

# A Critique of the Global Credit Card Society

"This small book represents an important application of the sociological imagination to the contemporary marketplace."

Teresa A. Sullivan, Professor of Sociology and Law, The University of Texas at Austin

# Expressing America

## A Critique of the Global Credit Card Society

George Ritzer

The University of Maryland



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# for Sue to whom my indebtedness (and my love) is endless

#### About the Author

George Ritzer is an acknowledged expert in the field of social theory and sociology of work and has served as Chair of the American Sociological Association's Sections on Theoretical Sociology and Organizations and Occupations. A distinguished Scholar-Teacher at the University of Maryland, Professor Ritzer has been honored with that institution's Teaching Excellence award. Two of his most recent books include Metatheorizing in Sociology (Lexington Press) and The McDonaldization of Society (Pine Forge Press). His books have been translated into many languages, including German, Russian, and Spanish.

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## Preface

This is a sociological analysis and critique of the role of credit cards (and other forms of the transfer of funds electronically) in the contemporary world. But in another, even more important, sense it is about a more general process—"the American express"—a term I use to describe a range of related phenomena that are sweeping across, and dramatically altering, North America and, increasingly, a large portion of the rest of the world. While many other American icons mentioned in the pages of this book (the fast-food restaurant, the theme park, the shopping mall, and so on) are important components of this "express," the credit card may well be the linchpin that holds it all together. The credit card, therefore, is of particular significance because it is not only an expanding presence around the world but also an increasingly important means to all the other components of the American express.

The credit card is also the premier symbol of an American lifestyle that much of the rest of the world is rushing to emulate. While there is much to recommend such a lifestyle, there is another side to it that is largely ignored. That other side is the rampant expansion of the consumer culture and its attendant problems—consumerism and indebtedness, fraud, invasion of privacy, rationalization and dehumanization, and homogenization stemming from increasing Americanization. The objective of this book is to use a sociological perspective to spotlight the dark side of the increasingly global presence of the credit card, the American express more generally, and the accompanying lifestyle.

There are many dangers associated with the widespread and indiscriminate use of credit cards, and innumerable Americans have personally experienced the devastating effects of these hazards. Such difficulties are largely unknown to other, especially younger, Americans, as well as to the hundreds of millions in the rest of the world who are eager to embrace the credit card, the consumer society, and the American style of life that comes with them. A book devoted largely to the problems Americans have had with credit cards can serve to caution those who have not yet experienced such problems, both in the United States and in the rest of the world.

Another motivation behind this book is that credit cards, and the problems they pose, cry out for sociological, rather than the more customary psychological, analysis. In our society, preoccupied with individual-level analyses of social phenomena, there is a tendency to think about the problems associated with credit cards, and many other problems as well, as the result of individual deviance. In contrast, this book employs a more sociological approach that deals with the relationship between individual behavior and larger social forces. Thus, instead of thinking about credit card fraud as traceable only to individual criminals, we will also link it to the structure of the credit card industry. Instead of tracing credit card debt simply to individuals "addicted" to debt, we will also address the role played by the credit card industry in encouraging debt, even among college and high school students. Rather than arguing merely that evil individuals are invading our privacy, we will also trace that invasion to the day-to-day operations of the credit card industry. This kind of sociological perspective is needed to offer a corrective on the tendency to individualize and even medicalize the problems of the credit card industry (for example, in applying the idea of addiction to credit card abuse).

This book uses the analysis of credit cards as a "window" on society. Credit cards are a key feature of modern society, and an examination of them allows us to see clearly some of the essential features of the modern world. In the end, this study of credit cards leads us to some of the most essential problems in modern society—crime, debt, threats to privacy, rationalization, dehumanization, and homogenization. Thus, the credit card is both a key component of the modern world and a marvelous window into it.

As in an earlier book of mine entitled *The McDonaldization of Society, Expressing America* uses sociological theory to illuminate important social issues. Rather than relying on the work of a single social theorist (Max Weber) as I did in *McDonaldization*, I found it useful to employ a number of theoretical perspectives in *Expressing* 

Preface xiii

America, including the theories of C. Wright Mills, Georg Simmel, Karl Marx, and Max Weber, as well as micro-macro, agency-structure, and Americanization theories. Although this book is guided by theory, it, like its predecessor, is accessible and aimed at the general reader. This is not a theoretical treatise, but an effort to use sociological theory to inform a wide readership about the dangers of credit cards and the need to take a variety of reform-oriented and self-protective actions.

Credit cards (like fast-food restaurants) are everyday economic phenomena that are of great significance to people both materially and symbolically. These mundane economic phenomena, and the problems they pose, cry out for sociological analysis. Yet, ironically, sociologists have not devoted much attention to such seemingly "insignificant" social phenomena. Instead, they have preferred to deal with much grander issues, such as capitalism and socialism, or industrial and postindustrial society. In their rush to deal with such grand abstractions, sociologists have tended to ignore the more mundane issues that are of far greater significance to people on a day-to-day basis. Yet it is abundantly clear that the seemingly insignificant credit card (as well as the fast-food restaurant and similar phenomena) is profoundly changing the social world.

I would like to thank a number of people who reviewed earlier drafts of this manuscript: Gerri Detweiler (consultant and former director of Bankcard Holders of America), David Frisby (University of Glasgow), Mike Gatti (National Automated Clearing House Association), Tahira Hira (Iowa State University), Sean Kennedy (Electronic Funds Transfer Association), Peter Kollock (University of California, Los Angeles), Gianfranco Poggi (University of Virginia), John Walsh (University of Illinois, Chicago), and Cynthia Woolever (Midway College). I would also like to thank the Pine Forge Press staff—Rebecca Holland, Mary Sutton, and Sherith Pankratz—as well as manuscript editor Rebecca Smith. Also to be thanked are my invaluable assistants, Allan Liska and Rita Wood; Jeremy Ritzer, for his skills as an indexer; and a number of my undergraduate students, especially Michael Saks and Meghan Lee.

However, the most important person in helping to shape this book has been Steve Rutter, editor and president of Pine Forge Press. Steve is something of a throwback to an earlier era in academic publishing, when editors actually read the books they published. In fact, Steve read several iterations of this book and offered useful comments on each. Most important, when I began to lose sight of what I was trying to accomplish in these pages, Steve helped me to get back on track. Steve even assisted in the creation of the title of this book, with its rich multifaceted meanings. Clearly, Steve has helped to make this a far better book than it otherwise might have been. I owe him a deep debt.

George Ritzer

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Preface xv

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### Contents

Preface / xi

A Brief History / 33

```
1
    The Credit Card: Private Troubles and Public Issues / 1
    A Window on Society / 2
    The Advantages of Credit Cards / 3
    A Key Problem with Credit Cards / 5
    Who Is to Blame? / 7
         The Individual / 7
         The Government / 8
         Business / 9
         Banks and Other Financial Institutions / 9
    An Indictment of the Financial System / 11
    Case in Point: Getting Them Hooked While They're Young / 12
    A Sociology of Credit Cards / 15
         Mills: Personal Troubles, Public Issues / 16
         Marx: Capitalist Exploitation / 18
         Simmel: The Money Economy / 19
         Weber: Rationalization / 21
         Globalization and Americanization / 22
         Micro-Macro Relationships / 22
    Other Reasons for Devoting a Book to Credit Cards / 23
         Something New in the History of Money / 23
         A Growing Industry / 25
         A Symbol of American Values / 27
    Debunking Credit Card Myths / 28
    Socio-History of the Credit Card: We Probably Won't
```

Recognize the Credit Card Field by the End of the Century / 31

The Rise of the Universal Credit Card / 34

The Entry of "Nonbanks" / 38

Co-Branded Cards / 39
The Decline of the "Charge" Card / 41
Credit Bureaus / 42
Industry Dynamics: Expand or Die / 42
Finding New Business / 43
The Competitive Environment in the 1990s / 50

Credit Legislation / 51

Future: Increasingly Incredible CREDEBELS / 53

### 3 Credit Card Debt: Beware the Plastic Loan Shark / 59

The Temptation to Imprudence / 60

Credit Cards / 60

Debit Cards / 62

Electronic Funds Transfers / 63

Consumer Debt as a Public Issue / 64

Consumer Debt as a Personal Trouble / 65

Who Is Responsible for High Credit Card Debt? / 68

Consumers / 68

Credit Card Companies / 69

How to Overcome the Temptation to Imprudence / 71

Be Aware of the Danger Signs / 72

Stop Credit Card Abuse / 73

Reduce the Costs of Credit Card Debt / 76

Getting Outside Help / 78

What Government Can Do / 81

What the Credit Card Industry Could Do / 81

# 4 Credit Card Fraud: Screw You, Mac—I Got Mine / 83

Fraud Against the Card Companies and Users / 85

Stolen Cards / 85

Stolen Credit Information / 86

Counterfeit and Altered Cards / 88

Fraudulent Credit Card Applications / 89

Abuses by Telemarketers / 90

Fraudulent Credit "Repair" / 91

Mean Machinations by Card Companies / 92

Excessive Interest Rates and Fees / 93

Exploitive Billing Tactics / 94

Mean Machinations by Card Users / 97

Contents ix

Weapons Against Credit Card Fraud / 98
Protecting Credit Card Firms and Merchants / 98
Protecting Consumers: Self-Preservation / 101
Protecting Consumers: Government Action / 103
Protecting Consumers: Proposals for Industry Action / 104
Fraud, Private Troubles, and Public Issues / 106
Secrecy, Privacy, and Credit Cards: Who Isn't
in Their Files? / 107
Secrecy Problems / 109
Nondisclosure of Credit Terms / 109
Erroneous Credit Records / 109
Nondisclosure of Affinity Card Terms / 113
Privacy Problems / 114
Excessive Data Collection / 116
Illegitimate Access to Credit Records / 117
Sale of Credit and Lifestyle Information / 119
Computerized Databases / 121
Ways of Coping with Secrecy Problems / 123
Ways of Protecting Privacy / 125
Credit Cards, Fast-Food Restaurants,
and Rationalization: All You Need Is 42 Digits
to Make One Long-Distance Phone Call / 129
Similarities Between the Credit Card and Fast-Food
Industries / 129
Lack of Innovativeness / 129
Reliance on Advertising / 130
Expansion / 132
Rationalization / 133
Calculability: The All-Important Credit Report / 137
Efficiency: The Faster the Better / 142
Predictability: Avoiding Those Painful Lulls / 144
Nonhuman for Human Technology: No Visitors, No Staff / 146
Irrationality of Rationality: Caught in the Heavy
Machinery / 149
Personal Troubles, Public Issues, and Rationalization / 151
Ways of Coping with the Rationalized Credit Card
Industry / 155

5

## 7 An American Express: The Culture That Conquered

the World / 157

The Global Spread of Credit Cards / 159

Americanization and the Credit Card / 162

Acceptance of American Exports / 165

Rationalization / 165

Modernism / 167

Consumerism / 170

Anti-Americanism and the Credit Card / 171 Summing Up / 175

#### **Appendix**

Those Other CREDEBELS: Debit Cards, Electronic Funds

Transfers, and Automated Clearinghouses / 179

Debit Cards / 179

Electronic Funds Transfers / 184

Automated Clearinghouses / 188

Personal Troubles, Public Issues, and the Other

CREDEBELS / 192

Endnotes / 197

Index / 231