

GOOD FOOD + GOOD JOBS FOR ALL

Challenges and Opportunities
to Advance Racial and Economic
Equity in the Food System

Yvonne Yen Liu • July 2012 • arc.org/foodjustice



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“I don’t know if taking on a social justice role is smart politics for the food movement. We need to have positions, but if we devolve, then we lose our specificity and attraction for people who can deal with food, but not economic systems.”

—Good food author

“Labor groups are more involved in food issues than vice versa, that’s been my experience. But, I’m not sure if labor is engaged, beyond saying that food workers have horrible working conditions, to embrace a systemic critique of the food system.”

—Good jobs advocate

IT WOULD SEEM self-evident that in order to eat good, healthy food, you must have a good job. And, while our society could stand to benefit from greater collaboration of good food and good jobs movements, unfortunately, the movements operate parallel to each other, unable to step outside their comfort zones to engage the other. As indicated by the quotes above, the majority of good food advocates are wary of collaborating with the labor movement for fear of diluting their mission. Similarly, proponents for good jobs typically focus solely on serving the interests of workers and are generally uninterested in tackling the structural problems in industrial agriculture and the production of food.

Good Food and Good Jobs, Defined

Good food is the alternative food and agriculture movement, which Julie Guthman described in *Weighing In* as “institutions and practices that bring small-scale farmers, artisan food producers, and restaurant chefs together with consumers for the market exchange of what is characterized as fresh, local, seasonal, organic, and craft-produced food.”¹ She added, “The idea is that by more closely linking producers and consumers the environmental impacts of farming will be reduced and consumers will have access to a healthier and more affordable food supply. Advocates and activists then focus on enacting policies that will encourage the growth of more of these institutions in so-called food deserts and educating people about the importance of healthy, sustainably grown food.”²

Good jobs is the movement to win dignity and respect for workers, regardless of their occupation or identity. Good jobs pay living wages, provide benefits such as paid sick days and family leave, and offer career pathways for a less skilled worker to move up into a higher skilled position. Good jobs also provide a safe work environment and adequate training for employees to carry out their responsibilities without injury. Lastly, a good job offers workers the opportunity to organize, if they wish, into a collective bargaining unit without fear of employer retaliation.

Yet, if we look at who is most negatively impacted by the food and economic system, we find that those populations are disproportionately low-income people and people of color. Therefore, a divide between the struggle for good food and good jobs is an issue of racial and economic justice, because it sharpens socioeconomic disparities for communities of color. Being separated in issue silos also serves the interests of the food and agricultural corporations operated by a minority of white men who dominate both domestic and global markets, thus creating the conditions for these disparities across the world.

The Applied Research Center (ARC) addressed three **research questions**:

- Who is most impacted by inequities in the food system?
- What are the challenges for food and labor in engaging across movements?
- What opportunities help to bridge the divide and advance both good food and good jobs agendas?

Our **research methods** included a comprehensive literature review, a survey answered by over 180 respondents, and in-depth interviews with more than 30 leaders in the good food and good jobs movements.

Although we recognize that the food system sprawls across the globe, we limited the landscape for our inquiry to the more manageable scope of the U.S. Therefore, we concerned ourselves with the history, the players and the activities of the respective food and labor movements in this country.

Because innovation can come from different levels (community, regional, state or national), we were open to any scale of an opportunity that we might find. Our primary criteria was that it would improve the quality of food for low-income people of color and guarantee sustainable jobs with career pathways for the workers, particularly those of color, in the food chain. We focused on the public sector, because the current inequities stem from the failures of market-based self-regulation.

“We need a more diversified food system, one not controlled by monopoly capital or big corporations,” a good food advocate told us. “The powers of monopolies need to be dismantled in order for corporations to find their social role. They don’t play a good social role, currently. They aren’t self-policing. The only way we’ll figure out the utility of these corporations is if we diversify the food system, so we’ll have tremendous options and will raise the bar and level of the playing field. We don’t know what this will look like, but we know now it’s terrible, it leads to the race to the bottom.”

We discovered many examples that were missed opportunities, such as:

- New warehouse development that had good jobs stipulations, but no good food.
- Retail store conversion in “food deserts” with standards for good food, but not good jobs.
- Private food labels and certifications that employers can opt to participate in. (Most chose not to.)

Advocates in both good food and good jobs face challenges in collaborating. For instance, Slow Food USA—the domestic branch of a global good food movement to promote “good, clean, and fair” food—struggles to shift consciousness around the connection between good food and good jobs. Historically, the U.S. base has not integrated issues of race, class, and labor equity into its focus on supporting local producers, shared meals, and biodiversity. For example, when the movement for global justice gathered in Seattle to protest the World Trade Organization, the founder of Slow Food, Carlo Petrini, exhorted its members to not march in the streets and protest. “Carlo said the work of Slow Food was in the kitchen,” remembered Poppy Tooker, founder of the New Orleans chapter.³

While many people in their network supported a more justice-based approach, the national office of Slow Food came under fire by a few leaders from an older generation of supporters, like Tooker, for delving into political advocacy. Most notable was criticism of the \$5 Challenge, where members brought meals to potlucks that cost less than the price of a Happy Meal.⁴ “We spent all these years trying to make sure that the farmers were championed and other food producers were paid a fair wage for what they brought to our tables,” said Tooker.⁵ “It’s such a weird idea that food justice is only about getting cheaper food to low-income consumers,” responded another critic, Gary Nabhan, founder of the Flagstaff, Arizona chapter.⁶ “Is it elitist to support farmers?”

This debate illustrates the false assumption that making good food affordable undermines good jobs for family farmers. “Some folks think of Slow Food as just ‘good’ or just ‘clean,’ but that’s not Slow Food,” explained Hnin W. Hnin, associate manager of national programs at Slow Food USA. “Slow Food is good, clean, and fair, by reclaiming, defending, and celebrating a diversity of food cultures as a challenge to the industrial food system. Our task is to speak to that truth and approach our work with integrity.”

ARC’s research also uncovered many promising opportunities, most initiated by community-labor alliances that advance both missions. The five that we highlight include:

- **Liquor licensing:** Attach labor standards for food retail and service applying for or renewing a license to sell alcohol
- **Manufacturing subsidies:** Pair public subsidies to food manufacturers with labor law compliance
- **Procurement policies:** Grant public contracts to food producers and processors who are “high road” employers
- **Retail subsidies:** Fund food retail that hire locally and pay living wages
- **Community benefits agreements:** Mandate that food retail sustain communities

What is at stake is the soul of the emergent food justice movement, and the consequences are great for the many people of color who have poor-quality diets for economic or other reasons, and those who toil for low wages in the food chain.

We used qualitative methods backed with quantitative evidence to identify challenges and successful solutions. First, we conducted a literature review of the good food and good job movements to identify trends and actors. ARC surveyed policy-oriented papers on food security and food related labor, as well as media coverage of model programs. We looked at three subdisciplines that comprise good foods:

1. **Access** - food insecurity, hunger, “food deserts,” food banks, food stamps, emergency food, charity
2. **Health** - genetically modified food, fast food, food safety, obesity, nutrition, food labeling
3. **Environmentalism** - agroecology, organic agriculture, local food economies, back to land

In terms of good jobs, we looked at the areas of:

- **Excluded Workers:** Workers excluded from labor law protection or enforcement of regulations
- **Labor Unions:** Trade unions that represent food workers and others that don't
- **Worker Centers:** Worker centers and groups that support immigrant workers

We conducted a survey to identify opportunities that can increase collaboration between the two sectors.⁷ 186 people responded to the survey, 72% from food organizations and 28% from labor. Almost half of the organizations who completed the survey were local in scope, a quarter worked on the national level. The respondents hailed from across the country; the regions most represented were the West at 37% and Northeast at 27%. Almost half were smaller organizations, with 10 or fewer full-time employees. 53% were not membership-based groups, and 42% were evenly divided between a membership under and above 500. In terms of racial composition of the membership, more than a quarter were multiracial organizations. Less than 20% worked in white-only organizations.

We interviewed more than 25 good food and good jobs leaders and experts. Leaders were selected to represent each of the three sub-themes of good food (access, health, and environmentalism) and three areas of good jobs (excluded workers, trade unions, and worker centers).

ARC also mined data from the liquor licensing project implemented by The Restaurant Opportunities Center (ROC-N.Y.). ROC-N.Y. is developing a new and replicable local legislation that creates concrete victories for both labor and food system reform advocates. By integrating equity standards into the liquor licensing process, they are creating policies that will benefit everyone along the food chain.

Finally, ARC collected and analyzed relevant data sets that help us illustrate the scope of the inequities and opportunities for intervention in food systems.

Section 3A: Food Inequities by Race

The current food and economic system in this country leaves behind huge portions of the population. People of color are disproportionately impacted in indicators of public health and livelihood. In this section, we examine the incidence rates of several indicators of food inequities by race:

- Obesity
- Food insecurity⁸
- “Food deserts”⁹
- Wage and hour violations
- Lack of benefits

TABLE 1: FOOD INEQUITIES BY RACE

INEQUITY	WHITE	BLACK	LATINO	ASIAN*	AMERICAN INDIAN
GENERAL POPULATION					
RATE OF OBESITY	23.5	35.7	28.7	8.1	30.4
FOOD INSECURITY	7.5	9.5	10.4	5.3	UNAVAILABLE
FOOD WORKERS					
SUBMINIMUM WAGE	13.5	21.0	24.4	37.5	28.6
NO HEALTH INSURANCE	54.1	59.0	59.0	50.0	85.7
NO PAID SICK DAYS	83.3	75.3	79.8	90.0	92.9
WORKED OVER 40 HOURS/WEEK	28.9	26.6	50.6	42.1	49.5

* The government data available on Asian Americans likely masks wide variations of experiences across nations of origin and other backgrounds.

Sources: Obesity (2007-08) - US Department of Health and Human Services, and Centers for Disease Control; Household Food Insecurity (2009) - Economic Research Service, USDA; Food Workers (2012) - Food Chain Workers Alliance

OBESITY

The biggest issue, according to the Centers for Disease Control, is obesity. 111 million people in the U.S. are classified as obese by the CDC—that’s over a third of all adults and almost 20% of children and adolescents.¹⁰ Obesity rates have dramatically increased in the past 20 years, particularly in regions in the South, which had almost 30% prevalence of obesity.¹¹

Obesity is not experienced equally across race (see *Table 1*). Blacks experience the highest rate of obesity, more than 35%, with indigenous peoples following at 30%. Close to 30% of Latinos are also classified as obese. 24% of whites are obese.

While the majority of public discussion on obesity focuses upon individual-level explanations, some advocates point out that access and affordability of healthy food vs. fast food in communities of color and low-income communities greatly impact obesity rates. Studies have linked exposure to certain chemicals, toxins, and hormones—known as *obesogens*—to obesity. One found that maternal exposure to secondhand smoke, toxins and even stress resulted in adult obesity.¹² Retha Newbold, a developmental biologist with the National Institute for Environmental Health Sciences, also discovered that the genes that direct fat distribution are permanently altered when exposed to hormones; therefore, the tendency towards high-fat tissues is passed on to offspring.¹³

If exposure to obesogens is comparable to the disproportionate exposure that communities of color experience with toxins and hazardous wastes more generally both at home and at work, then a further case can be made for highlighting racial inequities in obesity rates. A study released by the Program for Environmental and Regional Equity at the University of Southern California found that neighborhoods within close proximity of a greenhouse gas emitting facility was 60% people of color and 40% white.¹⁴ Even when income is constant, a Black or Latino family who earned between \$35,000 to \$50,000 a year was almost five times more likely than a white household with the same income to live close to a polluting facility.¹⁵

Food chain workers—from farmworkers and their children,¹⁶ to factory production workers¹⁷—are often exposed to chemical toxins on the job. More scientific research on obesogens, specifically, is certainly warranted.¹⁸

FOOD SECURITY

40 million households in this country suffer from lack of access to adequate food, which the USDA defines as “food insecurity” (see *Erasing Hunger*).¹⁸ This impacts people of color disproportionately. About 10% of Black and 10% Latino families experience food insecurity, three times the rate for white households.

Food workers, ironically, suffer from high levels of food insecurity. Survey results by the Food Chain Workers Alliance of 600 workers found that people employed in the food chain use food stamps at double the rate of the rest of the U.S. workforce.²¹

“FOOD DESERTS”

The USDA defines a “food desert” as a “low-income census tract where a substantial number or share of residents has low access to a supermarket or large grocery store.”²² A review of studies by PolicyLink discovered that only 8% of Blacks live in a census tract with a supermarket, compared to 31% of whites.²³

WAGE AND HOUR VIOLATIONS

Most jobs in the food chain pay poverty wages for long hours. 86% percent of food workers surveyed for *The Hands that Feed Us* earn poverty wages, only 13.5% make a living wage.²⁴ Low wages cuts across the food chain, but hurts workers of color more. Almost one out every four Asian food workers earns a subminimum wage.²⁵ 30% of indigenous workers make less than minimum wage and close to a quarter of Latino and over 20% of Black food workers earn subminimum wages.²⁶

40% of food workers labored for more than 40 hours a week. More than half of Latino workers worked more than 40 hours a week.²⁷ Close to a half of indigenous workers did the same, as did more than 42% of Asian food workers.

LACK OF BENEFITS

An overwhelming majority of food chain workers don’t have benefits from their employers. 79% don’t have paid sick days and more than half have labored when ill.²⁸ 83% didn’t receive health insurance coverage from their employer and 58% don’t have any kind of coverage, at all.²⁹ Black and Latino workers disproportionately lack health insurance, at 59%, and more than 85% of indigenous food workers don’t have coverage.

Erasing Hunger

In 2006, the USDA introduced the term “food security” to replace the word “hunger.” The former, they defined as “a household-level economic and social condition of limited or uncertain access to adequate food.”¹⁹ Hunger, however, was “an individual-level physiological condition that may result from food insecurity.” A panel convened by the USDA concluded that the food security survey didn’t adequately assess hunger and, therefore, recommended the usage of different “labels” to describe the severity of food security (such as “low food security” or “very low food security”) without resorting to hunger. Patricia Allen, an agroecologist at the University of California at Santa Cruz, wrote, “The statistical elimination of the term *hunger* does violence to hungry people and to the efforts to end hunger in America.”²⁰

Section 3B: Racial Inequity in the Food Economy

Economic power in the food system is consolidated in a few corporate hands: food and agricultural companies with annual revenues over \$1 billion (see *Table 2: Top 10 Food and Agricultural Corporations*).

TABLE 2: TOP 10 FOOD AND AGRICULTURAL CORPORATIONS IN THE U.S.³⁰

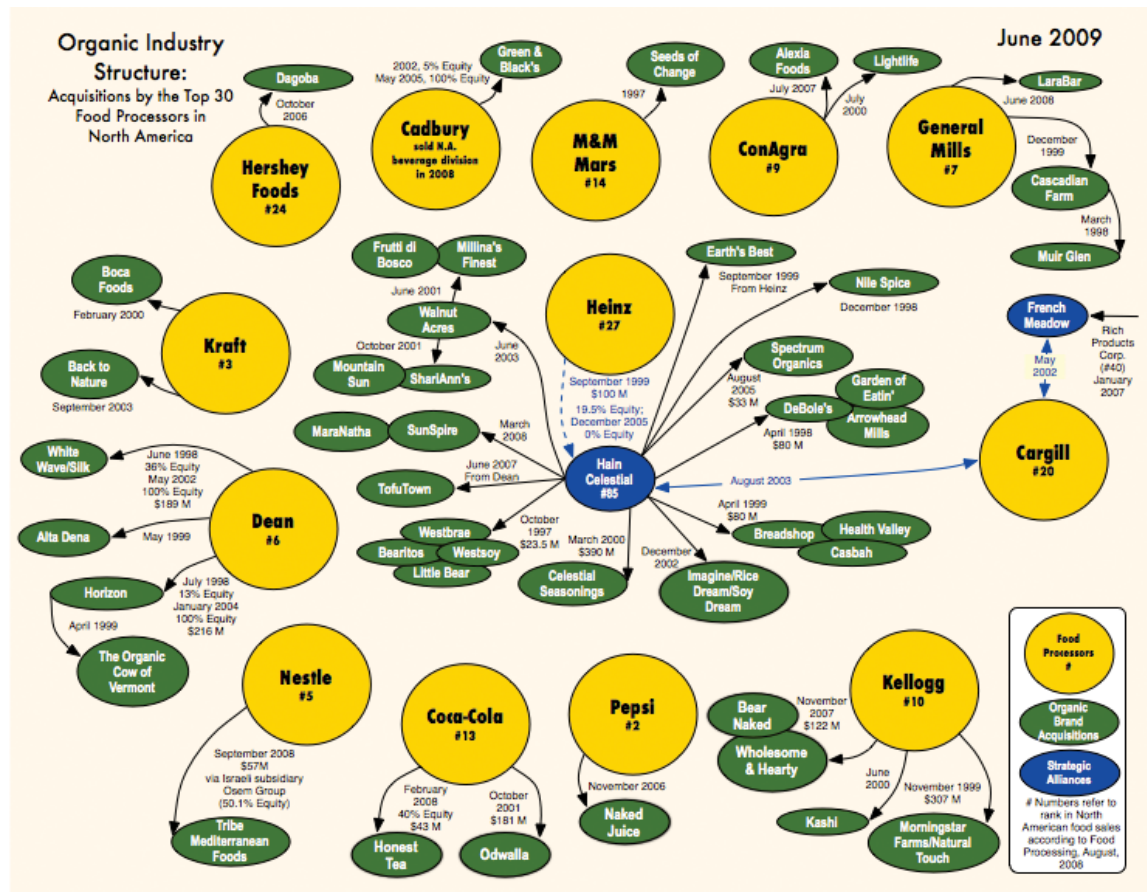
RANK BY FY 2010 REVENUE	COMPANY	FOOD SECTOR	REVENUE (FY 2010) MILLIONS	EMPLOYEES (FY 2010)
1	Wal-Mart Stores Inc.	Food Retail	408,085.0	2,100,000
2	Nestle S.A.	Packaged Food	111,969.4	281,000
3	Cargill, Incorporated	Agricultural Products; Meat	107,882.0	131,000
4	Tesco PLC	Food Retail	86,706.8	492,000
5	Costco Wholesale Corporation	Food Retail	77,946.0	128,000
6	The Kroger Co.	Food Retail	76,733.0	338,000
7	Archer Daniels Midland Company	Agricultural Products	61,682.0	30,700
8	Unilever plc	Packaged Food	59,352.3	167,000
9	PepsiCo, Inc.	Beverages; Packaged Foods	57,838.0	294,000
10	Kraft Foods Inc.	Packaged Food	49,207.0	127,000

Source: Tellus Institute and Sustainalytics, 2012

Much of the industry's consolidation, as *The Hands that Feed Us* noted, ran parallel with the advance of technology and the mass industrial production of food over the last 150 years.³¹ No longer could a small family farmer or mid-size manufacturer compete with the large agricultural businesses, who had the capital to purchase equipment on a large scale. The Food Chain Workers Alliance noted that government subsidies were crucial in propping up market consolidation throughout the twentieth century.³² For instance, corn and its byproducts, such as high fructose corn syrup (HFCS), have received subsidies up to \$243 million per year.³³

Unfortunately, the organic industry is not immune to corporate consolidation (see *Figure 1: Corporate Consolidation in Organic Food Processing*). Much of this happened after the USDA implemented the organic standard in 2002, according to Philip Howard, agricultural studies professor at Michigan State University, as corporations scrambled to take advantage of the new markets the organic label created.³⁴ Many of the brands started by small-scale producers were purchased by large corporations, leading to an organic food processing landscape dominated by many of the same corporate brands in nonorganic foods. General Mill purchased Cascadian farm and Muir Glen in 1999, for example, and Dean Food bought Horizon Organic Milk in 2004.³⁵

FIGURE 1: CORPORATE CONSOLIDATION IN ORGANIC FOOD PROCESSING



Source: Howard, P.H. (2009). Consolidation in the North American Organic Food Processing Sector, 1997 to 2007. *International Journal of Sociology of Agriculture and Food*. Vol. 16, No. 1, 13-30

The Color of Food report, released by ARC in 2011, also found that the ownership of capital in the food chain is primarily white and male. Whites dominate high-wage jobs in the food system. Occupations such as chief executives and restaurant managers enjoy higher wages than the rank and file. The median income for management was \$40,544, more than double the \$20,608 median income of the rank and file (see *Figure 2A*). Almost half of all white men who worked in the food chain were employed as managers (see *Figure 2B*). A quarter of all white women performed managerial roles. Across the entire food system, three out of every four managers were white.

Workers of color populated rank-and-file positions at a higher rate than management positions. 44% of rank-and-file workers were people of color, while only 26% of managers and only 15% of managers were people of color. When gender is considered, the disparities are even more striking. Latina women make up less than 5% of all managers in the food chain, while Asians and Blacks are at 3% or less.

FIGURE 2A: DISTRIBUTION OF WHITE MANAGERS AND PEOPLE OF COLOR MANAGERS WITH ANNUAL MEDIAN WAGES

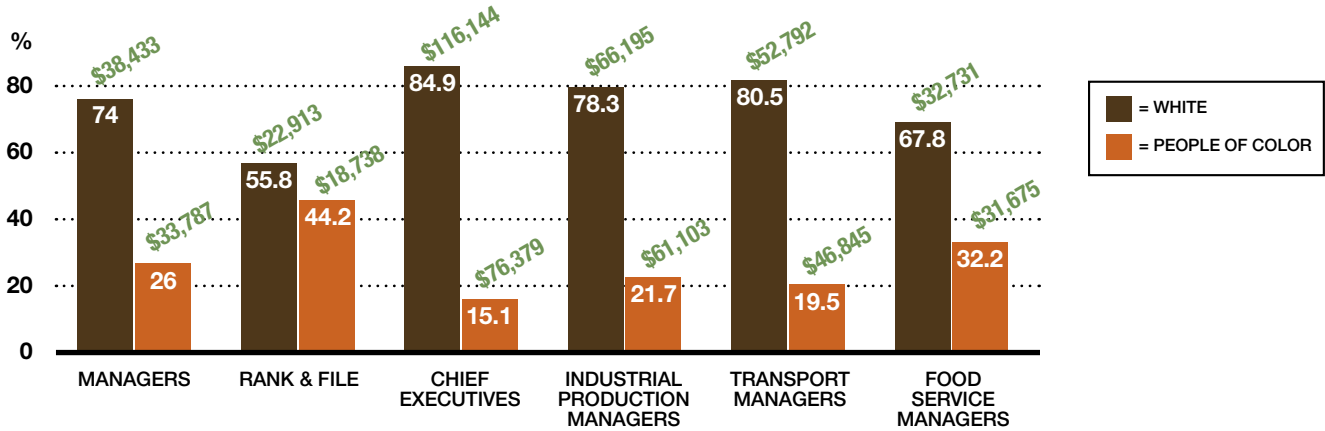
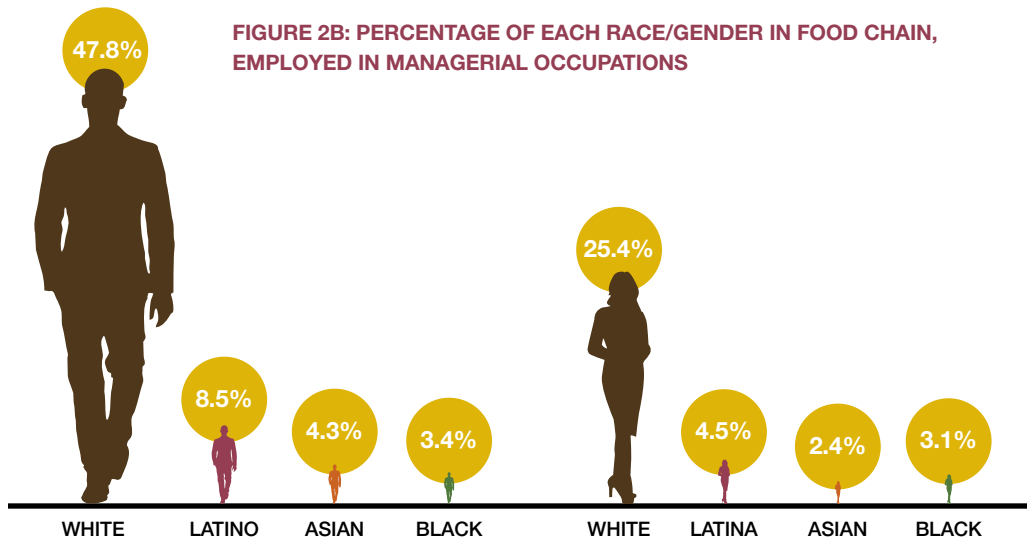


FIGURE 2B: PERCENTAGE OF EACH RACE/GENDER IN FOOD CHAIN, EMPLOYED IN MANAGERIAL OCCUPATIONS



Source: Yen Liu, Y., & Apollon, D. (2010). *The Color of Food*. Applied Research Center (Data from American Community Survey, 2006-08).

The Hands That Feed Us cited a list of the eight food and agriculture chief executive officers who belong to the 100 top-earning executives list by Forbes magazine (see *Table 3: Eight Food & Agriculture CEOs among Highest Paid Executives*).³⁶ All except one, Irene B. Rosenfeld, are white men.

We excluded farmers and ranchers from our analysis. However, the USDA has historically discriminated against subsidizing land ownership and loans for farmers of color. The U.S. government spends billions each year subsidizing farm operations. Yet Black farmers receive only one-third to one-sixth of the benefits that other farmers receive, according to the National Black Farmers Association.³⁷ In 2010, the federal government agreed to settle claims with Black and indigenous farmers, paying out almost \$5 billion to settle longstanding claims of discrimination.³⁸

TABLE 3: EIGHT FOOD & AGRICULTURE CEOS AMONG HIGHEST PAID EXECUTIVES

RANKING	CORPORATION	SALARY
#14 Howard D. Schultz	Starbucks	\$41.47 million
#28 David C. Novak	Yum Brands	\$29.67 million
#40 Irene B. Rosenfeld	Kraft Foods	\$25.37 million
#46 Michael T. Duke	Wal-Mart Stores	\$23.15 million
#48 Steve Ellis	Chipotle Mexican Grill	\$21.78 million
#50 William R. Johnson	HJ Heinz	\$21.61 million
#86 C. Larry Pope	Smithfield Foods	\$16.67 million
#89 Larry D. Young	Dr. Pepper Snapple Group	\$16.51 million

Source: Food Chain Workers Alliance. (6/2012). *The Hands That Feed Us*.

CHALLENGES

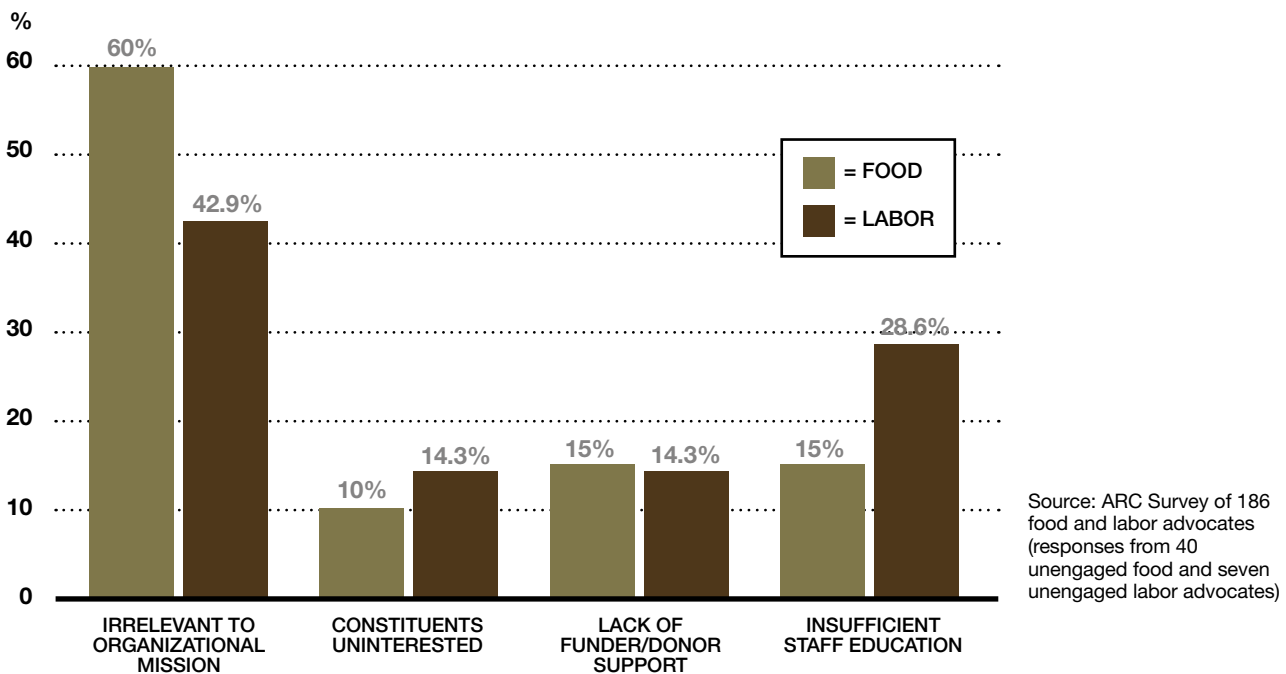
An effective response to the inequities of the food system requires analysis and action that both acknowledge and address the economics and racial composition of the power elite and those most impacted. Generally, such strategy was lacking in both the good food and good jobs movements. Both worlds focus on their self-interests, without a broader vision of how race, class and gender are interconnected in the food chain for both producers and consumers.

In terms of cross-sector engagement, labor groups were slightly more likely to be engaged in cross-sector food issues. In terms of minimal and strong engagement, labor groups outnumbered food groups, with 57% engaging minimally and a quarter strongly. More food groups lacked any cross-sector engagement than labor. More than a quarter of food groups surveyed reported that they had no engagement with food worker and agricultural labor issues.

We found a positive relationship between the racial composition of an organization’s membership and their engagement in cross-sector issues. The more multiracial an organization’s membership is (composed of three or more races), the more likely the organization, either food or labor, was to engage in cross-sector work. 33 organizations, for example, identified their membership as multiracial. 23 of those organizations were engaged in cross-sector issues, 16 minimally and 7 strongly. In comparison, 27 organizations identified as having only white members. 13 white-only groups had minimal engagement and only 4 were strongly engaged.

Our survey suggests food organizations have more circumscribed missions than labor. Of the 25% of food organizations who did not engage in cross-sector issues, six out of ten reasoned that such work was outside of the scope of their organizational mission. Whereas about four out of ten of the 15% of unengaged labor groups reported the same rationale (see *Figure 3: Reasons for Lack of Cross-Sector Engagement*).

FIGURE 3: REASONS FOR LACK OF CROSS-SECTOR ENGAGEMENT



Key challenges identified by both food and labor groups included lack of staffing available to help the organization engage in cross-sector work (see *Table 4: Challenges to Cross-Sector Engagement*). We did find a slight positive correlation between staff size and strong engagement—for example, 18% of groups strongly engaged in cross-sector issues had 10 or fewer full-time employees, whereas 22% had 50 and more staff. However, we didn’t find the same correlation for groups minimally engaged.

TABLE 4: CHALLENGES TO CROSS-SECTOR ENGAGEMENT

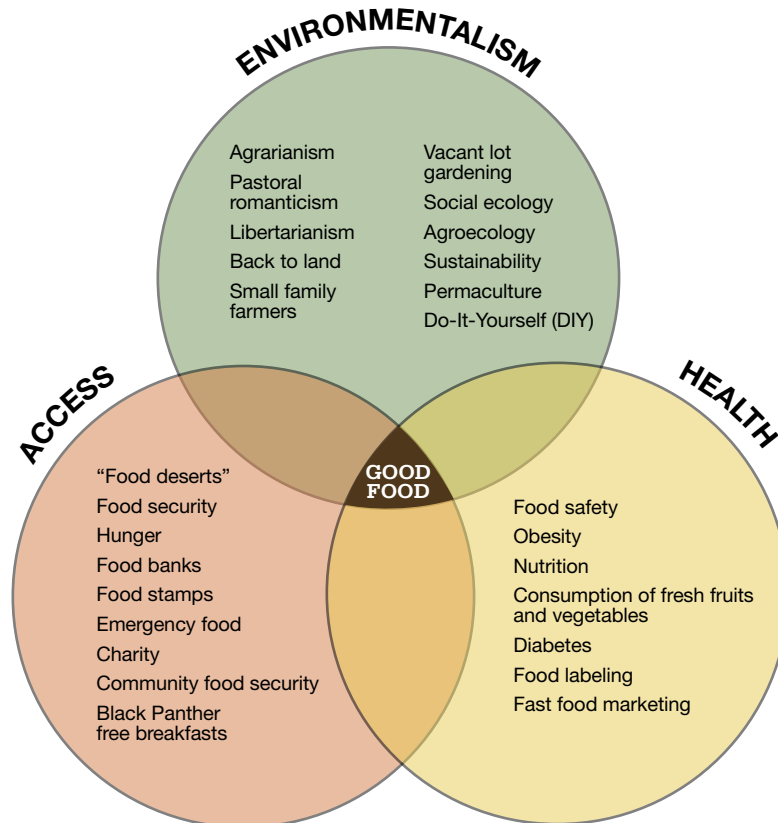
CHALLENGES	PERCENT
Small staff	56.5
Lack of support from funders	30.6
Lack of interest from constituents	14.0
Lack of support from leadership or board	12.4
None	4.8

Section 3C: Challenges for Good Food

We found that the good food movement is permeated by an overriding ethic of *individualism*. Whether it's the public health concern about obese people choosing to eat fattening foods or a permaculture farmer who wants to live "off the grid" and grow her own food, the underlying theme is an individual's relationship to food, as a consumer or a producer.

Our inquiry looked at existing literature in the three broad areas that informed good food: environmentalism, access to food, and public health. Within each of these areas were subthemes, such as agrarianism, food security and obesity (see *Figure 4: The Good Food Movement*).

FIGURE 4: THE GOOD FOOD MOVEMENT



HEALTH

Health is the strongest current in the good food movement. A 2004 study of California consumers in the Central Coast found that food safety and nutrition ranked highest on the list of consumers' concerns about the food system.³⁹ Concerns about working conditions and wages for food workers ranked significantly lower, placing fifth and sixth, below interest in animal welfare and environmental impacts.

Historically, health and safety concerns have preempted all other advocacy for food system reform. For example, the movement that began in the late nineteenth century to address food adulteration was popularized by the journalist Upton Sinclair's exposé of working conditions in Chicago's meat processing industry. The public uproar about contaminated meat resulted in the passage of the *Pure Food and Drug Act* in 1906, which implemented federal regulation of meat production and paved the way for the creation of the Food and Drug Administration (FDA) a year later. However, the plight of immigrant workers in the food chain was ignored. "I aimed at the public's heart," Sinclair wrote upon his book's publication, "and by accident I hit it in the stomach."⁴⁰

The focus on food safety and health continued into the late twentieth century, much of it coupled with the consumer rights' critique of food industry consolidation. Rachel Carson's book *Silent Spring*, published in 1962, brought attention to the public health and environmental impact of pesticide use. Ralph Nader introduced consumer advocacy with his book *Unsafe At Any Speed*, which critiqued auto manufacturers for producing cars that were unsafe to operate.⁴¹ The generation that followed, such as Nader's Raiders and the Center for Science in the Public Interest, followed this model by publishing a series of critiques of the food processing industry for producing unsafe and unhealthy products.⁴²

Early twenty-first century attention to issues of safety and health have focused on the role of marketing and availability of fast food, soft drinks and other products made with high fructose corn syrup (see Figure 5: 1976 McDonald's Ad Shows Long Courtship of Black Customers). A 2010 report released by Yale University found that the fast food industry spent \$4.2 billion on advertising in the prior year, with effective results.⁴³ Books that blame the industrial food industry for producing unsafe and unhealthy foods, such as Marion Nestle's *Food Politics* and Michael Pollan's *Omnivore's Dilemma*, are popular with concerned consumers.⁴⁴

Still, the actor in this discourse about health and safety is the individual consumer, who takes action by shifting their household purchasing practices. Larger societal issues such as wages, working conditions and healthcare are not addressed; nor are other factors, like the exploited worker, considered. We see this clearly when consumers act badly—health advocates say that this is a personal responsibility issue for individuals to eat healthily or in moderation. This framework of individualism can lead to disastrous consequences, argued Anna Kirkland, a feminist scholar at the University of Michigan, such as punishing women of color for gaining weight by removing their children to Child Protective Services.⁴⁵ This was a proposal already being pushed for by anti-obesity advocates in Australia, similar to the punitive and patronizing welfare policies that target single mothers of color.

ENVIRONMENTALISM

The second focus of the good food movement is the environmental impact of an industrial food system and diminishing natural resources. Alternatives play a big role in this area of the movement. The emphasis often on “permanent agriculture” (also known as permaculture) and living “off the grid.” Julie Guthman, a community studies professor at the University of California at Santa Cruz, noted in *Agrarian Dreams* that this theme originated in the early twentieth century in rural experiments that combined nonchemical agriculture and collective living. The ideas then flourished in the 1960s with the New Left and proliferation of the back-to-the-land movements.⁴⁶ Young radicals were alienated from industrialization, which they saw as being responsible for wars abroad and inequality at home, and instead celebrated a vision of *new agrarianism*. “The new agrarianism sees the family-owned and -operated, small-scale farm as the locus of, indeed the key to, social justice and ecological sustainability.”⁴⁷

This vision, as we wrote in *The Color of Food* report, stemmed from Thomas Jefferson, who believed that a nation of small farmers would be morally virtuous, economically independent and comprise a citizenry of an equitable republic. However, as Eric Holt-Gimenez, executive director of Food First, pointed out, Jefferson's idea rested on slave labor and the genocide of indigenous peoples in order to appropriate their land.⁴⁸ “U.S. agricultural land and labor relations are fundamentally predicated on white privilege,” wrote Guthman, “Land was virtually given away to whites at the same time that reconstruction failed in the South, Native American lands were appropriated, Chinese and Japanese were precluded from land ownership, and the Spanish-speaking Californios were disenfranchised of their ranches.”⁴⁹

This white imaginary results in *colorblindness*, the absence of race and consideration of racial impacts, and *universalism*, the assumption that white values are normal and widely shared, according to Guthman.⁵⁰ Many who adhere to this vision, according to Guthman, are politically conservative, distrustful of state intervention, and believers in free markets and the defense of private property.⁵¹ New agrarians are also driven by apocalyptic fears, via Thomas Malthus, that because of industrial activity, the earth could no longer support human life indefinitely. This idea was advanced and made popular by books such as Frances Moore Lappe's *Diet for a Small Planet*, published in 1971. The response was to be self-sufficient by pursuing activities such as those proposed in *The Urban Homestead Handbook*: “produce your own food, hack your house to generate power and recycle water, and keep city chickens.”⁵²

“The food justice movement has been fairly petty bourgeoisie from the very beginning, centering on private property, on the one hand, and access, on the other,” said a food researcher. “The problem of access can be resolved through some form of property, whether it's land or food itself. So, the answer to food security is ownership of food, rather than the ownership of labor or better working conditions.”

The same researcher added, “People of color and underserved communities are told that if they want food security they have to grow their own vegetables. As if, somehow, organic carrots are going to solve structural problems in the food system, without looking at the structural determinants that reinforce racism in society.”

FIGURE 5: 1976 MCDONALD'S AD SHOWS LONG COURTSHIP OF BLACK CUSTOMERS



Source: Rivas, J. (6/28/2012). 1976 McDonald's Ad Shows Long Courtship of Black Customers. Colorines.

These are niche solutions based on individual actions, and are available only to the few with race and class privilege, but not to the most impacted who suffer from hunger or lack of food security (see *previous Section 3A: Food Inequities by Race*). “How do these alternatives become a social change movement if it only enrolls people who already eat in a particular way?” asked a food advocate. “People have to look at their own investments in seeing food politics take particular forms; is it about their personal desires or about what’s really needed?”

ACCESS

The movement to eradicate hunger in this country rose in parallel with the Civil Rights Movement. “Hunger was seen as an exceptional and temporary problem,” wrote sociologists Marjorie DeVault and James Pitts, that befell people who were in between jobs, elderly or disabled, food stamp proponents “did not talk about food as a basic right.”⁵³ Food stamps were introduced after World War II as a way for farmers, who had received subsidies to increase production during the war, to get rid of surplus commodities.

Many Blacks who stayed in the South in the 1940s and ‘50s, suffered from deep poverty; their only employment options were as day laborers or sharecroppers. There was little access to food or jobs for working-class Blacks, because much of the agricultural sector mechanized the labor that used to be performed by field labor.⁵⁴ When the nascent Civil Rights Movement encouraged Blacks to register as voters, those who did had surplus commodities withheld from them.⁵⁵ The lack of food and jobs for Blacks was so dire that in 1966 a group of working-class Blacks occupied an Air Force base in Greenville, Mississippi. Their pamphlets said, “We are here because we are hungry and cold and we have no jobs or land.”

Two years later, when Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. led the Poor People’s Campaign march to Washington, D.C., hunger was central on the agenda. Food was a civil rights issue—King asked, “What does it profit a man to be able to eat at an integrated lunch counter if he doesn’t earn enough money to buy a hamburger?”⁵⁶ After King’s assassination, the Campaign held a sit-in for 10 days at the USDA, demanding more resources for food assistance instead of subsidies for industrial agriculture. “Why does the government pay the Mississippi plantation of a U.S. senator more than \$13,000 a month not to grow food or fiber,” asked Reverend Ralph Abernathy, “and at the same time, why does the government pay a starving child in Mississippi only \$9 a month?”⁵⁷

The interests of good jobs and good food need not be in conflict. History is filled with examples of collaborations between community-based organizations and labor unions, such as the one between the Black Panthers and United Farm Workers (see *The Black Power and Farmworker Movements*). Both were able to see how increasing wages for farmworkers advanced the movement for dignity and respect for Black and brown people.

The Black Power and Farmworker Movements⁵⁸

Excerpted from TEDx talk by Nikki Henderson, executive director of Peoples’ Grocery

I was studying Black studies at UCLA, and I wondered what were UFW—United Farm Workers—and the Black Panther Party doing? I found out they were working together, but when I asked my professor for the book, there were only anecdotes about why the Black Panthers were working with farm workers.

In 1969 the UFW was busy in California with grapes, asking consumers to boycott a brand of grapes, but...consumers find it difficult to look at a bunch of labels and boycott a certain brand of grapes. So, to get consumers on the same page, they decided to just boycott Safeway altogether because Safeway was the second-largest buyer of grapes in the state of California.

But boycotting Safeway was difficult, so the Black Panther Party said, “You know, Safeway hasn’t donated to our Free Breakfast program. Do you want some help?” And UFW said yes. So, the boycott was galvanized by the Black Panthers, they would

stop the shopper and say, “Don’t shop here,” and also, “We will drive you to Lucky, who actually supports our cause,” and the boycott was successful...

There are so many organizations that evolved out of that history, and the legacy just hasn’t been written about. That’s why you got to talk to your elders...What has kept us from establishing a long-term, ongoing relationship that has enough political momentum like the 10 big environmental organizations to always have something working together and devastating things in DC?

And these points of collaboration that happened between UFW and BPP, those same points of collaborations have happened between the Coalition of Immokalee Workers and urban food justice [activists]...When they ran campaigns, they reached out to urban food justice organizations and together strengthened their campaigns.

Social movements in the 1960s and ‘70s continued to build on the civil rights struggles. The Panthers instituted a free breakfast program for children, which had a dual purpose: to fulfill people’s basic needs and to be an organizing tool.⁵⁹ Joan Kelley, the breakfast program’s national coordinator, said, “We try to teach children not so much through indoctrination but through our practice and example about sharing and socialism.”

The Panthers understood that the provision of food wasn't an end in itself. They rejected the idea that food should be charity, wrote food scholar Raj Patel in *Food Movements Unite*, insisting instead that food was a basic human right.⁶⁰ "All these programs satisfy the deep needs of the community but they are not solutions to our problems," wrote Huey Newton. "That is why we call them survival programs, meaning survival pending revolution."⁶¹

Unfortunately, while the breakfast program was adopted officially by the federal government, the notion that food is a right wasn't (neither was revolution). "The government was so embarrassed by our Free Breakfast Program that it started the national free breakfast program," said Ericka Huggins, former minister of education and director of the Oakland Community School. "We exposed that children were going to school hungry."⁶²

In 1993, Robert Gottlieb and his students at the University of California at Los Angeles surveyed residents in South Central Los Angeles one year after the racialized uprisings. They found that hunger was a core concern, as well as inadequate government support and an overwhelmed emergency food network.⁶³ Three years later, the Community Food Security Coalition formed, joining interest groups who hoped to increase funding for the food safety net in the Farm Bill.⁶⁴

"I don't consider hunger a movement," said a good food organizer. "From the early days on, it was charity provided by a lot of faith-based groups. But, when it evolved out of churches, there wasn't any element of self-determination, so big agriculture could intervene and rake in profits. Food banks went from an old-school charity thing to a way for big agriculture to make money by dumping food nobody wanted onto poor people of color."

Attention to *community food security*—defined by Congress in 1996 as "all persons obtaining at all times an affordable, nutritious and culturally appropriate diet through local, non-emergency food sources (or through normal economic channels)"—has obscured the face of hunger, especially since the USDA eliminated hunger as a category in 2006 (see *Section 3A: Food Inequities by Race*).⁶⁵

Current strategies to improve community food security tend to cleave to one of two methods:

- Charity or emergency food provision through food banks and soup kitchens or
- Policy or urban planning proposals to eliminate "food deserts" and construct "healthy communities."

"Food insecurity or hunger in the US is a chronic, systemic problem, one that cannot be solved by meal distribution or by admonishments to pull oneself up by the bootstraps," wrote Jessica Powers, national hunger clearinghouse director at WhyHunger.⁶⁶ "Individuality, hard work and social mobility are core American values. There is also an unspoken belief that those who are truly motivated will find the means to change their circumstances. This approach assumes that individuals have the agency to create change for themselves regardless of the broader society. Examples of people who rose from poverty or obscurity have mythic status. And the people who cannot seem to change their circumstances are, depending on the political climate, ignored, pitied or demonized. Think of Reagan era 'welfare queens' or the 'Food Stamp President' today— both of which, one could argue, have racist undertones."

Good food advocates focus on geographic proximity as a determining factor, ignoring other ones, such as income or time to prepare and cook meals. "Urban planners are focused on the supply side, like building sidewalks or making more farmer's markets, instead of the demand side," said a food researcher. "What they don't look at is why people have such low incomes or why food deserts are there to begin with, which often relates to resident's buying power – so it comes back to income."

Two studies released in 2012 confirmed the need to look beyond the built environment and urban planning, "food deserts" have more supermarkets and restaurants than wealthier neighborhoods.⁶⁷ And the availability of fast food had no correlation with obesity rates among children and teens. A researcher from Yale University's Rudd Center for Food Policy and Obesity told the *New York Times*, "It's always easy to advocate for more grocery stores, but if you are looking for what you hope will change obesity, healthy food access is probably just wishful thinking."⁶⁸ Your region is a bigger predictor of your eating habits, rather than how your built environment is arranged. For example, a 2011 study found that residents of the Midwest or the South, regardless of income, consumed more fast food than other regions.⁶⁹

Policies that focus on the built environment, although they ostensibly address structural causes of "food deserts" and obesity, result in two unintended consequences. First, the individual is still to blame for making poor food choices, and, second, white, middle-class culture is upheld as the model for "healthy communities." Feminist scholar Anna Kirkland asked, "What if it is the case that many elites find [this approach] to be simply a more palatable way to express their disgust at fat people, the tacky, low-class foods they eat, and the indolent ways they spend their time?"⁷⁰ Indeed, what passes for a "healthy" built environment—mixed-use housing, walkable streets, bicycle trails and recreational parks—are projections of what a generation of the white middle class considers as healthy, another example of universalism.⁷¹

“Why do white people assume that building a park, with racquetball courts, in the middle of the hood is going to make us healthy?” asked a community organizer. “I don’t even play racquetball. No one I know does.”

LESSONS FOR GOOD FOOD

To conclude, the good food movement is trying to address three areas: health, environmentalism, and access. However, the field is beset with the logic of individualism, where people are made personally responsible for choosing their food, ignoring the myriad structural factors that shape that choice. Problems such as obesity and hunger arise when individuals are “bad consumers,” because they choose to eat unhealthy, fast food or live a sedentary lifestyle, subsisting off welfare. In our view, the solution is not to focus on creative alternatives for small segments of the population, but to think on a broader scale, to acknowledge complexities and unintended consequences, and instigate structural changes.

Lessons for Good Food:

1. Focus on solutions that make structural changes, instead of blaming the individual
2. Act beyond creating alternatives or niches for small groups of people
3. Examine the outcomes (even if unintended) of policies and practices on those most impacted in the food system
(see Section 3A: Food Inequities by Race)

“Part of doing this work is thinking systemically. How do you do that?” said a worker center organizer. “By engaging in questions of how the food system operating as a whole. How does it play out for our food workers? What are the root causes? You begin to see the huge organizing opportunities that are there when you lift up these intersections and place them at the center of our work.”

Section 3D: Challenges for Labor

While the good food field suffers from a myopic focus on the individual consumer, blind to the political economy that supports the consumer as an income-earner, labor doesn’t have a unified vision, either, for the most part. There were exceptions uncovered by our survey, which found that labor was more engaged in food issues than good food advocates were involved with labor struggles. Many of our interviewees confirmed this based on their experiences in the field.⁷³ Indeed, all of the opportunities for collaboration that we explore in the next section (see Section 4: Opportunities) were initiated by community-labor organizations. One, procurement policies in the USDA, was spearheaded by the Change to Win labor federation. Two other examples, elaborated in this section, are UNITE HERE’s Real Food Real Jobs and UFCW’s Cincinnati Food Hub.

However, the bulk of trade unions contribute to the disconnect between food and jobs in three distinct ways:

1. The trade union movement has historically excluded many workers in the food chain, whether because food workers were excluded from labor law or were undocumented immigrants;
2. Unions often has short-term goals—e.g., winning a campaign or adding new members—and tends not to focus on the bigger picture; and
3. Trade unions have to reimagine their work in the face of a global economy that transitioned from industrial manufacturing to service, in order to survive.

EXCLUDED WORKERS

Food system workers are excluded from organized labor in two ways. First, many are not covered under the National Labor Relations Act (NLRA) and other basic labor laws, such as the minimum wage, or their stipulations are not vigorously enforced. This includes farmworkers, tipped minimum wage workers such as those in restaurants, and the formerly incarcerated. These workers lack the right to organize without retaliation, because they are excluded from labor law protection or the laws are not enforced.⁷⁴

Farmworkers are exempt from the nation’s labor laws, such as the minimum wage and the right to organize into a union, crafted during the New Deal of the 1930s.⁷⁵ Historically, workers in the fields have been people of color, whether they were descendants of African slaves who worked on southern plantations or undocumented workers from Latin America. And the architects of federal labor laws, no doubt, found it politically expedient to exclude farmworkers in order to curry favor with white landowners.⁷⁶

“Food work has never been valued,” said a good food advocate. “It’s never been characterized as a positive or good job. Farmers have never been part of unions. They outsourced field labor to African slaves. The history of food in this country is connected to how we grow it, how we eat it in restaurants, and who gets the short end.”

This racialized exclusion of workers from basic labor protections extends to restaurant and food service workers, who depend on tips. The minimum wage for tip-earners has been stuck at \$2.13 an hour for 20 years. A study of low-wage workers in New York, Los Angeles and Chicago found that 30 percent of those who receive tips were not even paid \$2.13 an hour. When workers complained or tried to form a union, 43 percent were subjected to retaliation, such as firing, suspension or threats to call immigration authorities.

The AFL-CIO announced an historic partnership with domestic workers and guest workers in 2011,⁷⁷ then day laborers in 2012.⁷⁸ This was a recognition, according to organizers with the domestic and guest workers, that all workers are in the same boat in the global economy. “[The] informal sector and many industries that were once thought of as marginal, like domestic work, are coming to represent more and more of the economy,” explained Jill Shenker, field director for the National Domestic Workers Alliance.⁷⁹

Immigration status is the second level of exclusion afflicting many food chain workers, at least 18% of whom are undocumented, estimate advocates (see Section 3A: *Food Inequities by Race*). The current immigration system doesn’t allow pathways to documentation, yet domestic industries, especially those in the food chain, rely on workers without papers. Undocumented workers are considered “employees” within the definition of NLRA, based on the judgment in *Sure-Tan, Inc. v. NLRB* in 1984, but a later case, *Hoffman Plastics*, removed protections for their ability to organize into a union.⁸⁰ “The *Hoffman Plastics* case eviscerated undocumented immigrants’ right to organize,” wrote Jennifer Gordon in *The New Sweatshops*. “Now an employer who notes that an undocumented worker is wearing a ‘Union Yes’ button, or has attended a single union meeting, can rest assured that if he fires her he will never be fined a penny.”⁸¹

Labor, to its credit, has come a long way since it supported sanctions against employers who hired undocumented workers in 1986. SEIU’s Justice for Janitors, for example, organized over 200,000 building maintenance workers, most of whom are undocumented immigrants.⁸² Unions have also used their formidable resources in support of immigrant rights. On May 1, 2006, the immigrant rights march in Los Angeles was supported by \$80,000 donated by labor, for example.⁸³ Where trade unions are unable to tread, for fear of employer retaliation, worker centers—Janice Fine defined worker centers as “community-based mediating institutions that provide support to and organize among communities of low-wage workers”—have flourished to support undocumented workers in service provision, legal advocacy and labor organizing.⁸⁴ In 2012, there were 190 worker centers in the U.S., the vast majority focused on bolstering immigrant workers.⁸⁵

However, despite these efforts, most of the food chain is not collectively organized. Industries across the food chain have low union membership rates (see Table 5: *Union membership rate by food sector*). Collectively, people of color are overrepresented in food production and processing occupations, sectors with the highest and lowest union density. Despite inroads by trade unions to embrace workers excluded from the NLRA and its protections, either by court ruling or immigration status, most workers in the food chain continue to labor without dignity and rights.

TABLE 5: UNION MEMBERSHIP RATE BY FOOD SECTOR⁸⁶

FOOD SECTOR	MEMBERSHIP RATE
Production	1.4
Processing	16.5
Distribution	7.9
Retail & Service	5.3

Source: Hirsch, B.T., & Macpherson, D.A. (2/4/2012). Union membership, coverage, density, and employment by industry, 2011. Compiled from 2011 Current Population Survey.

TURTLES AND TEAMSTERS, CARROTS AND STEELWORKERS

When activists converged in Seattle in 1999 to protest the World Trade Organization meeting, the environmental and labor movements recognized that they shared a common enemy, global capitalism, which devoured the earth’s natural resources and exploited workers. “Turtles love Teamsters!” chanted a group of environmentalists dressed as turtles, who marched alongside members of the Teamsters union. The truck drivers replied, reported William Greider, “Teamsters love turtles!”⁸⁷

The historic tension between environmental advocates and trade unions are similar to the disconnect between good food and labor today. “Some of the challenges for people who tried to build green and blue coalitions, to bridge environmentalists with labor, are quite similar,” stated a labor researcher. “Environmental-labor coalitions have more miles under their belt than food-labor coalitions; there might be really interesting lessons there.”

Unfortunately, the track record for most trade unions with regards to good food is not promising. One union organizer told us about campaigns in which the union’s interests were in direct conflict with good food and, even, green jobs. In one example, union members were employed at a dairy farm targeted by food justice and environmental advocacy organizations because of the farm’s adverse impact on air and water quality for the surrounding communities. Studies find that wastewater from dairy farms contains high concentrations of estrogenic hormones, which can remain in a community’s ground or surface water for a long time.⁸⁸ The union stood on the side of the dairy farm owners to protect the jobs of their members.

In another example, the union was on the defensive to protect a meat processing plant that employed members. “You’d never want to set foot in this place,” said the organizer, “It’s disgusting conditions, it’s where they render meat from the cows. The work is awful; thank god our members have the union, because the work is incredibly dangerous. No one would want to live there because it stinks.” Which was the problem. The county approved a housing development in the vicinity of the plant, which attracted critical attention to the externalities it imposed on the environment. Community-based organizations led the call for the plant to be shut down.

The union organizer recognized the contradiction of the labor union's position. On the one hand, the factory needed to be defended to protect jobs. On the other, the plant released toxins into the environment, harming residents, some of whom could include union members. "So, now we're on the other side, because we want to protect our good union jobs in a town that really needs jobs," the organizer added.

Unfortunately, labor officers and the rank and file lack opportunities to think about their connections to good food or to converse with food advocates in a non-adversarial environment. There are emergent examples, such as a collaboration between UNITE HERE and the Real Food Challenge to organize cafeteria workers and procure local food on college campuses (see *Real Food Real Jobs in Schools*). For more advocates to follow this lead, resources—tools, training and networking opportunities were cited by interviewees—are needed to bridge the gap between turtles and Teamsters, carrots and Steelworkers.

"Labor groups are more involved in food issues than vice versa, that's been my experience," said a labor advocate. "But, I'm not sure if labor is engaged, beyond saying that food workers have horrible working conditions, to embracing a systemic critique of the food system. Unions are far behind. I also don't know of a lot of worker centers that try to engage in broader food issues, beyond saying that you can't call yourselves sustainable if you don't pay a living wage."

Real Food Real Jobs in Schools

UNITE HERE is one of the largest labor organizations representing food service workers in North America. The Real Food Real Jobs campaign brings their historic work around labor into conversation with the food movement to provide 'real food' on university campuses around the states. One of the main arguments of the campaign is that "food workers need to be part of the conversation to reform our food system, and universities present an opportunity to develop a real sustainable food model that could be emulated by other institutions."¹

Real Food Real Jobs originated in 2007 when local union organizers representing food service workers came together to strategize about the decades-long struggle for just labor at Yale University. Beyond failing to provide a living wage to workers, the Yale administration had recently signed with major food operator Aramark, who set about deskilling the food workers jobs—for example, chefs shifted from cooking fresh recipes to simply heating up preprocessed foods from huge conglomerates like Sysco.² Food workers, organized under UNITE HERE, campaigned alongside students and parents to bring transparency to the Yale University food system. The coalition's message was two-fold: the University had failed to provide healthy, sustainable food to students and decent jobs capable of meeting the skill set and financial needs of workers. This successful campaign led to the termination of Aramark's contract and the beginning of Yale's road towards becoming a leader in just food and labor policies. Yale has now committed to purchasing 45% of its food from sustainable sources by 2013, and all food workers on campus receive a living wage, retirement and healthcare benefits.³

The Real Food Real Jobs campaign has allied with other crucial joint food and labor movements happening on college campuses. One student-run collaboration has been the Real Food Challenge's GET REAL! Campaign, which is a national student organization pushing for a "shift of \$1 billion of existing university food budgets away from industrial farms and junk food and towards local/community-based, fair, ecologically sound and humane food sources—what we call 'real food'—by 2020."⁴ National Food Day in October 2011 highlighted the intense commitment both groups have to educating and training both students and food workers to organize a broader alliance across food and labor. Both groups have taken their successes to campuses around the country to prove that all parties have a stake in a 'Real food' system on their campuses.

Kyle Schafer of UNITE HERE summarizes the fundamental shift that needs to happen in the work of both labor and food to create a movement that holistically addresses the injustices in our food system.

In UNITE HERE's work thus far on the Real Food Real Jobs program, I've been continually reminded that food and labor issues are not only related but are often inseparable. Moving forward, it is critical that the labor and food movements seek out those kinds of opportunities within the context of long-term collaboration. The challenge then is not to get the labor movement to care about food, nor is it to get the food movement to care about labor. The challenge is to recognize our mutual fate in the face of a powerfully dysfunctional food system, and to be creative enough to incorporate that reality into our daily work.

Written by Julia Sebastian, ARC research intern.

1 UNITE HERE. (2012). The Food System. Retrieved 6/30/12, from: <http://www.realfoodrealjobs.org/the-food-system/>

2 Ibid.

3 Ibid.

4 Real Food Challenge. What We Do, Our Vision. Retrieved 6/30/12, from: <http://realfoodchallenge.org/about/whatweddo>

LABOR UNIONS, REIMAGINED

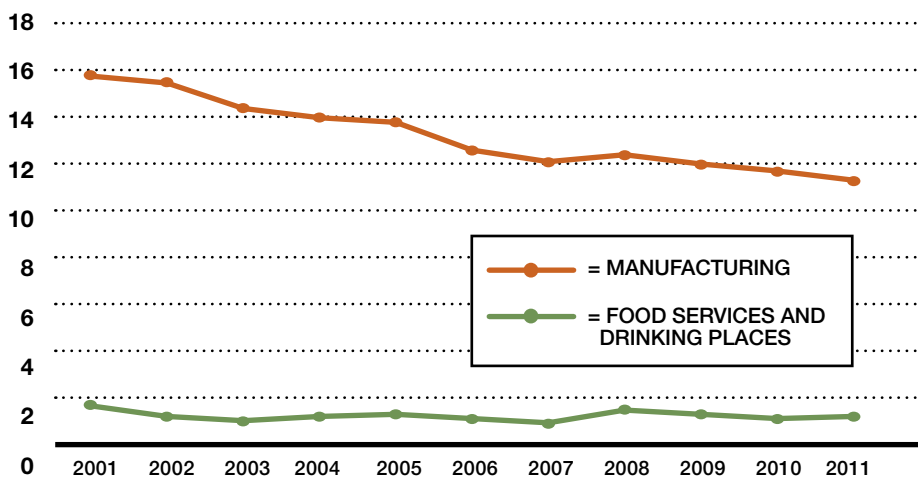
Labor scholars point to a shift in the last 40 years in how our economy makes things and employs people.⁸⁹ No longer do we work in factories, making things that are then sold around the world; we work in information-oriented or service-based jobs, creating products and services that change quickly, based on the fickle tastes of the consumer market. The industries that employ workers have shifted accordingly. In 1973, 24% of workers labored in non-farm manufacturing and 70% in service sectors in general. However, in 2007, the portion of the labor force in service industries grew to 83%; only 10% were employed in manufacturing.

Unfortunately, trade unions have not adapted well to this fundamental shift in the economy. The manufacturing industry still boasts higher union density than service (see Figure 6: *Union Membership for Manufacturing and Food Service Industries*). Some of this is because of logistical challenges—it's harder to organize a workforce that constantly shifts between employers; other reasons are ideological, which contributes to the disconnect from good food.

"Many unions are embedded in the industrialized food system, which the food movement is trying to put out of business," said a labor advocate. "Good food says: 'Hostess and Twinkies, bad.' But, those are 5,000 middle-class jobs. The work that unions can do is to say: 'Twinkies bad, workers good.' But, the labor movement hasn't grasped, yet, that these industries are either going to go out of business, like Hostess, or radically transform because of the food movement."

Good food has set targets on many of the food sectors with the highest rate of union density. For example, a popular online video, *The Meatrix*, a spoof on the *Matrix* movie, exhorts viewers to take the red pill and "not support the factory farm machine" and buy, instead, from sustainable family farms.⁹⁰ For trade unionists like the one quoted in the prior section, these industrial farms or food processing facilities are the lifeblood for their membership, an inherent contradiction.

FIGURE 6: UNION MEMBERSHIP BY MANUFACTURING AND FOOD SERVICE INDUSTRIES



Source: Union affiliation data from the Current Population Survey for nondurable manufacturing and food service & drinking places, 2001-2011

"A lot of foodies think that UFCW jobs in industrial poultry processing may not be around in 20 years, if they are successful at localizing the food system," pointed out a union organizer. "Many of these industries, like meat processing, are unionized, but the food movement wants to get rid of them. How can UFCW respond to that? UNITE HERE members serve the horrible airplane meals, but those are union jobs. It's a fundamental problem and limit to how far the labor movement can go, within their own industries, without jeopardizing their relationships with workers and employers."

A segment of organized labor is experimenting with different models of empowering workers within the framework of improving access to and quality of food. UFCW has been exploring worker-ownership in its support of the Cincinnati Food Hub, a regional food distribution center with an ownership and management structure based on the Mondragon cooperatives in Spain (see [*Cincinnati Food Hub*]). Another example is Recology, a food waste recycler, which employs members of the Teamsters union. Based in San Francisco, California, the firm has an employee stock ownership plan for its workers.⁹¹

Farmworkers can also benefit from innovative ownership models. Jim Cochran launched the Swanton Berry Farm in 1983 to grow strawberries, leasing 200 acres in five locations.⁹² He was the first strawberry farmer to convert to organic methods in 1987.⁹³ But, the California Certified Organic label alone didn't guarantee that the high-quality standards applied to farm labor.⁹⁴ He approached UFW to sign a contract with his workers in 1998.⁹⁵ And, in 2005, he set up a profit-sharing model with his workers in which they begin to earn stock in the farm after putting in 500 hours.⁹⁶

Still, innovation has its perils, especially when a small or mid-sized employer is competing against large food and agriculture corporations. "So many of our industries require an incredible amount of capital to start up and operate; it's hard to imagine them as worker-owned coops," said a trade unionist. "Our employers are highly consolidated, and the industry is dominated by gigantic, multinational corporations. I don't think we can raise the money to open a worker-owned coop, especially if you're looking at an entirely immigrant workforce."

Cincinnati Food Hub

The Cincinnati Food Hub exemplifies a strategic approach to remaining relevant as a trade union in a post-industrial economy by creating food-worker jobs that redistribute power from the industrialized food industry into local economies.

Cincinnati Food Hub introduces one of the most advanced global business models, addressing both economic and social needs through a hybrid worker-union cooperative. According to the USDA, a food hub is “a centrally located facility with a business management structure facilitating the aggregation, storage, processing, distribution, and/or marketing of locally/regionally produced food.”¹ It allows farmers to get their healthy, sustainable product from the farm and into the hands of their community without the profiteering intervention of corporate agriculture. The Cincinnati Food Hub envisions creating a business that will strengthen regional and local food systems that incorporate both sustainable food and supporting labor.

The inspiration for this type of business comes from the successful Mondragon model, a Spanish cooperative corporation founded in 1956 that now supports around 85,000 members in over 255 enterprises and averaged \$178 million in profit in 2010.² The Mondragon model is based on principles such as open admission, participatory management, democratic organizations, payment solidarity, labor sovereignty and social transformation.³ The Mondragon model provides the benefits of a worker-owned business such as living wage, healthcare and retirement plans, as well as union collective bargaining power that can resist

the perpetual trend toward exploitation by capitalist industry.⁴ The Cincinnati Food Hub aims to bring these alternative structures into Ohio and the greater U.S. food system.

One of the main collaborators in the Cincinnati Food Hub project is United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW), one of the largest national unions representing food chain workers. The UFCW has a clear stake in the execution of this project as one of its main objectives is to create quality, sustainable jobs providing living wages, healthcare and collective bargaining rights.⁵ In fact, the UFCW knows how to use the strength of the food movement to bring positive change to labor. The stated objective of the food hub is to “enable the food industry (i.e. grocery stores) and core institutions that provide food services (i.e. restaurants, hospitals, and universities) to capitalize on the local food revolution and provide them with the marketing power of supporting ‘green’ agricultural practices and creating local jobs.”⁶

The Cincinnati Food Hub goes beyond facilitating the purchase of domestic fair trade food from local farmers by local consumer outlets. They also plan to develop new growers through an incubator farm/apprenticeship program, create an educational center to promote alternative forms of organic food production, and improve access to local healthy food for all Cincinnati residents, including the very workers involved in the CFH.⁷ Currently, the Cincinnati Food Hub is in the process of securing funds and conducting feasibility studies; they hope to launch in 2013.

Written by Julia Sebastian, ARC research intern.

1 USDA Agricultural Marketing Service, Know Your Farmer, Know Your Food (KYF2) Regional Food Hub Subcommittee. Regional Food Hubs: Linking Producers to New Markets. Retrieved 6/30/2012, from: <http://www.ams.usda.gov/AMSV1.0/getfile?dDocName=STELPRDC5088011>

2 Olson, D. (2/17/2012). The Cincinnati Food Hub. FH retreat presentation.2.17.2012ppt.ppt (Slide 3).

3 Ibid (Slide 4).

4 Ibid (Slide 6).

5 United Food and Commercial Workers International Union. (2012). Union-Network International. Retrieved 6/30/12, from:http://www.ufcw.org/about_ufcw/uni/

6 Olson, D. (2/17/2012). The Cincinnati Food Hub. FH retreat presentation.2.17.2012ppt.ppt (Slide 20)

7 The Cincinnati Food Hub. Co-op Initiatives. Retrieved 6/30/2012, from: <http://www.cincinnatiunioncoop.org/coop-initiatives/>

LESSONS FOR GOOD JOBS

We can be grateful to the labor movement for many things, such as the eight-hour work day and work-free weekends. However, for organized labor to continue to be relevant in the post-industrial climate, alliances with other interests such as the good food movement need to be strengthened. We see progress in labor’s recant of its historical exclusion of workers in the food chain, for example, in the efforts by the AFL-CIO to build partnerships with domestic, guest workers, and day laborers. However, the majority of the labor movement neither addresses food workers nor good food. And, unions continue to support employers that hurt communities in order to serve a narrow conception of their members’ interests.

Lessons for good jobs:

- Build coalitions with community stakeholders
- Develop tools, training, and networking opportunities for leadership and rank and file to learn about good food
- Invest in innovative solutions to win dignity and respect for workers that are informed by the information- and service-based economy

While one critique of the good food movement is that their efforts are focused on building niches for the few, labor can learn from their daring to dream of alternatives and caring about the bigger picture of where our planet and its peoples are headed. “The problem is that labor doesn’t have a coherent vision of what is an alternative to the industrial system that has an equal number of jobs that are well paid and dignified,” said a good food social entrepreneur. “A lot of us are trying to build that system and scale it up. Why compete and fight with Kroger’s or Safeway, when you can create the competition with a better set of values and shift the way the whole industry works?”

The social entrepreneur added, “But, there’s an investment for unions to maintain the status quo. They do that very well. There’s a certain dependency on it for their own existence. But, I think it would be interesting for unions to shift from fighting to building.”

Despite the challenges that prevent food and labor groups from recognizing shared self-interests, there are examples that advance good food and good jobs. We profile five opportunities in this section.

TABLE 6: OPPORTUNITIES TO ADVANCE GOOD FOOD AND GOOD JOBS

OPPORTUNITY	GOOD FOOD	GOOD JOBS	FOOD SECTOR
Liquor Licenses	Enforce health and food safety rules in restaurants and convenience stores that sell liquor	Incentivize high road labor practices for employers through granting or renewing liquor licenses	Service Retail
Manufacturing Subsidies	Encourage small and medium sized food manufacturers producing trendy ethnic cuisine	Subsidize employers who don't violate labor law and who sign onto a code of conduct	Processing Distribution
Procurement Policies	Purchase local and sustainable food for state and national government	Require contractors to embrace high road labor standards in order to win public contracts	Production Processing
Retail Subsidies	Expand healthy and organic food availability in low-income communities of color	Mandate that community food markets have high bar labor standards or contribute to community wealth	Retail
Community Benefits Agreements	Expand healthy and organic food availability in low-income communities of color	Mandate that community food markets have high bar labor standards or contribute to community wealth	Retail

Three overarching ideas inform these five opportunities:

- Food safety linked to worker safety
- Public monies subject to transparency and accountability
- Consumer interest in good food linked to good labor practices

Section 4A: Liquor Licenses

Whether it be from *E coli* or salmonella, from the flu or tuberculosis, contaminated food and airborne illnesses are a public health risk, leading to roughly 3,000 deaths and 48 million illnesses per year. In 2011, Congress passed the Food Safety Modernization Act, which strengthened the standards by which food safety is scrutinized, giving more powers to USDA agents to inspect and withhold food from the market. This was a clear step in the right direction, and many heralded this as a much-needed response after 5 years of inactivity regarding the rash of infected spinach and peanut butter that sickened people and caused a consumer panic.

However, what this legislation doesn't address are two public health issues particularly burdensome to people of color:

- Expired food sold in low-income neighborhoods
- Food workers forced to labor even when ill

Good food and good jobs advocates looked for policy levers where food safety was regulated and occupational health and labor standards could be inserted. Detroit innovated a model based on licensing the right to sell alcohol that benefitted employers and local governments as well as labor. The model was replicated in New York.

LIQUOR LICENSES IN DETROIT

Lack of food buying choices was a big problem in Detroit, Michigan. Few stores sold fruits and vegetables, especially in communities of color, so many residents purchased their food from liquor or convenience stores, also known as party stores in the city. In fact, 92% of authorized food stamp retailers in the city are party stores.⁹⁷ The Restaurant Opportunities Center in Michigan conducted an assessment of over 200 retail stores and found that many of these party stores violated basic health and sanitation codes. 38% of the stores surveyed kept food that was past the expiration date on their shelves. One third had unsanitary physical conditions such as mold and filth on the refrigerated racks or on the floors. These conditions violated existing public health laws, but there was little enforcement to ensure that health and sanitation codes were abided by.

A key finding of the survey was that food and health violations were more likely to be found in low-income communities with mostly Black and Latino residents with children.⁹⁸ Party stores in mostly Black neighborhoods suffered from double the number food or health violations than stores found in white ones. The same held true for mostly Latino neighborhoods, when compared to mostly white ones. The correlation between food safety and sanitation issues and neighborhoods with children is even stronger: stores in neighborhoods with a high density of households with children had two times more violations than stores in neighborhoods with a low density of children.

Detroit is also a city where food service and retail is the fastest-growing sector of employment. Once the hub for auto manufacturing, many of Detroit's factories have been closed, and more than 130,000 workers are now employed in restaurants and food service. However, unlike the manufacturing jobs, restaurant employment is not currently unionized, for the most part. Nationally, less than one tenth of 1% of restaurant workers are members of a trade union. ROC United's book *Behind the Kitchen Door* reported that food service in Detroit, like the nation, has an overrepresentation of people of color, especially Latinos, in its lower-wage positions.⁹⁹ People of color were concentrated in "back of the house" jobs that pay less and offer fewer benefits. Labor law violations were rampant in the industry. Food service workers didn't have paid sick days, and therefore were forced to work when ill. And, because many lacked health insurance, the workers relied on public assistance and hospital emergency rooms for care.

Restaurant workers who are members of ROC Michigan felt that strengthening the enforcement of existing health and labor laws was an important remedy, as was increasing penalties for employers that violated these standards. However, because resources for state and local governments were being cut back, the workers recognized that an innovative solution would need to be found to ensure enforcement. To monitor the service industry at a mass scale, more inspectors would need to be hired, but state food safety and wage and hour compliance divisions were understaffed already. Fewer than 20 food safety inspectors were responsible for six counties, including Detroit; similarly, fewer than 20 labor inspectors were assigned to investigate labor violations in Michigan.¹⁰⁰

One lever common to both convenience stores and restaurants was a liquor license, a requirement for establishments to sell alcoholic beverages. "We became interested in liquor licenses because a lot of these establishments that hurt people have liquor licenses," explained ROC Michigan coordinator Minsu Longiaru. "It's also a privilege, because the community puts its trust in you to be a responsible owner. Part of that is obeying the labor and employment laws and not endangering the public because of rotten food or dirty conditions in your store. We thought this ordinance might be a way to include those community standards into criteria that the government already considers." The local authority looks at a number of factors when reviewing an application for a new or expiring license, from whether the business is in good standing with paying their vendors to whether there are loiterers outside the store.

ROC Michigan convened an unlikely mix of diverse stakeholders—a roster of over 40 members as of January 2012 includes the Capuchin Soup Kitchen and the Michigan Suburbs Alliance—christened the Good Food, Good Jobs Coalition. The first order of the coalition was to link basic food quality and workplace standards with the Good Food, Good Jobs Act.

The goals of the Good Food, Good Jobs Act were three-fold:¹⁰¹

1. Create a process to allow the city to consider a liquor license holder's record of compliance with basic food safety and workplace standards when deciding whether to grant, renew, suspend or revoke an establishment's liquor licenses.
2. Allow for community input on a liquor license holder's compliance with food safety and workplace standards by permitting submission of written comments by the public.
3. Permit the city to hold a public hearing to gather more information—especially for chronic violators with a clear record of non-compliance.

The Good Food, Good Jobs Act was drafted with the support of three city council members. Unfortunately, the city's finances were placed under state scrutiny beginning in late 2011, placing the legislation on hold at the city level.¹⁰² The Coalition refocused its efforts to the state level, introducing a comparable bill in the statehouse with 25 cosponsors. Both city and state bills are pending.

The efforts forged are far-reaching, beyond the success of legislation. The Good Food, Good Jobs Coalition represented an emerging front of faith-based, community and environmental justice groups who collaborated across sectors to create opportunities in the city. ROC Michigan developed deep relationships with the good food movement, the latter are strongly embedded in the city's activism. Minsu Longiaru's involvement, for example, in the Detroit Food Policy Council led to her election as a council member.¹⁰³ The new relationships built within the Coalition benefited other program areas ROC Michigan pursued. COLORS, the worker-owned restaurant and training center started by the Michigan affiliate, bought a lot of its produce from the urban farms connected with the food policy council.

Longiaru attributed the success of the good food and labor collaboration to the multiracial leadership of the food justice movement in the city. "I understand that there's a divide in the food and labor movements nationally, but I feel that the divide hasn't been a central part of my experience in Detroit," she reflected. "The strength of Detroit is that it has a strong food justice movement, with leadership coming from communities of color. We're not fighting for foodies; we're fighting for food, sovereignty and power; that's the frame that informs the way our organizations choose to analyze and attempt to transform the food system."

LIQUOR LICENSES IN NEW YORK CITY

ROC New York decided to replicate the Michigan example as a part of their campaign to link food safety with healthy and safe working conditions for restaurant workers. Nine out of ten restaurant workers lack paid sick leave benefits and many are forced to work when sick.¹⁰⁴ This poses a public health threat to both workers and diners. ROC-NY has been organizing a campaign to implement a city law that would require employers to offer paid sick days to their workers.

New York restaurants must obtain an operating license from the city's health department. The restaurants are graded on their compliance with various health and safety codes. ROC-NY had spearheaded a campaign—the Responsible Restaurant Act—to introduce labor standards to the checklist but met with resistance from the City Council due to the influence of the New York State Restaurant Association.

So, ROC-NY organizers shifted their efforts to focus on liquor licensing at the state level, relying on the same logic as in Detroit, that sales of alcohol are important for the restaurant industry. The emphasis, explained Daisy Chung, deputy director of ROC-NY, was on creating incentives not just around good work practices, but also good food practices.¹⁰⁵ The state liquor authority was responsible for issuing new and renewal licenses, and the process was an opaque one that often took years and required a lawyer to help navigate. The state authority itself was marred by allegations of corruption and malfeasance, a state report found.¹⁰⁶

Under the amendments proposed by ROC-NY, the cost of licensing an establishment could be waived or reduced as an incentive for businesses to adopt "high road" labor and food practices, meaning those that exceed regulatory standards (see *The Incentives Scheme*). The framework that the Coalition used to win allies and supporters was government transparency and accountability, to reform a corrupt authority and to broaden the benefits to the community so establishments that serve liquor also contribute to the health of the community. So, for example, a liquor store in New York City that gives its employees a living wage and paid sick days could have their licensing fee reduced. Or, an Albany restaurant that served healthy and organic food at an affordable price in a low-income community could renew its liquor license for two years instead of one.¹⁰⁷

The Incentives Scheme

Businesses that take the “high road” would be scored in several categories to determine which benefits they are eligible to receive. While the details of this incentive scheme are still a work in progress, businesses will be scored in the following general categories:

WAGES. Does the employer pay above-industry norms? Does the employer pay living wages or above? Does the employer guarantee annual cost-of-living increases? Does the employer rely solely on part-time labor? Is there a clearly defined wage scale that is known and accessible?

BENEFITS. Does the employer offer paid sick days? Does the employer offer health insurance? Is there a written, posted and visible policy for paid or unpaid time off?

PROMOTIONS. Is there a written and accessible promotion policy? In the past year, how many employees were promoted? Is there a formal procedure for on-the-job training?

DISCIPLINE/GRIEVANCE. Is there a written and accessible grievance procedure? Is there a just-cause procedure for termination?

HEALTHY FOOD ACCESSIBILITY. Does the business accept food stamps, EBT, WIC? Is there a healthy food option? Does the business offer healthy, organic products in a food desert or low-income community? Does the business have a good health and safety record?

The incentive scheme was the product of a diverse coalition convened by ROC-NY and comprised of labor, good food, and environmental justice organizations, and even some high road restaurants. Some were new partnerships for ROC-NY, for which the liquor licensing campaign was the first opportunity for the two groups to collaborate.

Chung remembered the partners’ conversation around defining good food, which each came at from their particular perspectives. “Establishments that have good, fresh food available should also accept WIC, food stamps and EBT cards, suggested one group. Another said that criteria for incentives should include environmentally friendly practices, like whether the business composts. Labor groups at the table wanted to check if businesses had environmentally friendly practices towards their workers, if workers were exposed to chemicals like cleaning agents.”

ROC-NY, which is based in metropolitan New York City, has since reached out to organizations throughout the state to gain support to amend liquor licensing. The outreach process has been a learning one as well, according to Chung, as ROC-NY connected with various groups upstate to understand the political climate and challenges food workers outside of the city face.

Section 4B: Manufacturing Subsidies

New York has long lost its large-scale production sectors, but factories and warehouses that process and distribute food are still found within the boundaries of the five boroughs. Varieties of Asian and Latino foods, sold from food trucks or pop up shops, exploded in popularity among gourmards in the city. “Ethnic flavors” like chili lime and Korean gochujang mayo are touted by the food processing industry as the hot trends for the consumer market.¹⁰⁸ Contemporaneously, immigrant entrepreneurship was cited as the key to spark the city’s economic recovery from the Great Recession.¹⁰⁹ The two trends combined to create the new emergent class: immigrant food entrepreneurs.

Unfortunately, many of the factories producing food in New York City are sweatshops according to Daniel Gross, executive director of Brandworkers. A survey of food processing workers conducted by Brandworkers found that the mostly Black and brown workforce—72% of those surveyed were Latino—earned well below a living wage and worked in dangerous conditions for long hours.¹¹⁰ Most worked over 40 hours a week with no paid overtime, breaks or sick days; over half lacked health insurance coverage. These labor violations had mortal consequences for Juan Baten, a 22-year-old immigrant from Guatemala who worked in a Brooklyn tortilla factory (see *America’s Food Sweatshops*).

America's Food Sweatshops¹¹¹

Juan Baten came to this country from Guatemala seven years ago. A bus in Cabral, Guatemala, had hit and killed his father, so Baten left home at the age of 15 and made his way to Brooklyn, NY, where he found work in a tortilla factory in an industrial corridor along the Brooklyn-Queens border. He worked six days a week, nine hours a day, from five in the evening until two in the morning, operating the machines that churned out tortillas. The \$7.25 per hour he earned was sent back to his family in Guatemala, supporting his four brothers.

Baten also found love. His partner, Rosario Ramirez, gave birth to their daughter, Daisy Stefanie, shortly before Baten was killed at work. They had dreamed of a day when they could move their family back to Guatemala.

One Sunday, Baten's arm got stuck in the blades of a dough-mixing machine, and he was crushed to death. The 22-year-old dad's story splashed across the pages of the New York tabloids, and his death led to investigations by the federal Occupational Safety and Health Administration and state Department of Labor.

The Workers' Compensation Board discovered that the factory owner was not offering workers' compensation to his employees and issued a stop-work order. The factory is now closed pending payment of insurance and fines by the owner, according to news reports.

Daniel Gross, executive director of Brandworkers International, noted in response to the case that the workers at the tortilla factory were not organized into a union, nor had the facilities ever been inspected by OSHA prior to Baten's death. Many questions remain unanswered: Were Baten and his colleagues adequately trained to use the dangerous food machines safely? Were they given breaks during their graveyard shift? What access to healthcare did Baten have to ease the fatigue he undoubtedly experienced from working six days a week?

What we do know is that Baten's workplace isn't unique. Workers suffer from low wages and hazardous working conditions throughout the food chain.

The food processing and distribution sectors of the food chain were invisible in New York, according to Gross. "Even the most conscious eater might be concerned about the racial caste-like system in restaurants or the plight of farmworkers, but not the 35,000 workers who work in brutal, dungeon-like conditions for 80 hours a week," he said.¹¹² "Some of the food brands have their own operations, basically sweatshops, in the city. These are the same companies that have retail branding everywhere, but they don't want you to find the sweatshops. There's zero signage over the doors of the sweatshops identifying the company."

Brandworkers and the Community Development Project at the Urban Justice Center searched for public policy levers to raise labor standards for food manufacturers and distributors in New York City. A Community Development Project survey found the most intersection around worker health and food safety issues (see *Liquor Licenses*), but few successful models that regulated food manufacturing and distribution. In the eight states examined (New York, California, Washington, New Jersey, Wisconsin, Illinois, Texas and Pennsylvania), state regulatory mechanisms for food safety and labor standards enforcement were handled by separate agencies or departments.¹¹³ For example, in New York food manufacturing is regulated and licensed by the Division of Food Safety and Inspections (DFS) that is part of the Department of Agriculture and Markets. Compliance with labor laws, however, is the responsibility of the Department of Labor.

However, the New York City Economic Development Corporation (NYCEDC) provided an opportunity in June 2011, when a public-private partnership was announced between the city agency and Goldman Sachs.¹¹⁴ The venture would combine private financing and public funds to make low-interest loans available to small manufacturing businesses in food processing. Community Development Financial Institutions (CDFIs) would service the loans, using the capital generated by Goldman Sachs and NYCEDC. The city saw this as an opportunity to spur entrepreneurial activity among its immigrant populations. NYCEDC president Seth W. Pinsky said, "Supporting our city's immigrant entrepreneurs is vital to the success of New York City's economy."¹¹⁵

The NYCEDC doesn't require labor law compliance in their criteria for loan eligibility. Food manufacturers only need to prove that they have difficulty in obtaining traditional credit, employ 4 to 100 persons and generate \$150,000 to \$7 million in revenues a year.¹¹⁶ Brandworkers proposed that loan applicants also indicate whether they are in compliance with labor and employment laws and sign a Code of Conduct. This proposal drew on existing practices of the NYCEDC's Industrial Development Agency, as well as the Greengrocers code of conduct. The latter was implemented for workers at greengrocers in 2002 as a result of an attorney general investigation that yielded widespread violations (see *Greengrocer Code of Conduct*).

Greengrocer Code of Conduct

Greengrocers are small, family-owned grocery stores throughout the five boroughs of New York. Korean immigrants own most of the 2,000 businesses and hire Latinos as retail and stock workers. In 1999, an investigation by then-State Attorney General Elliot Spitzer found that workers averaged 72-hour work weeks, earned \$3 to \$4 an hour and weren't paid overtime.¹¹⁷ This was a gross violation of federal and minimum wage laws, set then at \$5.15 an hour with time and a half for work beyond 40 hours a week.

A bevy of interest groups—including labor and Korean American associations—worked closely with the Attorney General's office to craft the Code of Conduct, which required greengrocers to comply with state labor laws, including the payment of minimum wage and overtime, and granting of paid vacation and sick leave.¹¹⁸ Storeowners who signed the Greengrocer Code pledged to abide by it and submit to monitoring of

their employment practices.

"We recently had a campaign among Mexican workers in a supermarket in Kensington, Brooklyn that forced the employer to address overtime violations," said Immanuel Ness, political science professor at Brooklyn College and cofounder of the Community-Labor Coalition.¹¹⁹

"In New York City, it is clear that the Code of Conduct is an instrument, and educating workers of their rights and encouraging rank-and-file mobilization leads to union organization—especially in immigrant communities," added Ness. "So while workers did not gain widespread union organization, they have parallel forms of worker organization inside low-wage labor markets, from markets to restaurants. Extending the Code of Conduct to other industries is great, but we need to develop new organizational forms rooted in rank and file participation."

Brandworkers and their allies used this opportunity to raise the visibility of working conditions for food processing and distribution workers in the city. They convened a broad spectrum of organizations—unions, community food groups, immigrant rights organizations—and elected officials to push for the inclusion of labor standards in the criteria for the NYCEDC fund. "The government should be helping to raise standards for workers' rights and safety. Without labor standards, there is a real threat that the NYCEDC will give this money to companies that mistreat workers," said Alexa Kasdan, director of research and policy at the Urban Justice Center.

Section 4C: Procurement Policies

Individually, each consumer does not wield a lot of buying power in the food system. But, federal and local governments do. In 2011, the federal government spent upwards of \$18 billion on food: \$2.3 billion by the U.S. Department of Agriculture on nutritional assistance programs, \$16 billion in grants to school districts and service providers for meals.¹²⁰ Just like the green economy attempted to bundle weatherization and retrofits of individual houses into a larger scale to encompass whole neighborhoods or cities, so good food and good jobs advocates turn to large, institutional purchasers to introduce purchasing guidelines.

Many decisions by state and local governments are made at the executive or agency level, with no legislative process required. The construction industry posed models for imposing equity standards in public procurement (*see Construction Contracts*). Another example were *sweatfree procurement policies* that over 190 state and local governments (as well as schools and universities) adopted, in which goods produced in sweatshop conditions are barred, as a result of a vigorous movement against this form of labor exploitation in the 1990s.¹²¹ Most sweatfree ordinances applied to garment production, clothing being an industry, much like food and agriculture, that relied on a low-wage workforce for profit. As of January 2010, nine states, 42 cities, 15 counties and 118 school districts had passed resolutions to not purchase apparel produced in sweatshops.

Labor campaigners tried to apply similar principles from construction and apparel to food purchasing: vendors who violate labor law shouldn't win public contracts. And, precisely because farmworkers were excluded from federal labor law protections, procurement policies could be amended to consider not only their wages and working conditions, but also their access to collective bargaining rights. "The general legal rule is that federal, state, and local government can't use their purchasing power to intervene in the regulation of labor relations because this would interfere with the system created by the National Labor Relations Act," explained George Faraday, policy director for Change to Win labor federation.¹²⁷ "But, because farmworkers are excluded from the NLRA, government actually has the legal power to encourage contracting with employers that don't block their workers from unionizing."

Along with farmworker advocacy organizations, Change to Win submitted a proposal for procurement policy to the U.S. Department of Agriculture that would apply to all food and agricultural contractors, flowing from the primary contractor down the supply chain to the farm labor contractor and the grower. The proposed procurement policy had three components:

1. All entities need to be in compliance with existing labor and employment laws in order to receive USDA contracts.¹²⁸
2. The vendors should pay a living wage and contribute towards workers' compensation and healthcare coverage for their workers.
3. Vendors that allow their workers to bargain freely and collectively for decent working conditions would not be subject to these enhanced compliance measures.

The USDA responded by issuing a proposed rule that added a clause to existing procurement policies that all contractors and suppliers be in compliance with applicable federal and state labor laws.¹²⁹ Any contractor would be responsible to be in compliance and ensure that any subcontractors and suppliers were, as well, and self-report any infractions. Violations of labor laws would be subject to corrective actions by the USDA. Business interests, such as the Chamber of Commerce, submitted adverse comments in response, as expected.¹³⁰ At the time of this report's writing, the USDA is still revising and reconsidering the rule.

The Food Chain Workers Alliance, SweatFree Communities, and other partners are exploring purchasing by school districts and local governments, which spend public dollars that have a resounding multiplier effect for economic activity and job creation. *The Hands that Feed Us* report cited an Oregon study that found that for every dollar that local school districts spent on food purchasing, the cumulative impact was an increase of \$1.86 to the state's economy.¹³¹ Los Angeles adopted a Good Food (and good jobs) agenda in 2010 that identified school purchasing as a priority action area (see *Good Food Procurement Policies in Los Angeles*).

Construction Contracts¹²²

President Obama resurrected a powerful historical tool first enacted by Lyndon B. Johnson in 1965, for redressing structural racism—affirmative action—in his second month of office. Executive Order 11246 requires the use of affirmative action in hiring contractors who receive a certain amount of federal funds (this applies only to the construction sector). The Office of Federal Contract Compliance Programs maintains participation goals for racial groups and women, and distinguishes the goals from racial or gender quotas. As with anti-discrimination laws, this is difficult to enforce because contractors are expected to comply in "good faith."¹²³ Because enforcement mechanisms are weak, community-based documentation, organizing and advocacy for government accountability are important for generating public scrutiny of both government and corporate actions.

A variety of project-based methods have been used to overcome barriers to employment for people of color, women, ex-prisoners and public assistance recipients. They can be used alone or in combination with other local or federal regulations and procedures. For example, Best Value Contracting (BVC) is a method used by local governments to stipulate requirements for winning contract bids, beyond just low cost. BVCs can be used to create equity in green contracts and to reward high-quality standards. The Apollo Alliance listed the following examples in a 2008 memo:

- Pennsylvania's public works projects use BVC in their requests for proposals (RFPs), awarding points to those they refer to as "disadvantaged businesses." This qualification is granted to businesses that are certified as small business enterprises owned by persons of color or women and to businesses that "have suffered chronic and substantial racial or ethnic prejudice or cultural bias in the U.S. due to the business person's color, ethnic origin, or gender," which "must have negatively impacted the business' establishment or growth."¹²⁴
- Washington's regional transit development includes a requirement that contractors use Project Labor Agreements (PLAs) in their RFPs.¹²⁵
- Madison, Wisconsin, enacted a BVC ordinance in 2006 that allowed the city to require contractors to prequalify themselves by presenting the city with an affirmative action plan.¹²⁶

Good Food Procurement Policies in Los Angeles¹³²

These policies direct relevant departments to convene a multi-stakeholder working group to review best practices in other jurisdictions and define Good Food criteria that extend from ‘farm to landfill’, with emphasis on nutrition, affordability, geography, and sustainable production practices including sound environmental practices, fair prices for producers, and labor standards for workers. School districts should be urged to do the same. In 2009, Los Angeles County school districts spent approximately \$600 million on school food. This money could be spent supporting the local food economy and providing nearly one million children with high quality Good Food.

Using lessons learned from Los Angeles and the anti-sweatshop movement, the Food Chain Workers Alliance and the SweatFree Communities of the International Labor Rights Forum convened a Campaign for Fair Food Procurement in 2012. The coalition developed a model procurement policy that would require food suppliers and food service companies to uphold “high road” labor standards (including standards of the International Labor Organization, local labor laws and non-poverty/living wage) throughout the food supply chain—at food service providers, food processing facilities, farms and distribution warehouses.¹³³ The coalition aimed to expand existing sweatfree procurement policies to include food and agricultural purchasing.

“We believe that it is strategic for the Campaign for Fair Food Procurement to focus on public institutions, such as local governments and school districts, at this time because as public institutions, they have a moral and fiduciary responsibility to use our taxpayer dollars to support good jobs and good food, rather than spending public funds on the exploitation of workers and the environment,” said Joann Lo, director of the Food Chain Workers Alliance.¹³⁴ “Our hope is that by winning Fair Food Procurement policies at the local level, we are creating the market for good food and building momentum for a federal policy.”

Section 4D: Retail Subsidies

The 2010 Census confirmed what many already knew from personal experience: many cities were experiencing a reversal of the post-World War II “white flight” phenomenon, becoming “gentrified” by middle- and upper-class whites. People of color were being pushed out of postindustrial cities in the North—displaced by a lethal combination of unemployment and rising living costs—and into the suburbs and the South.¹³⁵ New landscapes of poverty were being created.¹³⁶ Big box retailers such as Walmart took note of such demographic changes as their suburban consumers moved to the urban cores of Oakland, Atlanta, New York and Chicago, and they followed suit (see *Walmart’s Bad Food and Bad Jobs*).¹³⁷ Eric Holt-Gimenez, executive director of Food First, wrote, “For Walmart, urban expansion is not about ending food deserts—it’s about getting in on the ground floor of the future—affluent—retail market in America’s cities.”

Walmart’s Bad Food and Bad Jobs

Walmart is the epitome of bad food and bad jobs. That’s why so many observers found it ironic when the global retail giant positioned itself to be the premiere provider of healthy food to low-income communities, as a partner in First Lady Michelle Obama’s Let’s Move campaign. The corporation pledged to open up to 300 stores in “food deserts.”¹³⁸

Research shows the entrance of a Walmart exacerbates the quality of food and jobs available in an area.¹³⁹ Loyola University researchers found that a Walmart that opened up on Chicago’s West Side, displaced local retailers and reduced employment in neighboring zip codes.¹⁴⁰ The report estimated that 300 full-time jobs were lost as a result of small business closures. Another paper from 2007 found that for every two jobs that Walmart created, it destroyed three.¹⁴¹ And, a 2006 study found that poverty increases when the retailer set up shop in their neighborhood.¹⁴²

As for the company’s claims to sell more locally grown and organic food, quite the opposite is true. Walmart defines “local” flexibly to encompass any produce grown within the same state.¹⁴³ And, because their goal is to source 9% of produce sales locally across all states, agriculturally rich California and Florida can comprise most of that quota. The same applies for “organic.” For example, Walmart’s in-house brand of organic milk comes from a factory farm, where thousands of cows are housed in one facility.¹⁴⁴ The cows are mostly grain-fed, only given grass when they are milked, the two or three months in a year.

Efforts are afoot from Oakland, California to New York City to thwart corporate food from entering into urban communities. “In 2009, we saw the negative side of Michelle Obama’s work on healthy food financing: corporate food was moving in low-income neighborhoods,” reflected Brahm Ahmadi, cofounder of the People’s Grocery and CEO of the People’s Community Market.¹⁴⁵ “We saw limited opportunities for community enterprises to enter, before corporations came in and gulped up the market.”

“Poverty is the root cause of inadequate access to fresh and healthy food,” said Maritza Silva-Ferrell, Good Food Good Jobs Coalition organizer for ALIGN. “Therefore, providing public subsidies to grocers to open stores in underserved neighborhoods does not go far enough.”

Advocacy for good food and good jobs in retail has taken shape in three forms:

- 1. Reform Retail:** Advocates tried to add good job standards to retailers who received public monies, similar to previous examples (see Section 4B: *Manufacturing Subsidies* and 4C: *Procurement Policies*). In New York, the Good Food Good Jobs coalition fought a battle to include high road labor standards in monies to expand groceries in “food deserts.”
- 2. Create Alternatives:** Communities are creating alternative markets, experimenting with innovative ownership and management structures. Alliance to Develop Power built the foundation for a community economy, expanding in community-owned food retail.
- 3. Community Benefits Agreements:** Pittsburgh UNITED convened the One Hill Coalition that won community benefits from arena developers. Residents gained a grocery store that will sell healthy and affordable food as well as hire locally.

GOOD FOOD, GOOD JOBS NEW YORK

The Good Food, Good Jobs Coalition in New York was convened in 2008 by the Alliance for a Greater New York (ALIGN—then named New York Jobs with Justice) and United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) Local 1500. The partners came together to address one proposal that emerged out of a four-year process by a broader coalition to chart sustainable growth for the city: bring grocery stores with living wage jobs to underserved neighborhoods.¹⁴⁶ The coalition was inspired by a model in Pennsylvania, the Fresh Food Financing Initiative, which funded 32 new supermarkets with 2,600 jobs through a combination of public and private financing. What the New Yorkers added to improve the model were zoning and monetary incentives to ensure that the jobs were good ones.

The proposal that the Good Food, Good Jobs Coalition created was adopted by the City Council in the passage of the Food Retail Expansion to Support Health (FRESH) program in 2009. The Coalition won two of out of their three demands. First, applications for the program would be judged based on a score card that required self-reporting of information such as the number of jobs created and wages paid. Second, communities would be involved in decision-making through a 45-day community board review of zoning applicants. However, job standards were not included in the final program, a disappointment for Coalition organizers.

“The passage of FRESH was desperately needed by residents in underserved neighborhoods who lacked access to fresh and healthy foods,” said Diana Robinson, former food policy coordinator with UFCW Local 1500, current campaign and education coordinator with the Food Chain Workers Alliance. “But at the same time some crucial needs were left out such as community input in terms of what kind of food businesses they want and need in their communities. Secondly, the policy lacks a mechanism for accountability. It is important to ensure that businesses that receive public money add value to the communities to which they enter and respect workers as well as provide jobs to lift up communities.”

Although the Coalition saw the passage of FRESH as a step in the right direction in terms of the availability of good food in low-income neighborhoods, the advocates reframed the campaign as ReFRESH in 2012 and articulated new demands. High among them are good job standards for retail workers. Two years after being implemented, 99% of the FRESH financing has gone to low-road retailers who pay their workers low wages and don’t provide benefits, including paid sick days.¹⁴⁷

The Good Food, Good Jobs Coalition had an additional challenge to face: Walmart. In February 2011, advertisements on New York television networks appeared featuring a female Iraq war veteran who worked as a manager at a Florida Walmart.¹⁴⁸ The 30-second spot was part of an aggressive marketing campaign orchestrated by Mayor Bloomberg’s former campaign director, who was hired as a consultant to Walmart to find a foothold in the New York market by claiming to be a socially responsible employer who hires and promotes women and veterans.¹⁴⁹ The Coalition was not convinced. ALIGN and the Murphy Institute at the City University of New York (CUNY) issued a rebuttal in the form of a report titled *The Walmartization of New York*, which estimated that the expansion of the retail giant in the city would have devastating consequences, including a net loss of nearly 4,000 jobs and \$350 million in lost wages.¹⁵⁰

“We don’t need Walmart to fix food deserts; in fact, we can do it better ourselves,” wrote Matt Ryan, executive director of ALIGN.¹⁵¹ “We’ll make it clear that we understand our city has problems, but also that New York is capable of coming up with better solutions than Walmart could even imagine. We’ll make sure Walmart knows New Yorkers have no intention of sitting back and watching as they destroy the years of work we’ve put into building a healthy, sustainable city.”

COMMUNITY ECONOMY IN WESTERN MASSACHUSETTS

The Pioneer Valley, composed of three counties in western Massachusetts along the Connecticut River, is known for its farmland and its colleges. Hampshire, Mount Holyoke and others in the five-college consortium draw students to the region and employ high-skill professionals, who settle in the more affluent neighborhoods of the college towns. Yet, for the region's working class, jobs were scarce when the industrial mills closed and moved overseas. Workers in the region's largest city, Springfield—many of whom are immigrants from Puerto Rico, Russia and the Ukraine—experienced high unemployment, and almost 30% of the city's residents live in poverty.¹⁵²

"The slow food movement is happening all around the Pioneer Valley, but it's racially divided and not open to people of color and the poor," explained Tim Fisk, executive director of Alliance to Develop Power (ADP).¹⁵³ The River Valley Market, a food co-op that opened in 2008 in Northampton, was not designed to attract the working-class immigrants that comprise ADP's membership.¹⁵⁴ "The food coop is expensive; you can't even walk to it, you have to drive. They spent \$8 million making it, and they blew up a side of the mountain in order to build it."

ADP knew that they would do things differently. The membership-based organization sat at the center of a community economy that owned over \$68 million in assets, including 770 units of affordable housing and a worker-owned construction firm (see ADP's *Community Economy Model*). Food is a central component to their strategy. "We created three food pantries in the Pioneer Valley area that distribute 1.8 million pounds of food per year to people that live in our housing coops," Fisk said. "Families receive one week of groceries, free, every month. This isn't an act of charity—we're meeting people's basic needs so they can engage in civic life." Every ADP member receives a turkey for Thanksgiving, and campaigns often bring together the community through an outdoor barbeque.

ADP's Community Economy Model

Alliance to Develop Power's Community Economy Model is a nationally known strategy for sustainable community transformation. Through it, members build economic power, political power and people power—improving the standard of living for all people in the Pioneer Valley of Massachusetts.



The ADP Community Economy Model:

- Addresses racial and economic disparity
- Achieves power over the decisions that affect our lives
- Builds strong and healthy communities

Three strategies provide points of entry and zones of enrichment to members:

1. In the ADP Community Economy, members become workers, directors, investors, customers or innovators in ADP businesses and institutions; creating good jobs, economic power, new skills, and control over the decisions that affect our lives;
2. Members find voice and connection through Community Organizing campaigns that tackle issues that impact our community on the local, state and national level.
3. Community Building activities deepen relationships, expand our world-view, and strengthen neighborhoods through enriching, service-based programming, including arts and cultural celebrations.

Organization URL: <http://www.a-dp.org/>

ADP decided to leverage the power of its community economy into a solution for good food and good jobs. Together with a Community Financial Development Institution (CFDI), they jointly applied for USDA funding to address "food deserts" and received a low-interest loan to start the ADP Bodega. Three community-owned grocery cooperatives will open in low-income neighborhoods in the Pioneer Valley, creating 15 living-wage jobs and injecting \$1 million in cashflow each year into the local economy.¹⁵⁵ The retail stores will build relationships with local farmers to supply local produce. William Cano, deputy director at ADP, said that the ADP Bodega will ask local farmers to grow culturally relevant foods.

ADP dreamed big, planning to purchase a multiple-use building with the ground floor for the bodega and second floor for workshops and classes on health and nutrition. The members are clear, however, that the project primarily contributes to the community economy, which made it distinct from many other alternatives that rely on the worker-ownership model.

"Nothing at ADP is worker-owned, \$60 million in assets are community-owned, there's no personal equity advanced in the economic development that we do," Fisk stated. "We believe that we're practicing non-capitalism when doing community ownership. That's not addressed in worker ownership—if five workers own it, it's still the same as if there's one owner. We're creating our own customers and producers, creating a vibrant economy that is stronger than capitalism, because we're controlling demand by creating a vibrant neighborhood around the store."

Section 4E: Community Benefits Agreements

For most of the last decade before the onset of the Great Recession, real estate development of luxury condominiums and commercial buildings was the engine for economic growth in the late 20th century. Often, construction took place in low-income neighborhoods where people of color made their homes. Good job advocates have used *Community Benefits Agreements (CBA)* to stipulate standards for local residents and workers impacted by new development. CBAs are legally binding agreements between a real estate developer and a coalition of community groups, which negotiated local hiring for jobs that pay sufficient wages and job training programs, for example, in the development of the Staples Area Convention Center in Los Angeles.¹⁵⁶

Once a prosperous middle class Black community in the 1940s and 50s—Harlem Renaissance poet Claude McKay called it “the crossroads of the world” —the Hill district fell into economic hard times, especially when the steel industry died.¹⁵⁷ A major turning point for the district was in 1956, when the city approved the displacement of over 8,000 residents, almost 80% were Black families, to build the Civic Arena.¹⁵⁸ “Back in the 1950s when the bulldozers moved in, there was no such thing as a CBA,” wrote a reporter for the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette, “Population displacement and the death of the Hill’s once-thriving commercial district were seen as part of the cost of progress.”¹⁵⁹

In 2007, the Pittsburgh Penguins threatened to move their franchise to Las Vegas if the city of Pittsburgh didn’t approve the building of a new stadium on the site of the Civic Arena.¹⁶⁰ The city caved, but community organizers were determined that history not repeat itself. The One Hill Coalition negotiated the first CBA for the city of Pittsburgh in 2008, winning monies for community development in the Hill district, including \$2 million for a grocery store.¹⁶¹

The Coalition had conversations about what constituted good food and how to link it to good jobs. Finally, what CBA stipulated that the grocery store “shall provide a range of healthful and affordable food and a full service pharmacy for Hill District residents.”¹⁶² The operator of the store had to go through the local worker center to recruit for positions.

However, at the time of this report’s release, the opening of the grocery store was delayed and the project, sadly, beset with internal bickering.¹⁶³ After 30 years without a supermarket, the residents of the Hill can’t afford to be disappointed again. Harris, a 56-year old resident, told Pittsburgh City Paper, “They screwed us once before! They took our street when I was a baby on my mother’s arm, and they never gave us anything back.”¹⁶⁴ We hope this time will be different.

“As people look forward to a long-term agenda, there are so many potential fractures, such as anti-hunger concerns versus food justice. The people who are most hurt are the ones that can transform the food system. How can we connect these communities and put them at the center of the movement?” – Good food advocate

The scan of the good food and good jobs worlds showed us that a number of challenges present obstacles to collaboration, but also innovative analyses and strategies exist to identify opportunities that bridge the divide. In general, the good food movement is interested in healthy and fresh food that is locally produced and distributed and available to all, regardless of race or economic circumstance. Labor, on the other hand, wants dignity and respect for all workers, in the form of family-sustaining wages and benefits, healthy and safe working conditions, and career pathways. There is great overlap between the desire for communities to be sustained by good food and the need for good jobs.

We see the outcomes when good food and good jobs efforts are isolated from each other. Problems of grave public health concern impact people of color disproportionately. 111 million people in the U.S. suffer from obesity; 35.7% of them are Black and 28.7% Latino. 40 million are food insecure; 24.9% are Black and 26.9% Latino. The number of obese and food secure have increased, incomes have dwindled, and employment opportunities have become scarce. For the 20 million that make their living in the food chain, wage theft, low wages and lack of benefits, hazardous working conditions, and discriminatory practices by employers plague all sectors.

We highlighted five areas of opportunity in which good food and good jobs can be advanced together. They are:

- **Liquor licensing:** Attach labor standards for food retail and service applying for or renewing a license to sell alcohol
- **Manufacturing subsidies:** Pair public subsidies to food manufacturers with labor law compliance
- **Procurement policies:** Grant public contracts to food producers and processors who are “high road” employers
- **Retail subsidies:** Fund food retail that hire locally and pay living wages
- **Community benefits agreements:** Mandate that food retail sustain communities

All five are attempts at linking high-road labor standards to healthy and locally produced food.

“It is really incumbent in creating solutions that the food and labor sector figure out what is their oppositional relationship, and use that to approach how food and labor can work together. You start with what the oppositional relationship is. Then, you figure out what the common denominator is. We also start with the value premise. For example, water is a priority sector for us, it’s really difficult to get people excited about creating financing structures for stormwater. But, take it to the value premise that people want to go to their vacation home and swim in clean water. You don’t want your water to be dirty. You want to go into a community and people to have jobs.”—Green jobs advocate

The lessons extracted from the narratives of those five opportunities are encapsulated in the following four recommendations for how good food and good jobs can build a just and equitable world, together.

1. Pursue intersectional analysis and foster the leadership of those most impacted

Because race, class and gender are so interlinked in the food system, any attempt to address both good food and good jobs needs to have an intersectional analysis and understanding of who is most impacted in terms of health and livelihoods. The disparities that low-income communities of color face must be explicitly considered when pursuing any kind of change agenda.

In addition, those who are most impacted, as the good food advocate quoted above said, must be in the leadership of identifying the problems and acting on the solutions. Without authentic engagement and leadership development of those most impacted, good food and good jobs efforts run the risks of replicating systemic inequities.

2. Create alternatives while challenging the dominant food and economic system

Both good food and good jobs efforts are creating alternatives to the dominant food and economic system. For example, many food advocates are converting their front lawns into edible gardens, where fruit and vegetables are grown to feed their families. In western Massachusetts, community-labor organizers are creating community markets that will help to grow an alternative economy. However, to change the conditions for the 40 million food insecure, and the 20 million workers in the food chain, those niche solutions must be scaled to have maximum impact.

3. Build multiracial and multi-interest coalitions

Our survey found that multiracial organizations, be they food- or labor-focused, were more likely to be engaged in collaborative projects than monoracial organizations. Also, the success factor of each example in our opportunities section depended on how diverse a coalition was in terms of race and class composition and stakeholder representation. To win good food and good jobs requires broad-based alliances that locate the overlap between good food and labor and promote both.

4. Conduct more research on frames and develop resources to create tools and training

Our initial results from the survey found that *healthy communities* was a bridging frame that appealed to both good food and good jobs advocates. More research, however, needs to be done among various stakeholders (such as consumers, employers, workers and public health professionals) as to successful frames that integrate an intersectional analysis and promote leadership of those most impacted.

Interviews with good food and labor advocates also revealed grave misunderstandings or knowledge gaps in their complementary worlds. Advocates responded that tools and trainings that can be used among leadership and constituents to explain good food to labor or good jobs to good food advocates would be helpful.

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