their marketplace work so that grocery shopping, laundry and major household cleaning were usually done on the weekends. Meal preparation was accomplished in similar fashion with more complex meals generally prepared on weekends, or prepared in larger quantities so that reheating was all that was necessary on work days. Maria reported that she does the cooking about every other day, mostly soups and stews so that the meal can be stretched for more than one day, and does some cooking for the next week

on her days off. Lillian also reported planning meals according to her work schedule: things that take a "long time on weekends; port chop, steak, french fries--fast stuff on weekdays."

In spite of this general pattern, there seemed to be some evidence of slight changes taking place. Some of this was related to situational constraints such as differences in the amount of time each spouse has and the presence of young children; other factors included the growing availability and acceptability of take-out dinners. Since the husbands of the Old Timers were generally retired or semi-retired, they generally had more leisure time than did their wives. Consequently, the husbands did at least some of the household work like cooking, washing or wiping the dishes. Lillian often will start cooking a meal the night before and use a "slow cooker--now that my husband is home, I tell him when to plug it in." However, this depended a great deal on whether their spouses had other competing activities.

Domestic division of labor by gender was more prevalent among the Recent Immigrants because of the carryover of traditional customs. Thus, Maria characterized her husband's general lack of participation in household chores in cultural terms: "he's a traditional Filipino man." However, the presence of their young child has modified his behavior somewhat. "It's kind of hard--he's from the Philippines--especially with the baby, but now he's helping." If husbands did not help with the domestic work, wives who could not handle all of it would purchase assistance. This is especially possible in the area of meal preparation. Rosita does nearly all of the household work. She does

"laundry, five loads. It takes about half a day on Saturday. I try to do it on Saturday, but sometimes it piles up. Vacuuming, same time as laundry. Cooking takes about one hour, plus fast foods. We have dinner out about three times a week. About one hour a day for cleaning. I'm trying to train the boys, but they're copying their father. Shopping, I do mostly after work. I hate to do it with the kids. [It takes] about half an hour three times a week.

Among the Young Locals, there was less of a distinct pattern, probably because of the variation in the composition of their households. In several cases, the Young Locals were the primary caregivers for parents, grandparents or other incapacitated household members. In these cases the older women in the household did the cooking and cleaning, and the Young Local women took care of grocery shopping and household management. Because of their chaotic family situations, the Young Locals often had primary responsibility for caregiving and spent considerable time doing errands such as driving family members to and from various activities, and spending time and giving support to grandchildren, nieces, nephews and older family members.

Although much of the inside household work is done by her grandmother, May is the only female in the family who drives and, thus, transports most of the family members to and from their activities. Aside from taking her grandmother grocery shopping, May reported that "I take my nephew to Karate on Mondays and Wednesdays ... and pick my mom up from work." On her days off from work, "I take my mom shopping, and spend time with my nephew." She also tries to "tutor my niece and nephew for one hour everyday," emphasizing that she tries to provide

them with the emotional support and guidance that they did not seem to be receiving from their parents.

In the area of domestic work, then, the division of labor tends to follow the traditional gender-based lines among the Old Timers and the Recent Immigrants. The Young Locals, however, represent a more complex situation. In much the same way as Stack (1974) found multi-generational women based support networks functioning as the survival mechanism in the Black community she studied, the Young Locals seem to be part recipients and part contributors to a similar structure in their households.

Leisure and Other Activities

The amount of leisure time workers possessed was primarily related to the firm for which they worked, and secondarily related to the subgroup from which they were recruited. Generally, those workers in Tropical Sunsets had more leisure time because the slowdown in the firm's business kept them to a four-day weekly production schedule, and sometimes even less. Tropical Sunsets workers, therefore, could regularly count on Fridays off. On the other hand, the production schedule at Casually Chic often involved overtime work which usually meant an additional half-day of work every other Saturday. These workers, therefore, had considerably less leisure time, and they often commented on being tired and feeling the need to rest after returning home from work.

The use of leisure differed by the worker subgroups. Generally, the Recent Immigrants and the Young Locals had less time and were more

likely to use the free time to accomplish their domestic chores, spend time with their families, or just rest. Rosita, one of the Recent Immigrants, tries to do her domestic chores and extra contract work (for a second firm also owned by Casually Chic's owner) on weekday evenings and Saturdays so that she can spend time with her family on Sundays. On the other hand, most of the Old Timers, because their children were grown, were able to engage in other activities besides doing their household chores. Sharon, one of the Old Timers, goes bowling and also does home sewing for a contractor on her own power machine in her free time. The amount of home sewing varies considerably.

"It depends on how busy the lady [the contractor] is--sometimes she's busy for a month, and then it slacks off for a month ... [I can earn] sometimes \$150, most times \$180 or close to \$200. She tells me the price--yokes, collars or pockets--about twenty-two cents each--but she's really nice--she tells me, you know, if I think it's too low to let her know."

Juliana, who worked as a clerk in Casually Chic's office, was one of the few who seemed to deviate from these patterns. In addition to her full-time employment, she works part-time on four evenings a week and attends University evening classes two nights a week. She has only Sundays free, and "I go to church, window shopping, grocery shopping, wash [clothes] and study."

In general, workers as a group tended not be involved in very many organizational activities. Only two of the workers could recall any involvement in political campaigns, and both reported that their involvement was canvassing for political candidates. Neither had any subsequent political experience. When they participated in organized

activity, it tended to be in activities such as bowling leagues or residential area social clubs rather than industry-related organizations.

The activity which seemed to cut across the subgroups was participation in religious activities. Over half of the workers belong to churches and attend services regularly. Many even reported being involved in other church-related activities such as bible study and church clean-up groups. Most were affiliated with more conservative or fundamentalist churches and denominations such as the Latter Day Saints, Jehovah's Witness, or the Catholic church. Rose is a member of a church, the Seicho no ie, and has been active since 1963. She attends services every weekend, special programs as they occur, and sometimes board meetings or "teaching meetings" which are held about three times a month. Once or twice a month, the church will meet at a member's home and work on lecture assignments which members then deliver to people they visit. She also volunteers her time in various other church activities.

With such minimal participation in organizational activities, most workers relied on structures immediately available in their environment for leisure activities. The two most frequently mentioned activities were visiting relatives and viewing television. The households of the Old Timers and the Recent Immigrants generally had established a routine schedule for visiting and socializing with relatives. Generally this took place on the weekends, often on Sundays, and either involved potlucks or taking turns on the responsibility for dinner preparation. This pattern was clearly absent among the Young Locals.

Aside from visiting and socializing with kin folk, the only other regular leisure activity was watching television. Most of the time which was not spent in domestic work after dinner was spent viewing television. Most of the Old Timers had a few favorite programs. The most frequently mentioned was Oshin, a Japanese language serial about the hard life of a rural Japanese woman from girlhood to adulthood. This and other television programs often provided the fodder for conversations among workers during the lunch breaks at the workplace. According to Michiko, the women at work talk about "all kinds--things that we see on TV--Oshin--what the husbands do, what the kids do at home--usually what happened the night before--news."

To recap, the domestic conditions of these work are quite variable and are generally related to the various types of workers and the firms for which they worked. In general, the households of the Old Timers tend to be the most stable. They are characteristic of intact, established working class families. Because their husbands generally had skilled trades jobs, it permitted them to purchase homes several decades ago when housing prices were considerably lower than they are today. Their household division of labor reflected traditional gender-based division of labor and they generally had more leisure time since their children had left the household. The domestic situation of the Recent Immigrants was much more mixed. Some households were doing quite well economically, but as was the case with the Old Timers, the situation was predicated on multiple earners contributing to the household. In general, it was the Young Locals who were the most disadvantaged. While a few of them were married and had fairly settled

home lives, most of them had not yet left their families of origin, or had returned to their families of origin. Often, a fragmented, marginally functional household was the result. It was composed of various family members who were facing individual hardships, and was largely run by women and children. As a result, the domestic situations of many of the Young Locals are very demanding and stressful.

MARKETPLACE-HOUSEHOLD RELATIONSHIP

Thus far, workplace conditions and household conditions have been examined separately. However, increasingly there is growing recognition that while each sphere has its own structure and logic, they also interact (Pleck, 1982; Ferree, 1984; Voydanoff, 1984; Thorne and Yablom, 1982). Thus, the inequality in one arena reinforces the inequality in the other arena. The first part of this section will focus on the effect that the marketplace has on the household. It will then be followed by the examination of how the household affects marketplace. Lastly, the effects of this marketplace-household relationship on workers' alienation and resistance will be discussed.

Marketplace to Household

In examining the domestic lives of women, it appears that their work in the marketplace has both positive and negative effects on the work in their households. First, it appears that the work schedules of women workers structures their domestic lives. The daily routine of work for most of these women begins around 5:00 AM since most garment factories begin operating from about 7:00 AM. Since many of the women do not drive and the factories are usually located in urban areas

without much parking, it means that they often have to schedule transportation time. Depending upon the firms they work for, they are able to have more or less time to spend in household work. Thus, domestic work is generally done on weekends. In any case, as Joan Vanek (1974), and Walker and Woods (1976), and Berk's (1979) studies have shown, employed women tend to spend less time than full-time homemakers on household work. The data on garment workers clearly show that their marketplace work places limits on the amount of domestic work they can do.

The limit on the amount of domestic work that can be done by garment workers means that, if the required domestic work is to be done, it must either be purchased in the marketplace, or must be shared by others in the household. Participation in the marketplace therefore permits women, primarily Old Timers, but to some extent even Recent Immigrants to challenge male privilege in the household. Because the spouses of the Old Timers were retired and possessed more leisure time than their wives, they were more likely to engage in domestic work. Marketplace work also gives women more reason, opportunity and resources to purchase domestic services in the marketplace, particularly prepared meals, and thus provides them greater freedom and possibility of leisure time.

On the other hand, the fact that garment workers are paid such low wages in the marketplace also contributes to their disadvantage in the household. The effects, while generally negative, are somewhat different in form depending upon the particular subgroup of workers. Low wages keep the Young Locals in their families because they are

unable to independently support themselves, and must therefore rely on family support. By contributing their meager income to the multiple earner family income pot, they are entitled to family support. At the same time, this very fact makes them remain in those chaotic environments. The various tasks and crises draw upon their energy, time and emotional resources and, consequently, prevent them from pursuing further schooling or other courses of action which might give them better opportunities.

The influence of the marketplace on the household is not as grim for the Old Timers and Recent Immigrants as it is for the Young Locals. The wages of the Old Timers and Recent Immigrants were important sources of income for the household. Often their wages were used to purchase groceries and pay for medical bills and other household expenses which were less fixed or predictable. The wages also made a difference in the quality of life that the household could experience, especially whether they could purchase their own homes. However, the fact that their wages were so low tended to reinforce and reproduce male privilege in the household. Thus, in spite of the fact that their families were intact, the women in both of these groups were much more likely to shoulder the greater proportion of the household work than their husbands.

Household to Marketplace

The household also affects the marketplace in both positive and negative terms. One obvious way in which the household contributes to the marketplace is by sending household members as workers into it. However, the workers sent into the marketplace possess different levels

of human capital and social characteristics. The Hawaiian garment industry, like the garment industry in other parts of the U.S., has generally received women workers from lower income families. Although the three types of workers shared the characteristic of limited education and other economic opportunities, there were also clear differences in their backgrounds and domestic situations. Consequently, the different types of households from which the workers were drawn had different effects on the ability of the different types of workers to change their situations.

Two important consequences in the marketplace follow from the differences in the households. The first is the suppression of wage levels and the second is the creation of a malleable workforce. The negative consequences of the household's effect on the marketplace were best seen in the cases of the Young Locals. It has already been noted that because they earn such low wages, many of the Young Locals live within their chaotic families. However, the very nature of their families and the reliance of these families on the Young Locals in turn make it difficult for them to leave the garment industry's low-wage workforce. The situation is somewhat similar, albeit less dramatically, among the Recent Immigrants.

In contrast to these two groups, however, the relatively stable economic situation of the Old Timers also affects their participation in the marketplace. Since their offspring have already left or are soon to leave the household, employment, even at low wages, is an attractive activity for this group. Since the Old Timers neither drive nor participate in many organized activities, work gives them a chance to

get out of the isolated household and socialize with others like themselves. Thus, they are more concerned with being able to continue working rather than with their low wages. The net result of the differences in workers' experiences and motivations is that workers are divided and find it difficult to develop a common class consciousness (Gordon, et al., 1982; Cavendish, 1982; Rosen, 1987).

On the other hand, the workers' domestic lives may affect their marketplace lives in a positive fashion as well. Women's domestic roles and concerns may spill over to create a culture of domesticity in the workplace. The fact that the garment industry tends to employ so many women, both in sheer numbers and proportions, may facilitate a women-centered setting. It may cut down on the isolation they feel in the privatized environment of the home. This is especially important in light of the observation noted earlier that most of the women have very little organizational involvement aside from religious activities or bowling. Thus, although most women did not use their workplace coworkers as confidants, the workplaces did provide social settings for at least nominal social support, sociability, and the sharing of ideas for various arts and craft projects which are both outlets for creative expression and low cost gifts.

Marketplace-Household Relationship and Alienation

In an earlier section, it was noted that although workers displayed many characteristics of alienation, it was difficult to conclude that they were in fact alienated. Furthermore, the question of the extent of alienation from the household setting and work has not been raised.

Because the Marxian conceptualizations have viewed alienation as a consequence of work in the marketplace under capitalism, they have neglected to examine alienation in the realm of domestic work. Oakley and others' sociological studies of housework clearly show many aspects of housework which resemble the characteristics of alienation. However, like the workers in the marketplace setting, it is difficult to conclude that that is the condition. The answers to these questions of why women workers do not seem to be alienated, either in the workplace or in the home, may be found in consequences produced by the intersection in the marketplace and the household.

Several efforts have been made to avoid the narrowness of the "jobs versus gender" models of work (Feldberg and Glenn, 1979) and to move toward a more integrated view of work. For example, in an effort to explain forms of gender stratification in the workplace, Joseph Pleck (1982) points to the work-family role system as the culprit. He notes that although social changes in society have led to the decline of the traditional model of gender inequality in the workplace, it has given rise to a modern or contemporary model. The traditional model was based on the exclusion of women and gender segregation, and this model emerged with 19th century industrialization. By contrast, the contemporary model presents a gender integrated workplace, but one in which women are subordinated to men. The issue that Pleck raises is how that is accomplished. He asserts that for males, the marketplace or work roles are permitted to flow into the household; for females, on the other hand, the household or family roles are permitted to flow into the marketplace.

However, Pleck's model of the work-family role system presumes a middle class family and structure. In this regard, Myra Marx Ferree's (1984) work provides an interesting contrast. Ferree has examined white working class women's employment, how their families respond to it, and how these women actively construct an acceptable relationship between themselves, their families and their jobs. She finds that the key factor in framing an understanding of working class women's employment and, relatedly, why even routine, low-wage jobs produce satisfaction rather than alienation among working class women, is how the woman's family defines her employment in relation to the unit's well-being. However small the economic contribution might be in absolute amount, if the family perceives a woman's employment as necessary and essential to the family's economic well-being, her employment is generally perceived in positive terms. She is therefore entitled to do less household work, or enlist the aid of others in the household for the household work than if she were not employed. On the other hand, if the woman's employment is perceived as unnecessary to the family unit's well being, it is resented for it places unnecessary burdens on the family unit.

If a woman's employment is related to her ability to foster a perception that her employment is "needed" for the well-being of the home, then both Recent Immigrants and Young Locals have no difficulty in objectively demonstrating this to their respective families. Clearly, their incomes are essential for the economic survivability of their respective households. Thus, Recent Immigrants were sometimes successful in getting their husbands or help out, or to rely frequently on meals purchased in the marketplace rather than prepared at home.

On the other hand, this is a more difficult task for the Old Timers whose families are in better financial positions. How, then, do the Old Timers legitimize their employment? It appears that this is accomplished by emphasizing the negative aspects of staying at home and accentuating the positive aspects of working. Michiko, for example, stated that if she didn't go to work, "I would just watch TV, and eat, and get fat." Others emphasized the necessity of "keeping active," presumably something that couldn't be done at home.

The situations of all three groups point out that there is an interrelationship between household and marketplace, and that this interrelationship appears to be somehow related to how the women manage their household work and their domestic work roles, and how they feel about their work and themselves. Although objectively in subordinate positions in both arenas, most workers still seem to be able to obtain some measure of satisfaction from their work in both sectors. In short, they are not alienated, and the reason for why this is the case may be found in the very nature of alienation.

A critical aspect of alienation is meaninglessness. This is clearly not found among most of the garment workers. However low their wages may be, however stressful their conditions of work in both marketplace and in their families, these women feel that their participation and good performance of their work is counted. In short, they feel needed, and that seems to apply in both contexts. The Young Locals certainly typify this because of their chaotic and often dysfunctional family lives and, to a somewhat lesser extent, this is also true of the Recent Immigrants. However, it is also important to

realize that the relationship is an interactive one, and garment workers often feel that they are needed in their respective workplaces. Since the economic context of the industry is a problematic one, most workers also see the firm for which they work as a pseudo family. In so doing, they can justify, to some extent, their exploitation at the hands of the firms.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSIONS

INTRODUCTION

This dissertation has been concerned with changes in the social organization of work in the garment industry in Hawaii. Using a political economy framework and the labor process as an organizing concept, it identified three factors which influence how work is organized: product markets, labor markets, and technology. It then examined how these factors as they are located in the labor process of garment manufacturing have undergone change and, in particular, the role that the state played in this transformational process. Finally, this study examined the consequences which followed from this change, particularly what these changes meant for workers in the industry. In examining these issues, it has illuminated the social interrelationships which exist between the marketplace and household, between state and capital, and among gender, ethnicity, generation, and class. The objective of this concluding chapter is to discuss the theoretical significance of the major findings.

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS

The Structure of the Economy

The concept of labor process facilitated an examination of how work is organized at both institutional and firm-specific levels. At the institutional level, the findings in Chapter Three indicate that the Hawaiian garment industry is a competitive sector industry. The ideal of fashion requires that continual changes be made in the product, and

two consequences follow from this. First, it makes the product market very competitive, which makes substantial rationalization of the labor process difficult. This difficulty, in turn, keeps the level and cost of technology low. Second, the low technological costs means that the start-up capital requirements are low and the entry of new capital into the industry can be facilitated. Thus, the industry is composed of a large number of firms, each competing with the others for a share of the product market. The low degree of industry concentration, the small size of firms, and the high ratio of production worker to administrative worker are but a few characteristics which distinguish the garment industry from other industries in the Hawaiian economy. These features place structural limitations on the degree to which firms in the industry can expand and the levels of wages and benefits they can provide their workers.

In the same vein, the comparison of two specific firms in Chapter Four found that, even when firms differed in terms of their relative success in the industry as indicated by their patterns of growth or decline, the characteristics of a competitive industry still structurally constrained what they could accomplish. They still could not rationalize their production to the extent they wished, although the more successful firm, Casually Chic, was somewhat more successful in this endeavor than Tropical Sunsets.

In short, this study has shown that the garment industry is indeed distinguishable from other industries in the Hawaiian economy, and that it possesses characteristics which are associated with the competitive sector of the economy. Furthermore, it has shown that even when firm

differences are taken into account, they are not as critical as industry characteristics. These findings support the perspective of Averitt, Tolbert and others working out of the Dual Economy perspective who emphasize that industries rather than firms are the appropriate the unit of analysis. Clearly, industry characteristics seem to be more influential than firm characteristics in this study.

Changes in the Global Economy

Related to the characteristics of industries is the context in which industries operate. The restructuring of the global economy has also affected the garment industry in two ways. First, the restructuring of the global economy has intensified the already competitive situation found in the garment industry. The growing internationalization of the tourist industry has made the Hawaiian garment industry's distinctive products such as muumuus and aloha shirts nearly obsolete. As Hawaii becomes merely one among many exotic travel destinations, a more universalistic style of resort dressing has dominated the tourist market. As the discussion in Chapters Three pointed out, because most firms in the Hawaiian garment industry had relied upon tourists to purchase their products for the past thirty years, the industry has been hard hit by this trend. Furthermore, even as the local industry attempts to adjust and produce more universalistic apparel for this market, it has run into still greater competition from both mainland American and foreign garment manufacturers.

A second consequence of the restructuring of the global economy has been the creation of a new pool of labor for the Hawaiian garment

industry. As reported in Chapter Five, the study found that one of the major groups in the local industry's labor market were immigrants, particularly those from the Philippines. While the nature of economic development in the Philippines was beyond the scope of this study, interviews with the Recent Immigrant group revealed that most their families were from the poverty-stricken Ilocos region of the Philippines and had migrated to Hawaii in search of greater economic opportunities. In this regard, the findings of this study suggest that there is great potential in models such as the one posed by Cheng and Bonacich (1984) which assert that the social dislocations created by capitalist expansion into peripheral areas create conditions which foster migration to core areas where new immigrants are incorporated as workers in the core areas' peripheral labor market.

In short, analyses of labor process transformations are enhanced by taking the larger economic context into consideration. This not only includes the examination of industry characteristics, but also the restructuring of the global economy because contemporary local economies are more likely to be incorporated into the global economy than in previous historical periods. However, economic transformations do not occur totally independent of political activities; thus, the policies and activities of the state must also be considered.

The State's Role in Labor Market Creation

Discussions of the state generally apply to the national state rather than local political systems because of the requirements of

sovereignty. In this study, however, the concept of state was extended to include activities of both the nation state and the local state with regard to the labor market.

The nation-state directly affected the labor market through the passage of the Immigration Act of 1965. This law repealed the previously legislated national quotas and the preferences for professional and technical workers which had restricted immigration from Asia since the 1920s. With an emphasis on family reunification, immigration from Asia rose dramatically, bringing new workers into the peripheral labor market. The impact of this was seen in the discussion of the backgrounds of the Recent Immigrants in Chapter Five.

This study also found that the local or provincial state also affected the labor market. As described in Chapter Three, the Garment Industry Training Program, initiated by the State of Hawaii's Department of Planning and Economic Development, was an example of the local state directly involving itself in the industry. In addition to industrial engineering consultations and management development, one of the major components of this three-year program was the creation of a pool of skilled machine operators to replace the shrinking supply of Old Timer workers.

Labor markets have to be created and maintained, and this study has shown that the state plays an important role in this process. In addition to activities which are direct and easily visible, as in the changes in immigration laws and in the establishment of a three-year Garment Industry Training Program, there was also the more subtle creation of a labor market through the institution of education.

Because maintaining an adequate supply of appropriately skilled labor requires sustained effort, and because an intensively competitive industry is incapable of such an effort, the state must be involved. Moreover, because of the diversity of skills required of workers in the industry, the state-subsidized education interacts with the class structure to stratify the training of these workers. The Garment Industry Training Program's Machine Operators Training has been directed toward Recent Immigrants; the Fashion Technology Program, which emphasizes the technical aspects of apparel production, has been directed toward the Young Locals; and the University of Hawaii's four-year Textile Program has been directed toward professional designers, merchandisers, buyers, or managers. Thus, in a manner similar to that found by Hillsman and Levinson (1982) in the New York City's High School of Fashion Industries, the University of Hawaii system of public education appears to track students and, generally, reproduce the class structure.

Neo-Marxist theories of the state and class roughly fall into the Ruling Class, Class Struggle and Structuralist types. Chapter Three found that while the owners and managers of garment industry firms could deal with changes in product markets, they had difficulty addressing the industry-wide need for skilled labor. This was largely because of the competitive characteristics of the industry which made long-term cooperative operations difficult. Given this situation, the state was seen to step in for the overall interests of capital in this industry, as well as to maintain the state's legitimacy as the allocator of

available resources. The Structuralist position is therefore supported by this study.

The Continuing Salience of Race, Ethnicity, and Gender

One of the enduring features of the garment industry is that it is gender-based. In the review of the historical development of the local industry in Chapter Two, in the descriptions of their workforce provided by firm managers in Chapters Three and Four, and in the workers interviewed in Chapter Five, it was found that women workers predominate in this industry. Thus, Hawaii resembles many other locales across the continental U.S., and across the world in its reliance on women workers (Chapkis and Enloe, 1983; Jensen and Davidson, 1984). However, in addition to a female dominated workforce, it was also found in Chapter Three, that over one-third of the manufacturing firm owners, and over half of the owners of firms starting after 1970, were women. It therefore appears that the historical definition of apparel production as "women's work," the low wages paid to workers, and the low capital requirements and profitability of firms, combine to reproduce this gender-based industry which appears to be quite resistant to change.

Another salient feature of this industry has been its reliance on people of minority ethnic backgrounds for its labor market. At its inception, the local garment industry employed mostly Portuguese seamstresses and needlewomen, but as the industry established itself, it shifted to Asian workers, mostly Japanese-American women. The discussion in Chapter Five showed that, as those workers have aged and retired, immigrant Filipino workers have been filling the positions the

former group have vacated. However, in addition to this pattern, this study found one other group of workers, the Young Locals. While this group of workers were from a variety of ethnic backgrounds, all but one of these workers were non-white. The predominance of non-white workers in this industry lends support to the Segmented Economy theories, and particularly the Split Labor Market theory which asserts that racial or ethnic characteristics are the bases for the peripheral labor market.

The findings on firm ownership, however, are not as definitive. As described in Chapter Three, the ethnic backgrounds of manufacturing firm owners surveyed were Caucasian, Japanese and Chinese. However, the contracting patterns described by firm owners and managers in Chapter Three and Four suggest that many of the owners of contracting firms are also from minority ethnic and racial backgrounds, mostly immigrant Filipino and Chinese. A parallel pattern was found by Waldinger (1986) among New York City's contractors as well, most of whom are Dominican, Puerto Rican and Chinese. Because manufacturing firms are generally in a more advantageous position than are contracting firms within this industry, it is the newer and less established capitalist who appear to be predominantly non-white. It is also only within this narrow analytical scope that the Baron and Bielby assertion that firms should be the analytical unit may be relevant and incorporated. Clearly, then, racial and ethnic background and gender continue to be salient features of this industry.

The Significance of Marketplace-Household Relationship

Throughout this study, gender has been shown to be a critical factor in understanding the nature and place of the garment industry in the Hawaiian economy. In this regard, it resembles many other studies of women workers. However, the study went beyond merely examining the employment of women, and examined how the social dynamics of the marketplace interacted with those of the household. It therefore suggests that the low wages in this industry might be related not only to the competitive nature of the industry, but also to the gender-based forces which flow from household to marketplace, and vice versa. It also points out a curious contradiction in terms of working class women's lives. That is, as Myra Ferree has pointed out, the interrelationship between marketplace and household serves simultaneously to oppress and to empower working class women.

The findings in Chapter Five showed that while the different types of workers entered the local garment industry in different historical periods and in different stages of life, most of them were from working-class households where financial conditions tend to be problematic. In most cases, these problematic conditions meant that these women would attain lower educational levels or, in the case of Recent Immigrants, continue to have difficulties with English, which would prevent them from securing better employment in the marketplace. Thus, workers were channeled into the garment industry.

Once in the garment industry, however, they were faced with low wages and stressful working conditions. While the persistence of low wages in this industry despite the shortage of workers are partly the

result of the intensity of the industry's internal competition and its lack of unionization, the fact that its workforce is predominantly female must also be considered. The gender-based nature of this industry fosters low wages because the social assumptions that women are merely secondary earners are joined with objective industry conditions such as small firm size, intense competition, and low capitalization to justify low wages. Furthermore, the low wages of women workers in this industry disadvantage them in their households as well. Since they contribute less to the household in material terms, they are generally expected to contribute more in nonmaterial terms. That is, they are expected shoulder a greater share of the domestic work. Thus, women's lower status in the marketplace is a function of the status of their households, but their low earnings also effectively contribute to maintaining their lower status in the household.

On the other hand, empowerment as well as oppression can be seen in these women's lives. While there is exploitation of these women by their employers in the marketplace which reinforces their exploitation by their husbands and other family members in the household, there is also a parallel dynamic of empowerment going on. The findings in Chapter Six show that in spite of their low earnings, women's material contribution to their households or their freedom from having to depend upon husbands and other family members for money empowers them in the home because they can purchase rather than prepare some meals and structurally limit their household work. Similarly, their status and responsibilities in their households permits them to deemphasize and withstand the stresses of the workplace.

In short, understanding this contradictory situation requires simultaneously consideration of both household and marketplace forces on women's lives. It also suggests that concepts of alienation and resistance probably need to be reconsidered. This study suggests that androcentric assumptions might be underlying these concepts. Thus, perhaps the concepts of alienation and resistance need to be redefined to permit less visible forms of resistance to be considered.

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