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CONDITIONS AND SOURCES OF LABOR REPRODUCTION IN GLOBAL SUPPLY CHAINS: THE CASE OF UKRAINIAN GARMENT SECTOR

Problems of labor (power) reproduction in global garment supply chains are broadly reviewed in related research. However, little or no attention has been paid to these issues in post-Soviet countries in general and in Ukraine in particular. Using Marxist and Marxist feminist approaches to labor reproduction and based on semi-structured interviews with Ukrainian factory workers, this article analyzes production-related conditions of their labor reproduction and additional sources of material resources and time necessary for it. It reveals that Ukrainian garment workers, who produce for Western brands, often have poor conditions of labor reproduction due to immanent features of global supply chains' operation, as well as due to poor law enforcement, management's arbitrariness and company unionism. For many of the interviewed workers, these conditions of labor reproduction result in consumption austerity and the problem of gender-related high load of reproductive labor which often have to be managed at the expense of rest, recreation and social life. Additional sources of labor reproduction that workers can attain outside the production process have a further negative impact through time and health-related pressure on their quality of life, further financial insecurity, additional pressure and control by employers. These results problematize socio-economic outcomes of inclusion into global supply chains as international brands transfer a part of the labor reproduction load on the local state and workers. The article reveals that broadening our focus, from the production process to a number of activities beyond production, can contribute to the Marxist approach to labor reproduction and its sources.

Keywords: reproduction of labor power, sources of labor reproduction, reproductive labor, global supply chains, gender, Marxism.

Ukrainian garment factories and their labor force have been included into global supply chains since the time when Ukraine gained independence in 1991. While the Ukrainian government's discourse has always been about attracting foreign companies, it has almost never included a critical assessment of how this influences local workers' ability to sustain themselves. And while for many years labor issues in global supply chains in general and in the garment sector in particular have been in the focus of sociology, there is little or no research in Ukrainian context.

According to research in other production countries, inclusion into a global supply chain often leads to numerous problems concerning labor conditions. This is caused by structural characteristics of the global supply chains' operation. Some scholars argue that competition between countries in the context of neoliberal policies and power consolidation on the side of capital [Anner, 2015a], critical imbalance of power in global supply chains and highly disproportional distribution of added value [Bruhn, 2014], polarization between "global" capital and "local" labor [Kelly, 2002] creates "race to the bottom" and "labor-unfriendly regimes" [Mezzadri, 2008: p. 604] where governments continuously try to attract investment by reducing taxes, making tax exemptions [Seabrooke and Wigan, 2014], or liberalizing labor regulations [Flecker, 2010].

In the context of labor problems which emerge from global supply chains' operation, the problems of wages are of crucial importance. For countries at the bottom of global supply chains, prevailing wages in industries included in global supply chains cover no more than 50 % of basic needs [Anner, 2015a; Holdcroft, 2015], and frequently, even minimum wages are not paid [Starmanns, 2017]. These tendencies bring up an issue of labor day-to-day survival (in other words, labor reproduction) as an important one for a state, economy, and community.

The concept of labor reproduction or labor-power reproduction¹ has been comprehensively developed within Marxist tradition, starting with Karl Marx's research of the capitalist mode of production [Marx, 1990]. In capitalism, Marx argues, while workers can only sell their labor-power, they need something in return to renew this labor power and to survive. In capitalist economy workers get wages for selling their labor power; Marx analyzes only wages as the source of labor reproduction. This analysis must be taken critically in the face of poverty wages in global supply chains.

Hence, this research deals with the following **problem:** while neoliberal ideology, followed by the Ukrainian government to a great extent, proposes inclusion into global supply chains as an ideal way of development [Baldwin,

2013], no critical assessment of outcomes for labor day-to-day reproduction has been made in Ukrainian context. This article aims to identify and assess conditions, sources and outcomes of labor reproduction in those Ukrainian garment factories that are included into global supply chains. Hence, the **objectives of this research are:** 1) to identify and assess production-related conditions and sources of labor reproduction in Ukrainian made-for-brands garment sector; 2) drawing on empirical data in Ukraine, to assess applicability of Marxist theoretical approach to explicating labor reproduction in capitalist economy.

Theoretical and methodological approaches.

Theoretical standpoint of this research elaborates on Marxist tradition as the one which comprehensively deals with the issues of labor (power) reproduction. According to Karl Marx, "the production of labour-power consists in [individual's] reproduction of himself or his maintenance" [Marx, 1990: p. 274], and those are the means of subsistence (food, clothes, housing) necessary for his or her reproduction, i.e. for survival and maintaining an ability to work productively. In capitalist economy, Marx argues, when labor is included in the process of capitalist production, wages become the main source for labor-power to reproduce. Hence, the processes of production and labor reproduction are bound together and labor reproduction is viewed in a wage-centric manner. His wage-centric discourse derives from an attempt to conceptualize the value of labor-power in capitalist economy, hence, to define how workers' inclusion into this economy influences conditions of their reproduction and how the actual needs of workers are related to the resources provided by capitalism. This approach has been criticized by Marx's adherents and was developed by them in two major directions.

First of all, Michael Burawoy explained this interpretation of labor reproduction by a specific historical phase of capitalist development which he called "market despotism" [Burawoy, 1983]. Burawoy argues that during this phase the process of production and labor reproduction are almost inseparable. Adjusting Marx's theory to modern capitalist reality, Michael Burawoy suggests that the ties between the process of production and labor reproduction can be loosened by state intervention in two particular ways [Burawoy, 1983: p. 589]. First of all, state intervention can provide social insurance and introduce minimum wage regulations to establish the minimal level of labor reproduction and thus make it relatively independent from the production process. Secondly, state intervention can implement regulations to protect workers from management's arbitrariness in the process of bargaining.

These may include legislation not only to establish and empower trade unions but also to protect individual workers from being fired.

Secondly, Marx's theory of labor reproduction was criticized by Marxist feminists for excluding reproductive labor. As Silvia Federici points out, means of subsistence should not only be bought and consumed; there is the process of another type of labor involved in-between [Federici, 2009]. She emphasizes that, in his theory, Marx ignores reproductive labor necessary for delivering and processing the means of physical and emotional subsistence. This exclusion of reproductive labor, argues Federici, made Marx blind to the role of women and the interplay between capitalism and patriarchy. Inclusion of the whole Marxist feminist argument and discussion on reproductive labor in capitalist economy is beyond theoretical and empirical needs of this research. However, feminist emphasis on another type of labor process and time needed for labor reproduction is crucial; and feminist attention to the gender aspect of reproductive labor must be kept in focus, too.

From theoretical elaborations of Karl Marx, Michael Burawoy and Silvia Federici, the following sources for labor reproduction can be listed: monetary, temporal, and regulatory. The monetary dimension refers to wages a worker can spend on his or her reproduction. Temporal dimension corresponds to time a worker has to make his or her means of subsistence consumable. This refers to the time he or she spends on what is generally called reproductive labor. And finally, regulatory sources correspond to state regulation of job security, collective bargaining and minimum wage provision. In the context of global supply chains, three systemic problems can be immediately highlighted in relation to the labor reproduction dimensions. The first problem is the "race-to-the-bottom" mentioned above. In neoliberal economy, competing for a place in global supply chains may cause a loosening of labor and wage regulations in order to attract investments. This leads to less state intervention in support of labor reproduction. The second problem is low payment, also mentioned above. It is important to emphasize that poverty wages in global supply chains of international brands are so important in labor-related discourse primarily because of structural critical imbalance between wages of workers and profit rates of brands. Hence, the question of a worker's ability to buy what he or she needs for life is imbedded into structural aspects of global supply chains in general and brands' supply chains in particular. And the third problem is extensive overtime, which can be even more important in garment global supply chains (comparing to other global supply chains) because of the "fast-fashion"² phenomenon and a prevalence of "just-in-time" production³.

Aiming to reflect on the situation in Ukrainian garment industry in the light of the theoretical perspectives discussed above, this article draws upon **empirical data** which was collected in September 2016, March and July-September 2017 in Ukrainian factories. It consists of 51 semi-structured interviews with workers (excluding management and administration) of 8 factories⁴. In three of those factories, 5% of the total workforce was surveyed. All of these factories are in formal economy sector, with 100 to 700 people employed in each. They are located in 7 different administrative regions of Ukraine, in locations ranging from an urban type settlement with a population of almost 10,000 people to a city with more than 600,000; three of the settlements are administrative centers of their regions. Specific regions cannot be named due to confidentiality though it can be added that the factories are located in western (two factories), central (four factories) and southern (two factories) macro regions. All the interviews were confidential and taken outside of factories.

Other sources of empirical data for this research are the State Statistics Service of Ukraine (SSSU) and the United Nations Comtrade Database (UN Comtrade).

Ukrainian export-oriented garment industry: general characteristics. The end of the Soviet Union also meant the end of its production networks, including those of garment sector. For Ukraine, as for many other countries, it also was the beginning of the long "transition" crisis with decreasing socio-economic parameters. Facing disintegration of their supply chains and lowering purchasing power of the local population, many of the newly privatized garment factories started to take orders from brands. Further inflow of cheap (often contraband) goods of mass consumption and an absence of alternative development strategies from the state [Hormel, 2011] made the lowest position in garment global supply chains an attractive option for many factories. While there are no direct statistics pointing to this claim, it can be supported by some collateral data. First of all, according to some sources, 90% of Ukrainian garment enterprises use toll manufacturing [Tsepko, 2010] which means that a great part of them must be included into brands' "Cut, Make and Trim" schema⁵ as suppliers. At the same time, in 2015, the main export destinations for garments were, in cash value terms: Germany (37 %); Hungary (7 %); Poland (7 %); Romania (6 %); Denmark (6 %); and France (6 %) (UN Comtrade 2015). Christos Kalantaridis' research of factories in Zakarpattia Region suggests that at least some factories are not direct suppliers for brands but rather play the role of subcontractors for "intermediaries located in economies which achieved significant advances in the process of socio-economic transformation (such as Hungary and Slovakia)" [Kalantaridis, 2000: p. 287].

According to state statistics [SSSU, 2017: p. 196], in 2016, there were 1547 garment enterprises operating in Ukraine, corresponding to 4 % of all industrial enterprises and employing 46,700 workers which corresponds to 2.1% of all industrial employment⁶. Nearly 80 % of the workers are women [Palyvoda and Pryma, 2013]. Clothes are mostly produced at micro-size (62.9 %) and small-size (25.4 %) enterprises [Farion, 2015] located mostly in Western and Central part of the country⁷. Garment constituted 1.2 % of total export in money terms in 2015 [SSSU, 2016].

Between March and September 2017⁸ average gross monthly wage in light industry⁹ was 5353 UAH [SSSU, 2018a], which equivalents to 71 % of average wage in industrial sector during this period, and 76% of general average wage [SSSU, 2018b]. It was the lowest average wage for industrial employment and (for the same period) it constituted 141 % of the subsistence minimum for an able-bodied adult (taxes included) as defined by Ministry of Social Policy (MSP) of Ukraine: the latter was 3789 UAH [MSPU, 2017]¹⁰. Taking into account that many workers have families with dependents and that the MSP subsistence minimum, though being twice higher than a legal one, is still underestimated¹¹, even these general official statistics on wages position garment workers into the category of the working poor.

Besides poverty wages, garment sector in Ukraine is characterized by a high level of law violations. Olexander Tsepko suggests that "[no] more than 10% of Ukrainian apparel producers work fully within legal framework" [Tsepko, 2010: p.10]. For example, in 2013, the complex inspection of garment factories in Zakarpattia Region found violations on all factories. Most of these violations concerned wages and wage arrears, but they also included violations in severance package, illegal overtime, and conditions of employment of underage workers [SLI, 2013].

State intervention in the production process is formally quite extensive in Ukraine. The Labor Code, inherited from the Soviet times, provides a whole range of protection for

individual and collective bargaining. Hence, the question is how this extensive bargaining protection manifests itself in the reality of large-scale informality. At least two facts point at governmental attempts to liberalize existing protection and general regulations of the production process. First of all, in August 2014 the government introduced a moratorium on Labor Inspection, which was active till the end of 2017. And secondly, the government has been trying to change the Labor Code for many years, while the existing Labor Code Project receives a lot of criticism¹². Minimum wage regulation also exists but its reproductive protection has been significantly devaluated by the economic crisis of 2014. Despite rocketing inflation in 2014-2016, wages were effectively frozen and were significantly increased only at the beginning of 2017. In March 2017, the minimum wage was already lower than the underestimated MSP subsistence minimum for an able-bodied adult (taxes included), and its subsequent increase at the beginning of 2018 could not cover this gap.

Wages in Ukrainian made-for-brands garment sector. Information from semi-structured interviews with workers allows to make conclusions about tendencies in payment at Ukrainian factories included into brands' global supply chains. Average net wage (i.e. after tax deductions) of the interviewed workers during March-September 2017 constituted 3017 UAH and was just 15% higher than the legislatively guaranteed net minimum wage of 2576 UAH [PU, 2017]. Moreover, it was lower than 3050 UAH of the average MSP subsistence minimum for able-bodied adults (taxes excluded) for March-September 2017. Almost half of the interviewed workers got only the net minimum wage and there were several cases when even the net minimum wage was not paid. As one of the seamstresses complained: *"To me, everything is very clear: one suit jacket costs 160 euros in the shop. And I have 70 euros of monthly salary"*¹³ (woman, 49 years, seamstress).

While the legal subsistence minimum cannot cover sufficient means of labor reproduction, and even the MSP subsistence minimum is underestimated, an alternative point of reference would be helpful in evaluating workers' wages. The "living wage", according to the international research methodology of Clean Clothes Campaign, must cover monthly family expenditures on food, accommodation, utilities, medicine and hygiene, transportation, education, culture and recreation, clothes and shoes, vacations and savings for workers' families. Therefore, the surveyed Ukrainian workers were asked to estimate how much their families need on a monthly basis in each of the living wage categories. The raw self-estimation by respondents was 9982 UAH.

It is indicative that many workers could hardly estimate money resources needed for some expenditure categories, in particular for renting or maintaining their houses, culture and recreation, new clothes and shoes, vacations and savings. Getting poverty wages, most of them can hardly afford to spend money on these units and have no idea how much they need for them. For example, referring to expenditures on vacations, one of the respondents remarked sarcastically: *"[We] spend vacations [working] in the fields in our village – at the Green Sea"* (woman, 21 years, seamstress). Trying to estimate expenditures on clothes and shoes, another one noted: *"One pair of new shoes would cost me one [monthly] salary"* (woman, 40 years, seamstress).

First of all, this indicates that production-related sources of labor reproduction are so scant that workers have no access to many money-related goods: both material and immaterial (like recreation). One of them complained: *"Not enough [money] for recreation, for medical treatment. Well, you must receive treatment but for recreation, it is never enough"* (man, 65 years, mechanic).

Secondly, this challenges the applicability of raw self-estimation by workers.

Some recalculations were needed to have a benchmark of the "living wage", e.g. the one needed for these workers to have a decent level of labor reproduction. For this recalculation, we took the average for every unit of expenditure, excluding those workers who could not make estimation. In the end, the living wage for the workers and their families constituted 14517 UAH (2.6 family members on average). This estimation is only a benchmark and a crude one¹⁴ but this benchmark leads to the conclusion that in March-September 2017 average net wage of the interviewed workers covered only 21 % of the living wage. Hence, production-related money resources at the researched factories cannot provide workers with a decent level of labor reproduction. This urges to revise Marx's theory of labor reproduction which limits sources of labor-power reproduction to engagement in capitalist production process by selling labor-power and getting wages in return.

Interplay of time and money: overtime work and forced vacations. Another big problem, commonly acknowledged by researchers of global supply chains in general and brands' supply chains in particular, is overtime. Ukrainian made-for-brands garment sector is not an exception. According to workers, during the high season of orders, they usually work 10 hours per working day and some hours on Saturdays. In some cases, their working hours can be extended to 12 hours per day and in exceptional cases they can even stay till late at night to finish an order in time. Sometimes workers are pressed by management to deal with deadlines but frequently, their motivation is an economic one. Workers take this exhausting overtime because it is the only period during the year when they can earn more.

Moreover, outside the high season of orders, workers, particularly seamstresses, have several hours of overtime per week and sometimes working hours on Saturdays. There was even a case when a worker regularly took some work to do at home. This situation is caused by the piece-rate payment for seamstresses and some other categories of workers. For each operation, they have to complete a quota in order to get even the legal minimum wage. And often these quotas are so high that workers have to stay overtime hours to complete it. As one worker complained: *"To meet my quota, I must process 350 jackets per day, and I manage to do nearly 200. I have no idea how they calculate that quota. Even with overtime every day and working on Saturdays, I cannot manage to do the 350 jackets"* (woman, 38 years, assistant). Overtime hours spent to complete the quotas are not paid at all. In those cases when required quotas were too high for a worker to fulfil, two types of managerial reaction were reported. At one factory, in such cases, workers were payed the minimum wage only according to documents but in fact they received less. At another, however, management still payed the minimum wage but positioned it as a favor to workers: *"And for the rest [up until the legal minimum wage], the manager tells me she will 'take care of' and 'pay me more'. She says, 'I've added it to you,' as if I've done nothing and it's a big favor that I get the legal minimum wage with 10 hours overtime per week"* (woman, 38 years, assistant).

A number of respondents reported being subjected to "forced" vacations. In cases when there were few orders, the management made workers take vacations using parts of their legal annual leave. Hence, workers could not take this leave when they wanted to or planned to. One of the workers expressed this problem as follows: *"What vacation do we have? Just when we want to go on vacation, in summer, such a mess happens [with urgent orders] that we have to spend whole days here. And when we don't want*

to, they 'send' us on vacation" (woman, 40 years, seamstress).

This kind of schedule and "managerial solutions" are related partially to global supply chains' dynamics and characteristics and, partially, to arbitrariness of local employers. This definitely and directly diminishes time available to workers outside their engagement in productive labor. As a result, they do not have enough time for rest, social life, etc. As one woman said: *"I would like to have a good rest, oh God, at least some rest. I'm a home-bird, I like knitting and needlework. Breeding rabbits is my hobby. But I don't have time even to feed them"* (woman, 55 years, seamstress). Besides, being mostly women, these workers have a disproportional load of reproductive labor. In the end, reproductive labor is also often done at the expense of social life, recreation, rest: *"I have one day off, but what a kind of day-off is it? I spend all the day in the kitchen. All my social life happens at work, I don't have time for it"* (woman, 60 years, seamstress). In some cases, workers have no other choice but to try combining productive and reproductive labor. For example, one worker admitted that on Saturdays (though it is strictly prohibited by the rules) she sometimes takes her granddaughter with her to the workshop because there is nobody else to take care of the child.

It can be concluded that workers' time needed for labor reproduction is diminished because of frequent long hours of engagement in production process. In the end, their time for labor reproduction, being longer for most of research participants due to gender factor, is focused on the operations necessary for physical survival. This decreases quality of their life and their labor-power reproduction as even the most necessary reproductive labor time is often taken at the expense of social life and rest/recreation. In the end, the research confirms the tendency pointed out by Silvia Federici: engagement into the global supply chain makes leisure time almost utopian [Federici, 2009] for workers who participated in this research. Not least because of their gender.

State regulations and law-enforcement. State protection for Ukrainian workers who make garment for brands is ambiguous. All of research participants had permanent employment contracts but the research project covered only those factories which are in formal economy. Respondents were formally entitled to social security benefits which are an indispensable part of all formally registered employment in Ukraine. These benefits included a paid medical leave, a paid annual leave, etc. However, social security is, in a way, illusory. Formal entitlement does not necessarily correspond to actually receiving adequate benefits in case of need. Besides the problem with forced annual leave discussed above, some workers were transferred to half-time employment after the minimum wage increase in 2017: *"But you know how these things are done. When they need – they transfer you to half-a-day: stay if you want, or don't stay"* (woman, 58 years, packer)¹⁵.

Hence, official protection means less when there is no effective law-enforcement. This allows employers to make pressure on workers in order to restrict individual and collective bargaining. Workers explicitly stated that they can bargain only about small issues like a lack of light or being allowed to leave earlier one day or another. However, this possibility to bargain or complain diminishes dramatically when more important issues are concerned like wages, annual leave, etc. As one woman said: *"We don't like [forced annual leave], but what can we do? Complain? You don't like it – you quit"* (woman, 40 years, seamstress). Moreover, at one factory this general powerless position of workers was reinforced by a sense of fear because they perceived the factory owner as an

influential person in this small town: *"There was a case when the whole brigade was not payed its bonus. They didn't want to pay – and they didn't pay. But nobody goes on strike. Everybody keeps mum. They are afraid. [...] The master does whatever he wants"* (woman, 49 years, seamstress).

Collective bargaining is undermined by weak positions of trade unions in Ukraine. At least five of the researched factories had a trade union and an employee became their member automatically when signing his or her contract. Those unions, however, did nothing to deal with direct violations of the law. As one worker explained: *"Yes [we have a union], the one which only collects money. [Laughs]. I say 'collects', but they deduct it. But what does it do? [Laughs]. Everybody becomes a member after being hired and they deduct membership fees, the same way as they deduct taxes, payment to the pension fund, unemployment insurance, etc."* (man, 65 years, mechanic). Unions' functions came down to bargaining on small issues (like light), providing small financial support for workers on medical treatment and other needs, and even giving loans to workers. At one of the researched factories, there was an attempt to bargain collectively to create an independent union. Two of the most active workers were fired and one of them could be rehired only after several years in courts.

Hence, despite noticeable state regulations for production process and bargaining, its potential effect diminishes and, in a way, even vanishes due to specificities of global supply chains' operation, poor law enforcement, management's arbitrariness and company-controlled trade unions¹⁶. State regulations give workers relative security but workers can bargain only small labor-production issues, including some insignificant time-related matters like an earlier leave in exceptional cases, a medical leave or a merge of productive and reproductive labor. At the same time, workers can hardly bargain (either individually or collectively) about the most important reproduction-related sources of money and time like higher wages or restricted overtime.

Survival strategies. In Karl Marx's wage-centered perspective, there are no additional sources of labor reproduction. Concentrating on capitalist mode of production, Marx does not address the point that market economy can coexist with elements of a non-market one and that worker can attain resources outside capitalist market relations. Otherwise it would not be possible to understand how workers survive in the researched cases and in many other cases of poverty wages. And while Michael Burawoy concentrates on state intervention into the process of production which corresponds to his focus on production regimes, labor reproduction is not his primary interest. But because of this, his interpretation of state support for labor reproduction does not include those interventions which are not related to the process of production. This research provides insight on what is missing from Marxist theory of labor reproduction.

In the face of insufficient production-related financial sources, workers in Ukrainian made-for-brands garment sector have to rely on or seek for additional sources of means for labor reproduction. Not all of the research participants used the same sources: combinations of sources varied, depending on age, health, personal property, personal networks, strategic choices and other factors¹⁷.

In Ukraine, direct and indirect support by the state seems to be the major source to compensate scant means of subsistence. Many workers receive subsidies for public utilities (i.e. accommodation/housing utilities) because sometimes their bills can be equal or even higher than the net minimum wage. And some workers even explicitly express the contradiction in having to rely on state support despite working at least 40 hours per week: *"Why must I take a subsidy? Subsidy is humiliating. Why don't I have*

the kind of salary to pay for my utilities?" (woman, 37 years, seamstress).

Another type of state support is pensions for retired and sometimes pensions for people with disabilities. This source also problematizes state policy on pensions which are mostly so small that people have little choice but to continue their engagement in the labor market to survive. Also, a majority of interviewed workers have their own apartment or house, so they do not have to rent housing. This is due to support of labor reproduction during the Soviet time.

Indirect support of the state also manifests itself, for example, in the form of cheap public transportation subsidized from local budgets. Still, some workers prefer to walk more than 30 minutes each way in order to save money. Another form of indirect support is in the form of a formally free education and health care. Though, of course, the latter is free only formally and treatment is not related to significant financial expenditures only in case of simple health problems. In case of serious health conditions, workers face the hardest financial challenges: *"Last year, I asked like a beggar. I was ill, I had problems with lungs. I had to spend 10 000 UAH in 10 days, one ampule cost 200 UAH. The trade union gave me 300 UAH of 'support'"* (woman, 35 years, seamstress).

Subsistence agriculture is one of the most used labor reproduction sources. Importance of this source was bitterly stressed by one of the workers: *"Fields are golden now"* (woman, 60 years, seamstress). Workers use products from their own fields and livestock to provide a better nutrition outside market relations and to save scant financial resources for those units of consumption which can hardly be provided outside market relations. However, this specific source of labor reproduction involves tiring physical labor that demands a significant amount of time and takes its toll on one's health. Most respondents who practice subsistence agriculture have to work in the fields during their days off or during their annual leave while some others do not have time for that at all, and the work is done by other family members. In any case, this source of labor reproduction creates an additional pressure on workers' quality of life (in particular time, health and energy).

Personal networks (relatives, friends, acquaintances) are the next important source of labor reproduction. The most common form is mutual support within a family when a family budget is constructed through a combination of salaries and pensions of its members or when reproductive labor is shared. However, these sources are beyond one's reach if a worker is the only breadwinner who has dependents (for example, single mothers). External networks also play an important role either in increasing workers' resources or just in making ends meet till the next salary. Workers can attain both financial and non-financial resources from their personal networks (relatives as well as others). For example, some workers do not have their own fields for growing food but their relatives provide them with agricultural products from their households. Some workers borrow small amounts of money till the next salary or bigger amounts if facing a significant expenditure. In extreme cases, workers can even buy products through informal crediting: *"Acquaintances in shops give me food by trust [through informal crediting]. I've got my salary today, so I will go in and pay them back. [We enter the shop and she tells the shop-keeper:] 'Oh, you probably thought that I had lost my sense of conscience...'"* (woman, 49 years, seamstress).

Institutional indebtedness is usually an option in cases of relatively big planned expenditures (like home renovation, new furniture) or unexpected and urgent expenditures, mostly related to health. In these cases people can take loans from financial institutions, enterprises they work for, sometimes even trade unions. This option, however, can result in further

financial insecurity or additional mechanisms of control by factory administration.

Most surveyed workers combine different sources of labor reproduction, depending on their circumstances: *"We have a garden, four hundred square meters, near the house, but there is not enough potatoes for winter [Laughs]. How do we survive? I don't know. We borrow and give back from wages. Like, all the time. Our parents from the village help a lot; they give us food all the time. And my godmother from the village also helps"* (woman, 38 years, seamstress). Still, with all of these additional sources of labor reproduction, most of the workers have to live in constant austerity. Some of them have to save money even on food, buying the simplest products, though trying to provide children with better nutrition. Many workers can buy only second hand clothes and shoes or try to buy them as rarely as possible. Some of them have no access to money-related forms of recreation, vacations and cannot make savings.

Conclusions. This research shows that workers in Ukrainian made-for-brands garment sector have poor conditions of labor reproduction. Their production-related sources of time and money are scant due to specificities of global supply chains' operation, poor law enforcement, management's arbitrariness and company unionism. Despite a rather high level of legislative regulations in the process of production and bargaining, in reality, workers can hardly ever bargain about wage increases, realistic quotas, overtime restrictions, planned vacations or protection from forced abrupt shifts from full-time to part-time employment. It takes a heavy toll on workers' quality of life: some of the workers have to cut expenses even on their basic necessities while money-dependent cultural life, recreation or vacations are out of reach for many of them. And for this mostly female workforce, gender-conditioned high load of reproductive labor has to be managed at the expense of such important aspects of reproduction as recreation/rest and social life.

While having an insufficient level of wages, workers survive through access to other labor reproduction sources. One of them is publicly funded support in the forms of public services (e.g. children's day care centers), state subsidies and social payments. Such situation problematizes the economic outcomes of inclusion into global supply chains for Ukraine: public funds are essential for the survival of Ukrainian workers engaged full-time in the production chains of international garment companies with very high profit margins. In other words, respective high profits of international brands partially result from the fact that state and local budget funds are used to support underpaid workers laboring full-time to produce for those international garment brands.

Other sources of material and time resources for labor reproduction are subsistence agriculture, personal networks of support, personal and institutional credits. Most of them lead to problematic outcomes for workers, either through additional time and health-related pressure on their quality of life as in the case of subsistence agriculture, or further financial insecurity and/or additional pressure and control by factory administration. Hence, international brands pass part of the labor reproduction load on the local state and workers.

Concentrating on the production process in capitalist economy of this time, Karl Marx did not consider complementary labor reproduction sources outside the production process and market relations (such as state support, subsistence agriculture, etc.). Similarly, when conceptualizing state intervention in the production process, Burawoy focuses only on those forms of state support which are available to a person as a worker (e.g. labor bargaining support, unemployment insurance). While both Burawoy and Marx elaborate on the production related sources, this

research demonstrates that labor reproduction sources in Ukraine's garment sector can be fully understood only by broadening our focus from the production process to a number of activities beyond production.

The research data for Ukraine's garment sector reveals four types of labor reproduction sources for the interviewed workers: monetary, non-monetary, regulatory and temporal. The monetary sources include wages and other money income a worker can spend on his or her reproduction, including those which are not related to the process of production (e.g. pensions, money borrowed from institutions and personal networks). The non-monetary dimension includes those goods and services which a worker gets outside market relations (e.g. products from subsistence agriculture, non-financial support from personal networks).

Regulatory sources must be carefully evaluated: being relatively diversified in Ukraine, they fail to provide a substantial support for workers at their workplace; at the same time, public funds, state subsidies and social payments partially substitute low wages. Temporal sources are relative: they depend on gender aspect, on uncontrolled (by workers) pressure of production load, and on time consumed by other sources of reproduction. And while Silvia Federici elaborates on reproductive labor, time as a resource of labor reproduction is not her main focus and thus, she addresses this relative social attribute of time only briefly. Limits of time makes this resource a peculiar one: it is hard to imagine that one can stop his or her labor reproduction because of its lack, but one also cannot extend time beyond its daily limit. Hence, limited management of time distribution by female workers is an important direction for further research.

Notes:

¹While Karl Marx wrote about labor-power reproduction, Michael Burawoy mostly used the term "labor reproduction". At the same time, it must be clarified that in Marx's interpretation "labor power" corresponds not to people who are able to work ("labor force" or "workforce") but to the capacity to do work.

²"Fast fashion" corresponds to the tendency to add mid-seasons between the traditional fashion seasons when fashion products are sold [Bhardwaj and Fairhurst, 2010]. This phenomenon makes pressure both on labor (in terms of overtime) and environment.

³Just-in-time production is a production strategy when big orders are replaced by small short-cycle orders which shifts the risks associated with volatile demand from brands to suppliers and from suppliers to workers [Anner, 2015b].

⁴The empirical data was collected within the project "Wages and Labor Conditions of Garment Workers in Ukraine" by the Clean Clothes Campaign and Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung in Ukraine. The author coordinated this project and partially participated in the data collection, while most of the latter was done by Artem Chapeye and Anna Oksiutovych.

⁵"Cut, Make and Trim" means hiring a subcontractor which is supplied by all the material and performs only cut, make and trim functions.

⁶High level of shadow economy should be kept in mind, though this research is based only on empirical data from officially operating factories.

⁷Unfortunately, there is no regional statistics on production of apparel. Approximate calculations can be made on regional production of main types of clothes in 2015 (in number of items produced), provided by the State Statistics Service of Ukraine (pp. 204-210 <http://bit.ly/2ymiZOv>)

⁸Most of the interviews (except two) were collected during this period.

⁹Light industry includes garment, shoe, leather and textile industries.

¹⁰MSP subsistence minimum has been calculated since the end of 2015 on the basis of the legal subsistence minimum methodology but using current prices. Being higher than the legal subsistence minimum, it does not influence anything.

¹¹It does not include rent of housing, Internet access, expenditures on medical and educational services (which are only formally free). And some of the expenditures are clearly underestimated (detailed calculations by the Ministry of Social Policy can be found here <http://bit.ly/2EiOo3g>).

¹²For example, it allows using fixed-term contracts in many cases, extends the list of justifications for a dismissal, decreases trade union power and basically introduces limitless overtime. While it has a limit on double-paid overtime, it also introduces triple-paid overtime with no limit on hours.

¹³Here and further quotations from interviews are translated from Ukrainian or Russian by the author.

¹⁴While this calculation is based on self-estimation by workers, there are other methodologies to calculate a living wage objectively. One of them is the Asian Floor Wage approach [Merk, 2010] which is based on a typical consumption basket. Application of this methodology in Ukraine would be interesting for further research.

¹⁵The woman had no voice in this decision: she had either to shift to part-time, or to quit her job. Losing half of an already insufficient income was

critical for her. It should be noted that, in this particular case, part-time salary was paid for actual part-time work. This clarification is needed because some Ukrainian companies evaded the recent minimal wage raise by listing de facto full-time workers as part-time employees in their accounting documentation.

¹⁶International Labor Organization defines company union as "a union limited to a single company which dominates or strongly influences it, thereby limiting its influence" [ILO, 2018]. In this research, unions are labeled as "company unions" for the following reasons: while almost all of the workers are their members, unions only manage some small issues, provide small financial support but do nothing even in cases of direct violation of law.

¹⁷Workers also mentioned an exit strategy as a common one: to look for another job or even to migrate to another country. This is a survival strategy, but not a source of labor reproduction within this particular job.

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УМОВИ ТА ДЖЕРЕЛА ВІДТВОРЕННЯ РОБОЧОЇ СИЛИ У ГЛОБАЛЬНИХ ЛАНЦЮГАХ ПОСТАЧАННЯ: ПРИКЛАД ШВЕЙНОЇ ПРОМИСЛОВОСТІ УКРАЇНИ

Проблеми відтворення робочої сили у глобальних ланцюгах постачання одягу широко вивчаються у відповідних роботах. Однак ці питання фактично не досліджуються у пострадянському контексті загалом та в Україні зокрема. Використовуючи марксистський і марксистський феміністичний підходи до відтворення робочої сили та спираючись на напівструктуровані інтерв'ю з працівницями і працівниками українських швейних фабрик, проаналізовано умови відтворення їхньої робочої сили й додаткові джерела матеріальних та часових ресурсів, необхідних для цього відтворення. Показано, що українські працівники і працівниці, які виробляють продукцію для західних брендів, часто мають незадовільні умови відтворення робочої сили – через особливості функціонування глобальних ланцюгів постачання, проблеми з контролем за дотриманням законодавства, свавілля менеджменту і підконтрольні профспілки. Для багатьох із опитаних працівників і працівниць такі умови відтворення робочої сили призводять до економії у щоденному споживанні й до гендерно зумовленого великого навантаження репродуктивної праці, яка виконується за рахунок відпочинку, вільного часу та соціального життя. Додаткові джерела відтворення робочої сили, які працівники і працівниці можуть отримати поза виробничим процесом, створюють додатковий негативний вплив: через витрати часу і здоров'я, подальшу фінансову нестабільність, додатковий тиск і контроль з боку роботодавців. Отримані результати проблематизують соціально-економічні наслідки включення у глобальні ланцюги постачання в умовах, коли західні бренди перекладають частину відповідальності за відтворення робочої сили на місцеву державу, працівників та працівниць. Премонстровано, що розширення дослідницького фокусу за рамки виробничого процесу може збагатити марксистський підхід до вивчення відтворення робочої сили та джерел її відтворення.

Ключові слова: відтворення робочої сили, джерела відтворення робочої сили, глобальні ланцюги постачання, репродуктивна праця, гендер, марксизм.