- ments that the rest of the developing world was being forced to abandon. of neoliberal policy, strategically deploying just the sort of planning, protections, and easy credit arrange degree outside the larger system; in the second, its government dramatically flaunted major principles 12. China is excluded for several reasons: in the first period, its autarkic policies kept it to a certain
- terity (London: Verso, 2003). 13. Robert Pollin, Contours of Descent: U.S. Economic Fractures and the Landscape of Global Aus
- vatize health and education. The declines in Africa and Latin America, where few countries were in a much of East Asia—usually, in precisely those countries that resisted IMF pressure to pare back or priposition to resist, were quite dramatic. 14. If statistics sometimes seem ambiguous, it is largely because many of these figures improved in
- "Global Competitiveness Report 2004–2005," October 2004, www.weforum.org/en/initiatives/gcp/Global% most of the precepts it urges on other governments. For the full report, see World Economic Forum, is followed by the United States, then Sweden, Taiwan, Denmark, and Norway. Note that the top six do 20Competitiveness%20Report/PastReports/index.htm. not include a single country following neoliberal orthodoxy, since the United States itself regularly defies 15. It has held pride of place since 2004. In the World Economic Forum's 2004–5 rankings, Finland
- the bank a million dollars, the bank owns you. If you owe the bank a hundred million, you own the bank." 16. One might consider this a perfect example of that hoary piece of economic wisdom: "if you owe
- Global Poverty (Oakland, CA: Institute for Food and Development Policy, 1994) First Books, 2001). See also Walden Bello, Dark Victory: The United States, Structural Adjustment, and 17. Walden Bello, Future in the Balance: Essays on Globalization and Resistance (Oakland, CA: Food
- of American Power: The U.S. in a Chaotic World (New York: New Press, 2003). 18. Bello, Dark Victory; Harvey, Brief History of Neoliberalism; Immanuel Wallerstein, The Decline
- ory of Possessive Individualism (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962). discussion of the political theory of possessive individualism is in C.B. MacPherson, The Political The-19. The line is from Richard Overton's An Arrow against All Tyrants (Exeter: Rota, 1976). The best
- don: Verso, 1994. 20. Giovanni Arrighi, The Long Twentieth Century: Money, Power, and the Origins of Our Times (Lon-
- and shelter. It has never shown much ability to enforce such rights. The IMF, however, has intervened ers that the UN's Universal Charter of Human Rights specifies that all human beings have a right to food quite systematically and effectively against any country that has attempted to enact policies inspired by 21. The fact that the IMF operates under the UN umbrella is particularly ironic when one consid-
- cracies, particularly with outsourcing of primary production, and new, Asian-inspired "just in time" proicans are aware that almost all department stores in the United States, for instance, are now owned by one duction strategies. On the other hand it also saw unprecedented concentration of ownership. Few Amer-The 1980s and 1990s certainly saw more market elements introduced into some of these bureau-
- dated January 4, 2005, www.midnightnotes.org/index2.htl, for the best introduction to this line of thought South America and of Islamic movements in the Middle East. See "Midnight Notes Collective," last upto have next to nothing to do with one another, such as those of the Twenty-first Century Socialists in of collective resources are thus the common theme of global resistance struggles that might otherwise seem waste disposal, and new and elaborate security functions. Struggles over the definition and management forms of commons for their own benefit: for instance, collective responsibilities for research, transport, collective benefit would be privatized or otherwise eliminated, they also promoted the creation of new ferred to see a world in which all forms of common property administered by communities for their own been made by the Midnight Notes Collective: they were the first to emphasize that while capitalists precompany, Macy's Retail Holdings. So in effect corporate bureaucracies became more flexible but far larger. The most incisive analysis on the importance of different sorts of "commons" to capitalism has

The Age of Wal-Mart

Jane L. Collins

PROFITS IN "POORVILLE"

rity of American workers. I will argue in this chapter that these claims understate for world capitalism and that the template it provides contributes to the insecureplacement with a "global system that relentlessly squeezes labor . . . from South ness to "the destruction of all that remains of New Deal social regulation" and its by a handful of vociferous watchdog groups, such as Wal-Mart Watch and Wake to the smallest local newspaper, on the Internet, in the blogosphere, and in state-Motors in the mid-twentieth century, Wal-Mart has become the template business ture and channel capital throughout the world." They link the firm's competitivecompany, and by the firm's own advocacy groups, such as Working Families for houses and local planning commissions across the nation. The debates are fueled Wal-Mart's influence the late nineteenth century, U.S. Steel in the early twentieth century, and General Carolina to south China." These critics say that, like the Pennsylvania Railroad in the real minimum wage, break trade unions, set the boundaries for popular culits size, success, and political influence enable it "to rezone our cities, determine Wal-Mart, established to counter public criticism. Wal-Mart's detractors argue that Up Wal-Mart, whose research supports labor and community battles against the Quarrels about Wal-Mart are everywhere these days, from the Wall Street Journa

most legislating social policy, not in terms of votes and lobbying, but when it does they hope to compete. . . . It is setting standards for the nation as a whole. It's allowing way: "Wal-Mart is setting a new standard that other firms have to follow if Historian Nelson Lichtenstein has laid out the template argument in the fol-

profitability are part of the story of Wal-Mart's dominance. making enterprise in the world, Wal-Mart has no rival. Clearly market share and of dollars, Sam Walton's heirs are twice as wealthy as Bill Gates. As the largest profit-Safeway, K-Mart, and Kroger combined. With annual profits in the tens of billions sales of over \$3 billion a year, it does more business than Target, Home Depot, Sears, has over five thousand stores and employs over 1.2 million U.S. workers. With its chronicled in the popular press. Wal-Mart is the largest company in the world. It utes Wal-Mart's dominance to its size and global reach, which have been extensively something, it's so large, it's so influential, others follow it." This argument attrib-

of how to be profitable in today's economy, but because if they do not find ways to labor practices and logistics to stay in business.4 offer "everyday low prices" they will lose market share. They must copy Wal-Mart's suggesting that other firms emulate Wal-Mart, not just because it sets an example a bit further when they say that "Wal-Mart lowers labor standards, not just for its workers, but for employees of all competitors and potential competitors." They are Sociologists Edna Bonacich and Khaleelah Hardie take the idea of the template

amply so they could buy Ford cars, Wal-Mart's stingy compensation policies consaid: "In a chilling reversal of Henry Ford's strategy, which was to pay his workers days and the flag. It is also inverting the mid-twentieth-century relationship between the state and wrapping its neoliberal assault on labor in nostalgia for the good old actively unraveling mid-twentieth-century bargains among workers, employers, and tribute to an economy in which workers can only afford to shop at Wal-Mart."5 first articulated by journalist Liza Featherstone in a 2005 article for the Nation. She production and consumption that has come to be known as Fordism. This idea was breathtaking in its implications for the economy as a whole. Wal-Mart is not only Mart's business practices forge a relationship between poverty and profits that is This chapter builds on these understandings but goes further to suggest that Wal-

stretch their wages by shopping at Wal-Mart. shop with us" is frighteningly clear: workers who are paid little enough will have to Scott's claim that the company gives consumers "a wage increase every time they in which profits, lower consumer prices, and poverty are intertwined. CEO Lee vival depends on the low prices thus achieved. As Wal-Mart's low wages and harsh conditions in supplier factories abroad, Wal-Mart is creating consumers whose surment of poverty-level wages to retail workers in the United States and sweatshop labor practices reverberate throughout the economy, they unleash a vicious cycle lose out in the race to the bottom. Like Featherstone, I will argue that, through pay actually premised on—the impoverishment of workers, both here and abroad, who In what follows, I will explore the idea that Wal-Mart's success is built on—

years I have studied life at the lower end of the labor market in several settings. I have interviewed apparel workers in southern Virginia, central Mexico, and rural A disclaimer: Wal-Mart has never been the subject of my research. But in recent

> daily environment of the women I was interviewing. of Milwaukee and Racine. In every phase of this research I bumped into Wal-Mart from Wal-Mart." I noticed, but did not dwell on, Wal-Mart's salient presence in the End plant, the clerk at McDonald's directed me: "Right up there on the hill, across he said. When I drove into Dodgeville, Wisconsin, in 2003 looking for the Lands' for directions to the Tultex apparel factory. "Straight ahead and left at the Wal-Mart," ing into Martinsville, Virginia, in the summer of 1999, I asked a Stop-N-Go clerk in ways that highlighted the relationship between the firm's profits and poverty. Driv-Wisconsin and women transitioning off welfare in the declining industrial centers

a significant negative relationship between median household income and Walevidence that the company takes out ads in poor communities on the days that sources noted: "They plant themselves right in the middle of Poorville." been and continue to be Wal-Mart's bread and butter. As one of Featherstone's Mart's presence in the local labor market. While some upscale retailers worry that too poor to even have a bank account. She quotes economists who have found Mart customers live on salaries of less than \$25,000 a year and that 20 percent are women receive welfare checks and cites studies showing that 23 percent of Wal-Wal-Mart also attracts a share of their more affluent customers, poor people have the case that Wal-Mart knows that its customer base is low-waged people. She cites In her article "Down and Out in Discount America," Liza Featherstone makes

sively into the grocery trade, they increasingly felt that way about food as well. These afford to buy clothing and diapers for the children. As Wal-Mart moved aggressaw shopping at Wal-Mart as crucial to making ends meet—the only way they could of the women—virtually all of them—shopped at Wal-Mart. What is more, they that were similar to and shaped by Wal-Mart's practices. An even larger proportion nently in nearly every narrative. A large proportion of the women I spoke with had access to welfare in Milwaukee and Racine, Wisconsin. Wal-Mart figured promiinterviews convinced me that there is an integral, intentional, and multifaceted re-Those who had not had often worked for Wal-Mart's competitors under conditions worked at Wal-Mart at one time or another and told stories about their experiences. in 2004, when I was collecting the work histories of forty women who were losing lationship between Wal-Mart and poverty. The connection between Wal-Mart's profits and poverty became clearer to me

HOW POVERTY AND PROFITS ARE RELATED

orists were concerned with a key paradox of capitalism: how its tendencies toward school of economics that arose in France in the 1960s and 1970s. Regulation theduction and consumption in an economy have come from regulation theory, a Perhaps the most thoroughgoing attempts to theorize the connection between proinstability, crisis, and change were balanced by its ability to coalesce and stabilize

around institutions, norms, and rules that promote stability. To explain this, regulation theorists developed the concept of regime of accumulation. A regime of accumulation is a relationship between production and consumption in an economy at a given moment. It includes norms governing work and the organization of production; financial rules and practices; rules governing the management of industries and corporations; accepted principles about how income should be shared among wages, profits, and taxes; and norms of consumption and related patterns of demand in the market. Regulation theorists believe that the stability of a regime of accumulation is linked to these formal and informal rules, laws, agreements, habits, and practices.⁷

Henry Ford introduced the \$5, eight-hour day on the basis of an understanding increase it did: the real income of auto workers doubled between 1947 and 1973. of the day, but they recognized unions and engaged in collective bargaining with did they pay their workers enough to buy cars and the other household necessities gan to grow up around practices of assembly line production pioneered in the auto States began to recover from the crisis of the Depression, a new era of stability behow the world should be organized and what was fair. By the 1940s, as the United Depression. During the massive labor mobilizations of the 1930s, this vision of how leisure to use them. He maintained this approach even through the worst of the pany to sell cars, workers would need enough income to buy them and enough that mass production was going to require mass consumption and that, for his comas rapidly as the income of those in the top 10 percent during that period.8 and the real income of those in the bottom half of the U.S. income distribution rose increase annually regardless of inflation, recession, or corporate profitability. And their workers. The Treaty of Detroit in 1948 guaranteed that workers' income would industry. Ford and General Motors were the template firms of that era. Not only the fruits of labor should be distributed was a powerful part of workers' ideas about Here is the story, in very broad strokes, of one regime of accumulation. In 1914

This wage growth represented a new societal consensus about how income should be shared among workers and owners of capital. It was part of a mode of growth in the larger economy that was based on the following interlinked features: mass production, rising productivity based on economies of scale, rising incomes linked to productivity, increasing demand due to rising wages, increased profits based on full utilization of capacity, and increased investment in improved mass production. As Bob Jessop has pointed out, this virtuous cycle relied on separation of ownership and control in large, multidivisional, decentralized corporations; on monopoly pricing; and on union recognition and collective bargaining. It required wages indexed to productivity growth and retail price inflation and monetary credit policies oriented to securing demand. Not all workers and branches of industry participated directly in mass production—racial and gender segregation relegated many to a secondary sector of work that was far less stable and well paid. But the wage bargains

struck in companies like Ford and General Motors spread through comparability claims. Integral to these social arrangements, which Antonio Gramsci christened "Fordism," was the consumption of standardized commodities in nuclear family households. The newly emerging Keynesian state played key roles in managing conflict between owners and workers, in providing social benefits to elderly and unemployed white male workers, and in providing collective goods and services.

Beginning in the 1970s, these arrangements became unstable. Many economists argue that this was due to rigidities in the system: the rigidity of fixed investments in large factories, the rigidity of labor contracts and lifelong bargains with workers, and the rigidity of the state's commitments to social programs. The crisis was also linked to the sharp recession and oil shocks of 1973, which caused instability in world financial markets and led to new patterns of global investment. Inflation, excess capacity, and intensifying global competition drove corporations to find ways to roll back their bargains with workers. Through the next three decades, the rise of neoliberal public policy and the erosion of Fordism went hand in hand.

Scholars have spent a great deal of time arguing about how to properly characterize the years since 1973. The approach that has gained most traction argues that we are now in an era of "flexible accumulation." Proponents of this view, which is associated most closely with the work of Michael Piore and Charles Sabel and their book *The Second Industrial Divide*, see large corporations being replaced by new lean firms that subcontract production and services. Piore and Sabel argue that whereas mass produce standardized goods, flexible firms use skilled workers to produce standardized goods, flexible firms use skilled workers to produce small batches of customized goods on a quick-response basis. They argue that these new economic arrangements foster worker participation in decentralized decision making and a culture of cooperation and trust among firms. Other social scientists see the rise of new "flexible" arrangements more critically, noting that it essentially frees firms to reduce wages, increase hours, undercut unions, and demand concessions from workers, taking advantage of uneven development to pit workers in different places and different sectors against each other. 11

How does Wal-Mart fit into this picture? Sam Walton started Wal-Mart in 1962. During the 1970s, the company expanded out of the South "like molasses spreading through tier after tier of rural and exurban counties." As Lichtenstein has noted, the firm emerged out of a rural southern context "that barely tolerated New Deal social regulation, the civil rights revolution or the feminist [movement]." It promulgated "an ideology of family, faith and small town sentimentality that coexists in strange harmony with a world of transnational commerce, stagnant living standards and a stressful work life." As historian Nancy MacLean argues, these kinds of southern ideas, rooted in the social relations of slavery and white privilege, offered a new and appealing model to nascent neoliberals of the 1980s and 1990s, especially to corporations clamoring for ways to roll back the moral economy of

among workers, employers, and the state. 15 tions between production and consumption, and a new (though contested) consensus emerging contours of a new regime of accumulation, a new set of patterned relamulations were not behind the curve in labor relations but ahead of it, shaping the emphasizes, Wal-Mart's cultivated traditionalism is a new creation. Its folksy for stingy wages, harsh work rules, and discriminatory practices. As Bethany Moreton Framing the corporation as a family and a bastion of homespun values masked its worked to legitimate the firm's hierarchy," such as calling workers "associates." 14 faux egalitarianism translated Reagan-era conservative populism into tropes that Fordism. 13 Lichtenstein claims that "Wal-Mart's Christian entrepreneurialism and

other technologies. In Lichtenstein's words, "For the first time in the history of mod order but to insist that suppliers adopt bar coding, electronic data interchange, and campaigns), Wal-Mart was establishing relationships with offshore manufacturers, ond, during the 1980s (ironically the high point of its "Buy American" advertising firm emerged as the "undisputed leader of supply chain rationalization" and the "maning devices, computerized inventory management, automated distribution cencome to be called "lean retailing." These included the use of bar codes and scan-Mart was a first mover in adopting four new technologies associated with what has dented for a firm in the retail sector. Three features were key. To start with, Wal a regime of accumulation? The model that Wal-Mart was constructing had a sounc ern capitalism, the Wal-Mart template has made the retailer king and the manu relationships with suppliers, allowing the firm not only to dictate the price of an its stores was imported, a figure now closer to 85 percent. 17 Third, by the mid-1980s, particularly in Asia. By the mid-1980s, almost half of all the merchandise sold in jor driver of technology-based productivity gains in the American economy." 16 Secters, and electronic data interchange along its supply chain. To quote analysts, the footing in an entrepreneurial strategy that gave it power and influence unprece-Wal-Mart's buying power had grown so large that it gained the upper hand in its facturer his vassal."18 What gave a retailer emerging out of Bentonville, Arkansas, the power to hijack

THE DOUBLE LIFE OF LOW-WAGE WORKERS

connection to discount shopping.20 While Barbara Ehrenreich, in her brief stint writes of the "solidarity across the check-out counter" that results from this double cashes her paycheck in order to return to Wal-Mart to shop. 19 Liza Featherstone sloppy, demanding, and obese, the women Featherstone spoke to said things like working in a Minnesota Wal-Mart, confessed to hating customers she perceived as In the film Wal-Mart: The High Cost of Low Price, a woman leaves Wal-Mart and "I always loved shopping there. . . . That's why I wanted to work there." In the interviews I conducted in Milwaukee, women talked about being able to buy at Wal

> employee discount. This link between workers and consumers is more important at the store who brought home sale-priced diapers and clothing purchased with an dense, gendered connection between these two roles. than it might seem at first glance; in fact, the secret of Wal-Mart's success lies in the Mart as a benefit of being employed there; they spoke of family members working

ship, from school to the summer. They want summer clothes, so now you got to need anything, I got to come up with the money to get it. Everything is just a harda \$750 paycheck last their families for a month. For these women, meeting their to come up with food by myself. I got to come up with clothes by myself. . . . If they children's needs was a constant struggle. As one woman explained: "Everything you you know." pants don't fit and you're scrounging up change to get them a new pair of shoes I feel bad." Still another said, "It's either they're bustin' out of their coats or their "I'd like to do better for them. I wish I could be like, 'Hey guys, it's a Friday night. worry about summer clothes. You got to come up with this stuff." Another told us, face every day, the first thing you're faced with is 'I got to do this by myself.' I got pleasurable and a crucial part of their strategy for making a \$628 welfare check or Here, mom will get you some new shoes, or some new clothes? I can't do that, and For the women I interviewed in Milwaukee, shopping at Wal-Mart was both

Several women saw Wal-Mart's low prices as helping them provide for their children within their budgets. One young single mother of three told me: "When times outfit at the beginning of the school year, but because her daughter didn't mind get bad, I don't mind shopping at Wal-Mart. Wal-Mart is \$2.88 on the clearance diapers or baby formula, reduce their grocery bills, or keep their children in clothof the women I talked to relied on Wal-Mart or other discount retailers to obtain month, said, "I shop at Wal-Mart because they have nice clothes for all of us." All scribing the complex budgeting strategy that allowed her to make it through the my preferred customer card, I spend too much there." A mother of five, after deto the pleasure of shopping at Wal-Mart: "I'm a Wal-Mart girl," she said. "Even with he didn't like it, he could change his name brand of clothes." A young woman spoke shopping there she "could get her a little bit more." She said, "I told her brother if her teenaged son refused to wear Wal-Mart clothes she could get him only one rack for nice outfits like she's got on here." An older woman explained that because

pointing to its low prices. The firm's Web site claims to save working families "counthrm strong-arms local communities over zoning issues, the company responds by appealing to many. Whenever critics point to unfair labor practices or the ways the there by 20 percent over competitors' prices. CEO Lee Scott suggests that these savhold per year. It says that Wal-Mart lowers the grocery bills of families who shop less millions on the everyday items they need for daily life"—over \$2,300 per house-Wal-Mart is aware that its low prices are indispensable to some consumers and

talk about quality of life, they bring up the price of underpants."22 guarantees public loyalty that one activist has commented, "Every time we try to by shopping at Wal-Mart. The company is so focused on low prices as the hook that check, which can be saved or used for any purpose, this raise can be realized only ings represent a "wage increase" for the working poor. But unlike money in a pay-

ees and for factory workers here and abroad.²⁴ driving down wages and increasing the stress of work both for U.S. retail employgory for each new contract. Low prices are thus transformed into a relentless force tories, demanding either higher quality or lower unit price in every product cateover the previous period. The company applies this same dictate to its supplier fac-"beat yesterday" by increasing sales and decreasing labor costs in every department model, and in continually "rolling back" prices, is its demand that store managers in most department stores.²³ The key to Wal-Mart's success in delivering on this keeping labor costs to less than 15 percent of sales, or about half of what they are traditional department stores, and Wal-Mart is the fastest. Crucial to its formula is sales volume. Big box discounters turn product over two to three times faster than Like all discount retailers, Wal-Mart can sell at such low prices because of its

willing or unable to manage its workers compensation program as required by law."26 pay claims—seized control of its program, saying, "Wal-Mart has shown itself unment of Labor and Industries—in response to the company's repeated refusal to cies were drawn into the public spotlight after the State of Washington's Depart half of its employees.²⁷ At the same time, Wal-Mart's workers' compensation poli-\$250 a year for bare-bones plans with a \$4,000 deductible, while better plans with upgraded its health plan in the fall of 2007, cutting the waiting period from two ployees choose coverage under this plan. ²⁶ In response to public criticism, Wal-Mart percent of a paycheck or higher. For this reason only 44 percent of Wal-Mart's emone-third of their premium; this share could be as high as \$400 a month, often 40 provided excluded many important items, such as vaccinations and well-child viseligible for any coverage; part-time employees had to wait two years. The insurance benefits. Until recently, full-time employees had to wait six months before they were try. 25 The media have also begun to pay significant attention to Wal-Mart's stingy federal poverty line of \$19,157 or a living wage as calculated anywhere in the coun worker would thus bring home between \$12,000 and \$14,000 a year, far below the wage for a sales associate in 2005 was \$7.05. For a cashier it was \$7.20. A full-time lower deductibles can cost up to \$7,000 a year. The company still insures fewer than years to one and offering a wider array of plans. Now workers can pay as little as its, and had deductibles as high as \$1,000. The company expected employees to pay Wal-Mart's low wages have been well documented. The average hourly starting

the state spent \$1.8 million to cover Wal-Mart workers and their children. The state who are not covered are eligible for state medical assistance. In Wisconsin, in 2004, The media have seized on the health care issue because most of the employees

> toed the measure, but the legislature overturned his veto in January 2006. In July obliged all employers with more than ten thousand employees to spend at least 8 visible campaign was in Maryland, where the legislature passed a measure that bills that would require Wal-Mart and other large employers to do better. The most sistance and "that might be a better value." In 2005, several states passed "fair share" "off the record" that with her salary she would still be eligible for state medical aswoman in Milwaukee told me, the personnel officer at Wal-Mart explained to her of Tennessee spent \$15.3 million and the state of California \$32 million. As one 2006, a federal judge struck down the law.²⁹ health program for the poor. As Wal-Mart was the only firm large enough to be afpercent of their payroll on health benefits or to put the money directly into the state's fected, the bill became known as the Wal-Mart Bill. Governor Robert Ehrlich ve-

eligible for food stamps, free lunches, and subsidized housing. Wal-Mart employunleashed public debate about taxpayer subsidies to corporations. ees' participation in these programs cost the state of California \$54 million in 2004. As more and more public assistance goes to the working poor, these trends have The salaries of many Wal-Mart workers are also low enough that they remain

ily's standard of living. "I want my kids to have more than what they have," she said, my room and it's crowded. They have the TV there, and their toys." what they have. Like their own rooms . . . stuff of their own. 'Cause we all sleep in "but financially, it's kind of hard. It makes me sad. I just wish they had more than hours a week, vividly illustrated the impact of the company's low wages on her fam-One of the young women we interviewed, who worked at Wal-Mart thirty-six

at 2:00 p.m. and was supposed to clock out at 10:00 p.m., when the store closed and off the clock or deprived them of breaks. The company has settled lawsuits with sixtyclass action status. These cases allege that the company forced employees to work nual report listed more than forty pending wage and hour cases currently seeking pressure for violating labor and antidiscrimination laws. The company's 2005 anexpected to stay until 11:00 to help clean up the store. When she said that she couldn't hours. 31 One of the Wal-Mart workers I interviewed in Milwaukee started each day nine thousand workers who claimed that they had been forced to work unpaid because she would not have a way home, they cut her hours back to part time. when the last bus left to return to her neighborhood. Managers told her that she was In addition to low wages and poor benefits, Wal-Mart is facing increasing legal

of minors working too late, during school hours, or too many hours a day.³² Since stances of employees working through breaks and meals and over a thousand cases more than sixty complaints against Wal-Mart. 33 Two of the company's union-bust-1995, the less-than-aggressive Bush-era National Labor Relations Board has issued the firm's closure of a store in Quebec after a successful union certification drive ing efforts were sufficiently brazen to make the national and international news: In July of 2000, Wal-Mart's own internal audit found tens of thousands of in-

tion lawsuit ever mounted, over one million current and former employees charged ganized at a store in Texas. ³⁴ In addition, in Dukes v. Wal-Mart, the largest class ac and its "phaseout" of in-store meat preparation and packing after meat cutters or Wal-Mart with systematic gender discrimination in pay and promotions. 35

ing asthma attacks and had been unable to leave to respond to family crises.38 country and that other workers had experienced problems getting health care durin. Subsequent investigations revealed that this was a common practice across the at night and could not be reached by an ambulance because workers were locked Corpus Christi, Texas, who was injured by equipment while working in the store ing in workers overnight. In 2004, the national press carried stories of a worker in veillance.³⁷ One example of how far the company will go is their practice of lock-Adams has described how the layout of Wal-Mart's stores facilitates continuous suras managers push employees to work to the speed of the new system.³⁶ Thomas In addition, Wal-Mart's state-of-the-art information technology systems create stress that are needed." For workers, this generates a constant sense of insufficient time ager as saying, "There is not a store out there that is allowed to run the kind of hours mulas are devised at Wal-Mart headquarters in Bentonville. Rosen quotes a manduce costs over the previous year results in deliberate understaffing. Scheduling for "management by intimidation." She argues that the imperative for managers to re-Finally, Wal-Mart has perfected a kind of workplace control that Rosen has called

a fine and to take internal measures to ensure that illegal immigrant workers would or making required workers' compensation contributions. Wal-Mart agreed to pay exploited their immigration status to avoid paying them overtime, filing their taxes, number of immigrants have since filed suit, claiming that Wal-Mart's contractors technically employed by firms subcontracted to clean its stores, federal agents alstates, arresting more than three hundred illegal workers. While the workers were agents had raided Wal-Mart headquarters and sixty of their stores in twenty-one not be hired in the future. leged that Wal-Mart knew that the contractors were hiring illegal immigrants. A In 2003, all the major media in the United States carried the news that federal

company's headquarters in 2005 revealed that it actively sought to push out all emto that of McDonald's—does not worry Wal-Mart. Secret memos leaked from the 40 percent annual turnover in employment. But this extraordinarily high rate—close scheduled time to take my break." These labor practices contribute to Wal-Mart's room. And I was pregnant, mind you. They called it time theft because it wasn't my getting fired for taking my break fifteen minutes early because I had to use the rest-Mart for several years and had been promoted to claims manager, said, "I ended up of water softener salt onto the conveyor belt. Another, who had worked for Walwoman, who had a back injury, was fired for allowing a customer to lift a large bag ployees making more than \$10 an hour. Women in Milwaukee had many stories about harsh management practices. One

> and even more workers are ultimately affected." ⁴⁰ Because of the scope of Wal-Mart's price, all other retailers are then expected to offer the same price and must cut costs Wal-Mart drives the global "race to the bottom" in wages. While CEO H. Lee Scott lawn furniture and shoes. Because of their imperative to produce at the lowest price, retail presence, these price pressures affect a wide range of sectors, from electron to do so. Therefore, the practices and policies of Wal-Mart set the retail standard notes: "Wal-Mart is a pricing leader, meaning that once they set an incredibly low tension of its low-wage practices beyond its own contract factories. As STITCH \$0.23, and those in Indonesia \$0.46.39 Wal-Mart's size and reach result in the exper hour, workers in Bangladesh and China made \$0.17 an hour, those in Nicaragua made over \$17 million in 2004, and the average U.S. Wal-Mart employee made \$9.68 in the offshore factories Wal-Mart contracts to produce its beach balls and tank tops, ics, consumer goods, and clothing to agriculture. As disturbing as these labor conditions are, they are far better than the situation

working fifteen hours per day, seven days a week, without proper overtime pay duce for Wal-Mart are notoriously harsh. Workers in Dhaka, Bangladesh, report contract factories to follow a code of conduct. But conditions in factories that pro-The company claims that it bears no responsibility for what happens in these factories, since it is not the direct employer of the workers and since it asks the tract factories there, after the company claimed to have fully implemented its code a month, and Canadian journalists have documented child labor in Wal-Mart's conroom breaks. Workers producing for Wal-Mart in Bangladesh make less than \$50 in Honduran factories. Managers deny them sick leave and closely monitor bath-China, have reported working eleven-hour days, with half of their wages deducted fore and during employment. Workers producing for Wal-Mart in Shenzhan, Women in Guatemala say they have been forced to take illegal pregnancy tests befor dormitory rent. Women as young as fourteen labor up to fourteen hours a day

strument of labor control and other forms of organizing are actively repressed finds it congenial to operate in China, where state-sponsored unions are an inany of its factories face reprisals. For this reason, as well as low wages, the company In 2001, violence against women organizing union drives at Choi Sin and CIMA against the repression by supervisors and antiunion workers, Wal-Mart did not umented. While Liz Claiborne, which also produced in these factories, spoke out Textiles factories in Guatemala—where Wal-Mart had contracts—was widely docthe most antiunion corporations in the world, and workers who try to unionize in In its offshore operations, as in the United States and Canada, Wal-Mart is among

president explained, "For each item a factory handles they must either lower the cost or raise the quality" on each order. As one worker suffering from a severe repetis known to its international suppliers as the "plus one" policy. A Wal-Mart vice Workers abroad also feel the impact of Wal-Mart's "beat yesterday" policy, which

itive stress injury reported, "There is always an acceleration. The goals are always increasing but the pay stays the same." Her Korean boss said that Wal-Mart was paying \$3 for a shirt—less than last year's price. He said, "I think we have reached the limit." A2 Factory managers in Indonesia tell employees that they cannot pay the legally mandated wage because Wal-Mart does not pay the managers enough per item to cover it. 43

THE DOWNWARD SPIRAL

What do these interlinked experiences—those of Wal-Mart's customers, its retail associates, and the workers who assemble its merchandise—tell us about its corporate strategy and the effect of that strategy on the U.S. economy as a whole? Liza Featherstone quotes an official of the United Food and Commercial Workers union who explains that appealing to the poor "was Sam Walton's real genius. He figured out how to make money off of poverty. He located his first stores in poor rural areas and discovered a real market. The only problem with the business model is that it really needs to create more poverty to grow."

How does Wal-Mart create more poverty? Not simply by paying its own workers poverty wages and denying them health care. An increasing body of evidence supports what workers have been saying for quite some time: that Wal-Mart's presence in a local labor market depresses wages. Studies in San Diego County, California, associated Wal-Mart's entry into the regional economy with an annual decline in wages and benefits of between \$105 and \$221 million. 45 A study of three thousand counties nationwide showed that those with more Wal-Mart stores had larger increases in the poverty rate than counties with fewer or no Wal-Marts. It concluded that "the presence of Wal-Mart unequivocally raised poverty rates in U.S. counties in the 1990s relative to places that had no such stores. 46 A third study found that Wal-Mart's incursion into the Southern California grocery market triggered a dynamic in which grocery stores negotiated with workers for reduced compensation in an attempt to relevel the playing field, lowering wages at area grocers by as much as \$8 an hour. 47

Wal-Mart's large shadow, both as a direct employer and as a competitor with low labor costs, creates an impact on the economy so pervasive that in 2005 the independent humor rag the *Onion*, famous for its fake headlines, could quip, "Okie Hears There's Sam's Club Work in New Mexico." What followed was a short story about day laborer Carl Thornton, who was ready to drive his family from the Oklahoma Wal-Mart where they had worked the stockroom for generations to a Sam's Club in Las Cruces where they would unload pallets of toilet paper, baby food, and cans of peaches "so big, you got to use two hands to lift em." Not only does the coming of Wal-Mart drive clothing stores, groceries, and hardware outlets out of business, but, to remain competitive, the retailers that remain have to adopt labor practices that

look increasingly like Wal-Mart's; soon, Wal-Mart-style labor practices dominate the landscape for the working poor.

The reverse Fordism that Wal-Mart unleashes links the company's growth and profits to the expansion of a low-waged, near-poverty-level population. The firm expands that sector by pushing down wages in its stores and setting the labor cost parameters that its competitors must meet. Thus the virtuous cycle of Fordism is transformed into a vicious downward spiral: downward pressure on wages creates more people who need to shop at Wal-Mart, and the "beat yesterday" policy that allows the firm to continually roll back prices for these consumers unleashes new waves of cost cutting, wage reductions, and hours violations both here and abroad. This relationship between Wal-Mart's everyday low prices and the impoverishment of the workforce gives new meaning to what Herbert Gans once called "the uses of poverty."

Of course, every regime of accumulation generates its own contradictions. Wal-Mart is generating resistance, through watchdog groups that mobilize consumer pressure, through neighborhood associations that question the economic benefits it claims to bring and take issue with the subsidies it receives, and through muckraking journalists, lawsuits, and the emerging strategy of a Wal-Mart employees association. ⁴⁹ But there are contradictions within the economy as well.

Many scholars who theorize the end of Fordism argue that, in the 1970s, the U.S. economy reached a point when it needed to throw off the fetters of the Keynesian welfare state and the bargains with a unionized workforce in order to free capital to invest and be productive once again. But the assumption in these accounts was that unfettered capital would create new and better jobs—that cutting spending on social programs and rolling back labor regulation would open new opportunities for growth, not just in profits, but in productivity and well-being. In the scenarios laid out by neoliberal policy makers, a new market-driven economy would harness new technologies and generate new, skilled higher-paying jobs.

Whether we agree with that rosy prediction or not, it is clear that Wal-Mart has hijacked a large portion of the economic activity of this new phase, linking its own growth, not to skilled and lucrative jobs, but to a downward-spiraling relationship between production and consumption. Wal-Mart is not the whole of the economy and never will be. Given the tremendous bifurcation of wealth that is occurring in America, other retailers will make their fortunes purveying high-end goods to the very rich. But with \$2.5 billion in sales and a ranking at the top of the Fortune 500, Wal-Mart runs a business model that profits from this growing class schism and contributes to it through its labor practices and retail strategy. This means that for the first time in U.S. history a substantial portion of the retail sector and its associated manufacturing has a material interest, not in increasing consumer incomes, but in perpetuating the poverty that makes shopping at Wal-Mart their best option.

After twenty-five years in which neoliberalism and market fundamentalism

the state, and citizens who both consume and labor within their enterprise. major implications for the outcome of these debates. It will challenge us to rethink driving new practices in the retail sector, solving the problem of Wal-Mart will have bates as they played out at mid-decade. Because of the company's size and its role in rate citizen in the communities where it does business—were central to these dethe firm to provide better benefits, pay living wages, and behave as a better corpo "a double movement"—a public outcry for measures that would temper the treat more rights than people. One could sense the emergence of what Karl Polanyi called decades had passed without an increase in the minimum wage, that a significant porgained strength, the years from 2004 to 2006 revealed a growing public debate abou the relationship, not just between firms and their workers, but among corporations ment of labor as a simple commodity. 50 Debates over Wal-Mart—attempts to require tion of the U.S. population had no health care, and that corporations had acquired where this had brought us. Outspoken voices were asking what it meant that two

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Deindustrializing Chicago

A Daughter's Story

Christine J. Walley

should be worrying about an "oar boat" but drowsily accepted her reassurances. be okay. They called the ore boat back, but it'll be all right." I was puzzled why we the Mill Went Down. Wisconsin Steel's collapse in 1980 was also a harbinger of Only later did I learn that the recall of the ore boat meant that the financial lenders room and shook my shoulder as I lay sleeping. She said quietly, "Don't worry, it'll strove to assimilate what had happened, some noted bitterly that the situation was ture, sharply dividing our lives into a time Before the Mill Went Down and After closed on the property, sending it into bankruptcy. It was a crucial moment of rupto the Wisconsin Steel Works, where my father worked in a rolling mill, had fore-When I was fourteen, my world was turned upside down. My mom entered my beda widespread sense of insecurity for countless Americans riences have occurred—and continue to occur—throughout the country, creating east Chicago is not unique. Over the last quarter-century, variations of such expemay have been hit particularly hard by deindustrialization, what happened in South that had sustained generations. Although the midwestern part of the United States the steel mills were gone for good. Their closing would tear through a social fabric they said, the mills had reopened and people had gone on with their lives. This time, even worse than that of the 1930s Great Depression. At least after the Depression. the steel mills in Southeast Chicago would close one by one. As stunned residents gions in the world, as well as for the United States as a whole. In the ensuing years things to come for the Calumet area, once one of the largest steel-producing re-

This account of Southeast Chicago and the trauma its residents went through is unabashedly personal. It is a story of my childhood, my family, and the area in which I was raised. Yet I am also writing as an anthropologist. Some might even describe