



WAL-MART ROLLBACK 2005:
Student Organizing Toolkit

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1. Introduction

Because of Wal-Mart's highly unethical business practices, people around the world are coming together to say that we do not support the Wal-Mart way of doing business--and we're going to do something about it.

So, you ask, why Wal-Mart?*

Where do we start?? The world's largest retailer, Wal-Mart embodies the wrong side of all of the issues we care about. It is ruining the environment, cheating workers out of affordable healthcare and a living wage, and killing local economies. It is the king of discrimination and the queen of corporate welfare. It has turned the American dream into a nightmare for small business owners. It has cast its dark shadow over suppliers and competitors alike, bringing down the standards for how everyone does business these days.



They say that their low prices have no hidden costs.

They say they're just doing business.

They say they treat their workers well.

We disagree. And we're going to fight for change.

Why not other big box stores?

Because of its size (it's about six times the size of Target), Wal-Mart has power and influence that other big-box stores simply do not have. In fact, Wal-Mart is setting the industry standards for K-Mart, Target, Costco, and others, which presents us with the very clear need to take on the "leader of the pack" so to speak – especially because the standards they are setting are so unethically low.

Welcome to the fight!

So thank you for joining the international fight to change Wal-Mart. It's going to be a challenge, but it's the right thing to do--for our communities, for our values, and for our future. We hope that the materials found in this toolkit will help you along the way.

***See Appendix 1&2 for resources that explain further the "Why Wal-Mart" question.*

2. The Week of Action

Higher Expectations Week: A National Week of Action

NOVEMBER 13-19, 2005

“High expectations are the key to everything.”
~ Sam Walton, 1991

This week is designed to raise awareness about Wal-Mart's poor business practices, the costs to communities and to let Wal-Mart know that we aren't going away until they change their low standards!

WE NEED YOU TO HOST AN EVENT!!!

The crux of the fall semester portion of the campaign depends on everyone's involvement in the Week of Action. You can be as creative as you want with this week, holding events such as:

- A Teach-In on campus
- A rally on your campus or at your local Wal-Mart
- A letter writing party - send letters to Lee Scott or your local paper
-

(See the Project Ideas section for more suggestions.)

Note: When planning an event for the Week of Action, please email: sally@walmartwatch.com so we can coordinate press with your efforts and provide you with resources and materials. Thanks!

WALMART

the high cost of low price

From The Director of
OutFoxed: Rupert Murdoch's War on Journalism
and
UnCovered: The Truth about the War in Iraq.

SIGN UP TODAY TO GET A FREE COPY OF THE DVD
AND HOST A SCREENING ON YOUR CAMPUS DURING
THE WEEK OF ACTION!

Email: sally@walmartwatch.com

Bonus!

Robert Greenwald and Brave New Films have offered to provide multiple copies of the DVD (at cost) to sell as a fundraiser for your student group! When you sign up to host a screening, let us know if you would like to take advantage of this unique offer.

3. Building a Campus Coalition



Why Build a Coalition around the Wal-Mart fight?

1. One of the great things about the fight to change Wal-Mart is that it brings together so many different types of people with a variety of concerns. The Wal-Mart problem crosses partisan and ideological lines. Conservatives want to fight Wal-Mart because of the company's effect on small businesses while women's groups on campus may take issue with Wal-Mart's refusal to distribute the morning after pill. This is an opportunity to find common ground and build a strong united front to take on Wal-Mart.
2. WE CANNOT WIN THIS FIGHT WITHOUT ENLISITING OTHERS! Please take this to heart and keep it in mind as you work on your campus. We simply won't win without everyone banding together to fight Wal-Mart.

Forming Your Campus Coalition: The First Steps

Your school probably already has some form of a progressive student group coalition or, at the very least, a number of progressive campus organizations. This is the best place to start. Here are some tips:

- ▷ Check your campus website or with your student activities for a list of student organizations and leaders of those groups.
- ▷ You may already know a number of the activists on your campus and other nearby campuses, so be sure to use your friend network to help form the coalition.
- ▷ Ask everyone you meet with who else they might suggest talking with to make more contacts and build your group.
- ▷ Talk to professors who might be sympathetic to this project. Ask if they can suggest speaking with any other students in particular, and invite them to your meetings if they'd like to be involved.
- ▷ Reach out to Professors in economics as well as business for their support.



TIP: Think outside the box when forming your coalition. Groups that care about changing Wal-Mart are not all traditionally progressive (eg religious groups are often considered conservative, but they are generally supportive of the movement to change Wal-Mart because of the human rights and worker justice issues).

Holding Your First Meeting

- Meet with your coalition as soon as possible so that you can plan events and actions that will lead up to and coincide with the Week of Action, November 13-19.

! Idea: Pot luck dinners are always a good time (when everyone says that they are busy, remind them that they have to eat sometime—and they might as well do it at your coalition building meeting!)

- Be prepared to speak about various issues and the vast impact that Wal-Mart has on the global economy. Bring some fact sheets (see Appendix 1 of this toolkit) so that people have material to leave with. Talk about the Week of Action (November 13-19) and hold a brainstorming session to get ideas for what folks would like to see happen during that week. Throw out some ideas for projects (a few are in this packet, but feel free to develop your own ideas), and encourage others to share their ideas. You will probably also want to designate a leader and/or steering committee within the coalition to give your group structure and guidance.
- By the end of the first or possibly second coalition meeting, you should have decided as a group what your goals and schedule are going to be for the semester. Sometimes coalitions like to concentrate on a single project while other times they like to each take a project and work on that within their own group.

Materials for Your First Meeting

- Butcher paper to write brainstorming ideas on
- Markers
- Sign-in and contact sheet

Who should be in the coalition?

Really, anyone who cares about the issues that surround Wal-Mart. Here is a list of groups that are concerned with Wal-Mart:

- Environmental groups
- Women's rights groups
- Workers' rights groups
- College political groups (all of them!)
- Faith-based groups
- Community service groups
- Buy local groups
- Business student orgs
- Agricultural clubs
- See the list of national organizations supporting Wal-Mart Watch at the end of the packet for a more specific list



TIP: if you are organizing a coalition of already-established groups, you should learn about each group's ongoing work, and recognize that different groups will be able to offer different levels of support to the coalition. Make sure that each group feels comfortable participating however they can, and that groups are also getting something out of the coalition (whether it is new members, new exposure, or access to new resources), so that there is mutual support and collaboration.

The Benefits of Forming a Coalition

Coalitions can be great ways to make new friends with other passionate people on campus and they also help you to build your campus organization by bringing in new people who otherwise might not get involved in your issue. You might even become interested and passionate about other issues on campus. It is natural to disagree when working in

coalitions. The most important thing is to remind folks that you are there to work on what you agree about, even though you may disagree on other platforms. If everyone can be open-minded when working together, you will meet your goals for the semester, and ultimately the social justice movement will be stronger.



NOTE: You or other students on campus may be a part of a national organization that is already mobilizing students against Wal-Mart, such as Student Labor Action Project or United Students Against Sweatshops. Be sure to meet and work with these groups, as well as unaffiliated students, to make sure everyone can be a part of the project—whichever project that each of you choose to take on, or work on together!

4. Getting Involved in Your Community

Forming relationships with activists in your community, if your group decides to do so, is a great way to build a larger and stronger force with which to fight Wal-Mart. There may be a community fight in progress in your area. Some places (such as Inglewood, California) are already well-established and well-organized in the fight against Wal-Mart. This may or may not be the case in your area.



If you're thinking "There are no fights in my area because there are no Wal-Marts"—think again! Wal-Mart has plans to put up thousands of NEW stores in the next two years alone—and that's in addition to the more than 3,500 stores already located in the continental United States.

How do you find your local fight?

It's so easy! Contact Wal-Mart Watch at sally@walmartwatch.com. They have a regional organizer dedicated to coordinating the various groups working against Wal-Mart in your state.

How can you participate in your local Wal-Mart Fight?

Once you have found the local folks involved in the fight, set up a meeting for their group to meet with the students in your campus coalition. Plan to discuss the best way for you to get involved. They may ask you to participate in a variety of activities including:

- Supporting (or challenging, as the case may be) ballot initiatives by knocking on doors and making phone calls;
- Helping to raise funds for the local fights (WM has a lot of money, so this is a very important way you can help);
- Heading up a letter-writing campaign to elected officials and local newspapers;
- Gathering signatures for petitions

**The key to working with others in the local fight is not to try to reinvent the wheel, and utilize the resources already in place. Also, be flexible and ready to help when they need you.

5. Campus Projects - Before and During the Week of Action

Below is a sampling of projects that could be both fun and effective on your campus, but don't feel limited to the ideas in this toolkit. Feel free to think outside the box, get creative, and come up with your own projects. As a matter of fact, we want to know what you are planning so we can share your ideas with other students around the country. Send your thoughts and ideas to sally@walmartwatch.com

Project #1 Petition your student government and/or student organizations to reduce student funds being spent at Wal-Mart

This is a great way to help cut down on the money that is being spent at your local Wal-Mart. A petition of this nature also makes a statement to your college's community that the students on your campus will only support ethical businesses

- ❖ Many colleges, especially in rural areas, don't have many alternatives to Wal-Mart, which is why it is good to consider a petition to spend less at WM than the previous year.
- ❖ This petition can be used as a talking point at your WEEK OF ACTION EVENT!
- ❖ You may want to try going one step further and asking your student government to purchase/use union-made goods wherever possible.

Project #2 Teach-In or Speaker Series

(HIGHLY RECOMMENDED)

Better to start planning this one now! This is a great way to accomplish many goals, including:

- ▷ Building your list by having a sign-up sheet
- ▷ Educating the student body on the issues

- ▷ Reaching out to your community by inviting them to attend (you can post flyers, or place notices in local newspapers)
- ▷ Getting to know community activists

The Teach-In:

A curriculum for the teach-in is currently in the works, but feel free to develop your own. Please contact sally@walmartwatch.com if you are interested in hosting one—we can help you plan it!

The Speaker Series:

1. Contact community activists and professors on campus who might be interested in speaking about Wal-Mart (email sally@walmartwatch.com if you are not sure where to start with this step)
2. Arrange a time and date for each one to speak on campus
3. Secure a location
4. Advertise through email, the school newspaper, and/or by tabling outside your student union or cafeteria at lunch. **Be creative about outreach!**
5. Be sure to send a reminder to students the day before and send a thank you note to your guest the day after!

Project #3: Book a stop at your school for the International Labor Rights Fund Worker Tour

To expose glaring examples of Wal-Mart's complete lack of corporate accountability, the International Labor Rights Fund is coordinating a Wal-Mart supplier factory and farm worker tour. This tour will highlight the gross injustices such as sexual harassment and forced overtime taking place in Wal-Mart factories and farms around the world.

The workers are from Nicaragua, Colombia, Swaziland, and Indonesia. All of the speakers except for the Colombians are a part of the garment sector. The worker from Colombia has been involved in the cut flower industry, which exports to the US.

Dates are currently being reserved for events in the fall of 2005. A Spanish translator will be necessary for each event.

A typical program would include

- o Arrival to nearest airport to the event; a local person will meet and assist guests at the airport
- o Classroom or small informal local event
- o Dinner which includes at least one Wal-Mart worker from the local community
- o Evening speaking event open to the public
- o Accommodations either in a hotel or local home
- o Departure from airport to next destination

It is expected that each local event coordinator/sponsor will pay for flights, meals, and lodging while the workers are in their community. In addition, we request a \$1000 honorarium to cover the costs of international travel as well as tour logistics. If a local community has financial limitations but is interested in the tour, please email trina.tocco@ilrf.org to determine if something can be worked out.

Please contact Trina.Tocco@ILRF.org or call 202/347-4100x112 for more information or to include your community in the worker tour.

Project #4 Adopt-A-County

Here's the basic idea: Wal-Mart is building thousands of new stores in the next few years, and if we don't try to stop them, nobody will. This is a challenging project for students who really want to devote a lot of time to fighting Wal-Mart coming into their community (where applicable). It's going to be different in every county, so we can't tell you exactly how to go about it, but to get some guidance specific to your area, send an email to sally@walmartwatch.com

Project #5 Enlist Your College Library

Wal-Mart is infamous for banning books. Ask your college librarian to put a display outside of the library (or in the lobby) of books that Wal-Mart has banned (see the fact sheet in this toolkit "Top Ten Wal-Mart's Banned Items"). Be sure to include in the display books about Wal-Mart's egregious business practices (see Appendix II: More Resources for book titles).

6. National Projects

Several national organizations are engaging their members in the fight to change Wal-Mart. We encourage you to join their projects if they have a group on your campus, or contact them to get more information about how to get involved. Each of the blurbs below were provided by the organizations:

Wal-Mart Watch

Wal-Mart Watch is a nationwide campaign to challenge Wal-Mart to become a leader in corporate responsibility toward its workers and host communities. By supporting the many efforts already underway across the country, Wal-Mart Watch will serve as a catalyst for coordinated action and a unifying voice to counter Wal-Mart's multi-million dollar media and public relations blitz. We invite your ideas, your participation and your commitment to establishing higher standards for corporate behavior at home and abroad.

Wal-Mart Watch has a full-time campus organizer, Sally Smith, who is available to assist you in coordinating your campus group as well as hook your student group into what is going on in your community. She is also available to come to your campus to address the Wal-Mart issue with students and faculty, as well as train students on how to organize both on and off campus.

National Labor Committee: 20 Cents More Campaign

Tell Wal-Mart: Pay 20 Cents More per Garment to Lift Workers Out of Misery

Wal-Mart and other companies produce our clothing in Bangladesh and other poor countries, using very young women and men, paid below subsistence wages, forced to work 6 or 7 days a week, often with long hours of forced overtime and under abusive conditions. Since consumers in the U.S. and other developed countries buy their products, we are in a critical position to help these young workers. We can be their voice here, in the U.S., where the garments they make are sold.

http://www.demaction.org/dia/organizations/NLC/campaign.jsp?campaign_KEY=864

Student Labor Action Project

The Student Labor Action Project is a joint project of Jobs with Justice and the U.S. Student Association. SLAP serves as a national network of students and youth that are fighting for social and economic justice on their campuses and in their communities. Nationally, SLAP provides technical assistance, trainings, research, and organizing tools to student labor activists. In local communities SLAP works to build youth and student coalitions around economic justice and worker's rights issues.

During the campaign against Wal-Mart SLAP will be working to connect student activists with local labor unions, community groups and Jobs with Justice Coalitions that are engaged in the campaign. SLAP will also provide resources such as organizing tools, trainings, and assistance to student activists that will be participating in the Week of Action and other campaign activities.

SLAP, in conjunction with Jobs With Justice, will be holding its annual conference in St Louis. If you are able to attend this conference, there will be a section dedicated to the Wal-Mart fight on Thursday, September 22nd.

<http://www.unionvoice.org/jobswithjustice/events/annualmeeting05/details.tcl>

United Students Against Sweatshops: Sweatfree Wal-Mart Campaign

Wal-Mart is exploiting workers in the U.S. and abroad on an unprecedented scale. Bullied suppliers are forced to provide poverty and below-poverty wages to their workers. Not only are workers unable to make enough money to support themselves or their families, but also they are forced to work extremely long hours - sometimes having only enough time to sleep for a short time while hunched over their sewing machines before starting work again the next day. What's worse, the Wal-Mart way of exploiting workers is being hailed as "efficient" and is being replicated by companies the world over. Wal-Mart also violates workers' right to organize, refusing to allow them to form independent trade unions.

Your school may be complicit in this exploitation if clothes and hats with your school logo are sold in the Wal-Mart near your school. Tell your administration that it must take a stand against abusive labor conditions and force Wal-Mart to buy its goods from suppliers who use factories in which workers have a voice at work.

To find out more check out www.studentsagainstsweatshops.org or e-mail organize@usasnet.org

Wake-Up Wal-Mart

WakeUpWalMart.com is about Americans joining together in common purpose to change Wal-Mart. There is only one force powerful enough to change the #1 Fortune 500 company in the world - the American people.

WakeUpWalMart.com is about giving Americans the tools to empower themselves to change the world's largest employer. We are Wal-Mart's customers and we have the power to make Wal-Mart live up to its responsibility to its employees, our families, our communities and the nation.

We are over 68,000 Americans and growing. We are grassroots leaders, community groups and activists who have woken up to the high costs of Wal-Mart and recognize Wal-Mart's negative impact on our jobs, our wages, our health care and our communities.

We will be a vehicle through which millions of Americans can join together, from neighborhoods all across our nation, to harness the power of our consumer behavior and use it to reform a company.

America's largest corporation must reflect America's values.

WakeUpWalMart.com is your campaign. It is a grassroots movement which will represent the best America has to offer.

For more information or to contact WakeUpWalMart.com please send us an email at info@wakeupwalmart.com.

7. Press - How To, When To

Reaching out to your local media, including your campus newspaper, is a great way to get your message out in the public eye. After all, we have to invade the conscience of all our citizenry if we want to take on the biggest corporation in the world!

The Do's and Don'ts

- DO know your core message and stick to it. Speak on behalf of your entire coalition, so don't focus on one issue when talking about Wal-Mart, unless it is particular to the needs and concerns of your community.
- DO assume reporters know little about what's wrong with Wal-Mart—give them well-thought-out background information
- DO start your conversations with reporters early—never the day before. Consider setting up a time to meet with reporters and bring community activists and other coalition members to the meeting.
- DON'T assume that because you sent a fax or an e-mail you've contacted anyone. You must make follow-up calls. Nothing beats personal contact.
- DO make sure speakers at events are diverse and represent faculty, student organizations, and the larger community.
- DON'T have a press conference in which only union leaders speak.

DO make your event camera friendly:

- Use the opportunity to get out a message. Use slogans that show how your coalition cares about your community
- Put a small sign on the podium—big banners rarely make it into the camera shot.
- For placards, use two-sided signs or staple two together if around a stick.
- Put lapel stickers with your message on your speakers, your participants and on the sides of bullhorns.
- Make sure speakers are above the crowd.
- Use colorful and interesting props that help deliver your message.

Get Great Media Coverage for Your Campus Event

Two weeks prior to your event

- Seek out a location. A large classroom, a gymnasium, theater or cafeteria can be good places to hold your event.
- Select a date and time. Generally evenings are the ideal times for busy students.
- Update your media lists by obtaining phone numbers, fax numbers and email addresses for the heads of your campus radio, school newspaper and school television or Web cast, as well as for media in your larger community.
- Arrange for a sound system, podium, seating and, if needed, a police permit.

One week prior to your event

- Gather props for your event that complement your message.
- Prepare a background packet to distribute. It should include information about the event, a list of speakers, your newsletter, union difference information and anything else you feel might be necessary.
- Three to four days prior to your event
- Begin to call print reporters (school newspaper, etc.). Be sure to offer to send them a background packet in advance. Assume they know nothing and start with the basics.
- Ask the reporters directly if they will be there. Don't just assume they are coming.

One to two days prior to your event

- Pitch your campus radio about interviewing workers and community and union leaders in advance for airing the morning of the event.
- Place follow-up calls to print reporters.
- Speak to all participants—including workers—and make sure they are prepared with the core message and agenda. They should know what roles they are playing, the message they should deliver and their time limits.

Day of the event

- Meet and greet all reporters. Have them sign in with their contact info.

8. Frequently Asked Questions

Q: What are we asking of Wal-Mart?

A: We are asking that Wal-Mart reevaluate and raise their standards in several areas including: treatment of workers in the U.S. and abroad (including increasing wages and benefits, eliminating discrimination, etc), the environment, etc.

Q: Why do we need a Week of Action?

A. The Higher Expectations Week of Action will serve two purposes: 1. We are sending a message to Wal-Mart and the world that we are an organized, coordinated movement, and that we are serious about our demands; 2. The groups we are forming, and coordination that happens during that week will serve as a foundation for the future of our fight.

Q: Why should my group participate if fighting Wal-Mart isn't our direct mission?

A. As was mentioned earlier in the toolkit, the only chance we have to meet our goals in this campaign is to work with other students and activists from different backgrounds who also care about the Wal-Mart fight. This is how it has to be done—together.

Q: What comes after Higher Expectations Week?

A. The Week of Action is just the beginning of a long-term campaign. This semester we need to concentrate on making a splash during that week, getting substantively involved in the fight, and getting out into our communities to provide support for local fights. This will form the foundation for the future of our collective work to change Wal-Mart.



Appendix I:
Fact Sheets
By Issue

Facts About Wal-Mart And Local Economies

Background on Wal-Mart's Exploding Growth Affecting America's Towns

- **Last Year Wal-Mart Opened 312 Stores in the United States.** In its Fiscal Year 2005 alone, Wal-Mart added 36 discount stores, 242 Super Centers, 21 Neighborhood Markets, and 13 Sam's Clubs to their empire in the United States. [SEC, form 10-K for FY2005]
- **Wal-Mart CFO Shoewe: 950 New Supercenters Have Already Been Planned Internally.** "[T]he bottom line is there is a tremendous opportunity, something just under 4000 Supercenters that can be added to what we already have here, and 950 of those have already gone through the internal process - internal real estate process that is just awesome." [Wal-Mart CFO Tom Schoewe, Remarks at the Wal-Mart Shareholders' Meeting Presentation to Analysts, 6/3/05]

Wal-Mart Eliminates Business from Local Shops when it Enters a Community

- **Wal-Mart Effect on Grocery Markets:** Most People In The U.S. Spend More Money In Grocery Stores Than In Any Other Type Of Store. One Iowa State University study of Supercenter impact on local economies showed a food store market sales decrease of 10% in the counties studied one year after opening, and a decrease of 19.2% by the fifth year of operation. [Stone, Kenneth E.; Artz, Georgeanne; Myles, Albert, *The Economic Impact of Wal-Mart Supercenters on Existing Businesses in Mississippi*]
- **Wal-Mart Effect on Specialty Stores:** Drug stores, sporting goods stores, book stores, gift shops, are examples of specialty stores. A study of Iowa communities showed an 8% decrease in specialty store sales the first year a Wal-Mart store opened in town. The study showed a decrease of 13.9% after 5 years. [Stone, Kenneth E., *Competing with the Discount Mass Merchandisers*, Iowa State University]
- **Wal-Mart Effect on Apparel Sales:** The study of Iowa communities showed even more dramatic data for clothing sales. The first year after a Wal-Mart store opened in a town, other apparel retailers lost 7.9% of their sales. After five years, the figure was 17.9%. [Stone, Kenneth E., *Competing with the Discount Mass Merchandisers*, Iowa State University]

Wal-Mart Builds Stores with Public Subsidies, Takes Away Funds for Local Spending

Wal-Mart has Received Over \$1 billion in Public Subsidies. Despite \$10 billion in profit in 2004 alone, Wal-Mart relies on state and local governments to provide tax breaks and to pay for roads and utility connections at many of its new stores and distribution centers. A May 2004 report by Good Jobs First documented that Wal-Mart has received more than \$1 billion from at least 244 taxpayer-funded subsidies. [Mattera and Purinton, Good Jobs First, "Shopping for Subsidies," May 2004, <http://www.goodjobsfirst.org/pdf/wmtstudy.pdf>]

Examples of Wal-Mart Subsidies. The public money Wal-Mart receives comes in the following forms: Free or reduced price land, Tax Increment Finance (TI districts, Infrastructure assistance, Property tax breaks, State corporate income tax credits, Sales tax rebates, Tax-exempt bond financing, Enterprise Zone status, Job training/recruiting funds, General grants. [CITE]

Other Uses for Public Funds Given to Wal-Mart:

- **Property taxes** are usually used by municipal governments for things like schools, road repair, garbage pickup, and other such services [Legal Information Institute, Cornell University].
- **Bond money:** companies seek and receive bond money because the interest rate is very favorable, as the loan is guaranteed by a government agency. This is taxpayer money they're borrowing.

Facts About Wal-Mart And International Worker Rights

"[T]he factory certification process was designed only to create the impression that Wal-Mart was producing its goods under humane working conditions when, in fact, working conditions at the factories were terrible and violated the rules and regulations of Wal-Mart."

-- James W. Lynn, former Wal-Mart Global Services Manager. [New York Times, 7/1/05]

Wal-Mart has a Long and Disgraceful Record of Exploiting Workers in Sweatshops

Wal-Mart Executive Says He Was Fired For Being Too Aggressive About Finding Workplace

Violations. Wal-Mart executive James W. Lynn is suing the company and says he was terminated in 2002 "for truthfully reporting the abysmal working conditions in Central American factories utilized by Wal-Mart and for refusing to comply with Wal-Mart's demand that he certify factories in order to get Wal-Mart's goods to market." [New York Times, 7/1/05]

After 13 Years And Numerous Violations, Wal-Mart Has Failed Do Anything About Sweatshops, Which Endanger The Lives of Thousands of Workers. In 1992, NBC's *Dateline* broke a story about 11 year old workers from Bangladesh who were making t-shirts for Wal-Mart. Due to the moral outrage, Wal-Mart promised to reform its ways but they failed repeatedly. After the exposing of Kathy Lee Gifford's Wal-Mart clothing line for its human right violations just a few years later, no significant changes have been made. In 2000, The National Labor Committee reported that workers at Qin Shi Handbag factory in Zhongshan, China were forced to work 14-hour shifts, seven days a week for little or no money." [New York Times, 12/24/92; Washington Post, 5/30/96; National Labor Committee, "Made in China: The Role of U.S. Companies in Denying Human and Worker Rights."]

→ **Wal-Mart Has Dismissed Human Rights Violations as "Common."** A recent report highlighted labor violations at a Wal-Mart apparel contractor in Bangladesh. Wal-Mart's director of international corporate affairs, Bill Wertz defended the company and dismissed the violations. Women's Wear Daily reported, "Wertz said the labor violations depicted on 'Dateline NBC' are common." [Woman's Wear Daily, 6/21/05]

Wal-Mart's Toleration of Sweatshops Led To Its Removal from the Domini 400 Social Index. The Domini 400 Social Index described as "the first benchmark for stock funds to screen for social responsibility." In 2001, Kyle Johnson, the project manager for the index, stated "Wal-Mart is a market leader in retail, yet has not taken a leadership position on labor issues and has been unresponsive to calls for change from shareholders...Given that we had removed Nike for similar reasons back in 1997, we could not justify keeping Wal-Mart." [Palm Beach Daily News, 6/12/05; International Shareholder, 4/17/01]

Wal-Mart Pays Sub Par Wages

Wal-Mart CEO H. Lee Scott, Jr. (based on \$17,543,739 per year, 40 hours per week)	\$8,434.49
Ave. Full-time U.S. Wal-Mart Employee	\$9.68
Select Wal-Mart subcontractors:	
Bangladesh	\$0.17
China	\$0.17
Indonesia	\$0.46

Nicaragua	\$0.23
Swaziland	\$0.53

Source: Institute for Policy Studies, "Wal-Mart's Pay Gap,"

Facts about Wal-Mart and Workers

"Staying union free is a full-time commitment. Unless union prevention is a goal equal to other objectives within an organization, the goal will usually not be attained. The commitment to stay union free must exist at all levels of management - from the Chairperson of the "Board" down to the front-line manager.

Therefore, no one in management is immune from carrying his or her "own weight" in the union prevention effort."

--Labor Relations and You At the Wal-Mart Distribution Center #6022, prepared by Orson Mason, September 1991

ORGANIZING: Wal-Mart Undermines Workers' Rights

Wal-Mart Is Anti-Union. Wal-Mart has an elaborate anti-union hit squad ready to dispatch at the first sign of worker discontent. When workers do organize, Wal-Mart throws the baby out with the bathwater. [Calgary Herald, 2/04/04]

- **Jacksonville, Texas: Wal-Mart Eliminates Jobs for Butchers.** 10 butchers at this location had the distinction of being the only Wal-Mart workers in the U.S. to successfully vote to unionize. Two weeks later, Wal-Mart announced that it would be eliminating butchers at 180 stores in the region and ultimately at all Supercenters across the nation. [Associated Press, "Wal-mart will end meat cutting at 180 stores; denies link to union vote," 3/3/2000]
- **Jonquiere, Quebec: Wal-Mart Shuts Down the Whole Store.** In 2004, Wal-Mart workers here chose union representation. Within a year of the vote, the company shut the store down, throwing hundreds of employees out of work, claiming that the store was unprofitable. [Associated Press, Canadian Wal-Mart Seeking Union to Close," 11/09/2005]

WAGES: Wal-Mart Pays Badly

Wal-Mart Associates Earn \$2.60 Less per Hour than the Average American Retail Worker. According to data reported by the New York Times, hourly wages at Wal-Mart are \$9.68. This amount is \$2.60 per hour less than the average hourly wage of retail workers, which is \$12.28. Costco, for example, pays its hourly workers \$16.00. [New York Times, 5/3/05]

State by state, Wal-Mart pays its full-time hourly workers less than the average wage for retail sales workers in the U.S. [sources; U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics; <http://www.walmartfats.com>]

State	Mean hourly average	Wal-Mart's Average
Arkansas	\$9.32	\$9.16
California	\$12.34	\$10.16
New Jersey	\$12.21	\$10.11
Florida	\$11.16	\$9.36
Illinois	\$10.84	\$9.92

CHEATING: Wal-Mart Forces Workers To Work Off The Clock

In 2000, Wal-Mart reportedly had to pay \$50 million to settle a suit involving 69,000 workers in Colorado who had allegedly been forced to work off the clock. The company has faced legal action in 30 states for overtime violations. [New York Times, "Lawsuits and Change at Wal-Mart," 11/19/2004]

"When the store closed at the end of my shift, the manager would lock the exterior doors, but the hourly employees like me would have to remain in the store and restock merchandise and count

out the cash registers, even though we had already clocked off and were not getting paid. The tasks we had to do after the store closed always took at least an hour-and-a-half, often two hours.” --Maria Gamble, speaking of her experiences as part of a class-action lawsuit.
[<http://www.lieffcabraser.com/walmart%20lawsuit.htm>]

Facts About Wal-Mart And Health Care

“There are government assistance programs out there that are so lucrative it’s hard to be competitive, and it’s expensive to be competitive,” A galling statement from Wal-Mart CEO Lee Scott [[St. Louis Post Dispatch](#), 04/06/05]

Background on Wal-Mart Health Insurance: Scant Coverage, High Costs

- **Wal-Mart Covers Just 41 Percent of its Employees:** In January 2005, Wal-Mart launched the website walmartfacts.com; CEO Lee Scott said its aim was to provide the “unfiltered truth” about the company. According to walmartfacts.com, Wal-Mart employs more than 1.2 million workers in the United States and Wal-Mart insures more than 500,000 of its employees under their health plan. Therefore, according to Wal-Mart’s own figures, the company covers only 41 percent of its employees. [USA Today, 1/13/05; Wal-Mart Fact Sheets, <http://www.walmartfacts.com/newsdesk/wal-mart-fact-sheets.aspx> (internal calculation)]
- **Wal-Mart Offers Substandard Coverage.** Wal-Mart provides health-care options to their employees and families that have a deductible of \$1,000. Wal-Mart employees must endure long waits to qualify for benefits: six months for full-time employees and two years for part-time employees. [[Philadelphia Inquirer](#), 5/16/05]
- **Wal-Mart Under-Spends on Benefits.** According a Harvard Business School case study, “In 2002, Wal-Mart spending on health benefits for the 500,000 employees covered in the United States averaged an estimated \$3,500 per employee, versus the \$4,800 for the wholesale/retailing sector and \$5,600 for U.S. employers in general.” [Ghemawat, et. al., “Wal-Mart Stores in 2003,” Harvard Business School, Case Study 9-704-430, 1/30/04]

Taxpayers Pick-Up the Tab When Wal-Mart Strands Employees on Public Programs for Health

Benefits: Wal-Mart employees in states across the country are forced to rely on taxpayer funded programs for health care coverage for themselves and their families. To date, the following 14 states have identified Wal-Mart employees receiving public health care coverage: Alabama, Arkansas, Arizona, Connecticut, Florida, Georgia, Iowa, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Tennessee, Texas, Washington, West Virginia and Wisconsin. [Montgomery Advertiser, 2/22/05; Arkansas Democrat-Gazette, 3/17/05; Arizona Republic, 1/01/05; Hartford Courant, 3/4/05; St. Petersburg Times, 3/25/05; Atlanta Journal Constitution, 2/27/04; Associated Press, 3/4/05; Associate Press, 5/15/05; Boston Globe, 2/2/05; Knoxville News-Sentinel, 1/30/05; <http://www.goodjobsfirst.org/pdf/texaschip.pdf>; Seattle Times, 2/21/05; Charleston Gazette (West Virginia), 12/26/04; Capital Times (Madison, Wisconsin), 11/4/04]

Wal-Mart Opposes State Legislative Initiatives Aimed at Expanding Health Care

Maryland Passed Historic Legislation to Increase Employer Health Care Benefits for Workers.

The [Maryland] General Assembly this session passed legislation - which effectively applies only to Wal-Mart - that requires companies with at least 10,000 employees to spend 8 percent of their payroll on worker health care or pay the shortfall into a state fund. It was the first bill of its kind nationwide. ... Gov. Robert L. Ehrlich Jr. has said he will veto the bill, though legislators appear to have enough support for an override. [Baltimore Sun, 5/7/05]

→ **Gov. Ehrlich Stood With “Grateful” Wal-Mart COO to Veto Historic Health Insurance Legislation.** On May 19, 2005, Gov. Bob Ehrlich scheduled a public ceremony to veto the landmark health insurance legislation. Wal-Mart Chief Operating Officer Eduardo Castro-Wright was on hand to attend the official veto of the bill. “We are so grateful to the governor for doing what is right and drawing a line and vetoing this bill,” Castro-Wright said. [Associated Press, 5/19/05]

Facts About Women And Wal-Mart

“I saw myself as trainable, but I saw myself not getting the training,” she said. “I would go home after work, and sometimes I would be wounded, sometimes I would be angry. I would read the Scriptures, I would encourage myself—I didn’t want to come in so full of anger and bitterness and go off on my supervisor and lose my job.”

-- Betty Dukes, one of the six original plaintiffs in the pending California sex discrimination class-action law suit. [Christianity Today, 4/22/05]

Women Employees Face Systematic Discrimination in the Workplace at Wal-Mart:

Wal-Mart Facing Lawsuit for Refusing to Pay and Promote Female Employees as they do Men.

Wal-Mart is facing a historic class-action lawsuit including 1.6 million current and former female employees for gender discrimination. In 2003, Dr. Richard Drogin, Professor Emeritus from California State University, conducted a study on the wages of female employees at Wal-Mart. Among his key findings:

- Women hourly workers earned up to 37 cents less per hour than their male counterparts.
- Female managers earn nearly \$5,000 less than male managers in yearly salary.
- Women comprise 72 percent of Wal-Mart’s total workforce, but only 33 percent of its managers.
- Women comprise 92 percent of Wal-Mart’s cashiers, but only 14 percent of Wal-Mart Store Managers. [Richard Drogin, PhD, “Statistical Analysis Of Gender Patterns In Wal-Mart Workforce”, 2/2003, <http://www.walmartclass.com>; New York Times, 12/30/04]

Wal-Mart Health Policies Threaten Woman’s Access to Care

Wal-Mart’s Health Insurance Does Not Cover Birth Control. According to the Summary Plan Description of Wal-Mart’s employee health insurance, birth control/contraceptives are on the list of “charges not covered.” [Wal-Mart Stores, Inc., 2005 Associate Guide, Summary Plan Description, Effective 1/01/05]

- A month’s supply of birth-control pills can cost around \$35, which equals almost four hours’ wages for a full-time “average” worker at Wal-Mart, according to the company. [<http://www.walmartfacts.com/associates/default.aspx#a41>; Planned Parenthood Federation of America, <http://www.ppfa.org>]
- Wal-Mart is a defendant in a class-action suit in federal court in Atlanta brought by female employees seeking coverage for contraceptives. [Star Tribune (Minneapolis, MN), 6/23/04]

Wal-Mart Pharmacies Do Not Carry Emergency Contraception. “We do not carry emergency contraceptives,” said Wal-Mart spokeswoman Jacquie Young. “It’s based on business factors. We have to refer our customers to another pharmacy in the community that can help them in a timely manner.” [The Dallas Morning News, 4/29/05]

- **Wal-Mart’s Large Market Share Can Cut Off Access to Emergency Contraception.** In many communities, going elsewhere to get the prescription filled is not an option. In ten towns in Texas, for example, Wal-Mart is the only existing pharmacy. [Supermarket News, 5/9/05]

For Working Mothers, Wal-Mart Just Doesn’t Work

Working Wal-Mart Mom was Forced to Sue to Get Her Job Back. Wal-Mart refused to reinstate the Antioch, California woman after her maternity leave. In a recent ruling by the California Fair Employment and Housing Commission, Wal-Mart was fined \$188,000 and found to have "willfully and consciously disregarded its obligations as a California employer" by not reinstating Carver to her job. [Sacramento Bee, June 14, 2005]

Facts About Wal-Mart And The Environment

["It's probably cheaper to just violate the law, wait till somebody catches you, pay your fine and then move on."](#)

[– Al Norman, on Wal-Mart Environmental Violations \[Minnesota Public Radio, Marketplace Morning Report, 5/13/04\]](#)

Wal-Mart Disrespects Our Communities with Egregious Violations

- **Clean Water Act: Wal-Mart Fined \$3.1 Million In 2004 For Environmental Violations In Nine States.** The U.S. Justice Department in 2004 levied \$3.1 million in fines to Wal-Mart. The fines stemmed from environmental violations – namely excessive storm water runoff at construction sites – at 24 of its sites in nine states. In the settlement, federal officials accused Wal-Mart of failing to get required permits, not instituting a runoff control plan, and failing to install controls to prevent discharges. The nine states are California, Colorado, Delaware, Michigan, New Jersey, South Dakota, Tennessee, Texas and Utah. [[Associated Press, 5/12/04](#); [New York Times, 4/13/05](#)]
- **Clean Air Act: Wal-Mart Settled Case Involving Air Pollution in Eleven States** In January 2004 Wal-Mart Stores Inc. agreed to pay \$400,000 to settle claims that its Sam's Club stores violated Clean Air Act regulations in 11 states. The case was filed by U.S. Attorney Todd Graves in Kansas City federal court and charged Wal-Mart with 20 violations. The Department of Justice announced the settlement covered violations in the following states: Alabama, Florida, Georgia, North Carolina, Illinois, Iowa, Minnesota, Missouri, New York, Pennsylvania and West Virginia. [[The Business Journal, 1/30/04](#); [Department of Justice Press Release, 1/22/04](#)]
- **Wal-Mart Fined \$765,000 for Petroleum Storage Violations.** Wal-Mart was levied \$765,000 in fines for violating Florida's petroleum storage tank law at its automobile service centers. The Florida Department of Environmental Protection said that Wal-Mart failed to register its fuel tanks with the state and failed to install devices that prevent overflows, among other problems. As well, Wal-Mart also did not perform monthly monitoring, lacked current technologies to prevent overflows, blocked state inspectors from reviewing maintenance records, and failed to submit proper insurance documentation. [[Associated Press, 11/18/04](#)]

Wal-Mart Stores Create Sprawl and Threaten Historic Communities

- **National Trust for Historic Preservation Specifically Cited Wal-Mart Expansion in Listing Vermont among Most Endangered Places.** "The State of Vermont appeared on our 1993 list because it faced an onslaught of big-box retail development. Today the threat is worse than ever, with Wal-Mart planning to saturate the state with 7 new super-stores that are likely to spur additional development, sprawl, disinvestment in downtowns, the loss of locally-owned businesses, and the erosion of the state's unique sense of place." [[National Trust for Historic Preservation Press Release, 5/24/04,
http://www.nationaltrust.org/news/docs/20040524_11most_vermont.html](#)]
- **Wal-Mart Built Store on Traditional Mayan Grounds.** "A Wal-Mart store rising near the 2,000-year-old pyramids of the Teotihuacán Empire has ignited the wrath of Mexican conservationists and

nationalists, who say the U.S. retailer is destroying their culture at the foot of one of Mexico's greatest treasures... Last week, 63 prestigious artists and intellectuals, in a letter published in Mexican newspapers, asked President Vicente Fox to stop the structure. They see it as a battle pitting Mexico's heritage against encroaching U.S. influence. Wal-Mart is already Mexico's largest retailer, with 664 stores in 66 cities, with sales of \$12 billion." [Knight Ridder, 10/25/04]

Top Ten Wal-Mart Book Burnings

1. **September 1996: Wal-Mart Bans Sheryl Crow Album for Criticism of Gun Sales.** The USA's No. 1 retailer is refusing to stock Crow's self-titled album, due Sept. 24, because it contains song lyrics about the store's gun sales that are "unfair and irresponsible" and that "suggest we contribute to the harm of children," store spokesman Dale Ingram says. A&M Records chairman Al Cafaro calls the move against Crow "de facto censorship" and says A&M will "forgo the opportunity" to sell her album there, despite a possible loss of 400,000 album sales. [USA Today, 9/11/96]
2. **November 1996: Wal-Mart Airbrushes Content of Mellencamp CD Cover.** The cover of John Mellencamp's new CD, "Mr. Happy-Go-Lucky," depicts Mellencamp surrounded by two children and a dog. In the background are faded-out pictures of Jesus and a devil. That is, unless the CD was purchased at Wal-Mart, which sells a version with Jesus and the devil air-brushed out. [Knoxville News-Sentinel (Tennessee), 11/22/96]
3. **March 2004: Wal-Mart Bans Independent Newspaper in Response to Language.** Wal-Mart recently bared its iron fist in Utah to tame the would-be edgy and irreverent Salt Lake City Weekly. Three weeks ago a self-proclaimed Christian came upon the "f-word" in the paper, which is distributed at Wal-Mart, along with hundreds of other locations. The man complained to the City Weekly, its advertisers and, more effectively, he took his case to Wal-Mart regional managers. According to City Weekly publisher Jim Rizzi, the use of the word was an anomaly that cost the paper a week's distribution at Wal-Mart. "Frankly, the paper that week wasn't typical," he said. "We were briefly kicked out and reinstated because we used the f-bomb in our paper," editor Ben Fulton said. [Salt Lake Tribune, 3/13/04]
4. **October 2004: Wal-Mart Returns Comic George Carlin's Book, Claims Order from Publisher was an "Error."** Funnyman George Carlin's new book "When will Jesus Bring the Pork Chops," is no laughing matter for discounter Wal-Mart. According to the New York Post, the world's largest retailer reportedly has returned 3,500 copies of Carlin's book, citing an ordering error. ... "We did not order this book. It was shipped to us in error by one of our distributors," the report quoted Wal-Mart spokeswoman Karen Burk as saying. Publishing sources say it's unlikely that Wal-Mart -- known to skip books that might be deemed politically or religiously provocative -- would have ordered the book in the first place. [CNN Money, 10/28/04]

Wal-mart Claimed Book was Banned because it "Would Not Appeal" to Customers.

"[The decision] was based on customer demand," says Burk. "We offer products we think our customers want to buy. We've carried Carlin's books in the past, but we simply felt that this particular title would not appeal to the majority of our customers." [EOnline News, 10/29/04, <http://www.eonline.com/News/Items/0,1,15245,00.html?eol.tkr>]

5. **May 2003: Wal-Mart Banned Maxim, Stuff and FHM Magazines.** Wal-Mart Stores Inc., the nation's largest retailer, said yesterday that it had halted sales of Maxim, Stuff and FHM, men's magazines that feature a mix of scantily clad starlets and bawdy humor but go to some lengths to avoid being labeled as pornography. The decision came after "listening to our customers and

associates,” Melissa Berryhill, a spokeswoman for Wal-Mart, said. “I know we’ve heard on at least one of those magazines, they weren’t pleased with the offering.” Maxim has been sold in Wal-Mart for the last three years, while FHM was added recently. The standards and general content of the magazines have not changed, but Wal-Mart, which is based in Bentonville, Ark., has been under pressure from Christian groups in the past over its distribution of various magazines. [New York Times, 5/6/03]

6. **April 2001: Wal-Mart Refused to Sell Timothy McVeigh Book.** Wal-Mart will not sell a new book about Timothy McVeigh in which the Oklahoma City bomber refers to his child victims as “collateral damage” and offers no apologies for the bombing. “We’re not carrying it,” Tom Williams, a spokesman for the Arkansas-based chain, said Thursday. “Most simply, we believe that’s what most of our store associates and customers would expect from us.” ... The authors told the newspaper the decision not to carry the book was made before any Wal-Mart officials had read it. [Associated Press, 4/5/01]
7. **September 1995: Wal-Mart Blocked Sales “Someday a Woman Will be President!” T-Shirt, said it was “Offensive.”** Wal-Mart pulled off its shelves a T-shirt that read “Someday a woman will be president.” “*It was determined the T-shirt was offensive* to some people and so the decision was made to pull it from the sales floor,” Wal-Mart spokeswoman Jane Bockholt said. Ann Moliver Ruben, the 70-year-old psychologist who designed the shirt, said Sharon Higginbotham, a buyer for women’s clothes at Wal-Mart’s national office in Bentonville, Ark., told her the store would not carry the shirt nationwide because the message “goes against Wal-Mart’s family values.” The Associated Press reported, “Ms. Higginbotham did not immediately return messages. Ms. Bockholt wouldn’t discuss what the buyer told Ruben.” [Associated Press, 9/22/95]
8. **June 2003: Wal-Mart Obscures the Covers of Women’s Fashion Magazines.** [Wal-Mart Stores said it will obscure the covers of four women’s magazines beginning next month because they carry pictures and language that offends some customers. Plastic shields will be placed over Glamour, Marie Claire, Cosmopolitan and Redbook magazines, spokesman Tom Williams said at Wal-Mart’s annual meeting in Fayetteville, Ark.](#) [Atlanta Journal-Constitution, 6/7/03]
9. **September 1993: Nirvana Album “In Utero” Banned for Objectionable Artwork.** In 1993 Wal-Mart refused to stock Nirvana’s album titled “In Utero.” A Walmart spokesperson said, “It’s the back cover they have objections to.” [Atlanta Journal and Constitution, 9/27/93]
10. **December 2002: Wal-Mart Removes Pregnant, Married Barbie Doll Sold As “Happy Family” Set.** “Midge -- Barbie's oldest friend -- is pregnant. And that's trouble. Wal-Mart Stores stopped selling the pregnant Midge because of customer complaints, the company said Tuesday. The freckle-faced doll, who represents a married woman expecting her second child, was yanked from shelves earlier this month along with her husband, Alan, and 3-year-old son, Ryan. The three had been sold separately as part of a ‘Happy Family’ series that its maker, Mattel, said was designed to promote nurturing play.” [San Jose Mercury News, 12/25/02]
11. **June 1996: Wal-Mart Discontinued Sales of Goo-Goo Dolls Album.** In June 1996, Wal-Mart discontinued sales of the Goo Goo Dolls' album “A Boy Named Go.” On June 10, 1996, The [USA Today](#) reported, “The retail chain, [Wal-Mart] which has sold 51,000 copies of the platinum album, plans to discontinue sales after customers said they were offended by the picture of a baby boy covered with blackberry juice.” Previously, Wal-Mart had claimed the album’s removal was due to “declining sales.” [[USA Today](#), 6/10/096; [Los Angeles Times](#), 6/7/96]

Appendix 2: Additional resources

Wal-Mart Watch Annual Report

<http://walmartwatch.com/pdf/2005-annual-report.pdf>

"Shopping for Subsidies: How Wal-Mart Uses Taxpayer Money to Finance Its Never-Ending Growth," Good Jobs First (5/04) <http://goodjobsfirst.org/pdf/wmtstudy.pdf>

This report, the first national study of the subject, documents more than \$1 billion in such subsidies from state and local governments to Wal-Mart; the actual total is certainly far higher, but the records are scattered in thousands of places and many subsidies are undisclosed.

"The Quality of Work at Wal-Mart," Brandeis University (4/04)

http://www.brandeis.edu/centers/wsrc/scholars/Scholars/E_Rosen/NewLaborForumPaper.pdf

This paper examines the structure of Wal-Mart's store operations and discusses how its technology, culture and management structure are used in conjunction with official policies and covert practices to shape the experience of Wal-Mart's workers.

"Wal-Mart: An Example of Why Workers Remain Uninsured and Underinsured," AFL-CIO (10/03) http://www.coastalalliance.com/area_wage_dev/WM_vs_insurance.pdf

A thorough examination of Wal-Mart's meager health benefits program using company documents and outside reports.

"Hidden Cost of Wal-Mart Jobs: Use of Safety Net Programs by Wal-Mart Workers in California," UC Berkeley (8/04) <http://laborcenter.berkeley.edu/lowwage/walmart.pdf>

This study is the first to quantify the fiscal costs of Wal-Mart's substandard wages and benefits on public safety net programs in California. It also explores the potential impact on public programs of Wal-Mart's competitive effect on industry standards.

"Impact of the Wal-Mart Phenomenon on Rural Communities," Iowa State Univ. (1997)

http://www.seta.iastate.edu/retail/publications/10_yr_study.pdf

This landmark study argues that rural communities in the United States have been more adversely impacted by the discount mass merchandisers (sometimes referred to as the Wal-Mart phenomenon) than by any other factors in recent times. Studies in Iowa have shown that some small towns lose up to 47 percent of their retail trade after 10 years of Wal-Mart stores nearby.

"Statistical Analysis of Gender Patterns in Wal-Mart Workforce," Drogin, Kakigi & Associates (2/03)

http://walmartclass.com/walmartclass94.pl?wsi=0&websys_screen=all_reports_view&websys_id=18

This report was commissioned by the plaintiff's counsel in the Dukes v. Wal-Mart gender discrimination suit. By analyzing 6 years of Wal-Mart payroll data, the author revealed systematic gender discrimination against female employees.

"Everyday Low Wages: The Hidden Price We All Pay for Wal-Mart," Rep. George Miller (2/04)

<http://edworkforce.house.gov/democrats/WALMARTREPORT.pdf>

This report reviews Wal-Mart's labor practices across the country and around the world and provides an overview of how working Americans and their allies in Congress are seeking to address the gamut of issues raised by this new standard-bearer of American retail.

"The Economic Impact Of Wal-Mart: An Assessment Of The Wal-Mart Store Proposed For Chicago's West Side," UIC Center For Urban Economic Development (2004)

<http://www.uic.edu/cuppa/uicued/npublications/recent/nwal-martreport.pdf>

This study assesses the likely impact of a new Wal-Mart store on other local retailers and the resulting employment and tax revenue impacts on the City of Chicago and its residents.

"Wal-Mart's Pay Gap," Institute for Policy Studies (2005)

http://www.ips-dc.org/projects/global_econ/walmart_pay_gap.htm

Wal-Mart's generous compensation for top executives contrasts sharply with the wages of the people who produced or sold the goods that earned the company \$10.3 billion in profits on sales of \$285 billion last year.

Books & articles

"Inside the Leviathan," New York Review of Books (12/04)

<http://www.nybooks.com/articles/17647>

Throughout the recent history of American capitalism there has always been one giant corporation whose size dwarfs that of all others, and whose power conveys to the world the strength and confidence of American capitalism itself...Wal-Mart has grown into a business whose dominance of the corporate world rivals GM's in its heyday.

"WAL-MART: Bruised in Bentonville," Fortune (4/05)

<http://www.fortune.com/fortune/fortune500/articles/0,15114,1044608,00.html>

For Wal-Mart, the customer has always been king. But lately the retailer has realized that it has other constituents—and some are mad as hell. Can the world's biggest company adjust? [\$\$]

"The Wal-Mart Effect," Los Angeles Times (12/03)

<http://www.pulitzer.org/year/2004/national-reporting/works/>

The Los Angeles Times' Pulitzer Prize winning series on Wal-Mart.

"The Wal-Mart You Don't Know," Fast Company (12/03)

<http://www.fastcompany.com/magazine/77/walmart.html>

The giant retailer's low prices often come with a high cost. Wal-Mart's relentless pressure can crush the companies it does business with and force them to send jobs overseas. Are we shopping our way straight to the unemployment line?

"Is Wal-Mart Too Powerful?," BusinessWeek (10/03)

http://www.businessweek.com/magazine/content/03_40/b3852001_mz001.htm

Low Prices are great. But Wal-Mart's dominance creates problems -- for suppliers, workers, communities, and even American culture.

Books

"Selling Women Short: The Landmark Battle for Worker's Rights at Wal-Mart," by Liza Featherstone

Liza Featherstone of the Nation magazine combines the personal stories of female employees with superb investigative journalism to show why women who work low-wage jobs are getting a raw deal, and what they are doing about it.

"Slam-Dunking Wal-Mart," by Al Norman

"Slam-Dunking Wal-Mart" is a call for the preservation of all the qualities we love about hometown America. It is one man's David versus Goliath story. It can also be a road map for your community's fight to keep its downtown businesses and core values.

"Nickel and Dimed: On (Not) Getting By in America," by Barbara Ehrenreich

Instantly acclaimed for its insight, humor, and passion, this book is changing the way America perceives its working poor. In Minnesota, she works at Wal-Mart under the repressive surveillance of men and women whose job it is to monitor her behavior for signs of sloth, theft, drug abuse, or worse.

Television & Radio

"Is Wal-Mart Good for America?," PBS: Frontline

<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/walmart/>

Frontline explores the relationship between U.S. job losses and the American consumer's insatiable desire for bargains in "Is Wal-Mart Good for America?" Through interviews with retail executives, product manufacturers, economists, and trade experts, correspondent Hedrick Smith examines the growing controversy over the Wal-Mart way of doing business and asks whether a single retail giant has changed the American economy.

"Human Cost Behind Bargain Shopping: Dateline Hidden Camera Investigation in Bangladesh," NBC: Dateline

<http://msnbc.msn.com/id/8243331/>

Americans love a deal, and these days, thanks to the fast-paced global marketplace and big discount retailers, products are better and cheaper than ever. But what price do people in faraway places pay so Americans can get their bargains in stores like Wal-Mart?

"Wal-Mart & the World," PBS: NOW with Bill Moyers

<http://www.pbs.org/now/politics/walmart.html>

The debate over Wal-Mart's effect on American towns and the American workforce is not new. "Wal-Martization" has become a code word for suburban sprawl. Yet this fall, the volume of that debate appears to have been turned up.

"With a small-town culture, Wal-Mart dominates," CNBC: Reports

<http://moneycentral.msn.com/content/CNBCTV/Articles/TVReports/P100061.asp>

The company had to learn to do many things on its own because it started in little Bentonville, Ark., but that helped it become a retailing power. Has it gone too far?

"When Wal-Mart Comes to Town," PBS: Store Wars

<http://www.pbs.org/itvs/storewars/story.html>

A look at the populist spirit that engulfs a small Virginia town when retail giant Wal-Mart comes knocking, blueprints in hand. The ensuing debate, which pits neighbor against neighbor, illustrates the struggle between conflicting versions of the American dream. A truly American story, STORE WARS is about the right of a community to determine its own future.

Recommended Links

Los Angeles Alliance for a New Economy (LAANE)

<http://laane.org/>

In 2004, LAANE took a leading role in defeating Wal-Mart's \$1.5 million initiative campaign in Inglewood and helped pass the groundbreaking Los Angeles Superstore Ordinance, giving communities more control over the construction of big box stores.

The New Rules Project

<http://www.newrules.org/>

The Institute for Local Self-Reliance (ILSR) proposes a set of new rules that builds community by supporting humanly scaled politics and economics. The retail sector of their website has an extensive archive of news, analysis and tools for legislative action related to Wal-Mart.

Good Jobs First

<http://goodjobsfirst.org/>

Good Jobs First provides timely, accurate information to the public, the media, public officials and economic development professionals on best practices in state and local job subsidies. The group recently completed the study, "Shopping for Subsidies: How Wal-Mart Uses Taxpayer Money to Finance Its Never-Ending Growth"

Sprawl-Busters

<http://www.sprawl-busters.com/>

Sprawl-Busters Consultants help local community coalitions on-site to design and implement successful campaigns against megastores and other undesirable large-scale developments. Their website includes an impressive catalog of former and current site fights, plus great commentary and proven techniques for grassroots activists.

Business Ethics Network

<http://businessethicsnetwork.org/>

The mission of the Business Ethics Network is to inspire a race to the top by the world's largest corporations. The Network's website has an extensive list of resources and case studies on corporate campaigns.

UC Berkeley Labor Center

<http://laborcenter.berkeley.edu/index.shtml>

The Center's study "Hidden Costs of Wal-Mart Jobs" documents the extensive use of safety net programs by Wal-Mart workers in California. The Center will release further studies on Wal-Mart.

Wal-Mart Class Website

<http://walmartclass.com/walmartclass94.pl>

The website for the Dukes v. Wal-Mart class action lawsuit is a tremendous resource for anyone interested in Wal-Mart's pay and hiring practices.