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Expanding social justice knowledge with sweatshop history

Ashley Ratute
Iowa State University

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Expanding social justice knowledge with sweatshop history

by

Ashley Ratute

A thesis submitted to the graduate faculty
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF SCIENCE

Major: Textiles and Clothing

Program of Study Committee:
Sara B. Marcketti, Major Professor
Mary Lynn Damhorst
Patricia Leigh

Iowa State University

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this research was to provide examples of undergraduate textiles and clothing lessons that incorporate social justice into the course curriculum. Specifically, I utilized a multicultural education approach to examine three periods of sweatshop conditions in the United States ready-to-wear apparel industry. These periods included: 1880-1915, the 1930s, and the 1990s. The three time periods were selected because they represented significant times in the history of sweatshops in the United States, through major events such as disasters, legislation, and demonstrations held by unions, trade leagues, consumer advocacy groups, and the media.

Formal education shapes the lives of students who receive it (Walker, 2003). As such, academic institutions have the responsibility to teach students more than just basic skills (Banks & Banks, 2009). Schools are the epitome of social and political interworking, as education itself is both a social and political act (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997). An instructor's focus on meeting only assessment standards will leave students ill prepared for dealing with social issues (Banks & Banks, 2009). Due to the plethora of political, economic, and social challenges experienced on a global scale in the 21st century, students need to be concerned with more than just their immediate surroundings (Johnson, 2005; Martinez, 2007). The ability to approach the world from various vantage points will prove advantageous to current students and future leaders.

Scholars have defined the term social justice in a number of ways, ranging from the equitable resource distribution of goods and societal positions to the fair and just execution of the law (Gewirtz, 1999; Young, 1990). Most commonly, social justice can be described as the overall structure and institutional context of society and the effects of domination and oppression that fuel injustice (Young, 1990). The idea of social justice implies that there are socially constructed inequalities, which are deeply ingrained in present day society, and must be

overcome to create an equally just world (Martinez, 2007). Ideally, society should be forced to eliminate the injustices that citizens encounter (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997). It is argued that the practice of social justice may provide fairness and equality throughout society (Goodman, 2008b). When implemented in an educational setting, topics encompassing social justice, such as environmental, socio-economic, and labor issues may provide students with the confidence and skills to be “reflective, moral, caring, and active citizens in troubled world” (Banks & Banks, 2009, p. 5). By exploring intellectual, political, and social challenges, students’ will be able to conceptually challenge injustice in society (Johnson, 2005; Walker, 2003).

The College of Human Sciences, Iowa State University, established four undergraduate core curriculum components in 2009 that guide expectations for all undergraduate learning. These components include: communication, self-assessment/self-reflection, critical thinking, and social justice. The social justice core curriculum component was examined in this study. According to the College of Human Sciences, the core learning outcome of the social justice component is to “articulate and demonstrate a clear concept of a just society in which individuals and groups equitably share in societal benefits within a global community” (2009). To meet the curriculum expectation, a student must demonstrate an “appropriate level of competence in at least one significant educational activity embedded in coursework at introductory, intermediate and advanced levels” (“College of Human Sciences,” 2009). Undergraduate students who enrolled in the College of Human Sciences after August 1, 2009, are expected to meet these core curriculum requirements.

There are over 35 possible majors in the College of Human Studies encompassing the diverse disciplines of education from hospitality management to nutrition. The discipline of Textiles and Clothing (TC) is one of three programs included in the Department of Apparel,

Educational Studies, and Hospitality Management in the College. This study will focus on TC due to the interests of the researcher and because of the rich history of the textiles and apparel industry's involvement in problematic situations and confrontations regarding social justice issues.

The core competencies that direct the TC program in the College of Human Sciences are also echoed by the International Textiles and Apparel Association, "a professional, educational association for scholars, educators and students in the textile, apparel, and merchandising disciplines in higher education" ("About Us," para 3, n. d.). Meta-goals that direct curriculum of TC baccalaureate programs guide the development of "creative, knowledgeable, and effective professionals" (para 2) that will contribute to the industry and field ("Meta-goals," 2008). According to ITAA, graduates of TC programs should be capable of comprehending and utilizing knowledge regarding the depth and ability of dress to create cross-cultural connections grounded in historical, political, societal, and psychological factors. Graduates should also recognize how these factors impact industry processes and employ both critical and creative thinking skills to critically evaluate and compare diverse perspectives, as well as understand how diverse individuals have influenced the apparel industry ("Meta-goals," 2008). The topic of sweatshops can be used to fulfill curriculum expectations held by the College of Human Sciences, Iowa State University, and the International Textile and Apparel Association.

Sweatshops in the Apparel Industry

Sweatshop environments within the ready-to-wear apparel industry may be considered a topic of social justice. Sweatshops were, and continue today as "immoral workplaces" where employees work long hours, for minimal pay, in unsafe and unhealthy conditions (Bender & Greenwald, 2003, p. 6). They began in the United States prior to the 20th century and still exist in

the 21st century (Dickson, Loker, & Eckman, 2009). Sweatshops are violators of domestic and international labor and human rights laws, with labor conditions that create one of the most dangerous and physically arduous work environments (Brooks, 2007).

Sweatshops are a result of competitive practices between manufacturers and contractors (Pope, 1970). Applebaum (1999) pointed out that what is flexible for the manufacturer creates “unstable work, impoverishment, and harsh conditions for workers” (p. 57); however manufacturers often escape the blame for the sweatshop environments they produce. The conditions of sweatshops are generally blamed on workers of the factory or shop (Applebaum, 1999). Initial investigations of sweatshops in the 1890s held responsible the newly arrived immigrant workers for imposing their so-called unhealthy and repulsive foreign characteristics to create poor conditions. Even today, immigrants have been blamed for accepting and causing the low wages and dreadful conditions of sweatshops (Green, 1996).

Competition of contractors for bids from manufacturers exhibits how capitalism can lead to exploitative practices (Gewirtz, 1998). Baldoz, Koeber, and Kraft (2001) state humans hold the unique capacity to separate mental and manual labor, allowing the means and opportunity to exploit people. Justice, in this situation, recognizes the destructive relationship between capitalist interests and people’s basic human rights. Capitalistic structures like the garment industry can ignore fair treatment of individuals and often create oppressive behaviors (Gewirtz, 1998). In most cases, sweated garment workers have included immigrants or individuals of a minority ethnic race, undocumented or non-native English speakers, and women (Applebaum, 1999). Immigrant women sweatshop workers were held at the lowest rung of the already low labor hierarchy, similar to their societal status in the United States (Green, 1996). Immigrants, ethnic

people, and women were not only working in the industry to make production of garments efficient and cheaply, they were unconsciously reproducing a class system (Baldoz et al., 2001).

As industry consistently produces more and more workers to continue the unhealthy and physically exhausting manufacturing process, social reproduction is maintained. Social reproduction preserves the dominant power structure's interest in society (North, 2009). In the United States, the capitalistic structure helps to maintain the stratification of workers. The use of industry-led social reproduction can be seen in the history of garment workers in sweatshops. Sweatshops have throughout history, and in modern times used workers who are marginalized in greater society. By employing immigrants and others who are deemed less than the ideal, sweatshop owners fuel unequal labor and socioeconomic conditions. The purpose and reasoning behind the workforce of sweatshop labor can be used to quickly identify a social injustice.

Throughout time, sweatshop struggles and conditions have been brought to the forefront of the public's consciousness as specific events have captured sympathy. However, the topic is often soon forgotten as the events became less current (Hapke, 2004). Hapke (2004) stated, "Charting the idea of sweatshops to the citizens of the United States is an important act of historical reconstruction" (p. 5). She further discussed that learning about sweatshops should be done through remembrance and acknowledgement of the struggle, the history, and the institution (Hapke, 2004). Because of the difficulty in establishing a voluntary boycott of products made in sweatshops and the more difficult deconstruction of the system of competition that produces sweatshops in a capitalistic economy, it is more important or achievable to protect the workers through laws and awareness (Tuckwell, 1906/1980). By studying sweatshop conditions in the U.S. ready-to-wear apparel industry, textile and clothing students can learn about the lack of societal benefits afforded to marginalized workers, both historically and contemporarily (Green,

1996). Examining sweatshops of the past can provide “a foundation for understanding the dynamics of the present” (Ulrich, 1995, p. 49). Examples of the treatment, lack of opportunities and the types of people that have worked in the garment industry can offer students a learning experience that satisfies their social justice core curriculum component and professional expectations of the apparel industry. Ultimately, it can engage students in actively challenging social justice in our world.

Through education, students are able to better understand social injustices in the world and become capable citizens that can challenge social order (North, 2009). Traditional education often echoes stereotypes and discrimination of U.S. society (Banks, 1999). The present study was guided by a critical multiculturalism framework, which seeks to challenge traditional knowledge to expand students’ perspectives. From this approach, students may be able to grasp how justice and social change relates to one’s identity and position in the world (Banks, 1996b). Curriculum that serves multicultural education goals can help diverse student populations to become part of the institutional culture, ultimately strengthening the institution and its students (Banks, 1996b). By participating in lessons that expand students’ understanding of oppression within the apparel industry students will gain knowledge of situations in our capitalistic society in which financial gains were placed above human rights. Girded with this knowledge, students may choose to fight to alleviate forms of social reproduction, such as sweatshop labor (North, 2009).

This study examined the history of sweatshops from 1880-1915, the 1930s and the 1990s. The history of garment manufacturing in sweatshops was used to create curriculum lessons for textiles and clothing undergraduate courses. Instructors will be able to personalize content for

courses such as, history of dress, cultural perspectives, or global issues. Content used for the lesson plans were guided by the following research questions:

Research Questions

1. What significant events occurred related to sweatshops in the apparel industry from 1880-1915, during the 1930s, and the 1990s? What programs, organizations, or events aided in the fight of sweatshop environments and conditions in the apparel industry?
2. How can a multicultural education approach be used to educate students about sweatshop history?
3. What are examples of curriculum and lesson plans that infuse the history of sweatshops and social justice as an effective learning experience for undergraduate textile and clothing students?

Methods

This study explored the history of sweatshops in the garment industry and applied the content to create lesson plans for undergraduate instruction. Apparel industry and, more specifically, events and legislation related to sweatshops in the industry were examined in the periods 1880 to 1915, the 1930s, and the 1990s. The time period 1880 to 1915 represents the growth of apparel manufacturing in the United States. It also reflects an influx of immigrants who labored in the garment industry. The 1930s marks the Great Depression of United States history. During that time, much legislation was passed to restore and revive industry, including codes to provide a safe working environment for workers. In the 1990s, the apparel industry thrived from advancements in technology and off-shore production. While the idea of sweatshops existed as a global or international problem during this time, sweatshops continued to operate within the United States.

Synthesized information about the history of sweatshops was used to create appropriate undergraduate level textile and clothing lesson plans. Secondary sources, such as scholarly books and journal articles provided background of sweatshop history in the three historic periods. Primary sources of newspaper articles from the trade press *Women's Wear Daily* and *The New York Times*, narratives in the form of oral history, and trade union notes were used to add depth to research from secondary sources. Literature written by multicultural education scholars such as Banks (1996; 1999), Kincheloe, Steinberg (1997), and Sleeter (2005) supported the development of the lesson plans for this study. Lesson plans relevant to the history of sweatshops or the history of marginalized people's labor, specifically in the garment industry formed the results of this study.

Limitations

This study, like many others of its scope and depth, contains limitations. One limitation of this study is the potential misinformation obtained from primary and secondary sources. Both forms of sources can be biased, revised, exaggerated, or distorted as the subject matter is passed on through time. Knowledge and truth must be synthesized from primary and secondary historical accounts of events and time periods. This research is conducted for use in TC courses, but touches on subjects like women's labor, industry, and other areas where concepts and ideas are both universal and transferrable.

Definition of Terms

Contractor	hired on an as needed basis; "own and operate the factories that actually handle the garment cutting, sewing, laundering, finishing, etc." (Applebaum, 1999, p. 56)
Constructivism	"pedagogy that features the learner's discovery and creation of knowledge" (Goodman, 2008b, p. 14)

Core curriculum	identifies the expected minimum outcomes of learning that must be met by each student to satisfy requirements
Culture	“the ideations, symbols, behaviors, values, and beliefs that are shared by a human group” (Banks, 1999, p. 115)
Manufacturer	designs garments and textiles to be contracted for production; wholesale complete garments to retailers (Applebaum, 1999)
Marginalization	exclusion from significant participation in society (Young, 1990)
Multiculturalism	a way of knowing that focuses on topics of race, socio-economic class, gender, language, culture, sexual preference, and/or disability (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997)
Multicultural education	“an ideology whose aim is to actualize American democratic ideals, such as equality, justice, and human rights” (Banks, 1999, p. 116)
Pedagogy	“the philosophical and theoretical foundation for one’s teaching” (Goodman, 2008b, p.14)
Praxis	“the application of critical pedagogy featuring reflection and action” (Goodman, 2008b, p. 14)
Ready-to-wear manufacturers	facilitators of the process for creating uniform sameness in garments through pattern making, cutting, machine production, and inspection (Kidwell & Christman, 1974)
Socially constructed	ideas, values, and ways of knowing that are determined by the dominant groups in society
Social justice	the ideal of a just society in which individuals and groups equitably share in societal benefits and rights
Social responsibility	ensuring that people and the environment are respected and protected (Dickson et al, 2009)
Social reproduction	the process of transferring societal attributes across generations
Sweated	a victim (employee) of the sweatshop labor system (Pope, 1905/1970)
Sweater	owners of shops and factories with sweatshop conditions (Pope, 1905/1970)

Sweat labor	work in unsafe and unhealthy conditions for long, arduous hours (Pope, 1905/1970)
Sweatshop	a manufacturing factory or shop that is dirty and unsanitary, forces long and irregular hours, and victimizes and exploits workers (Pope, 1905/1970)
Transformative intellectual knowledge	knowledge that challenges basic assumptions and implicit values of the Eurocentric, male-dominated knowledge inherent in U.S. society (Banks, 1999)
Vertically integrated firms	a company that controls/owns several stages of production or other processes

Acronyms

AFL-CIO	American Federation of Labor- Congress of Industrial Organizations
ACWA or ACW	Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America
GAO	The United States General Accounting Office
ILGWU	The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union
INS	United States Immigration and Naturalization Service (now the Department of Homeland Security)
ITAA	International Textile and Apparel Association
NAFTA	North American Free Trade Act
QR	Quick Response system
TC	Textiles and Clothing
UGWU	United Garment Workers Union
UNITE	Union of Needletrades, Industrial, and Textile Employees
UPC	Universal Product Code

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

The History and Background of Sweatshops in the United States

In the United States, sweatshops have taken on various forms. Sweatshops are found in almost all industries, but are most often associated with the garment trade (Hapke, 2004; Pope, 1905/1970). The term “sweatshop” became part of the general English language around the late 1880s to early 1890s (Bender, 2002; Liebhold & Rubenstein, 1999a). It described the abusive labor practices carried out by ready-to-wear manufacturers. The manufacturers were called “sweaters,” for they were, “an employer who underpays and overworks his employees, especially a contractor for piecework in the tailoring trade” (Liebhold & Rubenstein, 1999a, p.11). Regardless of the setting or type of work, sweatshops have remained, “an exploitative urban workplace associated with the garment trades and still synonymous with the lowest most degrading kind of American employment” (Hapke, 2004, p.1).

Sweatshop conditions partly resulted from the need of businesses to manufacture goods that satisfied the increased needs of consumerism, and were fueled by competition between businesses. Other contributing factors included increased immigration, inadequate government regulation, and limited alternatives for employment in sweat-free environments (Liebold & Rubenstein, 1999a). Further, differences in community values, ethnicity, and business practices aided the growth of sweatshop conditions (Liebhold & Rubenstein, 1999a). Greed and opportunism were at the core of the establishment of the sweatshop industry. Manufacturers were able to make profits by not maintaining safety, adequate work wages, or suitable environments (Liebhold & Rubenstein, 1999a). Some people even blamed sweatshop conditions on incoming immigrants for accepting the low pay and often dangerous working conditions (Brooks, 2007).

In the beginning of the 19th century, the American fashion industry consisted of the pre-industrial creation of clothing (Liebhold & Rubenstein, 1999a). As time progressed, clothing manufacturing moved from a homemade to a manufactured commodity (Green, 1996). Initially, there was not a large demand for ready-to-wear garments. Most U.S. citizens were poor and could not afford much more than work clothes. Those who were wealthy were able to purchase custom made garments made by a tailor, dressmaker, or seamstress (Green, 1996; Liebhold & Rubenstein, 1999a; Pope, 1905/1970).

Liebhold and Rubenstein (1999a) and other authors (i.e., Hapke, 2004) suggest that sweatshops were born prior to the Civil War, around the 1820s. During this time, shop owners hired women to do simple sewing and paid them significantly less than men for the same tasks. A substantial demand from consumers to have cheap garments, created a large network of seamstresses. Exploitation of the seamstresses paved the way for the inhumane sweatshop (Liebhold & Rubenstein, 1999a). Also in the 1820s, “slop shops” created poorly made garments for laborers and slaves. Work done in slop shops or by seamstresses and tailors allowed the American consumer to begin purchasing corsets, cloaks, and hoop skirts readymade. At this time, fashion moved to a looser fitting style that required less tailoring than before. Consumers became more tolerable of purchasing readymade garments which paralleled the increase of mass production. As the garment industry transitioned, new innovations in drafting and sizing made labor costs decrease (Liebhold & Rubenstein, 1999a).

Men made up almost half of garment workers during the mid-19th century. They were able to sew massive garments, like coats which, were “deemed too heavy for women to stitch” (Stott, 1999, p. 189). Gender bias created competition for improved employment, giving women

a disadvantage in the ready-to-wear industry. Women were held in less skilled, low paying positions, finishing tedious work (Griggs, 2001).

By the 1830s, manufacturers included a workforce of women both young and old, immigrant and native born, orphaned and poor, who were desperate for work. The seamstresses at this time completed physically arduous work for long hours with little pay, if they received any at all (Liebhold & Rubenstein, 1999a). Employers were overtly unfair to women, cheating them out of their wages, postponing payment, holding pay as a deposit for work they took home to finish, or requiring alterations to finished garments (Griggs, 2001). Because a large number of women worked in sewing networks or alone, they were not able to form unions and fight for equitable pay and work conditions (Liebhold & Rubenstein, 1999). As time progressed, women's sewing moved further away from being "women's work" to a means of job opportunity (Pope, 1905/1970). The physical space of sweatshops also evolved, moving from home to shop, and then to factory (Hapke, 2004).

In the 1840s, the clothing industry was established with large cities receiving many ready-to-wear garments (Pope, 1905/1970; Stott, 1999). Men's shirts, outerwear, and underwear could be mass produced (Farrell-Beck & Parsons, 2007). The sewing machine was invented in 1846 and custom shop owners increasingly used unskilled laborers to fill the growing demand for readymade garments (Green, 1996; Pope, 1905/1970). A connection grew during this time between the garment industry and unskilled labor, known as "sweaters" (Bender, 2002, p. 14). Pope (1905/1970) described three grades of unskilled labor: clothing made by a master tailor, made by a tailor who took work home, or made by a contractor who gave the work to laborers that made the clothing at home or in a shop. Tailors became the prized occupation of garment making, while women were mostly regarded to as "lowly finishers" (Green, 1996, p. 415).

Women hand-basted and completed the sewing of garments that were made by men. Often, tailors would take their garments home for their wives and children to finish. In both grades of manufacturing where unskilled labor was used, work was subcontracted so that clothing could be produced as cheaply as possible. Using unskilled labor for inexpensive clothing production fit within the ideals of the growing garment industry (Green, 1996; Pope, 1905/1970).

The introduction of the sewing machine lessened the price of clothing and made it more possible for a larger amount and wider variety of individuals to purchase readymades (Pope, 1905/1970). The sewing machine was widely used by the garment industry by the 1850s. It was much more efficient in completing garments than a seamstress, which created a fear of replacement for this group of workers (Liebhold & Rubenstein, 1999a). Machines increased the speed of the manufacturing process and lowered labor costs, escalating the put-out system, a method of constructing readymade garments (Green, 1996; Liebhold & Rubenstein, 1999a). Some manufacturers offered payment plans for sewing machines to home seamstresses, helping them transition into the new technology, rarely offering to increase their wages (Hapke, 2004; Liebhold & Rubenstein, 1999a). Many children who worked in the industry could be seen carrying their sewing machines to and from work each day (Sills, 2005). The sewing machine led to the development of a new garment industry.

During the Civil War, largely because it created uniforms for soldiers, the ready-to-wear industry flourished. Manufacturers capitalized on the growing industry by centralizing factories, using efficient production processes, and standardizing men's garment sizes (Liebhold & Rubenstein, 1999a). Ready-to-wear construction eventually expanded from men's wear to women's wear (Green, 1996). Manufacturing companies of certain garments were able to control several parts of the construction process, effectively creating vertically integrated firms, and

placing the production of clothing as a staple in the industrial revolution (Farrell-Beck & Parsons, 2007).

New York was a pioneer in the apparel industry, as the fastest growing garment industry in the North Atlantic (Bender, 2002; Pope, 1905/1970). The city was an international transportation hub with a developed infrastructure to support the apparel industry (Breward, 2003). It housed the largest segment of garment manufacturing in the United States, held many wholesale showrooms and was a large port for raw materials (Farrell-Beck & Parson, 2007; Pope, 1905/1970). By 1855, 35% of manufacturing employees worked in the city's clothing industry (Griggs, 2001). New York, specifically the Lower East Side, proved to be a prime location for sweatshops because the manufacturing was located in small production clusters, not in mass produced factories, and there were no male driven industrial unions to fight against unsafe conditions (Bender, 2002; Hapke, 2004).

New York was “central to the American imagination of manual work” (Hapke, 2004, p. 3). The city was able to secure a labor force because of the large quantity of manufacturing and the merchandising in showrooms (Pope, 1905/1970). Another advantage of New York City was its large immigrant population that came through the Ellis Island entrance point to the United States (Farrell-Beck & Parsons, 2007). Along with a constantly arriving immigrant population, New York also attracted many tourists (Pope, 1905/1970).

An influx of Eastern and Southern European immigrants provided the workforce of the garment industry. Most of the European immigrants arrived at the peak of the Industrial Revolution (Hapke, 2004). The immigrants brought with them trades learned in their homeland, including needlework (Green, 1996; Griggs, 2001). Irish immigrants came to New York from the 1850s to the 1880s, along with Swedish and German immigrants arriving in 1865, and Italian,

Russian, and Polish Jews in the 1890s. Immigrant populations ultimately changed the ethnic composition of apparel manufacturing, evolving past the gender and class components of the labor industry (Hapke, 2004; Liebhold & Rubenstein, 1999a). The newly arrived immigrants needed to become a part of American society and to provide for themselves financially, thus they became a natural supply of workers (Liebhold & Rubenstein, 1999a; Starr, 1948). They strived for the “American dream” and sweatshops provided a mode of upward mobility (Hapke, 2004, p. 156).

For the remainder of the 19th and into the 20th century, the garment industry was significant to the growth of the American economy (Liebhold & Rubenstein, 1999a). Many garments could be purchased ready-to-wear at department stores or through mail-order catalogues (Leach, 1993). Consumers continued to demand cheaper clothing, and the apparel industry provided a large number of jobs (Liebhold & Rubenstein, 1999a).

Sweatshops from 1880 to 1915

The newly arrived immigrants hoped for assimilation into American society through their work. At the same time, they were greatly exploited (Hapke, 2004). Immigrants were one of the lowest classes in American society, but were considered a higher class than African Americans (Pope, 1905/1970). The immigrant workers were thought to have posed “a threat to American racial purity and... civilization” (Bender, 2002, p. 17). Immigrant workers arrived in America just in time to begin the task system of production. The system involved manufacturers accepting bids for contracts, often at the lowest of prices, and teams of workers completing piece goods (Liebhold & Rubenstein, 1999a).

Garment manufacturers were shifting their production processes to appease apparel buyer’s taste for the newest styles at the cheapest prices (Farrell-Beck & Parsons, 2007). A large

shift in the population to major cities also created a demand for clothing. Urban consumers no longer had time to create their own wardrobe (Griggs, 2001). Consumer demands for cheaper prices caused manufacturers to want more workers for lower pay (Pope, 1905/1970). Great competition surfaced between workers in the sweating system. Production became compartmentalized, giving certain skills an advantage over others. Workers fought to finish the garments distributed to them as quickly as possible, for a temporary guarantee that they would stay employed (Griggs, 2001). The workers would be paid for the number of garments they completed per day, rather than the hours they worked. Usually, the longer hours worked, the less pay they received (Liebhold & Rubenstein, 1999a).

The contracting and sub-contracting system of the apparel manufacturing process led to an increase in sweatshops (Farrell-Beck & Parsons, 2007). Manufacturers ran workshops where garments were completed in stages. Skilled cutters would first create patterns, and then give fabric to be sold for work, completed in or outside of the shop (Griggs, 2001). The task system removed the manufacturer from any responsibility to provide appropriate working environments (Liebhold & Rubenstein, 1999a). Tuckwell (1906/1980) explained that “sweating follows unrestricted competition as naturally and inevitably as pain follows disease” (p.8). Pope (1905/1970) argued that the clothing industry was in the hands of people who had little money and no regard for social responsibility. They practiced unethical business and did not care about their employee’s rights or well-being (Pope, 1905/1970). Sweatshops were thought representative of the worst moral and public health conditions in the United States. New York factory inspectors described sweatshops as operating in near slave-like conditions (Bender, 2002).

By 1890, half of all manufactured clothes were produced by contractors, shops, or in homes (Trowbridge, 1936). Generally, women remained in homes to work, while men were employed in larger shops and factories outside of the house (Green, 1996). The garment industry relied on arriving immigrants from Eastern Europe and the conversion of their homes to shops, because it proved cheaper than employing laborers in factories (Hapke, 2004). Those entrepreneurs that owned in-home operations would often work and live in tenements, just barely making profit, because they could not compete with larger factories (Liebhold & Rubenstein, 1999a). Home work helped the sweatshop industry thrive (Pope, 1905/1970). Sub-contracting destroyed the domesticity of homes as work was completed in home “factories.” Wages were not enough and the home was an inadequate space for the production of garments (Hapke, 2004; Tuckwell, 1906/1980). There was no time for household chores, and tenants were unable to approach their landlord regarding problems for fear of increase in rent. Often the entire household would work, including children, who did not attend school (Tuckwell, 1906/1980). The setting quickly turned into “a combined prison, home, and workspace” (Hapke, 2004, p. 22).

Before the turn of the century, sweatshops were located in rural areas (Pope, 1905/1970). By 1900, sweatshops were located any and everywhere (Hapke, 2004). New York lacked space, which forced many sweatshops into nontraditional places (Pope, 1905/1970). There was an inconsistent idea of where sweatshops were and what happened there (Hapke, 2004). One could find a sweatshop in rat infested basements, the slums, or in the dark (Starr, 1948). They ranged in size from small to large places and often did not include bathrooms or drinking water, and were often hot with doors locked from the inside (Hapke, 2004; Starr, 1948). Owners locked workers in the sewing room, permitting them to leave only to use the bathroom. If a worker was gone for an extended period of time, they could be fined (Sills, 2005). The worse the conditions and the

more illegal violations a shop could face, the harder it would be to find the location. Pauline Newman, a worker in garment factories described the setting in 1900:

I will remember the factories being located in basements and backyards; no proper ventilation, hardly any illumination except gas jets burning from morning till night, no toilet facilities except in the yards. Filth and dirt were a part of the industry. I remember working from 70 to 80 hours a week, seven days a week: the earnings ranged from \$1 to \$3 for youngsters to \$5 and \$6 for operators, and skilled mechanics did not earn more than \$25 a week. The factories were very dangerous indeed—they were practically fire traps. We endangered our lives every day we spent there (Starr, 1948, p.194).

Manufacturers pushed employees until they were exposed to tragic health and safety circumstances (Hapke, 2004). The arduous labor caused weakened bodies (Bender, 2002). An estimated 100 workers died everyday in United States sweatshops (Dickson et al., 2009, p. 9). Some manufacturers believed that injury in the work place was the fault of the employee (Hapke, 2004). Workers were put against each other in the race to piece garments and men controlled the higher-paid crafts (Green, 1996; Starr, 1948). Other conditions sometimes forced workers to pay for machine use, electricity, chairs and materials (Dickson et al., 2009).

Women, children and immigrants, or a combination of the three, were taken advantage of in the garment industry (Green, 1996). The typical sweated worker was an ethnic immigrant and poor. A large majority of the garment workforce were Eastern-European Jews. The sweated workers were different from those who were tailors or seamstresses or simply doing “a woman’s work.” From 1900-1910, women working in the industry began to decline as opportunities for other forms of employment increased; however, they continued as a large portion of the workforce (Hapke, 2004). Unmarried women were recruited to the industry because of the need for their “supposedly natural sewing talent,” and because they were easily exploited workers (Green, 1996, p. 413; Sills, 2005). Women completed less-skilled sewing, like waist-making, while men made higher-skilled garments like cloaks (Bender, 2002). They were subject to the

era's ideal of a "separate sphere" for women. The ideal echoed that it was unacceptable for a woman to forego her maternal duties to work, especially in a sweatshop (Hapke, 2004). Often women were given homework, allowing them to complete work while staying home to tend to their household duties (Green, 1996). The misconception of what a sweatshop actually was led some to believe that women were safer working in a sweatshop than a factory. In either setting, women were often doing what was necessary for them and for their family's survival (Hapke, 2004).

In the early 1900s, there were over 600 sweatshops with a workforce of more than 40,000 employees (Sills, 2005). The growing unethical and inhumane industry needed to be regulated. In an effort to solve the sweatshop epidemic, American progressive social scientists began to absorb European methods for factory inspection, pushing forth a template that could be used in the United States (Bender, 2002). New York began to employ factory inspectors in 1888. The initial inspections of sweatshops by biased, prejudiced, and privileged inspectors resulted in judgment of those who worked there. Anxiety regarding the germ theory and social degeneration was stimulated by inspection reports (Bender, 2002). The sweatshop problem became too large for only government supervision. Soon, unions and trade leagues worked to alleviate the horrendous conditions of garment sweatshops.

The Beginning of Unions and Trade Leagues

Initially, trade unions or leagues concerned with the working conditions of garments did not exist, largely because the work was decentralized, completed by a majority female and immigrant workforce, and the industry had only just begun to thrive (Pope, 1905/1970). Before 1890, attempts were made to begin unions, with little progress. The population of immigrants made it hard to organize, but some organizations sought to exclude both immigrants and women

from their inception. Many of the immigrants were willing and loyal to the trade unions; however, there was much work to be done to educate and assimilate them to the culture (Pope, 1905/1970). Immigrant union members felt that the interior of American sweatshops was ill-fitting, and held enough reason to organize (Bender, 2002). In the garment industry, the more education or skill that a sector of the garment industry had, the less likely they were to create a union. This was almost always the case, except for the cutters, one of the most skilled in the workforce who formed the first established union. Skilled sectors usually consisted of men and were not taken advantage of as much as women (Pope, 1905/1970).

Massachusetts was the first state to attempt to regulate clothing manufactured in sweated conditions (Pope, 1905/1970). In 1892, the U.S. House of Representatives appointed a National Committee that looked into sweatshop conditions in New York, Chicago, and Boston. The committee recommended national regulation for the garment industry and for goods shipped across state lines. Massachusetts felt it could regulate what happened in the state but could not control items shipped between states (Pope, 1905/1970). Congress did not vote for a national policy on sweatshop regulations, so individual states came up with their own. Both New York and Massachusetts mandated that garments transported into or made in a state were subject to inspection of manufacturing under proper conditions. Officials traveled to cities to inspect goods. The inspections proved to be a cooperative effort between states fighting for sanitary conditions and to end sweatshop manufacturing (Pope, 1905/1970). The National Committee and others wanted national regulation because they felt a uniform manufacturing process was needed and they feared disease infested clothing. The conditions of the manufacturing shops were believed to put the general population at risk as diseases traveled to consumers. Laborers were forced to take licenses and it was found that they were manufacturing clothes in unsanitary and diseased

conditions (Pope, 1905/1970). In the same year, New York forbade the manufacturing of garments in tenement buildings, unless permitted or if manufacturing was completed by family members. The restrictions did not necessarily lessen the number of in-home sweatshops, but caused a decrease in the amount of work for women (Bender, 2002; Green, 1996).

As time progressed, more unions were developed as the heterogeneity of workers in both gender and nationality, educational awareness, and the continued contracting system ensured that they were needed (Pope, 1905/1970). Labor and women's organizations worked to rid the garment industry of sweatshops (Liebhold & Rubenstein, 1999a). Trade unions empowered workers and helped with industrial intelligence to fight injustices (Pope, 1905/1970). Groups included the National Consumers League, the National Women's Trade Union League, the United Garment Workers Union (UGWU) consisting of work clothing makers, and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America (ACWA or ACW), which was founded in 1914 and became the dominant union in the men's clothing industry (Hapke, 2004; Liebhold & Rubenstein, 1999a). By 1898, the National Consumers League created labels to identify manufacturers who met League labor standards (Farrell-Beck & Parsons, 2007). Firms that held satisfactory production conditions were given the "Official label of the National Consumers League, Made under Clean and Healthful Conditions" (Pope, 1905/1970, p. 207).

On June 3, 1900, eleven delegates representing seven unions with a combined membership of 2,000 workers from New York, Baltimore, Philadelphia, and Newark, met in New York City to discuss the formation of a garment workers union (Starr, 1948). Twenty days later, the American Federation of Labor (AFL) founded the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (ILGWU) as a charter (Starr, 1948). The ILGWU focused on welfare of women and children in sweatshop factories (Liebhold & Rubenstein, 1999a). Beginning in 1900, the

ILGWU advocated worker education, and promoted leisure, happiness and industrial rights for workers (Starr, 1948). ILGWU was a trailblazer for other union's educational programs. The goal of the education program was the "pursuit of happiness." The organization hoped to support complete and comfortable lives for its members by teaching English, giving classes on history, economics, art, and trade union careers, increasing job security, and decreasing the work week. The ILGWU education program strived to prepare immigrant workers for full-time citizenship and active political participation (Starr, 1948).

Unions, like the Consumer League and ILGWU, used the idea of clothing manufactured in disease-infested areas as a possible transmission route to consumers as a way to increase societal responsibility. They hoped consumers would be educated and fearful of products made in sweatshop conditions (Pope, 1905/1970). Reports from inspectors also added to the anxiety, as they communicated the sweatshop were an extreme "public health menace" (Bender, 2002, p. 17). Other strategies included branches of unions working together to strike and protest to make a larger impact (Pope, 1905/1970). Workers were eager to fight for better conditions (Starr, 1948). Many of the first strikes and walkouts were against the poor working conditions in garment factories (Hapke, 2004). Unions bargained for their schedules, the total hours worked, and for overtime (Pope, 1905/1970). They often did not challenge the overarching social issues that workers faced. Male immigrant workers led many of the strikes and largely ignored the voices of women (Hapke, 2004).

In 1909, the "Uprising of 20,000" demanded more pay, less hours, and safe working conditions. The fight included young immigrant women shirtwaist makers, tailors, AFL craftsmen, women's trade unions, and the press, which gave daily coverage to the public (Hapke, 2004; Sills, 2005; Stott, 1999). The strike also had assistance from middleclass women who

supported the immigrant women's fight (Dickson et al., 2009). Middleclass women provided soup kitchens for workers on strike, money for care and financial backing of the demonstration, and collaboration as they marched along with the immigrant women workers (Sills, 2005). The uprising was initiated at the Triangle Shirtwaist factory and was the first mass strike approved by the AFL, which was known to be a conservative organization (Hapke, 2004). Demonstrations, pickets and boycotts took place for several months, without pay for workers. Women were fined, attacked and imprisoned for participating (Sills, 2005). Unfortunately, there were no specific long term results from the event. After the strikes in 1909 and the "Great Revolt" of 1910, new procedures were developed for workers to file grievances against their employers (Dickson, 2009). In 1915, President Woodrow Wilson also worked to achieve equitable work environments by regulating child labor, limiting the age of workers and the amount of hours worked (Sills, 2005).

Examples of Sweatshops, 1880-1915

The Triangle Shirtwaist Company was located on the top three levels of a modern, ten floor loft building in Manhattan, New York (Dickson, 2009; Hapke, 2004; Sills, 2005). The factory produced the popular shirtwaist style blouse and was considered a new and state-of-the-art manufacturer (Hapke, 2004, p.50; Sills, 2005). It used electrical motor powered machines and time clocks, but still maintained the sweatshop practices of overcrowding, monitoring employees in and outside of work, locking doors, and ruling against conversation among workers (Hapke, 2004). Women chose to work at the Triangle Company because the company paid relatively high wages of 300 to 400 dollars per year (Hapke, 2004; Sills, 2005). Because of its own financial success of 50 million dollars per year, the factory was able to avoid the threat of labor unions through bribery (Sills, 2005). The company was one of the few large garment manufacturers to

not join the union after the 1909 uprising and continued to pay workers non-union wages (Hapke, 2004).

On March 25, 1911, a fire at the Triangle Shirtwaist Company killed over half of the company workers (Sills, 2005). Among the dead were 146 young women, of which 126 were Jewish and Italian immigrants (Hapke, 2004; Liebhold & Rubenstein, 1999a; Starr, 1948). The fire began in the cutting room, was fueled by fabric, and then spread throughout the building (Dickson, 2009; Starr, 1948). There was one, non-functioning fire escape and all of the company's doors were locked to keep union organizers from entering. Women were prevented from fleeing the burning building and many were forced to jump to their deaths (Starr, 1948). The location lacked not only an escape for the women, but also did not allow them to be rescued. The building had passed inspection but was too tall for firefighters to safely rescue the workers (Hapke, 2004).

The Triangle Shirtwaist Company fire became the poster child for "business neglect and abuse" (Liebhold & Rubenstein, 1999a, p.6). The Triangle Company was able to slip past health and safety standards because the company was powerful and profitable (Hapke, 2004). Outraged people marched and held demonstrations about the accident (Dickson et al., 2009). The ILGWU among other unions, used this example to educate employees so that they would not be taken advantage of (Starr, 1948). As a result, union membership rose sharply (Dickson et al., 2009). The fire also justified the need of government supervision in industry to regulate workforce conditions (Liebhold & Rubenstein, 1999a). Because of the Triangle Shirtwaist fire, every garment shop or factory that had immigrant men and women was looked at as an accident waiting to happen, as far as the government and unions were concerned (Hapke, 2004).

Another memorable event in sweatshop history took place in January of 1912. The Bread and Roses strike (as it was named in the 1970s) occurred at a textile mill in Lawrence, Massachusetts (Watson, 2005). The strike began at the Pacific Mill and grew to include other factories. The strike grew out of factory pay cuts. Owners maintained that income was lowered because of a new Massachusetts law that reduced the maximum number of hours worked from 56 to 54 hours a week. Workers had no problem with the reduced hours, but wanted to maintain their same pay (Watson, 2005). Over 15,000 workers went on strike, smashing machinery, rioting with state militia, and fighting a “bitter labor standoff” (Watson, 2005, p. 1). The strike lasted just over two months and tired out the militia, who could barely hold back the crowd. Two people died during the standoff, turning the town into an armed camp.

Unlike other demonstrations, women played a large part in the Bread and Roses strike (Watson, 2005). The strikers were very strategic in their actions against the textile mill. After one and a half months of no wages, mothers sent their children, “The Children of Lawrence,” to New York City for them to be cared for by relatives. The “Children’s Exodus” exposed others to the suffering that was going on in Lawrence, causing sympathy and raising money for the striker’s families (Watson, 2005). The second time this effort was attempted, policemen physically attacked the mothers, discouraging them from sending their children. Workers were motivated to strike by “Big” Bill Haywood of the Industrial Workers of the World, the “nation’s most feared radical” (Watson, 2005, p. 2). Haywood’s demanding, outspoken personality and charisma signaled to the public, workers, and managers that he was there to maintain the labor strike. While unsatisfied with the mill owners’ treatment of them, workers needed their jobs for financial stability. After the Bread and Roses strike ended, there was virtually no discussion

about it for fear of retaliation. Workers had to return to work to maintain their homes, as if nothing had happened (Watson, 2005).

After several significant events of the early twentieth century, positive gains were made by the efforts of workers and trade unions. Public health and urban reform worked to rid the poverty associated with garment factories (Hapke, 2004). The horrendous conditions inside garment factories led to joint ventures between employers and unions. Partnerships between the two resulted in the Board of Sanitary control, the Union Health Center and health welfare plans paid for by the union (Starr, 1948). The combined efforts of the ILGWU, union reformers, and employers' associations created the Protocol of Peace in 1913 first in Chicago and then in New York (Hapke, 2004).

Throughout the United States, garment factories agreed to respect the rights of their employees through the Protocol of Peace. The protocol allowed the government to manage the relationship between an employer and employee (Hapke, 2004). Under the protocol, employers were restricted to a six day work week, ten legal holidays, weekly cash payments, and workers did not have to pay to use materials required for their job. Work was no longer sent home or done through inside subcontracting (Starr, 1948). These advancements set the precedence for events that would happen many years later in the 1930s.

Sweatshops during the 1930s

By the 1920s, little conversation existed regarding sweatshops, especially related to the oppressiveness of the system on the human workforce. The focus of any discussion was related to the sweatshop as a memory of the past (Bender, 2002; Hapke, 2004). In 1929, the stock market crash sent the United States into a financial spiral and the Great Depression of the 1930s (Farrell-Beck & Parsons, 2007). Just one year after the stock market crash, over 1300 financial

institutions went under and factories, in general “cut back on production or closed” (Farrell-Beck & Parsons, 2007, p.82). The dress industry was the “largest of the needle trades in the United States” at the start of the ‘30s (Farrell-Beck & Parsons, 2007, p. 88). The Depression had very little effect on New York City, as it was still the prominent center for garment production in the United States (Marcketti, in press). As the decade progressed, businesses in the apparel industry, mostly high-end, began to close from bankruptcy or exited before they tanked (Farrell-Beck & Parsons, 2007; Marcketti, in press). Thousands of people lost their jobs, including many union members. Jobs were so scarce that people took what they could get, including the worst of sweatshop employment (Hapke, 2004). Initially, men accounted for nearly 50 percent of the workforce, although as the decade moved on; women maintained the majority (Green, 1996). By 1931, the garment industry was stuck at a standstill, with few jobs and even fewer garment manufacturers in business (Starr, 1948).

The tight financial times changed consumer’s shopping habits. They looked to get the best bang for their buck and at most times surrendered quality (Marcketti, in press). Retailers adapted to the supreme power of price by creating departments such as budget, medium, or high priced goods (Leach, 1993). Cosmetics and undergarments thrived during the decade because they were inexpensive ways to change or update both garments and one’s overall look (Farrell-Beck & Parsons, 2007). Buyers at the time could not afford travel to Paris to view the new styles. This changed the design process in the United States because there were few visible French designs to copy. Piracy or the knocking off of another designer or manufacturer’s garments flourished as low-priced retailers copied the designs of high-priced retailers (Marcketti & Parsons, 2006). The intense retail competition at the time intensified the importance of a differentiated product and presentation (Farrell-Beck & Parsons, 2007).

Manufacturers produced only what they knew they could sell and held production until orders were received (Farrell-Beck & Parsons, 2007). They were forced to surrender their production to the demands of consumers for the least expensive items (Marcketti, in press). They used the contracting system to produce fashions more quickly and at a cheaper price than could be made in larger factories. Using several sub-contractors provided a steady flow of garments for manufacturers. Similar to earlier in the century, contractors and sub-contractors completed piecework with provided materials from manufacturers (Marcketti, in press). Not much changed in the competition of contractors from the pre/early 1900s. The contractors still used the wages of their employees to leverage their competitive advantage and employees still paid for their use of materials. Workers also maintained 60 to 70 hour work weeks for a couple of dollars in unsafe and unsanitary conditions (Liebhold & Rubenstein, 1999a; Richards, 1951). Consumer groups urged consumers to think about their purchases and recognize that the lowest priced items were most likely sweatshop-produced (Ulrich, 1995).

During the '30s, several legislations were passed to assist the welfare and protection of the American workforce (Hapke, 2004). In November 1932, President Franklin D. Roosevelt (FDR) was elected president of the United States. FDR and his administration believed that the Depression occurred because of the under consumption of a low paid workforce (Liebhold & Rubenstein, 1999a). Congress held a special session in 1933 for FDR to push his New Deal policies (Farrell-Beck & Parsons, 2007). The New Deal legislation included several programs for the domestic rebuilding of the country, sometimes referred to as the "alphabet soup of relief programs," because of the government agencies' many acronyms (Farrell-Beck & Parsons, 2007, p.82). In the New Deal, sweatshops were recognized as both, legally and morally wrong, but maintained sewing was a woman's job (Hapke, 2004).

A New Deal policy, the National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA) promised to aid the industries of America. Title I of the NIRA was the National Recovery Act (NRA). The NRA made it illegal for employers to oppose labor organizations and fought sweatshops and child labor (Hapke, 2004; Liebhold & Rubenstein, 1999a). It called for trade associations within the industries to create codes of industrial production to fight off competition (Cates, 1934).

Each industry was expected to group and create “codes of fair practices and competition” (Taylor, 2008). The industries’ codes were then subject to government approval. The codes were needed to help the country out of the Depression, by recovering both industry and employment (Cates, 1934). Codes directly involved the business relationships between manufacturers and contractors. The hope for the codes established by various industries, but specifically in the garment industry, was better working conditions, eliminating dishonest competition, and repairing the relationship between consumers, goods and workers (Marcketti, in press). FDR and his administration firmly believed that giving workers the ability to become consumers once again would kick-start the American economy (Hapke, 2004).

Some individual businesses followed a “blanket code.” In doing so, they abided by the minimal requirements set by FDR. The “blanket codes” included a set minimum wage and hourly work week maximum. Employers were encouraged to raise wages but forbidden to raise their prices, which happened in reaction to the imposed codes (Farrell-Beck & Parsons, 2007; Marcketti, in press). Employees were able to join trade unions and had the right to organize and child labor was not tolerated (Hapke, 2004).

The National Dress Manufacturers Association served as the representative group for several apparel trade unions and industry members. In November 1933 the group passed the Dress Manufacturing Industry Code of Conduct. Based on a previous agreement between apparel

trade organizations, the code regulated the elimination of competition, and improved treatment of garment workers, as well as adding to consumers purchasing ability (Marcketti, in press). The dress code mandated a 35 hour work week in a five day period, with no overtime allowed and one-hour lunch breaks. The pay for piecework was still required to adhere to a minimum hourly wage (“Text of Agreement,” 1933). The code also encouraged the production of garments to cities and states surrounding New York City. The dress code hoped to eradicate contractor competition at the expense of employee’s labor wages (Marcketti, in press). In order to do so, manufacturers were required to pay enough for garments, so that contractors could afford to pay decent wages to their employees and cover their overhead costs (“Text of Agreement,” 1933).

No longer were children under the age of 16 allowed to work in garment factories or contractor locations. Employees were afforded the right to organize and bargain collectively with management, and to safe and sanitary work conditions and environments (Marcketti, in press). The Dress Code Authority regulated and enforced the code in the apparel industry. The year 1934 was even named the “year of the Blue Eagle,” for the insignia used to mark goods produced under the NRA in humane conditions (Farrell-Beck & Parsons, 2007, p.87). The government also encouraged consumers to buy from the retailers and manufacturers that carried the blue eagle insignia, promoting the social responsibility of consumers. Violations of the codes could result in monetary penalty or misdemeanor government charges (Marcketti, in press).

At the start of the Depression, union finances and membership were low (Hapke, 2004; Starr, 1948). Increased government involvement in the industry caused the membership in labor unions to increase (Liebhold & Rubenstein, 1999a). States began to focus on their industry and worked to follow national law (Duròn, 1984). The unions re-emerged, fighting along with the codes to secure minimum wage and other labor rights (Hapke, 2004). From the 1930s to 1960s,

“efficient, healthy, and growing industry was important to labor organizations” (Ulrich, 1995, p.50). Hundreds of strikes occurred; something that had not happened since the late 1910s (Duròn, 1984). Unions were able to attain several benefits including bathroom breaks and elimination of rental fees for use of materials (Hapke, 2004).

The ILGWU reorganized in 1933 with the aid of the New Deal (Starr, 1948). In the same year, the ILGWU was involved in the dressmakers’ strike in Los Angeles. The strike lasted for one month and included an estimated 2,000 women garment workers (Duròn, 1984). The majority of the women were Mexican immigrants, who had moved to Los Angeles because of its industrial and commercial development. The women fought for minimum wages and decreased work hours. The women also organized to end the “open-door system,” where employers would let temporary employees’ complete work for less pay than their hired workers (Duròn, 1984, p. 150). After four weeks, the strike was called off. Employees could return to work without penalty and the manufacturers were held responsible for maintaining wages and hours according to the NRA dress code. Unfortunately, employers continued to abuse the workers (Duròn, 1984).

A second wave of New Deals, including the National Labor Relations Act or Wagner Act was passed in 1935 (Farrell-Beck & Parsons, 2007; Liebhold & Rubenstein, 1999a). The Wagner Act enforced workers’ right to organize in support of their employment demands and was responsible for leading to consistent piece rates (Liebhold & Rubenstein, 1999a). In May of 1935, the NIRA was ruled unconstitutional. FDR proclaimed that the NRA had ended child labor and sweatshops. For a while there was conversation of maintaining the codes without government regulation. However, the garment industry reverted back to competition and cheap production standards (Marcketti, in press).

Other legislation, such as the Fair Labor Standards Act, passed in 1938, caused the government to raise wages and enforce better working conditions. The Fair Labor Standards Act created a standard minimum wage and held it at 25 cents per hour and the maximum work week to 44 hours (Liebhold & Rubenstein, 1999a). The federal government now had the right to enforce labor laws and standards. With all of their efforts, unions were not able to significantly change the environments of sweatshop factories and shops, crowding and filth were still present (Hapke, 2004). Because of government involvement, outside contracting became less cost-effective and manufacturers once again centralized production in factories. A decrease in immigration due to the federal quota system in the 1920s changed the ethnic makeup of the workforce. Groups of African Americans and Puerto Ricans migrated North and began working in garment factories during the late 1930s (Green, 1996). Latino and Asian immigrants were allowed to enter the United States after World War II, with reduced immigration requirements (Green, 1996; Liebhold & Rubenstein, 1999a). The new garment industry workforce benefited from legislation of the 1930s with better working conditions; however sweatshops and child labor continued (Liebhold & Rubenstein, 1999a).

Building the Ground for a New Age of Sweatshops

Beginning in the 1940s, immigration laws fostered the migration of people from China, Korea, Southeast Asia, Mexico, the Dominican Republic, and other countries in Central and South America (Green, 1996; Hapke, 2004; Liebhold & Rubenstein, 1999a). Latino and Asian immigrants, who came to the United States, provided another population of immigrants to become the new sweatshop labor force. An increased reliance on contracting allowed the new immigrant population to once again be exploited by the large scale re-emergence of sweatshops on American soil (Liebhold & Rubenstein, 1999a).

As sweatshops continued in America, they also emerged in other countries throughout the world. Beginning in the 1960s, the retail industry started to change towards a global economy (Liebhold & Rubenstein, 1999a). During the 1970s, American manufacturers became more global, having garments cut and sewn in one country, and finished in another. There was no one location for the construction of a garment (Liebhold & Rubenstein, 1999a). By the middle of the '70's, American manufacturing had declined (Hapke, 2004). Manufacturers were able to pay overseas workers less and reduce their manufacturing costs, ultimately reducing the price for the consumer. This helped the United States economy thrive; yet at the same time took jobs away from American garment workers. With the increase in overseas production, union membership once again decreased, lowering protection for those who worked domestically (Liebhold & Rubenstein, 1999a). In 1985, patriotic promotions for "Made in America" and "Crafted with Pride in the USA," hoped to strengthen the apparel industry and attract consumers to American-produced ready-to-wear (Ulrich, 1995). The campaigns failed as production moved farther away from the domestic production of the past.

United States apparel manufacturing was quickly taken over by Asia and Latin America. In 1990, "only half of apparel purchased in the United States was made domestically" (Farrell-Beck & Parsons, 2007, p. 249). International garment manufacturing exemplified "the most advanced forms of globalization, vertically integrated manufacturing and subcontracting, labor intensity, and corporate image making" (Brooks, 2007, p. xiii). The North American Free Trade Act (NAFTA) was approved in 1993. It allowed Mexico, the United States, and Canada to trade, with minimal tariffs. Legislators hoped that the Act would increase exports between the countries (Farrell-Beck & Parsons, 2007). Unions feared and fought against NAFTA because they believed that more United States jobs, particularly those in the apparel industry, would be lost to low

wage workers outside of the country. The ultimate outcome was an increase in Mexican apparel firms (Farrell-Beck & Parsons, 2007).

Other important factors in the apparel industry included technological advancements that changed the design, manufacturing, and retail of apparel. The Quick Response (QR), developed in 1980, was a system that recorded and tracked sales and allowed stores to automatically reorder stock. This advancement eliminated large, unnecessary purchase orders and increased the pressure for quick production and delivery of goods domestically (Liebhold & Rubenstein, 1999a). The QR system allowed manufacturers to shorten the production time and deliver initial and reordered goods faster than before (Farrell-Beck & Parsons, 2007; Liebhold & Rubenstein, 1999a). The advancement in computers made it easier for stores to replenish merchandise during the selling season, ensuring that the item would be there when the customer came to purchase it. The “fabric-to-store cycle was shortened [from] 66 to 40 weeks” and improved as time went on (Farrell-Beck & Parsons, 2007, p. 250). Another technological advancement that aided the QR system was the Universal Product Code (UPC) or barcode that allowed merchandise to be tracked and integrated the producer and retailer. Overall, the increased turnover in garment manufacturing held less money tied up in investments (Farrell-Beck & Parsons, 2007).

By the 1990s, technology placed the United States economy in a positive state. The computer and the extensive use of the World Wide Web changed the apparel industry dramatically. Email and cell phones increased the speed of communication (Farrell-Beck & Parsons, 2007). The Internet provided a new way to shop with websites such as Amazon, EBay, and the first e-tailer Land’s End. This new threat stimulated the merging of large department stores and retailers. Retailers started to produce in-house, “designing and producing.... profitable private labels” (Farrell-Beck & Parsons, 2007, p. 248).

The styles of the period were classic and simple, and could be easily produced and manufactured offshore. Manufacturing was spread to several countries to avoid taxation. Some parts of the garment were made in the United States, while other parts were sent to other countries to be completed. Manufacturing reverted from the bundle method or one-step at a time to the method of assembly line production that had been previously used in apparel production (Farrell-Beck & Parsons, 2007).

United States' Sweatshops during the 1990s

Sweatshops that began in the United States existed both off-shore and domestically in the late twentieth century (Hapke, 2004). The U.S. General Accounting Office (GAO), in 1994, defined the sweatshop as a workplace that violated more than one federal or state labor law (Bender, 2002). These violations included minimum wage, overtime, child labor, and occupational health, among others. The definition given by GAO made the sweatshop a quantifiable place, allowing estimations to be made regarding where and how many were located throughout the United States; however it disregarded the complexity of causes for sweatshop abuse (Bender, 2002).

The garment industry worked in a pyramid, with retailers handing off orders to manufacturers, who contracted the work out for the lowest bids, similar to the contracting system of the 1930s (Applebaum, 1999). Sweatshops were located in basements, garages, and homes. Like the early 20th century, the geographic isolation of sweatshops, aided their sustainability (Brooks, 2007). The new immigrant workforce allowed manufacturers to use the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) deportation to scare workers from reporting health, safety and wage violations. Contractors and manufacturers avoided persecution from running illegal

sweatshop establishments, and would turn in employees to INS to avoid payment (Liebhold & Rubenstein, 1999a).

Sweatshops appeared in Southern California in the late 1960s (Hapke, 2004). By the 1980s, California had emerged as the largest garment manufacturer in the United States and also the central state for sweated labor (Hapke, 2004). Los Angeles had surpassed New York City, which had been declining since the 1950s, for the larger producer of manufactured garments. Nationally, apparel jobs decreased, however locally, in Los Angeles, work in the apparel industry was on the rise (Applebaum, 1999). The Los Angeles sweatshop workforce was primarily Latina and Asian women (Applebaum, 1999; Hapke, 2004). This was a direct result of the 1965 immigration act which brought a new surplus of immigrant workers to complete low-skill garment manufacturing (Green, 1996; Stott, 1999). In 1995, 25% of garment workers were Latino. Undocumented workers from underdeveloped nations increasingly worked in the United States (Hapke, 2004). By 1997, an estimated one million undocumented workers were in California alone (Applebaum, 1999). Arriving immigrants in the 1990s, similar to the late 1800s, were eager to gain employment. Working among others who spoke a familiar language and shared similar community values maintained a strong workforce (Green, 1996).

Los Angeles was vulnerable to sweatshop labor because it produced mainly women's wear, largely driven by rapidly changing consumer preference and seasonal styles (Applebaum, 1999). Manufacturers were not willing to invest or upgrade production in an unstable market. Competition in the market helped provide manufacturers with cheap labor that was easy to have when needed and dispose of when not (Applebaum, 1999). Garment workers were paid by the piece, although manufacturers were still required to pay the employee minimum wage. The depth of contractors and subcontractors added to the poor supervision of garment workers (Liebhold &

Rubenstein, 1999a). Also, the large immigrant population of Los Angeles added to the growth of sweatshops in the city. Contracting, like in the early 20th century, was a means to immigrant assimilation. In Los Angeles, Korean immigrants owned the majority of contract shops, followed by Latinos (Applebaum, 1999).

Examples of Sweatshops during the 1990s

Most people were unaware of domestic sweatshops until August of 1995, when the federal government raided a seven-unit apartment in El Monte, California, a working class suburb southeast of Los Angeles (Dickson et al., 2009; Liebhold & Rubenstein, 1999a; 1999b). Federal agents found 67 Thai women and five Thai men, imprisoned in the apartment complex (Hapke, 2004). A security gate, cement wall, barbed wire, armed guards, and wood-covered windows kept employees from calling for help and ultimately escaping (Liebhold & Rubenstein, 1999b).

The owner of the “El Monte” sweatshop was a 65 year old Thai woman, who ran the operation along with her five sons, two daughter-in-laws, and two armed guards (Hapke, 2004). Open since 1988, the El Monte owners went under several names including SK Fashions, S&P fashions, and D&R Fashions (Liebhold & Rubenstein, 1999b). The group owned two operations in downtown Los Angeles, including a shop that was open for inspection and staffed 70 workers, including voluntary Latina workers (Hapke, 2004). The sweatshop location in suburban El Monte was largely hidden as the downtown locations passed as the “theoretical source of production,” when manufacturers came to inspect the manufacturing of their product (Liebhold & Rubenstein, 1999, p. 64). The El Monte contractors completed ironing, finishing, checking and packaging, for brand name manufacturers, including Guess, B.U.M. Equipment, and Ocean Pacific (Hapke, 2004; Liebhold & Rubenstein, 1999b). At the downtown location, Latina women

added tags to finished garments (Liebhold & Rubenstein, 1999b). The owners occasionally brought Thai workers to the downtown location from El Monte. The Latina and Thai workers had no common language and were forbidden to communicate.

The workers in the El Monte facility were rural, poor women recruited from the Bangkok garment industry. The recruiters promised a good, clean working environment (Liebhold & Rubenstein, 1999b). The Thai workers were sold or tricked into working for the El Monte contractors, agreeing to pay \$5,000 as an indenture for their travels (Hapke, 2004; Liebhold & Rubenstein, 1999b). The workers were smuggled into the United States with false passports, thinking they would return to Thailand within three years (Liebhold & Rubenstein, 1999b). When they arrived in the United States, they were threatened with murder and shown a picture of a badly beaten Thai person. The women were told they would be raped by Mexicans or have their hair cut-off by Americans if they tried to escape (Hapke, 2004; Liebhold & Rubenstein, 1999b).

Guards monitored the workers as they were held and forced to work 12 to 18 hours per day, seven days a week, for several years. They were paid anywhere from 60 cents to two dollars per hour (Hapke, 2004). Their pay went to their indenture and any personal supplies they were forced to buy from the owners. The workers had restricted bathroom visits and forced pregnancy tests and birth control. El Monte was hot and dusty with no fresh air (Liebhold & Rubenstein, 1999b). Work included sewing designer labels into women's and junior's mass produced garments (Hapke, 2004). The El Monte workers were placed with eight other people to a room. They were intentionally kept from current events and their mail was censored (Liebhold & Rubenstein, 1999b).

The owners of El Monte and the two downtown Los Angeles shops escaped prosecution several times before the raid in 1995. In their first year of operation, 1988, the company was served with an inspection notice, but they quickly moved locations before authorities could investigate (Liebhold & Rubenstein, 1999b). The year 1992 marked a second investigation into the company, but the raid was stopped by authorities. Finally in 1995, authorities were tipped off by the boyfriend of an escaped El Monte worker. Federal Agents staked out the shop locations and eventually raided all three of them. Eight operators were arrested for violations, while two escaped persecution (Liebhold & Rubenstein, 1999b).

The workers were taken to INS detention and released as temporary citizens so they could testify against their employers. The owners of El Monte pleaded guilty to “conspiracy, involuntary servitude (slavery), and smuggling and harboring of illegal immigrants” (Liebhold & Rubenstein, 1999b, p. 65). Workers of El Monte filed a joint lawsuit, suing the owners for lost wages. In an out of court settlement, the owners were forced to pay the damages, but were released from legal liability. The United States granted the Thai workers legal residency and the right to work in the country (Hapke, 2004). The case of El Monte shocked the nation and pushed people to act against sweatshop violators (Liebhold & Rubenstein, 1999a). El Monte served as a reminder to the sweatshop history of the past (Stott, 1999). Even with the public outrage, the names of the violators or the companies that they worked with were rarely, if ever exposed (Hapke, 2004). The names of manufacturers and retailers that directly contracted with El Monte included Montgomery Ward and Mervyn’s. By 1999, 11 of the companies that were found to have a relationship with El Monte contractors paid more than 3.7 million dollars to the workers. However, the companies did not acknowledge any wrongdoing on their part (Liebhold & Rubenstein, 1999b).

Although Los Angeles was the leader in garment manufacturing, New York still maintained over 2,000 sweatshops in the 1990s (Brooks, 2007). Similar to the beginning of the century, the majority of sweatshops were still located in New York's Lower East Side (Bender, 2002). A case against Kathie Lee Gifford's line for Wal-Mart, exposed sweatshop conditions in the factories that manufactured her clothing in Honduras and New York City. Gifford was held responsible and publicly humiliated in the press. She worked to clear her name, maintaining that she knew nothing about the conditions in the garment factories (Brooks, 2007). Gifford and her husband gave money to the workers of the factories as a temporary fix, but vowed to provide adequate working conditions. In an attempt to control the sweatshop production in New York City, the then state governor George Pataki and State Attorney General Dennis Vacco proposed "hot goods" legislation. The law prohibited selling or distributing apparel that was made by employees who were not paid adequately. The governor believed that the "hot goods" law would rid the city of sweatshops, which ultimately did not happen (Brooks, 2007).

In August of 1996, raids on contractor shops in Sunset Park, Brooklyn, exposed the sweatshop industry in New York once again. Officials arrested over 2,000 undocumented workers (Brooks, 2007). The contractors faced violations of minimum wage, fire and safety codes, and tax evasion (Brooks, 2007). Chinese workers had been forced to work seven days a week for 12 hours a day (Dickson, 2009). The immigrant workers did not know the purpose of the raid, and feared INS officials. The momentum behind the raids was to rid the sweatshop factories of undocumented workers. Doris Meissner, the commissioner of INS argued that raids helped "to get rid of sweatshops, since without undocumented workers, there would be no labor abuses in the garment industry" (Brooks, 2007, p. 78). If the INS deported undocumented people there would be no labor force for sweatshops (Brooks, 2007). Some maintained that the

increased raids in New York targeted people of certain ethnicities. Community protestors argued that “hot goods” were acceptable, because immigrant workers wanted their jobs, unknowingly acknowledging that the sweatshop conditions they worked in were okay (Brooks, 2007). In defense of some immigrant workers, a federal lawsuit was filed against 18 well-known apparel firms, awarding monetary compensation to 50,000 workers (Dickson, 2009).

Efforts to improve sweatshop conditions by labor organizations in the late 20th century proved difficult because the garment industry was globally complex and had many hierarchal chains (Brooks, 2007). ILGWU attempted to organize Latina and Chicana women in Los Angeles. They created the Justice Center, where women could receive legal advice, support, and strategies for mobilization (Gutierrez de Soldatenko, 2002). In an effort to increase effectiveness, both the ILGWU and the ACW merged in 1995 to become the Union of Needletrades Industrial and Textile Employees (UNITE) (Wolensky, 2003). UNITE worked to organize the new group of garment workers and tried to use situations like those of Kathie Lee Gifford to popularize the link between global and domestic sweatshops (Brooks, 2007; Hapke, 2004).

In 1995, President Bill Clinton organized the White House Apparel Industry Partnership. Its purpose was to pursue non-regulatory solutions to end sweatshops, including targeting enforcement in major garment manufacturers and notification of violations (Hapke, 2004; Liebhold & Rubenstein, 1999a). Representatives from industry, labor, government, and public interest groups worked on the committee. The committee produced community organized programs and media campaigns (Liebhold & Rubenstein, 1999a). One campaign was the “Trendsetter List,” which praised retailers and manufacturers that did not run or partake in sweatshop management. The task force also exposed companies that had violations for not following compliance, using the “Garment Enforcement Reports.” Several anti-sweatshop

activists felt that the taskforce did not hold manufacturers and contractors accountable enough (Hapke, 2004). Clinton also encouraged and appointed a group of retailers and labor activists to create the Fair Labor Agreement. Retailers who worked on the act were given an assumed clean slate from sweatshops, which infuriated some anti-sweatshop activists (Brooks, 2007).

Because of the intolerant climate for sweatshops, many companies worked to protect or reclaim positive reputations. Both the Gap and Nike initiated “No Sweat” agreements in their foreign factories. The agreements held the factories to abide by a “code of conduct” (Hapke, 2004). The corporate codes of conduct for labor conditions in the sourcing of garment manufacturing were made clear to both retailers and factory management (Brooks, 2007). Most of the codes agreed that legal and ethical business practices were a priority. Others included regulations against child labor, sexual abuse, reprimands, and safety. Some manufacturers followed the codes and improved conditions by offering good pay, water, ventilation, proper safety, medical programs, and even offered employee ownership in the company (Brooks, 2007). Contractors also jumped at the chance to establish the codes because it helped them to attract “first-class” companies and retailers (Brooks, 2007).

Apparel firms that were exposed for using sweatshop manufacturing faced a negative public image. Sweatshops were defined as an international problem, not domestic (Brooks, 2007). To improve their reputation, companies such as Guess and Ralph Lauren publicly spoke out about their dislike of sweatshops. The companies advocated for the use of fair labor practices, but often did not follow their own advice (Hapke, 2004). Companies that did not follow ethical business and treatment of workers faced fines and forced payment of back wages to their workers. Sweatshops were still able to thrive because a small amount of inspectors was

expected to regulate a large number of factories spread across the United States and beyond (Brooks, 2007).

CHAPTER THREE: MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION AND SOCIAL JUSTICE

Throughout the 20th century, apparel sweatshops provided less-than equitable labor conditions for thousands of workers. The social injustices grounded in the institution of sweatshops provide numerous outlets for educational examination. Concepts of multicultural education, critical thinking, and teaching for social justice can transform the story of sweatshops into an educational tool for use in undergraduate TC courses. An echoing ideal throughout critical education literature is that a familiarity with history can inform the present (Sleeter, 2005). The history and contemporary experiences faced in sweatshops can offer students insights and understandings of how different people live and are connected globally (Banks, 1999). Exposing students to sweatshop history can allow them to become agents of change for social justice.

Multiculturalism and Multicultural Education

As a society and as individuals, we are often unable to approach differences from a positive aspect or viewpoint (Sleeter, 2005). Students and society in general, can run into complications justifying the inclusion of people and facts that deviate from the so-called societal norm. Education can be used to develop and bring forth knowledge and viewpoints that do not follow the majority's ideals (Goodman, 2008a; Sleeter, 2005). Multiculturalism works to eliminate all forms of discrimination, marginalization, and oppression in society by striving for equality in education. An overarching goal of multiculturalism is to aid students in becoming "critical citizen[s] capable of governing instead of merely being governed" (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997, p.69).

Multicultural education grew out of the Civil Rights Movement, with the help of other social movements dating to the 1920s (Sleeter, 2005). Multicultural education required schools

to incorporate knowledge that reflected all people, not just those in positions of power. Until movements of the 1960s, much of the curricula in schools were not representative of marginalized groups. During this decade, the creation of ethnic, women, and LGBT studies courses added the study and examination of underrepresented groups to higher education (Sleeter, 2005). Multicultural education has now been implemented at many leading U.S. universities (Banks, 1996a). Overall, the movement of multicultural education serves to improve society through equality and justice, instantaneously improving the lives of those groups that have been historically and contemporarily oppressed (Sleeter, 2005). Multicultural education moves forward with the long-term goal of positively changing education for students (Banks, 1999).

Multicultural education works as a “vehicle to facilitate the transformation of the nation’s educational institutions and the structural inclusion of the nation’s diverse groups into U.S. society” (Banks, 1996b, p.336). James Banks (1999), a well-known multicultural education scholar states the goals of the approach are the ability to “provide all students with the skills, attitudes, and knowledge needed to function within their ethnic culture, the mainstream culture, and within and across other ethnic cultures” (p. 2). Banks continues that multicultural education helps to lessen the prejudice and discrimination that people face based on their identity. Students are held accountable to achieve high reading, writing, and math skills (Banks, 1999). Multicultural education strives to allow students the ability to experience the workings of our diverse society (Sleeter, 2005). With these goals, students will be equipped to participate in civic action (Banks, 1999).

Multiculturalism exists in varying degrees. Kincheloe and Steinberg (1997) define five distinct Multiculturalism positions that have guided curriculum and schooling. They are:

conservative, liberal, pluralist, left-essentialist, and critical. In conservative or monoculturalism, the focus is on the “superiority of Western patriarchal culture” (p. 3). Others deemed inferior and/or unimportant are left out of history and learning materials. Liberal multiculturalists see all people as human beings, with no differentiation between cultures. In this manner, diversity and existing differences are ignored and the dominant Eurocentric patriarchal ideas continue as the commonalities between all groups (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997). Pluralist multiculturalists, which are most often taken as the poster-children for Multiculturalism as a whole, can be seen as the opposite of Liberals. Pluralists find that people are more different than similar, creating two spheres, one for mainstream society and one for outsiders. They take pride in heritage and learning cross-culturally. The left-essentialist recognizes that people were born differently in their race, gender, or ability. They are difference driven with a goal for attaining identity formation for affirmation and success. Left-essentialists often work in single group coalitions to advocate for change as a group (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997).

In this research, the fifth position of critical multiculturalists was used to guide the development of lesson plans. Critical multiculturalists promote a person’s identity and ideas as a valuable social being (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997). They teach students to recognize their position in society and how it is shaped by the dominant powers. How the dominant societal power shapes their consciousness is unearthed, overturning the so-called collective experience that was based on the hegemonic perspective. The approach requires much self-reflection, but also teaches that learning about others is vital (Kinchehloe & Steinberg, 1997). From this theoretical approach, the application of multicultural education is practiced in literature, curriculum development, classrooms, and other areas.

Dimensions of Multicultural Education

Typically, university curriculum has continued the marginalization of the ethnically diverse, women, non-heterosexuals, and other oppressed groups. Instead, it should more accurately reflect the history and cultures of these communities (Banks, 1996a). Educators should work to produce a curriculum that is different from the traditional and inclusive of new ways of knowing. A multicultural curriculum “reflects and teaches diverse funds of knowledge both as a social resource and as a handmaiden to intellectual inquiry” (Sleeter, 2005, p.8). From diverse funds of knowledge, we gain a useful learning tool that will apply to a range of students (Sleeter, 2005).

Banks (1996b; 1999) provided five dimensions of multicultural education practiced in a classroom. The first, content integration, considers the amount of cultural information used in the class that helps students conceptualize the subject area or discipline. The knowledge construction process is an examination of how knowledge is created, focusing on underlying cultural assumptions, perspectives, and biases, as well as frames of reference, that create it. Prejudice reduction is used to create positive racial and ethnic attitudes. With an equity pedagogy, educators use techniques and methods that assist in the achievement of all students. Lastly, the dimension of empowering school and social culture explains the work of restructuring the culture and organization of the school, so it provides educational equality and empowerment for all students (Banks, 1999).

Transformative Approach

The integration of cultural content into curriculum can be taken in four steps or approaches (Banks, 1999). The first level is the contributions approach where holidays and celebrations are used to incorporate cultural accomplishments. The additive approach adds

content to the curriculum, but does not change the structure, purpose, or characteristics. This can be done by adding a book or unit to the course. The transformative approach challenges basic curriculum and encourages students to visualize concepts, themes, and problems from different perspectives and points of view. The last approach is decision making and social action. This approach allows students to engage in subject-related activities that encourage civic action (Banks, 1999).

This research will take a transformative approach to integrating sweatshop history to TC undergraduate courses. Practicing the transformative approach to curriculum allows content from cultural and ethnic groups and women to move from the margins to the center of knowledge (Banks, 1996b). Ideas and information are taught from the perspectives and experiences of marginalized groups of people. The transformative approach changes the focus of knowledge from mainstream American ideals to the events, issues, and concepts of those who are not often granted the stage (Banks, 1999). Marginalized groups' history, ideas, and perspectives are validated. It further helps students understand that U.S. heritage and traditions add to an even more diverse world (Banks, 1996b).

The transformative approach holds the goals of: 1) helping students realize that the U.S. society is built from complex interactions of different racial, ethnic, and gender groups, 2) assisting students in recognizing how knowledge is formed, and 3) teaching students how to create their own knowledge. From the third goal, students are able to formulate understandings, concepts, and generalizations. They are “taught how to construct their own interpretations of the past and present” (Banks, 1996b, p. 344). Transformative thinking is “to visualize a different and life-changing perspective” (Duncan-Andrade, 2008, p. 5). Exposing and examining the dominant curriculum and learning about the world can occur simultaneously. As the dominant voice is

exposed, space is allowed for the history, viewpoints, and stories of the oppressed (Duncan-Andrade, 2008). From this, students are able to understand knowledge as socially constructed by the dominant powers of society, and recognize their own version of history and acceptable knowledge. They are given an opportunity to use their critical thinking skills to examine and justify their ideas and to potentially act to reform and democratize society (Banks, 1996b).

Transformative Intellectual Knowledge

Under the transformative approach, knowledge is transformed from the dominant mainstream to a wide-spread knowledge that is inclusive of all human experiences. This authentic knowledge can be described as transformative intellectual knowledge (Banks, 1996a). In mainstream dominant knowledge, knowledge has, and continues to subjugate, benefitting only those in power (Sleeter, 2005). Transformative intellectual knowledge challenges and revises established mainstream dominant academic knowledge (Banks, 1996a). This knowledge is based in the stories and histories of historically oppressed communities. By exploring and discovering the unheard stories of the past, a method of political liberation is applied (Sleeter, 2005). Transformative knowledge takes a different approach to knowledge, its construction, purpose, and focus on human interests, which can be used to help improve society (Banks, 1996a). Transformative intellectual knowledge has three main ideas: 1) it encompasses knowledge that has “been historically marginalized and subjugated,” 2) it sponsors understandings that fight mainstream assumptions and to “re-envision the world in ways that would benefit historically oppressed communities and support justice,” and 3) it represents the scholarly work that concludes and judges the evidence for our basis of knowledge (Sleeter, 2005, p. 83). Offering a counter narrative of facts, people and historical accounts, deviates from the ideas of traditional

knowledge. In most cases however, transformative and mainstream knowledge coexist (Banks, 1996a).

Multicultural Education and the Classroom

Multicultural education hopes to make democracy real and foster its growth in the classroom (Banks, 1996a). Educational experiences can cause democratic action that challenges injustices and inequality. Young people should be equipped with the skills to transcend boundaries and learn to achieve true democracy (Sleeter, 2005). Critical thinking is often significant in preparing students to act for social change (Banks, 1996a). When students engage in critical thought they can begin to constructively act through education (Duncan-Andrade, 2008). Because thinking critically involves more in-depth analytical analysis, it can push students to recognize their values and biases. Students are also able to realize and examine multiple ways to approach and solve problems and apply them to their everyday life. They can learn the skills and be equipped with the background knowledge to openly fight for democracy in the larger society (Banks, 1996a). From this, students are capable of seeing their potential role as critical citizens who are responsible for their communities (Goodman, 2008a).

As mentioned, educators must also be cognizant of their beliefs and values, critically examining what they plan for their students to learn and gain from course activities and content. They are encouraged to challenge their own assumptions of knowledge (Sleeter, 2005). Pedagogy can challenge policies and ways of knowing that continue the cycle of social reproduction, “facilitating human growth and learning” (Goodman, 2008a, p. 39). Several pedagogies can be utilized that demonstrate educators’ dedication to the empowerment of their students. Pedagogical philosophies can include the social justice pedagogy, liberatory pedagogy and emancipatory pedagogy (Duncan-Andrade, 2008). The social justice pedagogy

empowers students by providing a formal space for the dialogue of transformative intellectual knowledge. The emancipatory pedagogy works to free people from the limitations of injustice. The liberatory pedagogy will be used to guide this research. The liberatory or critical pedagogy helps students become critical change agents, confident and capable of addressing social justice issues (Duncan-Andrade, 2008). When a critical multiculturalist position is brought into the classroom, it can be described as critical pedagogy, where students are empowered through their curriculum (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997). It is “a style of teaching that seeks to end oppressive policies and to free people from injustices” (Duncan-Andrade, 2008, p. 2). The critical pedagogy stance argues that schools should prepare students with a skill set to function in the world as well as change it. Many social justice educators use critical pedagogy to empower their students, just as critical educators teach for social justice (Goodman, 2008b).

Praxis applies to the application of a critical pedagogy, fostering reflection and action on the students and teachers behalf. In a classroom, this could play out in cooperative learning where group work reinforces learning from the text or discussion (Goodman, 2008b). A hands-on approach can be life changing for students as they act and reflect (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997). Students learn from examples, not only words. Exposing them to “authentic” activities can build connections to real world meanings (Goodman, 2008, p.28; Orr, 1991). Through learning about others, students are able to gain greater self-understanding, by viewing themselves through other’s perspectives (Banks 1999). They can begin to learn the value of others and themselves with real-life application for protecting our world (Goodman, 2008b).

Classroom discourse and assignments have an overbearing impact on “relations of domination in [our] historically racist, classist, sexist, and heterosexist society” (North, 2009, p. 131). Because social justice is inherent in all people, as they are aware of the difference between

right and wrong, educators must work as facilitators of learning, not dictators (Sleeter, 2005; Young, 1990). Teaching should expose the multiple intersecting forms of oppression in our society (North, 2009). From the knowledge that students gain in courses where dominant powers are challenged, dutiful civic agents of change can aspire. Critical educational frameworks hope to create politically engaged students who are dedicated to principles of equality and justice (North, 2009).

Orr (1991) stated, “education is no guarantee of decency, prudence, or wisdom” (p. 53). However, the use of multicultural education foundations and a critical pedagogy can create critical and well-informed students ready to pass on their wisdom for generations to come (Goodman, 2008a). Our society is not in excess of people who are sympathetic, fighters of social justice (Orr, 1991). We need citizens who question institutions, people, and existing problems (Goodman, 2008a). Education can provide one’s basis for understanding the world. It can be applied to real-life situations and its affects should be understood on real people and their communities (Orr, 1991).

Critical multiculturalism is a position, which can be carried out through a transformative approach to curriculum and a critical or liberatory pedagogy. A multicultural education perspective, specifically the use of critical multiculturalism, a critical or liberatory pedagogy, and a transformative approach were used to guide the creation of lesson plans as results for this research.

CHAPTER FOUR: RESULTS

Promoting social justice in the classroom can raise students' awareness and encourage activism towards social topics. The history of sweatshops in the United States has consistently created social injustices for working people. It is imperative to understand and become knowledgeable about this portion of U.S. history in order to eradicate future occurrences of the same instances. Instructors should help students realize the consequences of sweatshops, in both the past and present. In the following section, I will illustrate lesson plans developed at introductory, intermediate, and advanced levels for teaching sweatshop history in the period 1880-1915, 1930s, and 1990s.

Lessons were developed in introductory, intermediate, and advanced levels according to the difficulty of the content and assignments. As levels advance, students are required to commit more time and effort to assignments. For instance, in introductory lessons students complete discussion questions individually and as a group. At the advanced level, students are expected to review scholarly literature and draw conclusions about sweatshop history during that period through written, visual, and oral reports.

Each lesson plan includes the level of the lesson (introductory, intermediate, or advanced), definition of the content, purpose/goal, objectives, rationale/justification, time for lesson, audience, materials needed and background information. The lesson plans also include the assignment with content in focus, approximate amount of time needed in class for the lesson, and the expected instructor-learner interaction. A short summary of the lesson and evaluative and summative evaluation plans are included. In addition to the sources used in the lesson plans, a list of additional resources is provided for instructor use (Love, Nelson, Gloeckner, Mallette, & Yahnke, 1999).

When the sweatshop history lesson plans were created, a range of sources were taken into account. As educators, we must be in-tune with technological advancements; therefore, many of the lesson plans and materials make use of Internet sites and sources (Goodman, 2008a). It is important that instructors have accessibility to computer software and internet sites in order to complete the lessons. The lessons include several presentations of assignments from reflections to annotated citations. Each assignment holds a space for discourse between students, or students and instructors. Instructors should adjust assignments and lessons to best fit their courses, students, and classrooms.

1880-1915 Lesson Plans

The lessons for the 1880-1915 period in sweatshop history included garment worker's experiences in the tenements of New York's Lower East Side, child labor portrayed in the photographs of Lewis Hine, and exploring primary resources to learn about social activism against sweatshops.

Garment Worker Experiences in Tenements Introductory Level Lesson

Definition of Content: Visualization of the experiences, lives, and hardships faced by immigrant garment workers that lived in New York's Lower East side in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Students are guided through the Lower East Side Tenement Museum's virtual tour of a reproduced tenement building and information about the families who lived there.

Purpose/Goal: The purpose of this lesson is for students to read stories of immigrants that lived and worked in tenement buildings in New York's Lower East side and to recognize the interconnections of their lived experiences. Many immigrants both worked and lived in the same space. Dire financial circumstances caused work to take precedence over other activities.

Objectives: The objective of this lesson is for students to discuss the living and working conditions of poor, immigrant garment workers. It will also assist students in recognizing how the home played a vital role in the sweatshop production of garments. Individually, students will be instructed to type their responses to discussion questions. While in class, students will be provided with an additional set of reflective questions to discuss in small groups. Following the small group discussion, students will be asked to report key findings to the entire class.

Rational/Justification: Tenement living in New York’s Lower East side was integral to the lives of many immigrants who came to the United States and worked in the garment industry.

Time for Lesson: The total time for this lesson is approximately one hour: 10-15 minutes for introduction, The visitation of the virtual tour of a tenement at the website www.tenement.org assigned as homework, and 30-45 minutes to cover discussion questions in small groups and for group presentation to the class.

Audience: Lower-level undergraduate students.

Materials Needed: Internet and computer accessibility and discussion questions.

Background: By 1890, half of all manufactured clothes were produced by contractors, shops, or in homes (Trowbridge, 1936). Generally, women remained in homes to work, while men were employed in larger shops and factories outside of the house (Green, 1996). The garment industry relied on arriving immigrants from Eastern Europe and the conversion of their homes to shops, because it proved cheaper than employing laborers in factories (Hapke, 2004). Those entrepreneurs that owned in-home operations would often work and live in tenements, just barely making profit, because they could not compete with larger factories (Liebhold & Rubenstein, 1999a). Home work helped the sweatshop industry thrive (Pope, 1905/1970). Sub-contracting destroyed the domesticity of homes as work was completed in home “factories.” Wages were not enough and the home was an inadequate space for the production of garments (Hapke, 2004; Tuckwell, 1906/1980). There was no time for household chores, and tenants were unable to approach their landlord regarding problems for fear of the rent being increased. Often the entire household would work, including children, who did not attend school (Tuckwell, 1906/1980). The setting quickly turned into “a combined prison, home, and workspace” (Hapke, 2004, p. 22).

Assignment:

Content in Focus	Time	Instructor-Learner Interaction
Background and introduction to assignment by instructor. Discussion Questions: <i>Homework from Lower East Side Tenement Museum Website</i> 1. What kind of work did the majority of immigrants complete who lived at 97 Orchard Street? 2. How did the Confino, Baldizzi, Rogarshevsky, Levine, and Gumpertz families support sweating in the garment industry? 3. How did garment manufacturing in their apartment help the Levine family?	Approximately one hour	1. The instructor can introduce the questions in class to prepare students for their homework. In addition to answering the homework questions, students should also be instructed to create, type, and turn in 1-2 additional questions to discuss in their small in-class groups. 2. The instructor can ask the students to form groups of 3-5 people

<p>4. What were the differences between the employment of Nathalie Gumpertz and the Baldizzi family?</p> <p><i>For small groups to discuss in-class</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. What did you find interesting about the virtual tour of the tenement home? 2. What was life like for immigrants that lived in tenements in New York City's Lower East side? 3. How did legislation forbidding the manufacture of garments in homes affect the families that lived in tenements? 4. What types of work are completed in the home today? What are the key differences and similarities from work done today in homes to work completed in the early 1900s? What would be the consequences of tenement manufacturing today? 		<p>and guide the discussion of the questions.</p>
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Summary: By visiting the virtual tour of the tenement in New York's Lower East side and discussing the families who lived there, students may better understand the experiences, lives, and hardships faced by immigrant garment workers during the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

Evaluation:

Evaluative: Instruct students to record and submit their individual answers and reflections to discussion questions for assessment.

Summative: Instruct students to record their collaborated group answers for large group presentation.

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Additional Resources:

Green, N. L. (1992). Sweatshop migrations: The garment industry between home and shop. In Ward, D. & Zunz, O. (Eds.), *The landscape of modernity: Essays on New York City, 1900-1940*. (pp. 213-234). New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Child Labor in Photographs
Intermediate Level Lesson

Definition of Content: Photography can be used to illustrate history. The investigative photos taken by American photographer Lewis W. Hine shows an intimate portrait of children who worked in unsafe and unhealthy occupations at the beginning of the 20th century. The pictures and their descriptions give insight into child labor, specifically in the textile and apparel industry from 1904-1912.

Purpose/Goal: The purpose of this lesson is for students to interpret photographs and descriptions of working children in the early 20th century. Students can then understand the environment of the United States apparel industry and its use of children as a labor force. Children laborers were part of low socioeconomic classes, students may gain from this perspective. This lesson plan will expand the use of visual learning and literacy of college-age students.

Objectives: The objective of this lesson is for students to complete an essay that includes their examination of the photographic work of Hine’s investigation of child labor, specifically in the textile and apparel industry. Students will describe Hine’s reasoning and position when taking the photos as well as their own perspectives of the works. Preliminary biographical research will be completed to understand Lewis Hine’s philosophy and background.

Rational/Justification: Child labor was used by industry throughout history and still occurs today. Often, children are taken advantage of by manufacturers and companies. In this lesson, the use of art as an agent of social change will familiarize students with another form of documentation that can afford opportunities for learning.

Time for Lesson: The total time for this lesson is approximately 25-45 minutes: 15-25 minutes introducing the topic of labor in the garment industry and the assignment to students, the exploration of work by Lewis Hine and the completion of the essay are assigned as homework,

and 10-20 minutes of additional discussion as a class or in small groups may be implemented to share reflections and perspectives from the assignment.

Audience: Upper-level undergraduate students.

Materials Needed: Internet and computer accessibility and guiding criteria.

Background: Sweatshop environments within the ready-to-wear apparel industry were, and continue today as “immoral workplaces” where employees work long hours, for minimal pay, in unsafe and unhealthy conditions (Bender & Greenwald, 2003, p. 6). They began in the United States prior to the 20th century and still exist in the 21st century (Dickson, Loker, & Eckman, 2009). Sweatshops are violators of domestic and international labor and human rights laws, with labor conditions that create one of the most dangerous and physically arduous work environments (Brooks, 2007).

Sweatshops are a result of competitive practices between manufacturers and contractors (Pope, 1970). Applebaum (1999) pointed out that what is flexible for the manufacturer creates “unstable work, impoverishment, and harsh conditions for workers” (p.57); however manufacturers often escape the blame for the sweatshop environments they produce. The conditions of sweatshops are generally blamed on workers of the factory or shop (Applebaum, 1999). Women, children and immigrants, or a combination of the three, have historically been taken advantage of in the garment industry (Green, 1996). The typical sweated worker was an ethnic immigrant and poor. Government investigations of sweatshops in the 1890s, held the newly arrived immigrant workers responsible for creating poor conditions due to their supposedly “unhealthy and repulsive foreign characteristics” (Bender, 2002). Even today, immigrants have been blamed for accepting and causing the low wages and dreadful conditions of sweatshops (Green, 1996).

Assignment:

Content in Focus	Time	Instructor-Learner Interaction
<p>Background and introduction to assignment by instructor.</p> <p><i>Essay Requirements</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Length: 3-5 pages • Use of diverse resources • Use of a specific writing format (i.e., APA/Chicago/ MLA) • A required amount of photographs examined may be given <p><i>Guiding Questions</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. What guided Lewis W. Hine’s career? He claimed to take pictures to show truth in life? Did he? 2. Is there indication of biases or privileges that Hine had as the 	<p>25-45 minutes in-class. The project may be assigned according to class schedule.</p> <p>Assignment may be introduced and then collected at a later time.</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The instructor can view Lewis Hine’s work with the class, helping them to critically examine the photographs. 2. Written comments can be added to the assessment evoking further thought on behalf of the student. 3. At the completion of the assignment the instructor may ask students to share their thoughts on particular photographs or comments on what they have learned from the assignment as a

<p>photographer? Is this apparent in his work?</p> <p>3. What are your perspectives on the photos of child laborers? Do they tell you anything about the time period or the people? Are there evident consequences for the children?</p> <p>4. How do the historic photos of Hine compare to the idea or visualization of child labor today?</p>		<p>small/large group discussion.</p>
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Summary: By completing the written assignment, students will better understand child labor in the textile and apparel industry during the early 1900s. They will utilize critical thinking and visual literacy skills to examine social status and apparel industry employment.

Evaluation:

Evaluative: Instruct students to complete a written essay for assessment.

Summative: Individual student reflection will be expressed through written content. Additional written reflection based on in-class discussion may be collected to obtain further critical thought from students.

References:

- Applebaum, R. P. (1999). The Los Angeles garment industry. In P. Liebhold & H. R. Rubenstein (Eds.), *Between a rock and a hard place: A history of American sweatshops, 1820-present*. (pp. 53-60). Los Angeles, CA: UCLA Asian American Studies Center and Simon Wiesenthal Center Museum of Tolerance.
- Bender, D. (2002). Sweatshop subjectivity and the politics of definition and exhibition. *International Labor and Working-Class History*, (61), 13-23.
- Bender, D. & Greenwald, R. A. (Eds.) (2003). *Sweatshop USA: The American sweatshop in historical and global perspective*. New York: Routledge.
- Brooks, E. C. (2007). Unraveling the garment industry: Transnational organizing and women's work. *Social Movements, Protest, and Contention*, 27. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Dickson, M. A., Loker, S. & Eckman, M. (2009). *Social responsibility in the global apparel industry*. New York: Fairchild.
- Green, N. L. (1996). Women and immigrants in the sweatshop: Categories of labor segmentation revisited. *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 38(3). 411-433.
- National Archives and Record Administration (NARA). (2010). "Portfolio: Lewis Hine". Retrieved March 18, 2010 from http://www.archives.gov/exhibits/picturing_the_century/portfolios/port_hine.html.
- Pope, J. E. (1905/1970). *The clothing industry in New York*. New York: Burt Franklin.
- The History Place. (2010). "Child labor in America 1908-1912: Photographs of Lewis W. Hine". Retrieved March 18, 2010 from <http://www.historyplace.com/unitedstates/childlabor/index.html>.

Additional Resources:

- Cornell University School of Industrial and Labor Relations. (2010). "Catherwood Library Kheel Center". Retrieved from <http://www.ilr.cornell.edu/library/kheel/>.
- Freeman, R. & Hine, L.W. (1994). *Kids at work: Lewis Hine and the crusade against child labor*. New York: Clarion Books.
- Hine, L. W., & Steinorth, K. (Ed.). (1996). *Lewis Hine: Passionate journey, photographs 1905-1937*. Rochester: International Museum of Photography George Eastman House.
- Wolfe, J. H. & Dickson, M. A. (2002). Apparel manufacturer and retailer efforts to reduce child labor: An ethics of virtue perspectives on codes of conduct. *Clothing and Textiles Research Journal*, 20, 183-195.
- Worth, R. (2008). *Lewis Hine: Photographer of Americans at work*. Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe.

Social Activists for Destruction of Sweatshops
Advanced Level Lesson

Definition of Content: From 1880-1915 several demonstrations were held to alleviate the horrendous conditions of sweatshops. Unions were formed to assist workers in holding strikes and boycotts with the purpose of improving working conditions. Primary resources can be beneficial in describing the environment of particular strikes or the overall climate during this period of time. The use of primary and secondary resources is useful in bringing history to life.

Purpose/Goal: The goal of this lesson is for students to effectively use primary sources to research a particular trade or labor union that sought to end sweatshops during the period 1880-1915.

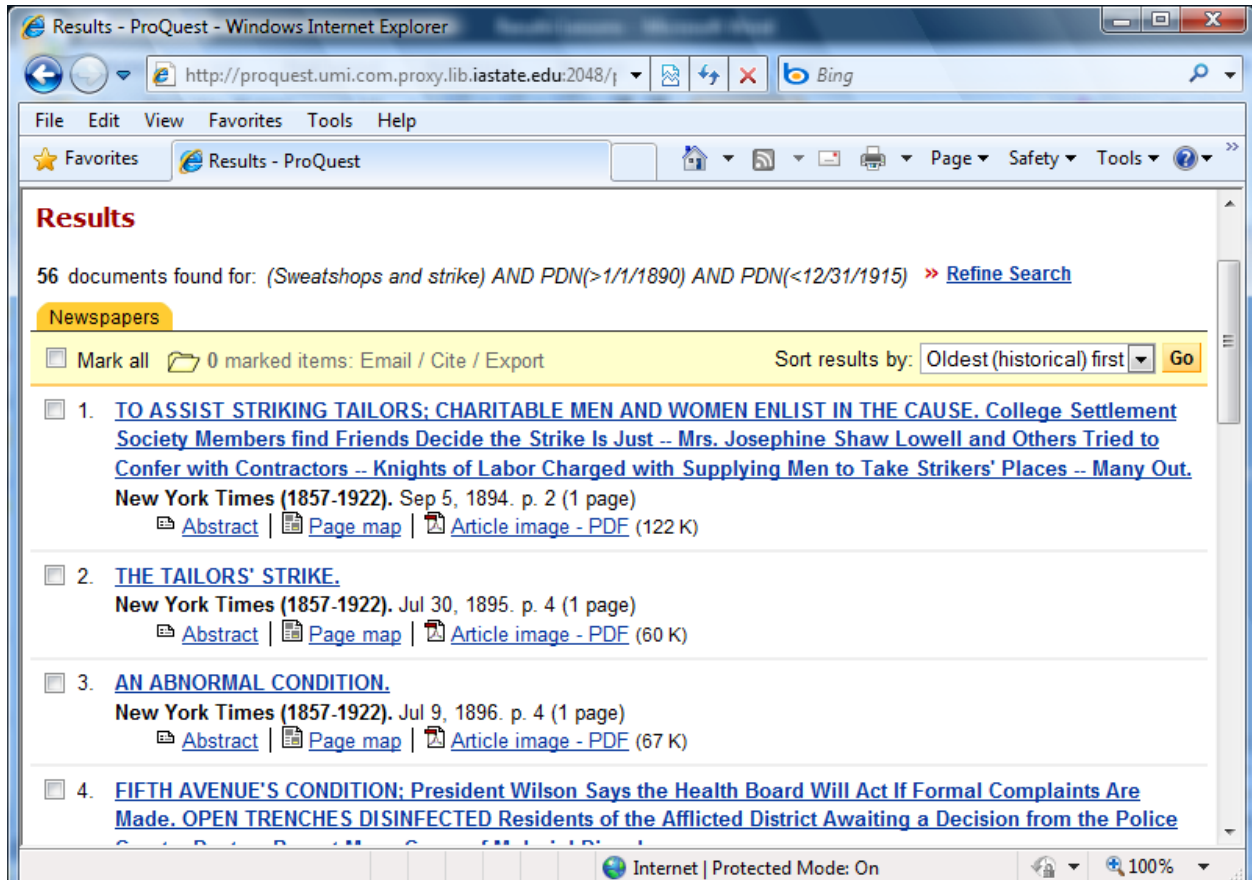
Objectives: The objective of this lesson is for students to demonstrate the use of primary sources in the creation of a written paper that addresses a trade or labor union's attempts to end sweatshops and sweatshop conditions, 1880-1915. The instructor can decide to assign particular students in the class a particular trade or labor union or students could decide on their own which labor union to research.

Rational/Justification: The use of primary sources to investigate events and time periods in history is an important research skill for students to obtain. Discerning knowledge from primary resources can teach students to evaluate sources and aid them in their writing skills.

Time for Lesson: The total time for this lesson is approximately 40 minutes to one hour: 30-45 minutes for introduction of the history of garment labor unions and protest, 10-20 minutes can be used to familiarize students with locations where primary sources can be found, the written component of this project is assigned as homework. Additional time may be added during class for students to share their research with class members.

Audience: Upper-level undergraduate to graduate students.

Materials Needed: Internet and computer accessibility. Students must have accessibility to primary document indexes, such as *New York Times* archives, microfilms, or garment union history. An example of the index ProQuest and search results for the subject “Sweatshops and strike” published in *The New York Times*, 1880-1915 is provided below.



Retrieved March 27, 2010.

Background: Trade unions or leagues concerned with the conditions of garment workers did not exist until the turn of the century. This was because a large amount of the work was decentralized, completed by a majority female and immigrant workforce, and the industry had only just begun to thrive (Pope, 1905/1970). Before 1890, attempts were made to begin unions, with little progress. The population of immigrants made it hard to organize, but some organizations sought to exclude both immigrants and women from their inception. Many of the immigrants were willing and loyal to the trade unions; however there was much work to be done to educate and assimilate them to American culture (Pope, 1905/1970). Some immigrant union members felt that so-called “American” interior of the sweatshop, which was enough reason to organize (Bender, 2002). The more education or skill that a sector of the garment industry had, the less likely they were to create a union. This was almost always the case, except for the cutters, one of the most skilled of the workforce who formed the first established union (Pope, 1905/1970).

As time progressed, more unions were developed as the heterogeneity of workers in both gender and nationality, educational awareness, and the continued contracting system ensured that they were needed (Pope, 1905/1970). Labor and women’s organizations worked to rid the

garment industry of sweatshops (Liebhold & Rubenstein, 1999a). Trade unions empowered workers and helped with industrial intelligence to fight injustices (Pope, 1905/1970). Groups included the National Consumers League, the National Women’s Trade Union League, the United Garment Workers Union (UGWU) consisting of work clothing makers, the International Ladies’ Garment Workers’ Union (ILGWU), a charter of the American Federation of Labor (AFL), and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America (ACWA or ACW), which was founded in 1914 and became the dominant union in the men’s clothing industry (Hapke, 2004; Liebhold & Rubenstein, 1999a). By 1898, the National Consumers League created labels to identify manufacturers who met League labor standards (Farrell-Beck & Parsons, 2007). Firms that held satisfactory production conditions were given the “Official label of the National Consumers League, Made under Clean and Healthful Conditions” (Pope, 1905/1970, p. 207).

Assignment:

Content in Focus	Time	Instructor-Learner Interaction
<p>Background and introduction to assignment by instructor.</p> <p><i>Essay Requirements</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Length: 7-10 pages • Use of diverse primary resources • Use of a specific writing format (i.e., APA/Chicago/MLA) <p><i>Guiding Criteria</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Students must use primary sources to complete their research • Secondary sources can be used to add to content • Students must include an introduction, review of literature, methods section, results, conclusions section and ideas for future research. 	<p>40 minutes to one hour. Essay assigned according to class schedule. Assignment may be introduced and then collected at a later time.</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The instructor can work through processes for obtaining primary sources. 2. Written comments can be added during assessment, to help improve writing. 3. At the completion of the assignment the instructor may ask students to share their topics and thoughts on the project as a small/large group discussion.

Summary: By completing the written assignment, students will better understand how to develop research using primary sources. Students will also learn about labor organization in the garment industry, 1880-1915. They can apply this knowledge to contemporary anti-sweatshop action.

Evaluation:

Evaluative: Instruct students to complete a written essay for assessment.

References:

- Bender, D. (2002). Sweatshop subjectivity and the politics of definition and exhibition. *International Labor and Working-Class History*, (61), 13-23.
- Farrell-Beck, J. & Parsons, J. (2007). *Twentieth century dress in the United States*. New York: Fairchild.
- Hapke, L. (2004). *Sweatshop: The history of an American idea*. Piscataway, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- Liebhold, P. & Rubenstein, H. R. (1999a). History of sweatshops. In Liebhold, P. & Rubenstein, H.R. (Eds.), *Between a rock and a hard place: A history of American sweatshops, 1820- present*. (pp. 1-14). Los Angeles, CA: UCLA Asian American Studies Center and Simon Wiesenthal Center Museum of Tolerance.
- Pope, J. E. (1905/1970). *The clothing industry in New York*. New York, NY: Burt Franklin.

Additional Resources:

- Brooks, E. C. (2007). Unraveling the garment industry: Transnational organizing and women's work. *Social Movements, Protest, and Contention*, 27. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Cornell University School of Industrial and Labor Relations. (2010). "Catherwood Library Kheel Center". Retrieved from <http://www.ilr.cornell.edu/library/kheel/>.
- Ross, A. (Ed.). (1997). *No sweat: Fashion, free trade, and the rights of garment workers*. New York, NY, Verso.

1930s Lesson Plans

The lessons for the 1930s period in sweatshop history include letters from garment workers to President Roosevelt from textile and clothing industry laborers, the cultural initiatives implemented by the ILGWU to educate their membership, and an exploration of the relationship between gender, race, and garment labor unions.

Letters from Garment Workers

Introductory Level Lesson

Definition of Content: During the Great Depression, many men and women had to settle for jobs that were less than suitable. A high unemployment rate led people to work wherever they could in order to provide for their families. The book, *Slaves of the depression: Workers letters about life on the job* (1987), provides an intimate portrait of laborers in the 1930s, through letters written to President Roosevelt and the Labor Secretary Frances Perkins. This assignment will focus on letters written by those who worked in the textiles and garment industry.

Purpose/Goal: The purpose of this lesson is for students to analyze letters written by workers during the 1930s. These readings will allow students the opportunity to better understand the environment of the United States garment and textiles industry during the Great Depression.

Further awareness of the socioeconomic class and struggles that Americans faced during the Depression will be gained. The letters will allow students to view labor from a different perspective than their own.

Objectives: Students will read letters written by garment and textile industry workers and answer discussion/reflection questions related to the content.

Rational/Justification: The Great Depression was a significant event in American history. It is important that students learn about how people were affected by unemployment and financial crises. Connections can be drawn from the severe circumstances of workers during the 1930s and the continuing abuse of workers in the apparel industry.

Time for Lesson: The total time for this lesson is approximately 30-50 minutes: 20-30 minutes introducing the Great Depression, jobs in the garment and textile industry, and the assignment, reading the letters and the completion of the discussion/reflection are assigned as homework, and 10-20 minutes of additional discussion as a class or in small groups may be implemented to share reflections and perspectives from the assignment.

Audience: Lower-level undergraduate students.

Materials Needed: Discussion questions and the letters obtained from the book: Markowitz, G.E., & Rosenier, D. (1987). *Slaves of the Depression: Worker's letters about life on the job*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University.

Specific letters can be selected by the instructor that relate directly to the textile and apparel industry. The number of letters required for reading is determined by time, length of letters, and the difficulty level of assignment.

Background: In 1929, the stock market crash sent the United States into a financial spiral and the Great Depression of the 1930s (Farrell-Beck & Parsons, 2007). Just one year after the stock market crashed, over 1300 financial institutions went under and factories, in general “cut back on production or closed” (Farrell-Beck & Parsons, 2007, p.82). As the decade progressed, businesses in the apparel industry, mostly high-end, began to close from bankruptcy or exited before they tanked (Farrell-Beck & Parsons, 2007; Marcketti, in press). Thousands of people lost their jobs, including many union members. Jobs were so scarce that people took what they could get, including the worst of sweatshop employment (Hapke, 2004).

Manufacturers produced only what they knew they could sell and held production until orders were received (Farrell-Beck & Parsons, 2007). They were forced to surrender their production due to the demands of consumers to purchase the least expensive items available (Marcketti, in press). Manufacturers used the contracting system to produce fashions quicker and at a cheaper price than could be made in larger factories. Using several sub-contractors provided a steady flow of garments for manufacturers. Similar to earlier in the century, contractors and sub-contractors completed piecework, with provided materials from manufacturers (Marcketti, in press). Not much changed in the competition of contractors from the pre/early 1900s. The contractors still used the wages of their employees to leverage their competitive advantage and employees still paid for their use of materials. Workers also maintained 60 to 70 hour work weeks for a couple of dollars in unsafe and unsanitary conditions (Liebhold & Rubenstein,

1999a; Richards, 1951). Consumer groups urged consumers to think about their purchases and recognize that the lowest priced items were most likely sweatshop-produced (Ulrich, 1995).

To aide the crisis of the 1930s, several legislations were passed to assist the welfare and protection of the American workforce (Hapke, 2004). In November 1932, President Franklin D. Roosevelt (FDR) was elected president of the United States. FDR and his administration believed that the Great Depression occurred because of the under consumption of a low paid workforce (Liebhold & Rubenstein, 1999a). Congress held a special session in 1933 for FDR to push his New Deal policies (Farrell-Beck & Parsons, 2007). The New Deal legislation included several programs for the domestic rebuilding of the country, sometimes referred to as the “alphabet soup of relief programs,” because of the government agencies’ many acronyms (Farrell-Beck & Parsons, 2007, p.82).

Assignment:

Content in Focus	Time	Instructor-Learner Interaction
Background and introduction to assignment by instructor. <i>Discussion Questions:</i> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. What conditions within the apparel industry provoked workers to write letters to FDR? 2. How did the letters that you read approach President Roosevelt? Did they agree or disagree with his New Deal acts? Did they state satisfaction with what he was doing? 3. Why would authors of the letters remain anonymous? 4. Does reading the letters give you insight into jobs in the textiles and garment industry? How? 5. How do you think these letters would compare to letters written today by apparel workers? 	30-50 minutes	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The instructor can view written letters with the class, helping them to critically examine the content. 2. Written comments can be added to student’s responses evoking further thought on behalf of the student. 3. At the completion of the assignment the instructor may ask students to share their thoughts after reading the letters or comments on what they have learned from the assignment as a small/large group discussion.

Summary: By reading and discussing letters written by garment and textile workers during the 1930s, students will better understand the working environment of the industry. Students will also learn about New Deal legislation and its impact on workers. They can apply this knowledge to contemporary treatment of garment and textile workers.

Evaluation:

Evaluative: Instruct students to record their answers to discussion/reflection questions.

Summative: Individual student reflection will be expressed through written content. Additional group discussion may be collected to obtain further critical thought from students.

References:

- Farrell-Beck, J. & Parsons, J. (2007). *Twentieth century dress in the United States*. New York: Fairchild.
- Hapke, L. (2004). *Sweatshop: The history of an American idea*. Piscataway, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- Liebhold, P. & Rubenstein, H. R. (1999a). History of sweatshops. In Liebhold, P. & Rubenstein, H. R. (Eds.), *Between a rock and a hard place: A history of American sweatshops, 1820- present*. (pp. 1-14). Los Angeles, CA: UCLA Asian American Studies Center and Simon Wiesenthal Center Museum of Tolerance.
- Marcketti, S. B. (In press). Codes of fair competition: The National Industry Recovery Act, 1933-1935 and the women's ready-to-wear apparel industry. *Clothing and Textiles Research Journal*.
- Markowitz, G.E., & Rosenier, D. (1987). *Slaves of the Depression: Worker's letters about life on the job*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University.
- Richards F. S. (1951). *The ready-to-wear industry 1900-1950*. New York: Fairchild.
- Ulrich, P. V. (1995). "Look for the label": The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union label campaign, 1959-1975. *Clothing and Textiles Research Journal*, 13, 49-56.

Additional Resources:

- Schamel, W. (2002). *Dear Mrs. Roosevelt: Letters from children of the Great Depression*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press.

Cultural Initiatives of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (ILGWU)
Intermediate Level Lesson

Definition of Content: Many labor unions function with the overarching goal of improving quality of life for their members and other industrial workers. The ILGWU used cultural and educational initiatives to teach, encourage, and provide recreational activities for their membership ("Cultural Initiatives," 2010). Various forms of art have encouraged knowledge growth in union membership and facilitated active demonstration.

Purpose/Goal: The purpose of this lesson is to inform students about the history of garment trade unions during the 1930s, specifically the ILGWU, a prominent organization that advocated for the fair treatment of workers. Students will understand the extent to which union organizations put forth programs to improve the lives of their members.

Objectives: The objective of this lesson is for students to become knowledgeable of the cultural and educational initiatives that were provided to union members of the ILGWU, during the 1930s. With a partner, students will use the provided examples to prepare a historically accurate educational program that would enrich the lives of garment union members, as well as encourage union activism. Student groups will present their proposed programs to the class.

Rational/Justification: The use of cultural and educational programming has been successfully implemented by garment trade unions throughout time. Learning how to create these opportunities can advance student’s awareness of social advocacy and assist in teamwork collaboration skills.

Time for Lesson: The total time for this lesson is approximately is 30-45 minutes with additional time for student group presentations. Thirty to forty-five minutes introducing the history, cultural initiatives, and educational programs of trade unions in the garment industry, specifically the ILGWU, visitation of the online exhibit of Cultural Initiatives of the ILGWU, found at <http://www.laborarts.org/exhibits/ilgwu/culture/unionmet/index.cfm>, can be viewed during class, and further exploration of specific programming and development of an appropriate program for a determined time period (1930s or other decades) is assigned as homework. The amount of time for student presentations of their proposed programs is determined by the instructor.

Audience: Upper-level undergraduate students.

Materials Needed: Internet and computer accessibility.

Background: On June 3, 1900, eleven delegates representing seven unions with a combined membership of two thousand workers from New York, Baltimore, Philadelphia, and Newark, met in New York City to discuss the formation of a garment workers union (Starr, 1948). Twenty days later, the American Federation of Labor (AFL) founded the International Ladies’ Garment Workers’ Union (ILGWU) as a charter (Starr, 1948). The ILGWU focused on welfare of women and children in sweatshop factories (Liebhold & Rubenstein, 1999a). Beginning in 1900, the ILGWU advocated worker education, and promoted leisure, happiness and industrial rights for workers (Starr, 1948). ILGWU was a trailblazer for other union’s educational programs. The goal of the education programs was the “pursuit of happiness.” The organization hoped to support complete and comfortable lives for its members by teaching English, giving classes on history, economics, art, and trade union careers, increasing job security, and decreasing the work week. The ILGWU education program strove to prepare immigrant workers for full-time citizenship and active political participation (Starr, 1948).

After much hardship during the Great Depression, the ILGWU reorganized in 1933 with the aid of the New Deal (Starr, 1948). The ILGWU brought forth the same missions for improving the quality of life of its members. Several programs were implemented to foster culture and education. The satirical musical *Pins & Needles*, which was produced by the ILGWU, represented worker’s perspectives on current events and the garment industry (Goldman, 1978). Other arts included written poems and songs related to labor organization, museum and musical visits, and a conceded effort to expose members to art through purchases of paintings and murals (“Cultural Initiatives,” 2010). The ILGWU’s educational programming offered further learning and stimulus for labor organization to its membership.

Assignment:

Content in Focus	Time	Instructor-Learner Interaction
Background and introduction to assignment by instructor.	30-45 minutes. Presentations are assigned	1. Instructors can encourage students to draw from examples of

<p><i>Written Component</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Length: 2-3 pages • Use of a specific writing format (i.e., APA/Chicago/ MLA) • A required amount of sources examined may be given <p><i>Guiding Criteria (written and oral and visual presentation)</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Students should create an original concept for educational programming of a union group, but must reference historical activities • Students should include a cultural component (museum visits, art, theatrical events) • Students should identify an audience and time period to frame their program • The resources for carrying-out the program, benefits for members that attend the program, and further learning from the program should be addressed in a written component. 	<p>according to class schedule. Assignment may be introduced and presented at a later time.</p>	<p>ILGWU history in the creation of current educational programs for apparel workers.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 2. The instructor can ask the class to constructively comment or ask questions during student presentations. 3. Following presentations of educational programs, class members may be instructed to (anonymously) vote on the most effective campaign.
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Summary: The use of a creative approach to learning about labor organizations can encourage student activism. By completing the written assignment and class presentation, students will better understand how to develop enriching educational experiences and ways to achieve equitable worker’s rights that include the use of cultural exposure. Students will also learn about the history of labor organization’s use of cultural and educational programming. They can apply this knowledge to contemporary labor movements.

Evaluation:

Evaluative: Students will complete a written description of an educational program created for trade union members. A summation of the written component will be presented to the class.

References:

- Foner, R., Rich, E.J., & Bernstein, R. (2010). “The ILGWU social unionism in action”. Retrieved March 27, 2010 from <http://www.laborarts.org/exhibits/ilgwu/index.cfm>.
- Goldman, H. M. (1978). “Pins and Needles”: A White House command performance. *Educational Theatre Journal*, 30(1), 90-101.

- Liebhold, P. & Rubenstein, H.R. (1999a). History of sweatshops. In Liebhold, P. & Rubenstein, H.R. (Eds.), *Between a rock and a hard place: A history of American sweatshops, 1820- present*. (pp. 1-14). Los Angeles, CA: UCLA Asian American Studies Center and Simon Wiesenthal Center Museum of Tolerance.
- Starr, M. (1948, July 19). Why union education?; Aims, history, and philosophy of the educational work of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. Proceedings of *The American Philosophical Society*, 92(3), 194-202.

Additional Resources:

- Cornell University School of Industrial and Labor Relations. (2010). "Catherwood Library Kheel Center". Retrieved from <http://www.ilr.cornell.edu/library/kheel/>.
- "Pins & Needles." A labor union goes into show business with a sparkling music revue. (1937, December 27). *Life*, 3(26), 52-53.
- Tyler, G. (1995). *Look for the union label: A history of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union*. Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe.

Connections between Race, Gender, and Garment Labor Unions
Advanced Level Lesson

Definition of Content: Labor unions traditionally have fought for worker rights. There is a complex history of garment labor unions both assisting, and discriminating against certain gender and ethnic groups of workers. The examination of scholarly literature that sheds light on this topic can be used to describe how women and various ethnic groups of workers have or have not been protected by garment labor unions.

Purpose/Goal: The purpose of this lesson is to expose students to the positive and negative collaborations between garment labor unions and specific gender and ethnic groups of workers. Experiences faced by women and ethnic groups of workers and garment labor unions can inform students of the social environment during that time period. Students will also gain insight into women and ethnic groups' status in the garment industry.

Objectives: The objective of this lesson is for students to read and draw conclusions from scholarly literature related to race, gender, and garment labor unions. Students may complete this in the form of an annotated citation for each source, along with a whole class discussion of the assigned readings (for small classes approximately 10 or less), or groups of 3-5 students.

Rational/Justification: People should be treated equally by labor unions and labor legislation. To understand workers experiences with labor unions, a critical study of the history of relationships between the two groups must be examined.

Time for Lesson: The total in-class time for this assignment is approximately 10-15 minutes for introduction of topic and assignment. Reading and development of annotated citations of each article assigned as homework. Amount of assigned literature is dependent upon available time for lesson.

Audience: Upper-level undergraduate to graduate students.

Materials Needed: Accessibility to journal articles and books that relate to gender, ethnicity and labor union relationships. Recommended sources include but are not limited to the following:

Green, N. L. (1997). Blacks, Jews, and the “natural alliance”: Labor cohabitation and the ILGWU. *Jewish Social Studies*, 4(1), 79-104.

Hield, M. (1979). “Union-minded.” Women in the Texas ILGWU, 1933-1950. *Frontiers*, 4(2), 59-70.

Lai, H. M., & Jeung, R. (2008). Guilds, unions, and garment factories: Notes on Chinese in the apparel industry. *Chinese America: History and Perspectives*, 1-12.

Sorin, G. (2005). Rose Pesotta in the far West: The triumphs and travails of a Jewish woman labor organizer. *Western States Jewish History*, 35(3-4), 201-210.

Strom, S. H. (1983). Challenging “woman’s place.” Feminism, the left, and Industrial unionism in the 1930s. *Feminist Studies*, 9(2), 359-386.

Background: The typical sweated garment worker was an immigrant, a minority ethnic race, an undocumented or non-native English speaker, and usually a woman (Applebaum, 1999).

Historically, gender bias within the garment industry created competition for improved employment, giving women a disadvantage in the ready-to-wear industry. Women were held in less skilled, low paying positions, finishing tedious work (Griggs, 2001). Immigrant women sweatshop workers were taken advantage of and held at the lowest rung of the already low labor hierarchy, similar to their social status in the United States (Green, 1996). Single, non-married women were recruited to the industry because of the need for their “supposedly natural sewing talent,” and because they were an easily exploited worker (Green, 1996, p. 413; Sills, 2005). A decrease in immigration due to the federal quota system in the 1920s changed the ethnic makeup of the workforce, so that by the late 1930s, the workforce of the garment industry changed from Caucasian immigrants to Black, Latino, and Asian immigrants and citizens (Green, 1996; Liebhold & Rubenstein, 1999a).

Assignment:

Content in Focus	Time	Instructor-Learner Interaction
<p>Background and introduction to assignment by instructor.</p> <p><i>Guiding Criteria (completed for each annotation):</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Proper citation of the article in APA or Chicago reference style. <p><i>Discussion questions, answered and typed by the student as homework:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What was the purpose of the research? • Did the author provide an opinion or perspective about the topic? • What were the overall 	<p>10-15 minutes in-class.</p> <p>Annotations assigned according to class schedule.</p> <p>Assignment may be introduced and then collected at a later time.</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The instructor can review the readings with the class or small groups, providing further reflections of the literature. 2. Written comments can be added to student’s responses evoking further thought on behalf of the student.

<p>conclusions made by the author about the topic?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What did you find most interesting about the article? • How does the article effectively explain race and gender relationships with labor unions during the 1930s? • Other questions developed by the instructor based on the reading selected. 		
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Summary: By completing this assignment, students will be exposed to scholarly literature that draws upon race, gender, and garment labor union relationships. Students will learn about the history of hardships faced by members in garment labor unions.

Evaluation:

Evaluative: Instruct students to complete an annotated citation for each individual source, guided by criteria.

Summative: Individual student reflection will be expressed through written content. Additional group discussion may be collected to obtain further critical thought from students.

References:

- Applebaum, R. P. (1999). The Los Angeles garment industry. In P. Liebhold & H. R. Rubenstein (Eds.), *Between a rock and a hard place: A history of American sweatshops, 1820- present*. (pp. 53-60). Los Angeles, CA: UCLA Asian American Studies Center and Simon Wiesenthal Center Museum of Tolerance.
- Green, N. L. (1996). Women and immigrants in the sweatshop: Categories of labor segmentation revisited. *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 38(3). 411-433.
- Griggs, H. J. (2001). "By virtue of reason and nature": Competition and economic strategy in the needletrades at New York's Five Points, 1855-1880. *Historical Archaeology*, 35(3), 76-88.
- Liebhold, P. & Rubenstein, H. R. (1999a). History of sweatshops. In Liebhold, P. & Rubenstein, H.R. (Eds.), *Between a rock and a hard place: A history of American sweatshops, 1820- present*. (pp. 1-14). Los Angeles, CA: UCLA Asian American Studies Center and Simon Wiesenthal Center Museum of Tolerance.
- Sills, L. (2005). *From rags to riches: A history of girls' clothing in America*. New York: Holiday House.

Additional Resources:

- Frank, D. (1998). White working-class women and the race questions. *International Labor and Working-Class History*, 54, 80-102.
- Wolensky, K. C., Wolensky, N. H., & Wolensky, R. P. (2002). *Fighting for the union label: The women's garment industry and the ILGWU in Pennsylvania*. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University.

- Marshall, R. (1964). The racial practices of the ILGWU: A reply. *Industrial and Labor Relations View*, 17(4), 622-626.
- Matyas, J. & Gilb, C. L. (interviewer). (2008). Jennie Matyas and the National Dollar Stores factory strike in San Francisco Chinatown. *Chinese America: History and Perspectives*, 33-46.
- Mettler, S. B. (1994). Federalism, gender, & the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938. *Polity*, 26(4), 635-654.

1990s Lesson Plans

The lessons for the 1990s period in sweatshop history include viewpoints about sweatshops during the decade, student anti-sweatshop campaigns, and a comparison of sweatshops of the 1990s to those of the early 20th century.

Perspectives of Sweatshops in the 1990s Introductory Level Lesson

Definition of Content: Although sweatshops are thought of as the “ancient past” by some students, sweatshops and sweatshop conditions have continued into the 21st century. In the 1990s several instances of sweatshop labor were uncovered on U.S. soil. The exhibit *Between a rock and a hard place*, held at the National Museum of American History included a “dialogue” section, where the opinions of 6 spokespersons regarding sweatshops were provided. The “dialogue” offered a wide-range of ideas of sweatshops within a modern context <http://americanhistory.si.edu/sweatshops/index.htm>.

Purpose/Goal: The purpose of this lesson is to expose students to the stories of people who were connected to sweatshops in the 1990s. Students will understand different attitudes towards sweatshops in the United States. Students may also gain insight into the similarities and differences of conditions in 1990s sweatshops and those of the early 1900s.

Objectives: The objective of this lesson is for students to grasp the viewpoints regarding sweatshops from the online exhibit *Between a rock and a hard place*. Students will critically examine the 6 selected spokesperson’s statements and critique the overall exhibit for its portrayal of the modern sweatshop. To guide students through the website, they will be instructed to type their responses to certain questions at home. While in class, students will be provided with an additional set of reflective questions to discuss as small groups.

Rational/Justification: Sweating is prevalent in modern U.S. society. It is important to understand the ramifications of the use of sweatshops and the connected capitalistic interests that cause the garment industry to continue their use. The *Between a rock and a hard place* exhibit endured much criticism for its portrayal of sweatshops by politicians and industry professionals. It will benefit the student to critically examine the exhibit and didactics.

Time for Lesson: The total time for this lesson is approximately 50 to one hour and 15 minutes: 20-30 minutes of introduction of lesson, the visitation of the *Between a rock and a hard place* online exhibit at <http://americanhistory.si.edu/sweatshops/index.htm>, assigned as homework, and 30-45 minutes to cover discussion questions in small groups.

Audience: Lower-level undergraduate students

Materials Needed: Internet accessibility and discussion questions.

Background: By the late 1990s, Los Angeles had surpassed New York City, which had been declining since the 1950s, for the larger producer of manufactured garments. The Los Angeles sweatshop workforce was primarily Latina and Asian women (Applebaum, 1999; Hapke, 2004). Most people were unaware of domestic sweatshops until August of 1995, when the federal government raided a seven-unit apartment in El Monte, California, a working class suburb, Southeast of Los Angeles (Dickson et al., 2009; Liebhold & Rubenstein, 1999a; 1999b). This El Monte sweatshop raid was the central focus of the *Between a rock and a hard place* exhibit at the National Museum of American History (Liebhold & Rubenstein, 1999b).

Although Los Angeles was the leader in garment manufacturing, New York still maintained over 2,000 sweatshops in the 1990s (Brooks, 2007). A case against Kathie Lee Gifford's line for Wal-Mart and raids on contractor shops in Sunset Park, Brooklyn, in August 1996, exposed the sweatshop industry in New York. Efforts to improve sweatshop conditions by labor organizations in the late 20th century proved difficult because the garment industry was globally complex and had many hierarchal chains (Brooks, 2007). Another attempt in 1995, by President Bill Clinton, organized the White House Apparel Industry Partnership. Its purpose was to pursue non-regulatory solutions to end sweatshops, including targeting enforcement in major garment manufacturers and notification of violations (Hapke, 2004; Liebhold & Rubenstein, 1999a). Representatives from industry, labor, government, and public interest groups worked on the committee. Because of the intolerant climate for sweatshops, many companies worked to protect or reclaim positive reputations. The companies advocated for the use of fair labor practices, but often did not follow their own advice (Hapke, 2004). Companies that did not follow ethical business and treatment of workers faced fines and forced payment of back wages to their workers (Brooks, 2007). Sweatshops were still able to thrive because a small amount of inspectors was expected to regulate a large number of factories spread across the United States and beyond (Brooks, 2007).

Assignment:

Content in Focus	Time	Instructor-Learner Interaction
Background and introduction to assignment by instructor. <i>For Individual:</i> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> Which spokesperson's statement was the most compelling to you? Why? What does Jay Mazur give as the reason for the reemergence of sweatshops in the 1990s? 	50-75 minutes	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> The instructor can introduce the questions to prepare students for in-class discussion and encourage them to create 1-2 additional questions for their small groups. The instructor can ask the students to form groups of 3-5 people and guide the

<p>3. What suggestion did Julie Su give to ensure the end of sweatshops?</p> <p>4. What is your position regarding sweatshops in the United States?</p> <p><i>For Group:</i></p> <p>1. Did you feel there was a standpoint missing in the exhibit? Specifically the “dialogue” portion of the site?</p> <p>2. What audience do you think this exhibit was directed towards?</p> <p>3. How can you use this information in your future career?</p> <p>4. What would you do if you discovered the company you worked for utilized sweatshops?</p>		<p>discussion of the questions.</p>
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Summary: By completing this assignment, students will be exposed to 1990s viewpoints of sweatshops. They will also view content about sweatshop history by viewing the online exhibit. Through discussion and reflection students will critically examine and evaluate exhibit content and apply it to their personal lives.

Evaluation:

Evaluative: Instruct students to record and submit their individual answers and reflections to discussion questions for assessment.

References:

- Applebaum, R. P. (1999). The Los Angeles garment industry. In P. Liebhold & H. R. Rubenstein (Eds.), *Between a rock and a hard place: A history of American sweatshops, 1820- present*. (pp. 53-60). Los Angeles, CA: UCLA Asian American Studies Center and Simon Wiesenthal Center Museum of Tolerance.
- “Between a Rock and a Hard Place”. (n.d.). Retrieved March 27, 2010 from <http://americanhistory.si.edu/sweatshops/>
- Brooks, E. C. (2007). Unraveling the garment industry: Transnational organizing and women’s work. *Social Movements, Protest, and Contention*, 27. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Hapke, L. (2004). *Sweatshop: The history of an American idea*. Piscataway, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- Liebhold, P. & Rubenstein, H. R. (1999a). History of sweatshops. In Liebhold, P. & Rubenstein, H. R. (Eds.), *Between a rock and a hard place: A history of American sweatshops, 1820- present*. (pp. 1-14). Los Angeles, CA: UCLA Asian American Studies Center and Simon Wiesenthal Center Museum of Tolerance.
- Liebhold, P. & Rubenstein, H. R. (1999b). The El Monte sweatshop. In P. Liebhold & H. R. Rubenstein (Eds.), *Between a rock and a hard place: A history of American sweatshops, 1820 present*. (pp. 61-80). Los Angeles, CA: UCLA Asian American Studies Center and Simon Wiesenthal Center Museum of Tolerance.

Students against Sweatshops

Intermediate Level Lesson

Definition of Content: During the 1990s, students were a powerful force in anti-sweatshop campaigns. Student groups against sweatshops organized at multiple universities and worked to eradicate their university's use of unethical manufacturing of licensed apparel. These campaigns constructed codes of conduct for manufacturers of university apparel. Successful anti-sweatshop demonstration can be created and implemented by students at their institutions.

Purpose/Goal: The goal of this lesson is for students to become aware of anti-sweatshop campaigns that originated at the university level. Students may be inspired to act on their campuses; ensuring university apparel is produced in sweat-free environments.

Objectives: The objective of this lesson is for students to learn about student anti-sweatshop campaigns. Students will read an article and visit sites related to the topic and answer discussion questions related to student's fighting against sweatshops on their campuses. As a small group, students will share ideas for combating sweatshops in their own settings. The small groups will present their plans for campaigning against sweatshops to the class.

Rational/Justification: Student demonstration has been proven to eradicate sweatshop manufacturing of university apparel (Mandle, 2000). Learning about campaigns and demonstrations that happened in the 1990s will raise student awareness on their own campuses and in their shopping habits.

Time for Lesson: The total time for this lesson is approximately one hour to one hour 25 minutes: 15-25 minutes introducing the topic and assignment, reading of article and visitation of websites assigned as homework, and 45-60 minutes of in-class small-group discussion and large group presentation of action plans.

Audience: Upper-level undergraduate students.

Materials Needed: Internet and computer accessibility. Students are required, but not limited to reading the following:

Mandle, J. R. (2000). The student anti-sweatshop movement: Limits and potential. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 570, 92-103.

Dreier, P. & Applebaum, R. (1999, September 1). "The campus anti-sweatshop movement". Retrieved March 27, 2010 from

http://www.prospect.org/cs/articles?article=the_campus_antisweatshop_movement

United Students Against Sweatshops. (2010). "About us". Retrieved March 27, 2010 from <http://usas.org/about-us/>

Background: The student movement against sweatshops was empowered by licensed university apparel made in inequitable conditions. After several instances of exposure to sweatshops in the United States, the student movement gained momentum (Mandle, 2000). The manufacturing of apparel in sweatshop conditions started to become connected to prominent clothing brands. Because of the intolerant climate for sweatshops, many companies worked to protect or reclaim

positive reputations (Hapke, 2004). In 1995, President Bill Clinton organized the White House Apparel Industry Partnership. Its purpose was to pursue non-regulatory solutions to end sweatshops, including targeting enforcement in major garment manufacturers and notification of violations (Hapke, 2004; Liebhold & Rubenstein, 1999a). Representatives from industry, labor, government, and public interest groups worked on the committee. The committee produced community organized programs and media campaigns (Liebhold & Rubenstein, 1999a). Student activists worked alongside with government and industry professionals to eradicate sweatshops (Mandle, 2000).

Because of their efforts, both the Gap and Nike initiated “No Sweat” agreements in their foreign factories. The agreements held the factories to abide by the created “code of conduct” (Hapke, 2004). The corporate codes of conduct for labor conditions in the sourcing of garment manufacturing were made aware to both retailers and factory management (Brooks, 2007). Most of the codes agreed that legal and ethical business practices were a priority. Others included regulations against child labor, sexual abuse, reprimands, and safety. Some manufacturers followed the codes and improved conditions by offering good pay, water, ventilation, proper safety, medical programs, and even offered employee ownership in the company (Brooks, 2007). Contractors also jumped at the chance to establish the codes because it helped them to attract “first-class” companies and retailers (Brooks, 2007).

Assignment:

Content in Focus	Time	Instructor-Learner Interaction
<p>Background and introduction to assignment by instructor.</p> <p>Discussion Questions:</p> <p><i>For Individual</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. How did the student anti-sweatshop campaign begin? 2. How were positive gains against sweatshops accomplished? 3. What elements comprised the Collegiate Codes of Conduct? 4. Were there any roadblocks that students faced in combating garments manufactured in sweatshops on their campuses? 5. Where does apparel on your campus come from? 6. Do you know of any on-campus movements related to sweatshops? <p><i>For Group</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. What did you find most interesting about the student anti-sweatshop campaigns? 2. How would you start an on-campus 	60-85 minutes	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The instructor can introduce the questions to prepare students for in-class discussion and encourage them to create 1-2 additional questions for their groups. 2. The instructor can ask the students to form groups of 3-5 people and guide the discussion of the questions.

<p>demonstration to end sweatshops? What resources would you need?</p> <p>3. United Students Against Sweatshops works by the organizing philosophy of using diverse approaches and tactics through grassroots organizations. What does this mean? How would you achieve this in your anti-sweatshop campaign?</p>		
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Summary: By completing this assignment, students will be provided with an example of student activism against sweatshops and manufacturing university apparel in sweat-free conditions. This assignment will encourage group work and collaboration for social activism.

Evaluation:

Evaluative: Instruct students to record and submit their individual answers and reflections to discussion questions for assessment.

Summative: Instruct students to record their collaborated group answers for large group presentation.

References:

- Brooks, E. C. (2007). Unraveling the garment industry: Transnational organizing and women's work. *Social Movements, Protest, and Contention*, 27. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Hapke, L. (2004). *Sweatshop: The history of an American idea*. Piscataway, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- Liebhold, P. & Rubenstein, H. R. (1999a). History of sweatshops. In Liebhold, P. & Rubenstein, H. R. (Eds.), *Between a rock and a hard place: A history of American sweatshops, 1820- present*. (pp. 1-14). Los Angeles, CA: UCLA Asian American Studies Center and Simon Wiesenthal Center Museum of Tolerance.
- Mandle, J. R. (2000). The student anti-sweatshop movement: Limits and potential. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 570, 92-103.

Additional Resources:

United Students Against Sweatshops. (2010). Retrieved March 31, 2010 from <http://usas.org/>.

Comparing Sweatshops of the 1990s Advanced Level Lesson

Definition of Content: Sweatshops in the 1990s were mostly thought of as an international phenomenon. The U.S. public was outraged when several instances of sweatshops were uncovered in their country. Sweatshops in the 1990s were similar, if not exactly the same as

sweatshops in the late 19th/early 20th century. Sweatshop cases were found throughout the United States, particularly in Los Angeles and New York.

Purpose/Goal: The goal of this lesson is to familiarize students with garment sweatshops in the 1990s. Students will be able to compare or differentiate sweatshops in the 1990s to those in the early 20th century.

Objectives: The objective of this lesson is for students to read and draw conclusions from scholarly literature about sweatshops in the United States during the 1990s. Students will also compare these sweatshops with historic sweatshops in the early 20th century. Discussion of this topic can be implemented through a written summary of the articles and comparison of historical periods.

Rational/Justification: Conditions of sweatshops in the United States during the 1990s mimic the sweatshops of the past and exist in the present. Students should become familiar with inhumane and unethical labor in the recent past in order to create sweatshop-free environments.

Time for Lesson: The total time for this lesson is approximately 45 minutes to one hour: 15-25 minutes to introduce the topic and assignment, the reading of articles assigned as homework, and 30-40 minutes of discussion as a class or in small groups should be implemented to share reflections and perspectives from the assignment.

Audience: Upper-level undergraduate to graduate students.

Materials Needed: The following articles and chapter are recommended for reading:

Bao, X. (2002). Sweatshops in Sunset Park: A variation of the late 20th century Chinese garment shops in New York City. *International Labor and Working-Class History*, 61, 69-90.

Bender, D. & Greenwald, R.A. (Eds.) (2003). *Sweatshop USA: The American sweatshop in historical and global perspective*. New York: Routledge.

Carty, V. (2006). Labor struggles, new social movements, and America's favorite pastime: New York workers take on New Era Cap Company. *Sociological Perspectives*, 49(2), 239-259.

Whalen, C. T. (2002). Sweatshops here and there: The garment industry, Latinas, and labor migrations. *International Labor and Working-Class History*, 61, 45-68.

Background: Sweatshops that began in the United States existed both off-shore and domestically in the late twentieth century (Hapke, 2004). The U.S. General Accounting Office (GAO), in 1994, defined the sweatshop as a workplace that violated more than one federal or state labor law (Bender, 2002). These violations included minimum wage, overtime, child labor, and occupational health, among others.

The definition given by GAO made the sweatshop a quantifiable place, allowing estimations to be made regarding where and how many were located throughout the United States; however it disregarded the complexity of causes for sweatshop abuse (Bender, 2002).

Like the early 20th century, the geographic isolation of sweatshops aided their sustainability. Sweatshops were located in basements, garages, and homes (Brooks, 2007). The

new immigrant workforce allowed manufacturers to use the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) deportation to scare workers from reporting health, safety and wage violations. Contractors and manufacturers avoided persecution from running illegal sweatshop establishments, and would turn in employees to INS to avoid payment (Liebhold & Rubenstein, 1999a). Nationally, apparel jobs decreased, however locally, in Los Angeles, apparel jobs were on the rise (Applebaum, 1999). By the late 1990s, Los Angeles had surpassed New York City, which had been declining since the 1950s, for the larger producer of manufactured garments. Although Los Angeles was the leader in garment manufacturing, New York still maintained over 2,000 sweatshops in the 1990s (Brooks, 2007). Similar to the beginning of the century, the majority of sweatshops were still located in New York's Lower East Side (Bender, 2002).

Los Angeles was vulnerable to sweatshop labor because it produced mainly women's wear, largely driven by rapidly changing consumer preference and seasonal styles (Applebaum, 1999). Manufacturers were not willing to invest or upgrade production in an unstable market. Competition in the market helped provide manufacturers with cheap labor that was easy to have when needed and dispose of when not (Applebaum, 1999). Garment workers were paid by the piece, although manufacturers were still required to pay the employee minimum wage. The depth of contractors and subcontractors added to the poor supervision of garment workers (Liebhold & Rubenstein, 1999a). Also, the large immigrant population of Los Angeles added to the growth of sweatshops in the city. Contracting, like in the early 20th century, was a means to immigrant assimilation.

The Los Angeles sweatshop workforce was primarily Latina and Asian women (Applebaum, 1999; Hapke, 2004). This was a direct result of the 1965 immigration act which brought a new surplus of immigrant workers to complete low-skill garment manufacturing (Green, 1996; Stott, 1999). In 1995, 25% of garment workers were Latino. Undocumented workers from underdeveloped nations increasingly worked in the United States (Hapke, 2004). By 1997, an estimated one million undocumented workers were in California alone (Applebaum, 1999). Arriving immigrants in the 1990s, similar to the late 1800s, were eager to gain employment. Working among others who spoke a familiar language and shared similar community values maintained a strong workforce (Green, 1996).

Assignment:

Content in Focus	Time	Instructor-Learner Interaction
Background and introduction to assignment by instructor <i>Guiding Criteria (completed for each source):</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What was the purpose of the research? • What conclusions can be drawn from the status of Chinese and Latina workers in the apparel industry? • Was there any significant difference between working 	45-60 minutes. Assignment may be introduced and then collected at a later time.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The instructor can review the readings with the class or small groups, providing further reflections of the literature. 2. Written comments can be added to student's responses evoking further thought on behalf of the student.

<p>conditions for Chinese garment workers in New York than California?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How can sweatshops in the 1990s be compared to sweatshops in the 1900s? • After reading about the history of Chinese garment workers, can assumptions be made as to why they have not achieved success, like earlier groups of Eastern European immigrants? • What differences were found between Latinas who worked in Puerto Rico and those who worked in the United States? 		
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Summary: By completing this assignment, students will become knowledgeable of sweatshops in the 1990s and their historical roots. The presence of sweatshops in the modern day apparel industry can be recognized.

Evaluation:

Evaluative: Instruct students to complete a summary of the readings, guided by criteria.

Summative: Individual student reflection will be expressed through written content. Additional group discussion may be collected to obtain further critical thought from students.

References:

- Applebaum, R. P. (1999). The Los Angeles garment industry. In P. Liebhold & H. R. Rubenstein (Eds.), *Between a rock and a hard place: A history of American sweatshops, 1820- present*. (pp. 53-60). Los Angeles, CA: UCLA Asian American Studies Center and Simon Wiesenthal Center Museum of Tolerance.
- Bender, D. & Greenwald, R. A. (Eds.) (2003). *Sweatshop USA: The American sweatshop in historical and global perspective*. New York: Routledge.
- Brooks, E. C. (2007). Unraveling the garment industry: Transnational organizing and women's work. *Social Movements, Protest, and Contention*, 27. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Green, N. L. (1996). Women and immigrants in the sweatshop: Categories of labor segmentation revisited. *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 38(3). 411-433.
- Hapke, L. (2004). *Sweatshop: The history of an American idea*. Piscataway, N. J.: Rutgers University Press.

- Liebhold, P. & Rubenstein, H. R. (1999a). History of sweatshops. In Liebhold, P. & Rubenstein, H. R. (Eds.), *Between a rock and a hard place: A history of American sweatshops, 1820- present*. (pp. 1-14). Los Angeles, C. A.: UCLA Asian American Studies Center and Simon Wiesenthal Center Museum of Tolerance.
- Stott, R. (1999). Between a rock and a hard place: A history of American sweatshops, 1820-present. *The Journal of American History*, 86(1), 186-191.

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSIONS

In conclusion, this study examined sweatshop history during 1880-1915, the 1930s, and the 1990s. The researcher developed lesson plans based on this sweatshop history to satisfy undergraduate core curriculum requirements for social justice. A multicultural education approach was used to create introductory, intermediate, and advanced level curriculum examples in order to promote social justice.

This study proposed the following research questions:

1. What significant events occurred related to sweatshops in the apparel industry from 1880-1915, during the 1930s, and the 1990s? What programs, organizations, or events aided in the fight of sweatshop environments and conditions in the apparel industry?
2. How can a multicultural education approach be used to educate students about sweatshop history?
3. What are examples of curriculum and lesson plans that infuse the history of sweatshops and social justice as an effective learning experience for undergraduate textile and clothing students?

Through this research, I have found that sweatshop history is an effective subject area to use when teaching students about social injustices. The lessons provided will help students understand the environments and conditions that sweatshop laborers were subjected to. Learning about garment manufacturing in crowded tenement buildings, viewing photographs of children workers, and reading letters written to President Roosevelt, will provide a unique portrayal of garment worker's lives. Researching the work and initiatives of labor and trade unions, as well as the challenges that women and ethnic groups faced will raise student's awareness of how unions affected sweatshop labor. Examining people's perspectives of sweatshops, student anti-

sweatshop campaigns, and the similarities of historic and modern day sweatshops, will help students to critically think about their stance on sweatshop labor and the efforts that they may make to counter sweatshops.

The development of the results of this study used a critical multiculturalist position. Lessons served to promote the identities and ideas of a range of social groups. Through the lessons, students can begin to recognize how dominant powers place certain groups of society into marginalized positions. Reading and viewing the lived experiences of garment workers overturns the alleged collective experience that is solely based on the hegemonic perspective. Evidence of a critical multiculturalist perspective is also shown in the requirement of discussion and reflection. Learning about others can foster a greater self-understanding on behalf of the student. They are able to view themselves through others' perspective and can begin to value differences in opinion. The use of discussion and reflection is an application of a critical multiculturalism.

Critical multiculturalism in the classroom is displayed through a liberatory or critical pedagogy. Again, a liberatory or critical pedagogy helps students become confident and capable of addressing social justice issues (Duncan-Andrade, 2008). Through the lessons developed in this study, reflection of students and instructors can be fostered. There are several assignments that encourage group collaboration to learn more about assignment content as well as, the ideas and perspectives of classmates with diverse backgrounds. Instructors are encouraged to express their own thoughts as a facilitator of discussion and provide constructive feedback to students. Personal reflections beyond the initial assignments are encouraged to further develop students' critical thinking skills.

The lessons in this research were developed to highlight historically oppressive work environments in an attempt to expunge the same issues in modern day society. Sweatshop history

can be used to prepare students with life skills and suggest they become empowered to actively fight injustice in society. The examples of lesson plans satisfy several components of multicultural education frameworks. The lessons were created to teach students not only about others, but to provide them with the knowledge to function within our diverse society. Prejudice and discriminatory stereotypes and ideas can be dislodged, changing attitudes and allowing new dialogue. The content and assignments were connected to a variety of sources and groups of people. The lessons brought the outside world into the classroom, exposing students to perspectives and discussions that they may not otherwise be subjected to. The transformative knowledge gained while completing assignments and lessons can be a valuable experience for students and allow them to more easily recognize injustices. Many of the lessons offer the opportunities for students to exercise creativity and freedom of choice, stimulating their interests in activities. Further, hands-on activities give students the opportunity to build connections to the real world. Throughout the exercises, students are still held to achieving academic standards. Utilizing a multicultural education framework can ensure that students will become knowledgeable of the diversity of our society.

The transformative approach to lesson development in this research challenges dominant knowledge of sweatshop history by encouraging students to visualize concepts, themes, and problems from those who were disadvantaged. Content from women, immigrants and other cultural groups is purposely infused into lessons to become the center of assignments. The marginalized voice is given power in the lessons of sweatshop history, exposing yet ignoring mainstream American ideals. The lessons gave value to the history of those who may not have been included, therefore providing transformative intellectual knowledge. The transformative approach helps students realize that U.S. society and history is built from the extensive

contributions of different racial, ethnic, and gender groups. From this, students become aware of the power structure that forms knowledge and can begin to create their own. Students are able to reinterpret history and the present, allowing a space for the story of those unheard.

As mentioned in chapter three, there are five dimensions of multicultural education (Banks, 1996b; 1999). They are content integration, knowledge construction, prejudice reduction, equity pedagogy, and empowerment of school and social culture. Each lesson in this research integrates content that covers various aspects of U.S. culture and societal groups. Lessons examine how knowledge is constructed. The lesson “Child Labor in Photographs” challenges students to think about the about the perspective and biases of photographer Lewis Hine. Also, through online visitation of the exhibit *Between a rock and a hard place*, students are asked to consider whose voice is not represented in didactic material. These examples of knowledge construction focus on underlying frames of reference. Prejudice reduction is used throughout the lessons to familiarize students with various racial and ethnic groups of people. Learning about immigrants that lived in tenements and the experiences of ethnic groups with garment labor unions, can create positive racial and ethnic attitudes. An equity pedagogy is implemented in that, there are several approaches to assignments, ranging from Internet exhibits to reading scholarly literature. Lastly, the lessons of this research work to empower school and social culture. The lesson “Students against Sweatshops” helps students examine the garment manufacturing of university licensed apparel. From this lesson, the culture and organization of the school could be restructured, by campaigning against sweatshop-made university apparel.

An important purpose of the lessons created for this research was to satisfy social justice curriculum components of undergraduate study. By implementing these types of lessons into undergraduate courses, students can engage in discussions about injustices faced by society.

Recognizing that there are differences between people, specifically the dynamics of power and position in society, can help students understand injustice. Through reflection, discussion, and completion of assignments, a measurement of student's demonstration and articulation of concepts can be assessed.

The examples provided in this research can serve as a complete resource for instructors or can be modified to fit instructor's objectives or within specific courses. Lessons can be implemented in their entirety and reintroduced in multiple choice tests or essays. The lessons can be extended or shortened to accommodate various class lengths and teacher plans. Incorporating sweatshop history into undergraduate curriculum can be used as the groundwork for further discussions of social justice topics. Because the lessons provided in this research cover three time periods, multiple opportunities for teaching about injustice in sweatshops could be applied. The lessons could also be used as an additive to topics such as, garment manufacturing or legislation in the apparel industry.

Limitations

Few limitations were found in the development of this research. An expected issue was the lack of perspectives and stories from marginalized workers in the garment industry. There was a plethora of synthesized information about the general unhealthy and inhumane conditions of sweatshops. These sources provided value in explaining an uncomfortable part of U.S. history. However, the personal perspectives and life stories of those who slaved and died to manufacture garments were difficult to access. The limited accessibility mirrors the overall deletion of marginalized groups' stories from history. Making use of the resources that are available and investigating or uncovering new knowledge is significant to uncovering authentic U.S. history.

Future Research

After examining the results of this study, several extensions of the study may be proposed. This research will provide an example of how to implement social justice topics into undergraduate curriculum. Other social injustices related to the environment, class, race, or gender could form lessons for undergraduate instruction. Additional research could be conducted that specifically looks at women, children, or ethnic immigrant groups and their connections to sweatshops in the garment industry. Within the selected time periods there are numerous subjects that could be explored in-depth. Developing lessons that focus solely on strikes, boycotts, or anti-sweatshop campaigns could provide examples of demonstration that encourage students to act. Concepts of this research are universal and can be transferred across disciplines and subjects (such as women's studies and labor history), since social justice is relevant in all aspects of human life.

Along with providing an example of utilizing social justice topics for instruction, this research can work to prepare students for civic action. Exposing students to sweatshop history in their coursework can help them empathize with particular segments of our history and society. By learning about the historical component of sweatshops, students will be better informed and prepared to deal with the ongoing sweatshop epidemic, specifically for those who will pursue careers in the textile and apparel industry.

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