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THE PERSISTENCE OF L.A.’S GROCERY GAP:

THE NEED FOR A NEW FOOD POLICY AND APPROACH TO MARKET DEVELOPMENT

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CENTER FOR FOOD AND JUSTICE

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THE PERSISTENCE OF L.A.’S GROCERY GAP:
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APPROACH TO MARKET DEVELOPMENT

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Mission

Actively contributing to the development of a more livable, just, and democratic region through research, education, community partnerships, and policy analysis.
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Executive Summary

This report chronicles the gap between the number of supermarkets located in low-income and inner city communities versus middle and upper-income, and suburban communities in Los Angeles. Chapter 1 highlights the discrepancies in access to supermarkets according to household income and racial makeup of the surrounding neighborhood, and details how the gap affects price and quality. Chapter 2 describes the potential health ramifications of a diet affected by limited access to fresh, affordable, healthy foods. Chapter 3 explores various factors that have been identified as key barriers for supermarket investment in low-income communities. Chapter 4 then explores opportunities and advantages for such investment, with emphasis on those areas where barriers have been identified. Chapter 5 traces the evolution of the urban grocery store gap in Los Angeles from the first supermarkets up to the 1992 civil unrest. Chapter 6 explains the current situation in Los Angeles, with updates of the Rebuild LA efforts following the 1992 civil unrest, as well as an analysis of the impact of race and income on supermarket access. Chapter 7 outlines recommendations for an improved future of inner city supermarket access that includes an active public sector, a private sector that is held accountable, and strong community involvement.

Key Findings:

- In 2002, each supermarket in Los Angeles County serves 18,649 people, while in low income communities (identified as the RLA Study Area) one supermarket serves 27,986 people.

- An evaluation of the RLA Study Area in 2002 yields a total of 56 stores, 26 independents and 30 chain supermarkets, a net gain of only 1 store from 1995.

- The higher the concentration of poverty within a community, the fewer the supermarkets.

- In zip codes with 0-10% of the households living below the federal poverty line, there are approximately 2.26 times as many supermarkets per household as there are in zip codes where the number of households living below the federal poverty line exceeds 40 percent.

- In zip codes where 10-20% of households are earning less than the federal poverty level ($35,000 annually), there are 3.04 times as many supermarkets as there are in zip codes where 60-70% of households are living below this level.

- In addition, the higher the concentration of whites in a community, the greater the number of supermarkets, while high concentrations of African-Americans and Latinos tend to result in access to fewer supermarkets.

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1 In their 1995 supermarket study, RLA focused on a 52 square mile section of central Los Angeles. The study defined the area of “riot-torn and surrounding low-income communities” as bound by Alameda Avenue to the east, Wilshire Blvd. to the north, Crenshaw Blvd. to the west and El Segundo to the south.
Zip codes with a white majority experience the greatest number of supermarkets per person: 3.17 times as many supermarkets as populations with an African-American majority; 1.09 times as many supermarkets as populations with an Asian majority; 1.69 times as many supermarkets as populations with a Latino majority.

**Recommendations:**

This report recommends a major initiative that combines a proactive public sector approach, strong community involvement and supermarket industry investment strategies. The criteria for such an initiative are outlined in the form of a Supermarket Community Benefits Plan (SCBP). The criteria described in the SCBP encourages new supermarkets to provide quality jobs, community services, first source/local hiring and job training, to take into account environmental concerns, and to encourage fresh food access, supermarket access and community involvement in the process of developing new markets.
Introduction

Immediately following the civil unrest in Los Angeles in 1992, the Los Angeles Times, Mayor Tom Bradley, and numerous public officials, industry executives, and academic analysts recognized the need to overcome the unequal distribution of supermarkets in Los Angeles County that left low-income communities underserved by full-service grocery stores. Newspaper headlines touted commitments by supermarkets to build new stores in the riot torn areas. The supermarket industry trade organization declared a new era of market development in the inner city. Peter Ueberroth, the head of a commission appointed by the mayor to “Rebuild L.A.,” argued that supermarkets would take the lead in private sector investment in underserved areas, by bringing jobs and services to inner city communities. Supermarket executives suggested they now recognized the potential value in reversing a trend they had generated over the previous three decades of suburban investment—to the exclusion of inner city investment. As former Vons CEO Roger Strangeland put it, “We concluded that there was an enormously dense population that we were not serving adequately or not serving at all. On the other hand, we realized we had been considering sites in the hinterland that had more jack rabbits than people.”\(^1\) Change, it seemed, was in the air.

Yet ten years later low-income, predominately minority communities in Los Angeles still have significantly fewer supermarkets than do suburban, white, middle and upper class neighborhoods. The tenth anniversary of the civil unrest has helped bring attention once again to the lack of progress of supermarket investment in low-income communities. The limited progress that was made (for example an increase in the number of Latino-oriented markets) was offset by little net gain in the overall number of full service markets currently operating in the areas impacted by the 1992 civil unrest. In order for real change to occur, new roles, strategies, and objectives based on community participation in conjunction with a proactive commitment from the public and private sectors, need to be developed on a long-term basis. Community groups and other grassroots organizations in Los Angeles have continued to mobilize around these issues, but their efforts alone will not bring significant improvements to supermarket access in low-income communities in Los Angeles. As a recent publication from the Economic Roundtable reported, a bad situation has been made even worse:

> The steep decline in South Los Angeles’ job base since the 1992 civil unrest despite the ambitious goals for economic recovery announced by public officials and civic leaders suggests that this area has experienced a double disservice at public hands—labeling and neglect. The area has suffered from being labeled an economic invalid and a distressed community, and yet it has not benefited from the help that was promised for remedying these acknowledged needs.\(^2\)

This report seeks to revisit the issue of LA’s urban grocery gap, its roots, its impacts, what has happened in the ten years since April 1992, and the opportunities for change that need to be nurtured and implemented at multiple levels of policy and community engagement.

The consequences of the grocery store gap are many. As an official with the Environmental Protection Agency recently stated: “The lack of private transportation and supermarkets in low-wealth and predominately black neighborhoods suggests that residents of these neighborhoods
may be at a disadvantage when attempting to achieve a healthy diet.” The absence of a healthy diet, as the EPA statement also suggests, is fundamentally a problem of access, not just choice, a core outcome of the existence of this gap.

Why focus on supermarkets? Increasing access to healthy food may require a number of strategies. Farmers’ markets and other farm-to-consumer “direct marketing” strategies provide perhaps the best source of fresh food. Community gardens are another valuable strategy for fresh food and can provide multiple other benefits. Public policies focused on supermarkets should not ignore these and other crucial community food security and healthy food strategies. However, supermarkets have the potential, not always realized, of meeting a range of community needs. These include higher paying, early entry jobs, a wide assortment of fresh food, food that is affordable, and possible community services such as transportation to markets or sensitivity to making available culturally appropriate foods. Each of these needs represents a crucial public policy objective. Ten years after the civil unrest of April 1992, meeting those needs remains as problematic, though as important, as ever.
Chapter 1

The Urban Grocery Store Gap

When people and jobs moved out of the central cities to the suburbs in the 1950's, grocery stores went with them; and despite the fact that the population in America’s central cities doubled between 1970 and 1990, the number of grocery stores in the inner city remained small. This trend has not been significantly reversed. A series of studies in the 1990’s increasingly pointed to a continuing urban grocery store gap. In 1995, a study entitled "The Urban Grocery Store Gap" found that there was one full-service grocery store for every 7,795 people in metropolitan Los Angeles. The ratio for the urban core low-income communities was less than half that figure, with one grocery store per 16,571 people. This situation was not limited to Los Angeles. In 1997, a study by R.M. Donohue tested the following hypothesis: While “central cities experienced substantial declines in grocery stores from 1960-1990…this trend ended in the early 1990s, followed by a period of reinvestment.” He concluded that while the first assertion was valid, the second assertion, that reinvestment was occurring, could not be identified on a national level. A 1999 study of the Twin Cities in Minnesota found that only 22% of the chain stores in their sample were located in the inner city area, while 60% of the non-chain stores were located in the inner city, with neither type store as likely to locate in a poor compared to a non-poor area. A series of articles by a reporter for the Detroit News found that only eight chain supermarkets served the 900,000 city residents of Detroit, while chain supermarkets were found on nearly every major corner in several suburbs. In 2001, the Farmers’ Market Trust quantified this urban-suburban divergence in Philadelphia: there were 156% fewer supermarkets located in the lowest income neighborhoods than there were in the highest income neighborhoods. The Farmers’ Market Trust also found that supermarkets are not dispersed according to population concentration but by income level, with low-income communities experiencing a continuing lack of access to supermarkets. This deficiency is compounded by the fact that low-income people have less money to spend on food and own fewer cars. Having to pay the higher prices often charged at corner stores or bear the expense of paying for transportation to outlying suburban stores would represent a more significant expenditure to a person earning a low-end wage than would a similar increase in expenses for a person with a higher income.

The Racial Divide

The supermarket divide is not just an economic divide—it is a racial divide as well. According to the Massachusetts News, not a single chain supermarket exists in Boston’s predominately African-American Roxbury, Mattapan, or North Dorchester neighborhoods. A study by the American Journal of Preventative Medicine examined demographic characteristics of neighborhoods in four states in relation to food stores and food service places. The researchers found that the divide in supermarket access was not just between low and high-income neighborhoods (the prevalence of supermarkets in high-income neighborhoods was found to be...
three times that of low-income neighborhoods) but between predominately black and white neighborhoods, with the latter experiencing four times as many supermarkets as black neighborhoods.\textsuperscript{13}

**Higher Prices…**

The dearth of chain supermarkets in inner city neighborhoods creates another problem: the presence of fewer large stores means less competition, a circumstance which leads to higher prices and lower quality. James Baldwin’s 1964 essay on life in Harlem described a phenomenon that still holds true today: “Anyone who has ever struggled with poverty knows how extremely expensive it is to be poor…Go shopping one day in Harlem—for anything—and compare Harlem prices and quality with those downtown.”\textsuperscript{14} While some have contested this theory, citing improper data collection and analysis,\textsuperscript{15} there is a wide array of studies that indicate that, in fact, people in poor neighborhoods do pay more for lower quality and less variety.

To an extent, this is a result of the higher concentration of mom’n’pop stores which do not have the revenue base to keep their prices low, nor to carry a large variety of products. A study by the USDA found that prices in such smaller stores are at least 10\% higher than prices at large supermarkets.\textsuperscript{16} The study of the Twin Cities also found that a significant factor in explaining the price disparity they found between stores in the inner city and the suburbs was the density of chain supermarkets — prices were lower at chain markets no matter where they were located.\textsuperscript{17} However, there is some evidence that price discrepancies do exist even among chain stores located in different neighborhoods. The Detroit News study found that the cheapest brand of chicken legs and thighs at one of the few supermarkets in inner city Detroit cost 100\% more than the cheapest brand at a suburban supermarket; potatoes were 25\% more expensive as well.\textsuperscript{18} While clearly not a scientific sample due in part to its sample size, the Detroit study is still suggestive of the problem that even large supermarkets may charge more in poor neighborhoods. In 1995, a Los Angeles Times article about a Ralphs merger acknowledged that prices in its South Central store locations “have traditionally been higher.”\textsuperscript{19} A more systematic 1993 UCLA study also found slightly higher prices for an equivalent market basket at an inner city supermarket compared to the same chain store in a middle-income community. That same study further pointed out, by using census data, that low-income residents in the study area paid as much as three times their disposable income on food as middle income residents who lived near where the comparable chain store was located. And when low-income people pay a higher percentage of their earnings for food, small increases in food prices can have a significant impact, requiring choices about what necessities (e.g., paying for housing or food) they may be forced to sacrifice.

**…And Lower Quality**

Lower quality and poor product choices also plague the shopping choices of many inner city residents. Upon entering a Ralphs grocery store in a low income neighborhood in central Los Angeles, shoppers are confronted immediately with packaged cookies, doughnuts, candy, and
chips. The entrance to a Ralphs in the more affluent community of Pasadena presents an entirely different picture: shoppers encounter a “deli-fresh express” area, filled with freshly prepared sandwiches, sushi, and other healthy items for those who want to purchase a quick meal. This stark difference is repeated in other stores; shoppers in low-income communities enter the store to be faced with either junk food or alcohol, while shoppers in more affluent communities enter the store to a display of fresh produce. Additionally, based on an on site survey, stores in impoverished areas of Los Angeles have narrower aisles, longer check-out lines and less selection than do stores in wealthier suburbs, with a few exceptions such as Albertson’s, whose stores tend to maintain similar formats. The cucumbers at the Food 4 Less on South Main may be the cheapest cucumbers of those available at 30 supermarkets in Los Angeles at $.14/lb, but they are also the squishiest, the least fresh, and the lowest quality.

Similar discrepancies have been experienced and documented in other communities as well. At a Community Coalition meeting, residents in South Central complained about a grocery store whose butcher dyes meat when it starts to spoil and change color, whose produce department displays maggot-filled lettuce, and whose stock room swarms with flies. Likewise, The Massachusetts News reports, “Inner city grocery stores in poor areas often display spoiled meat and vegetables, broken refrigerators, empty shelves, dirty floors, and emit an odor from the fish section.” According to Peter Elsingor, author of Toward an End of Hunger in America, “Inner city grocery stores tend to get the bottom of the range of vegetables and meat.” That is, of course, if they get them at all. In the Twin Cities it was found that between chain and non-chain stores, chain supermarkets were more than twice as likely to carry fresh fruits and vegetables than were smaller grocery stores; this disparity carried over to inner city versus suburban stores as well. Researchers discovered that most fresh fruits and vegetables were more than twice as easy to locate in suburban stores as in inner city stores. In East Austin, an examination of a supermarket chain found that while prices were consistent across the board, its store in a low-income area carried less than half the varieties of produce (two varieties of apples, un-chopped spinach, and two types of lettuce) than the other stores (five varieties of apples, bags of chopped spinach, and four types of lettuce). As discussed in an article in The Washington Post, choosing an orange over a package of Twinkies means saving 1000 calories and 60 grams of fat. “A store that has no oranges eliminates that choice.” No matter what produce might cost, if stores do not sell fresh fruits and vegetables, how are people who live in those neighborhoods able to maintain healthy diets?
Chapter 2

The Importance of Supermarkets: Health and Diet Implications

Recently, a conservative think-tank, the Heritage Foundation, published a report by Robert Rector on welfare reform in which the author argued, “In reality, there is little material poverty in the United States…The principal nutrition-related problem facing the poor in America is obesity, not hunger; the poor have a higher rate of obesity than other socioeconomic groups.” To begin with, this statement is not entirely true, as higher rates of obesity have been found among poor women, but not poor men. More importantly, Rector’s argument that obesity is the result of the poor having more than enough food to eat fails to account for the discrepancies in the quality and types of food that are accessible in low-income neighborhoods compared to more affluent neighborhoods.

The cause of obesity is not necessarily too much food, but the intake of calorically-dense food: high in fat and low in nutrition, which often translates to low in price. For example, ordering two grease-soaked tacos and a mayonnaise-laden hamburger from Jack-In-The-Box can fill a person up for only two dollars, though regular consumption of such a meal can have powerful health and diet implications. More than thirty-six million Americans live in food-insecure households; that is, they do not always have enough money to buy food sufficient to meet their basic needs. The Center on Hunger and Poverty cites a strategy by the poor to deal with this problem as “the reliance on high fat foods.” The result is that many poor, inner city residents are adopting diets that are conducive to obesity and associated health problems.

Food Access and Diets

All sectors of the population are experiencing an increase in the prevalence of unhealthy weight gain, which is being attributed primarily to a change in diet and a decrease in physical activity. While some people claim that the rising rate of obesity proves that everyone is getting enough food to eat, others argue that obesity can be a symptom not of quantity of food but of quality of food, the result of limited access to healthy foods. There is also evidence that the incidence rate for obesity is higher among minorities, especially among poor, female minorities. While it is somewhat difficult to determine exactly when a person reaches a weight that exceeds healthy standards, the Center for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) defines a person as overweight when Body Mass Index (BMI) exceeds 27.8 for men and 27.3 for women. The number of people whose BMI exceeds this level is increasing at an alarming rate. In 1998, it was estimated that 33.7% of American men and 35.9% of American women over the age of 20 were overweight. In 1999, the National Health and Nutrition Examination Survey found an obesity prevalence among American adults of 26 percent (BMI ≥ 30). A recent study by the American Medical Association (AMA) found the prevalence of obesity among adult Americans to be 19.8% and the percentage of overweight adults to be more than 56 percent. Not only does the
AMA consider these estimates of prevalence to be conservative due to sampling methods that relied on self-reporting and excluded the part of the population without telephones, but it also found that the number of obese Americans had nearly doubled in the past 20 years. Perhaps even more alarming, the estimated obesity rate for children has more than doubled since the 1960’s. An epidemic is defined as “the occurrence in a community or geographic area of a disease at a rate that clearly exceeds the normally expected rate.” With the dramatic increase in unhealthy weight gain in the U.S., it is clear that obesity has become an epidemic.

Role of Diet

Public health officials attribute this obesity epidemic to major changes in two aspects of Americans’ behavior in recent decades: diet and exercise. While behavioral patterns, such as heavier reliance on cars for short-distance trips, and barriers to exercise obviously need to be addressed, dietary aspects of the obesity epidemic must be focused on as well. The American diet is influenced by a mass media-driven consumer culture in which children are bombarded by the “9 out of 10 food ads on Saturday morning TV [that] are for sugary cereals, candy, salty snacks, fatty fast foods and other junk food,” and in which the size of a soft-drink has quintupled, with a “child-size” soft drink ordered at McDonalds today equal to the “large” size in the 1940’s. Foods high in fat and sugar and low in nutritional value have come to characterize the American diet. Fast food has been integral in this change, with researchers finding a statistically significant correlation between a higher BMI and people who ate food away from home within the previous 24-hour period. Fast food provides the least nutritional away-from-home meal and is also the cheapest and most available option. Children’s diets are among those most affected by society’s changing attitude toward food, with 84% of children and teens eating too much total fat and 91% eating too much saturated fat. At the same time, people are eating fewer servings of fruits and vegetables per day. Given that overweight children are likely to become overweight adults, the trend toward obesity shows no signs of abating.

Health Implications

Obesity is a public health concern because it is associated with a high degree of morbidity and mortality. In general, overweight people are 50-100% more likely to die prematurely from all causes than are people who maintain a healthy weight. More specifically, research links obesity to cardiovascular disease, diabetes, and even cancer. Populations that consume less meat and higher quantities of fruits and vegetables have lower breast and colon cancer rates. In fact, studies show that a change in diet could prevent as many as 35% of the annual deaths attributed to cancer. Recent increases in the incidence of Type II diabetes are attributed largely to consumption of too many high-fat, high-protein foods and not enough fruits and vegetables. A study from Finland demonstrated that a 4.7% reduction in weight resulted in a 58% reduction in the incidence of diabetes. After smoking, obesity is the second-greatest killer in the US, affecting 300,000 American adults annually; it is also the second-most preventable condition.
Food Insecurity and Obesity

While the increased popularity of cheap, high-fat, low-nutrition food has had a worldwide effect, leading the World Health Organization to call obesity a “global epidemic,” the situation is worst for some of the most neglected populations in this country. For women, a direct correlation has been found between food insecurity (not having enough food to eat) and obesity.50 With the exception of Asians, racial minorities exhibit higher rates of obesity than do white Americans, with female minorities of low socioeconomic status having the highest obesity rates of all.51 In 2000, Blacks were found to have the highest rates of obesity among racial groups, and people with less than a high school education were found to have the highest rates of obesity based on educational levels (often an indicator of socioeconomic status).52

While extensive research has been conducted on the high rates of obesity and diabetes among Native American populations, less attention has been paid to examining obesity levels in inner cities. However, it is not difficult to hypothesize a likely correlation between the poverty of the inner city and the poverty existing on many Indian reservations. Both populations experience limited access to large-scale supermarkets, as well as other barriers to healthy food access; for instance, there is only one full-service grocery store in the Pine Ridge Reservation whose population is 30,000.53 Many Native Americans rely partly on food provided by the U.S. government, which tends to be lower quality, often low-nutritional value food that no one else buys.54 Similarly, low-income inner city residents often rely on government commodities and/or food bank-donations (canned goods) to supplement their diets.

Beyond its significant health ramifications, obesity can be yet another barrier in attaining higher economic status for poor people in America. A study for the Gerontological Society of America found that middle-aged severely obese women have a net worth that is 60% lower than middle-aged women who are not obese, when controlling for health, marital status and other demographic factors.55

When it comes to combating the obesity epidemic through a change in diet, the residents of inner city America are in a particularly difficult situation: they do not necessarily have a choice about what food they eat. When health experts stress the necessity for individual behavior change and education about how to make nutritious food choices, the implication is that people have access to such options. By way of example, the Community Coalition, a non-profit community development corporation, surveyed a two-mile radius in one South Central Los Angeles neighborhood, identifying 52 fast food restaurants and only one sit-down restaurant. The existence of an urban grocery gap further underlines this problem of access to healthy food choices.

The Cost of Obesity

When high-fat foods (including fast food) become widely available and extensively marketed, significant public health costs related to dietary-related health problems can result. The direct costs of obesity and physical inactivity account for an estimated 9.4% of United States annual health care expenditures.56 Health care costs for treating diseases caused by obesity are estimated at approximately $100 billion.57 Investment in prevention – e.g., increased access to fresh and affordable fruits and vegetables—could in turn reduce overall health care costs.
Nevertheless, public policies designed to secure access to fresh, affordable and quality food as a public good—and a human right—have not been widely established, nor has fresh food access as a form of health care been sufficiently recognized. The IRS, for example, considers obesity treatments to be medical expenses only if they are undertaken in the course of treating another disease, such as diabetes or heart disease, and the same is true for the Federal government and Medicare. Medicare officials maintain that obesity is *not* a disease and therefore will not cover treatment costs until such treatments are prescribed for other medical problems. These positions run counter to the position of the Surgeon General who issued a strong declaration in 2001 about the incidence of obesity as a major public health concern.

**Supermarket Investment as Obesity Prevention**

Without taking into account other food-related strategies, building more grocery stores in the inner city will not alone reduce the incidence of obesity, but establishing public policies to facilitate such a development can and should be considered part of a broader public health approach. Public health analyst Nicholas Freudenberg has argued that for health promotion to be effective in urban areas, practitioners must focus on a range of issues for improving quality and access, reducing risk behavior, and improving social conditions. The same is true for tackling the obesity problem. Public health should focus on facilitating community access to physical exercise and to quality food, on providing education about how to maintain a healthy diet and make physical activity part of everyday life, and on addressing the social conditions that prevent a sector of the population from having access to and being able to afford healthy food. Studies suggest that it is quite difficult to make people change their eating habits, but, as Mary Jane Schneider has argued in a review of public health issues, “making nutritious foods more readily available—intervention at the community and institution levels—would encourage people to choose their food more wisely.”
Chapter 3

Why Supermarkets Do Not Locate in Low-Income Communities

Why has food access, specifically access to fresh and affordable food that is available at a full-service food market, become such a protracted problem in low-income communities? This chapter explores various factors that have been identified as key barriers for supermarket investment in low-income communities. The following chapter will then explore opportunities and advantages for such investment, with emphasis on those areas where barriers have been identified.

Profitability

Supermarket chains often cite lack of profitability as a barrier to investment in low-income communities. Corporate executives argue that the profit margin at supermarkets is so small that their companies simply cannot afford to take risks on potentially unprofitable locations. The profit margin of supermarkets often averages around 1% of total sales. Consequently, stores are sensitive to changes in such factors as consumer behavior or crime rates, and as a result are hesitant to locate where consumption patterns are less desirable, or crime rates are higher. For example, stores profit more from selling a high volume of low-priced items than they do from selling a few expensive items; profit is greater from the sale of ten items with a one-cent markup than it is from the sale of one item with a ten-cent mark up. Low-income shoppers tend to have a lower volume of sales per customer, which can make the low-income consumer appear less profitable. In addition, people who have less disposable income tend to make smaller per-trip purchases, which means that overhead might be higher in low-income neighborhoods where the per-customer sales volume is smaller than it is in wealthier neighborhoods.

Crime

Chain supermarkets have identified higher crime rates in low-income urban communities as a central barrier for investment. “Shrink” is the term the grocery industry uses to describe the income a store loses to employee theft, shoplifting, backdoor receiving errors and dishonesty, damaged goods, retail pricing and accounting department errors. Given the high-volume sales focus of supermarkets, it is not surprising to find, according to the 2001 Supermarket Shrink Survey, that stores which exceed 40,000 sq. ft. have lower shrink rates than do smaller stores. Inner city stores tend to be smaller than 40,000 sq. ft., so size is one reason why stores in low-income communities tend to lose more profit to shrink. With employee theft and shoplifting accounting for the majority of losses to shrink, it is often assumed that a store located in a high
crime area will experience a higher percentage of shrink and a lower percentage of profits.

One particular form of shoplifting that can be quite costly to supermarkets is the theft of shopping carts. For example, Finast supermarkets in Cleveland, Ohio, reported a loss of 300 shopping carts per year in urban locations as compared to an annual loss of only 20 shopping carts per year in suburban locations. A SuperWarehouse Foods store in a low-income neighborhood in Pasadena, Texas, estimated a loss of 200 carts every three months. These geographic-based differences in shopping cart theft can be attributed to factors such as lower rates of car ownership in central cities, public transportation that is not conducive to shopping trips, and long distances that shoppers have to travel between the supermarkets and their homes. Anything that increases shrink rate, which is on average already more than twice the profit rate at most supermarkets, is going to serve as a deterrent for companies looking for new investment opportunities.

High crime also means higher insurance rates and greater difficulty getting loan approval. In cities like Los Angeles where parts of the inner city have experienced rioting in the past, insurance rates can be double or triple normal rates. Steve Himmelfarb, managing director of a real estate services group, Martin Gellar CPA, says that the perception on the part of potential investors and customers that there is more crime in the inner city is just as important as the reality. With mass media that tends to represent urban areas as crime-ridden and perpetrators of crimes as poor minorities, this perception presents a difficult barrier to overcome.

Locations

Finding an available site for a store can be a major concern as inner city areas tend to have less available land, a greater number of zoning restrictions, and contamination at sites that may require remediation before new stores can be constructed. The lack of available land in urban core areas is such a problem that even revitalized central city neighborhoods lack supermarkets. The average resident in downtown Dallas has a graduate degree and earns $88,000 per year, but the area has only two supermarkets. Despite the obvious demand and attractive consumer base, Albertson’s could not find a large enough parcel of land to build its typical 50,000 sq. ft. store. Often a large piece of land must be assembled from many smaller parcels, a process which can be time consuming and difficult if one or two owners do not want to sell their property.

Cultural Biases

Another important reason why supermarkets avoid the inner city is a continued fear based on cultural biases about the inner city and about minorities. Donohue’s findings do suggest that racism and even crime play less of a role in inner city abandonment by grocery stores than do per-customer buying power and sales per store. However, the fact that there are more grocery stores in the heavily Latino portions of low-income East Los Angeles than there are in the African-American concentrated areas in South Central is one indication that biases exist. Morland et al quantified the racial discrepancy in a study of four U.S. cities, finding that predominantly white neighborhoods had four times as many supermarkets than did
predominately black neighborhoods. In Los Angeles County, zip codes whose populations are 40-100% white have an average of 2.21 times as many supermarkets per person as zip codes where the population is 40-100% African American. As former New York Consumer Affairs Commissioner Mark Green put it, there is a “knee-jerk premise that blacks are poor and poor people are a poor market.”

Understanding the Mixed Market

Also in line with stereotyping of inner city residents is an apprehension on the part of potential investors that they do not understand the minority market. Chains like Vons that have attempted Latino-oriented stores, such as their Tiangius stores, have not always been successful. At the same time, when Grupo Gigante, a Mexico-based chain, announced a decision to build 6 stores in East Los Angeles, critics expressed concern that Gigante may understand the Mexican consumer, but not understand the competitive nature of the American market. In general, it is easier to locate in the suburbs, as they are “homogeneous and extremely predictable.” Retailers who want to locate in racially mixed, low-income neighborhoods have to make the extra effort to research ways in which to cater to the communities’ needs and desires.

Local Politics

The local politics of the area in which a store is to be built can sometimes be a hindrance, even if the intent is to be supportive. With poor areas so lacking in grocery stores, decisions about their locations become highly politicized, with everyone wanting supermarkets to locate in their neighborhoods. Ralph Porter, president of the Mid-Bronx Desperadoes Community Housing Corporation reports, “With these [urban] projects, everyone wants to see it happen, but everybody wants a piece.” Such disagreements can tie up development for years. The role of the city in attracting investment can also be unclear. As one city planner in Milwaukee argued, it would be better to let the private sector take the lead rather than have the city initiate a proposal. But without strong, clear public sector support, projects can lose momentum.
Chapter 4

Why Some Supermarkets are Successful in Low-Income Communities

Despite the barriers identified in the previous chapter, there is also evidence that stores can be successful in the inner city. Officials from the Pathmark grocery chain in Newark, New Jersey, say that they have not had a problem with finding quality employees nor have they had a greater problem with shoplifting at their inner city locations than at suburban stores. In addition, the Food Marketing Institute’s 2000-2001 Annual Financial Review found that supermarket profits are the highest they have been in thirty years, signifying that perhaps the industry is not quite as financially strapped as often presented.

Population Density Increases Spending Power

Numerous studies have refuted claims about lack of profitability, arguing that the population density of urban areas is an often-overlooked asset when examining a basic necessity such as food. For example, Social Compact, a community development corporation in Washington, D.C., discovered that the per-acre spending power in a low-income Hispanic neighborhood in Chicago was $85,018, more than twice that of a high-end suburban neighborhood. In Los Angeles, the Top Valu chain that is located in low-income communities reports a per customer checkout bill of only $15-$20 compared to a $20-$28 average bill at major chain stores. However, Top Valu’s sales per square foot of store space are $800 to $850, more than double that of the major chain supermarkets. The per-customer spending power may be lower, but this does not necessarily translate into lower sales. A study by Strategic Mindshare found that urban stores comprised a greater number of the top ten performers within a chain than did rural or suburban stores, while the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) found that the highest grossing Super Stop ‘N’ Shop in Boston was located in an inner city neighborhood. Newark’s Pathmark has a fifth of its stores in urban areas but makes a quarter of its profits from those stores.

Unmet Grocery Demand

While some stores are already reaping the benefits of a captive consumer base, there is still an unmet demand for groceries. In 1995, RLA found that central city Los Angeles had an unmet grocery demand of $412 million a year. A 1999 map of the distribution of supermarket sales in Philadelphia shows that in some areas the consumption rate is higher than it should be for the number of people who live there, indicating that people are traveling there from other supermarket-poor communities to meet their shopping needs.
Analyzing Profit Potential

After reviewing the research regarding the shopping patterns of Cleveland’s inner city community, the Ohio division president of the Finast chain, John Shield, found that minority shoppers had a higher demand for fresh produce and meat than did most white suburban consumers. Such items have a higher profit margin than do processed and packaged foods. After analyzing the numbers, Finast decided that the increased profit from a higher volume of fresh food sales was sufficient to permit the chain to offer the same prices as it did at suburban stores and still make a profit.\(^88\) While the profit potential exists, the key is figuring out how to identify and tap into it.

Food Stamps Impact Inner City Spending Power

It may be true that low-income shoppers make smaller per-trip purchases, but they depend heavily on nutrition assistance programs, such as WIC and Food Stamps to make ends meet. The Food Stamp Program’s complexity has deterred many Angelenos from getting food stamps – recent USDA estimates suggest that less than 50% of eligible Californians use food stamps each month. Restrictive eligibility requirements, burdensome paperwork and a confusing maze of bureaucracy limits participation. Since the passage of the 1996 welfare reform legislation, many of the working poor mistakenly believe they are ineligible for food stamps. State legislation has made food stamps accessible to most legal immigrants but misinformation and fears about losing green cards, being denied citizenship, or having to repay benefits have deterred many eligible people from applying for food stamps. Mirroring a national trend, food stamp participation in Los Angeles County has declined by 36% from 1999 to 2001. If the current participation rate of 49% was increased to 82% (a rate that several other states have achieved) an additional $35 million would become available for grocery expenditure.\(^89\) An expansion of participation by people who are already eligible for food stamps could significantly increase the spending power of inner city consumers.

The introduction of the federally mandated EBT system, which will replace paper food stamps with plastic debit cards could have an impact in reversing the trend of decline in food stamp usage in Los Angeles County. Debit cards can reduce stigma, as well as administrative costs incurred when dealing with paper coupons. However, for the EBT system to be truly successful, it will need to be implemented correctly. Los Angeles’ EBT system will be run by Citicorps, a corporation that has been sued for redlining.\(^90\) Additionally, Citicorps is only distributing the EBT machine manuals to store operators in English language versions. Not only do many of the Latino and Asian store owners have limited English skills, they are also the least likely to be able to afford the new EBT scanners, meaning they will have to wait for the state to provide them at some undetermined time in the future. In the meantime, inner city residents without access to stores like Ralphs and Vons that already have EBT systems in place will be further alienated from the food stamp program.\(^91\) In order to prevent these potential setbacks, implementation needs to be guided by awareness and local policy that ensures that it will in fact improve access to quality food for food stamp recipients in the inner city and other predominantly low-income communities.
Reducing Shrink with Technology

Deterring theft (reducing shrink) is also an important part of making new investors successful. One way this can occur is through the use of improved technology. New high-tech shopping cart systems with transmitters in the wheels of the carts prevent customers from taking shopping carts beyond the supermarket parking lot by causing the wheels to lock if the cart moves outside the property boundaries. In the two years since SuperWarehouse Foods in Pasadena, Texas, installed such an operation, the system has paid for itself two times over in the amount of money saved from reduced shopping cart loss.92 Another strategy for reducing shrink is described by Supermarket Business as the “marriage of digitized closed-circuit television (CCTV) systems with POS [point of sale] data mining.”93 Managers are able to program software to monitor employees for suspicious behavior or to identify areas where more training is needed, speeding up a process that used to take months of tedious examination of videotapes or electronic journals.94 Other software programs such as Shrink Trax also help identify cashier dishonesty or inefficiency.95 Such technology should have a significant impact in reducing shrink, as the 2000 and 2001 Supermarket Shrink Surveys found the greatest percentage of loss attributable to employees, rather than to shoplifting.96

Winning Culture Reduces Shrink

A second and perhaps more important and effective form of theft and crime deterrence involves the relationship between the supermarket and its employees. As Larry Miller, president of Trax Software, which produces loss prevention technology, put it: “Technology alone isn’t the answer, it’s at best only a tool for enabling real, constructive cultural change.” Miller describes this cultural shift as one that actively encourages honesty and productivity.97 According to the Supermarket Shrink Survey, the stores that were most successful at reducing shrink rates were those that exhibited a “winning” culture, which was defined “as being intolerant of theft; caring for and empathizing with employees; empowering employees; giving them equitable pay and benefits; being fair to them; providing safe working conditions; matching employees to the correct, satisfying job; and providing career-enrichment opportunities.”98 Stores that exhibited this winning culture avoided a loss of approximately $29 per employee that year. When interviewed about why they did not steal, employees cited “fear of getting caught and fired, and lack of financial need, suggesting that the downturn in theft could be the result of advanced loss control technology and greater prosperity.”99 In other words, if employees are making enough money, they are less inclined to steal.

The Role of Unions

One way many supermarket employees can receive higher wages and benefits, as well as stability and empowerment, is through union membership. A recent analysis by the Institute for Women’s Policy Research found that union wages for food workers were 31% higher than industry wages as a whole, with unionized cashiers earning 51% more than non-unionized cashiers do. “Workers in the retail food industry who are union members,” the study pointed out, “have significantly higher wages, higher rates of health insurance coverage, larger
employment-based contributions to health insurance premiums, and higher rates of pension
coverage than non-unionized workers. Members of the United Food and Commercial
Workers Union earn an average of $162 more per week nation-wide than do non-union retail
food clerks. Beyond higher pay and health benefits, union workers have a degree of
protection from lay-offs, especially as they gain seniority over time.

Union participation in Southern California is an especially positive asset for the region, with
membership being relatively higher than in most other parts of the country. The high degree of
unionization translates into higher wages across the board, leading the Los Angeles Times to
report in 1995 that “grocery workers in the West are the best-paid in America.” Rick Icaza,
president of the UFCW local 770 has argued that “supermarket jobs are probably the last good
jobs left in the inner city.” The major Southern California chain supermarkets like Vons,
Ralphs and Albertson’s have union contracts, which is part of the reason inner city communities
with high unemployment rates are eager to attract the chain stores.

However, the entrance of non-union stores into the Southern California market is threatening to
reduce the number of jobs and lower wages. Smaller chains and independent stores, as well as
warehouse stores and supercenters like Kmart and Wal-Mart, tend not to be unionized and offer
their employees fewer benefits. These non-union stores are able to offer lower prices as their
labor costs are about half that of unionized stores. As a result, stores like Vons have had to lay
off workers to keep prices competitive. Between 1991 and 1995, such layoffs resulted in the
loss of 12,000 members of the Southern California UFCW.

The UFCW is quite active in trying to reverse this trend, but creating barriers to non-union
stores can be complicated. When a Superior Warehouse Foods store wanted to locate in a low-
income community in Pacoima the UFCW protested, requesting that the LA City Council
refuse to give the store a liquor license, in effect preventing Superior from opening. The
President of the LA City Council who represented the Pacoima area, Alex Padilla, argued that a
supermarket with its lower prices would benefit the area’s low-income residents who lacked
access to a full-service supermarket; he thus approved the liquor license. After more
demonstrations by the union and opposition expressed by the community, Padilla reversed his
decision again. As of May 14, 2001, Padilla has testified that the community does not need
another store with liquor, which does not exactly deal with the issue of union wages, but will
impede development. Ultimately, this conflict between lower prices versus lower wages
remains only one (albeit critical) element of the broader issue of how to best address the
problem of food access in low-income neighborhoods where different goals appear to be in
conflict.

While the major chains are desirable because they are already unionized, there are also
examples of smaller chains unionizing. Stores like Superior have been resistant to unionization,
but two years of intense mobilization by the UFCW did result in the unionization of the Grupo
Gigante chain in 2001. The union wages at Gigante are still barely more than half of Vons’
union wages, but the $10.69 per hour represents a substantial increase from the $6.25 hourly
wage Gigante previously paid its employees. Union officials called the victory a major inroad
into the independents market—if Gigante can succeed as a union chain, then so can stores like
Superior.
**Bond with the Community**

Just as treating employees with respect and dignity can increase productivity and deter theft, a positive relationship with the surrounding community is integral to the success of new supermarkets. If area residents view a supermarket as an outside entity taking profits out of the community, they are less likely to feel respect and care for a store than if the store employs local residents and creates community-friendly policies. For example, while the electronic shopping cart theft prevention system may be an easy way to prevent shopping cart loss, it leaves shoppers who do not have private transportation with more limited options for hauling their groceries. KV Mart in Long Beach spends $300,000 annually to have their carts retrieved and repaired by cart retrieval services so that customers can take the carts to the bus stop or even home with them, making shopping an easier experience for low-income people.

The importance of a bond between community and supermarket extends beyond theft deterrence to drawing in a consistent consumer base from the surrounding neighborhood. “When a customer is satisfied, it increases the likelihood that he or she will remain loyal and build a long-term relationship with the company. “Acquiring and maintaining a base of loyal customers increases long-term profitability for the firm,” says Wayne D. Hoyer, Director of the Center for Customers Insight at the University of Texas, Austin. An added bonus for investors is that inner city stores tend to experience greater consumer loyalty than do suburban stores. FMI found that households earning less than $15,000 annually spend a slightly higher percentage of their weekly grocery expenditure at their primary supermarket than do households that earn more than $75,000 per year. While the percentage difference is only about 2%, every fraction counts in the competitive supermarket industry, and a larger, more consistent consumer group at an inner city store may help off-set revenue loss to factors not present in wealthier communities.

**Customer Loyalty**

Gaining customer loyalty can be complicated, and it can be argued that the major chain supermarkets are too far removed from low-income minority communities to cater to their needs. Says Las Vegas Mayor Jan Laverty Jones, “In general, supermarkets haven’t done a good job of serving the inner city. Communities understand when you are catering to their needs and when you are giving them lip service.” In the late 1980’s and early 1990’s, Vons operated 10 Latino-oriented stores under the name Tianguis. While making a step towards meeting community needs in terms of product mix, high service departments and bilingual employees and signage, Vons simultaneously carried grapes that were being boycotted by the United Farmworkers union, a group with strong Latino roots. The 1993 UCLA study Seeds of Change speculated that this disconnect may have been a factor in the declining profits of Tianguis. The Los Angeles Times also suggested that Tianguis markets were unsuccessful because they were built as big suburban-style stores that were neither culturally familiar nor attentive to the fact that “low-income people live in smaller homes and buy selectively rather than in bulk.”
Meeting Community Demands/Needs

Some independents and Latino-oriented markets may be doing a better job of reaching out and accommodating low-income and minority shoppers. For example, Gigante is familiar with the Mexican market, making it easier for the store to cater to Latino shopping needs. In 1977, two Iranian immigrants, Darioush Khaledi and Paul Vazin, who had never before been in a supermarket, purchased a supermarket in Torrance that had recently closed. According to the Los Angeles Times, “[Khaledi and Vazin’s] first insight was that the business hadn’t failed because of the employees, who were hard working. So they listened to the employees and restocked the store with Mexican specialty fruits and vegetables and attracted neighborhood customers.” Today that store has grown into the Top Valu chain that operates more than a dozen stores in low-income communities. It is hard to imagine a CEO of a company as large as Albertson’s, Vons or Ralphs walking into a store in inner city LA and asking the employees for advice on how to run the store. Certainly these companies conduct market research, but one-on-one dialogue between a supermarket executive and community members can offer insights not necessarily available in a market research format. Jax market in Anaheim takes this relationship with the community one step further, offering its predominantly low-income Latino shoppers nutrition education as well as a shuttle service for people without cars. The store also runs a program to create jobs for youth and welfare recipients. Bill MacAloney, the CEO of Jax says, “Independents operating in an inner city must do a good job of accommodating the needs of their customers. We hire people in our community who know how to communicate with our customers, and that’s key.”

Joint Ventures

Whether developed by a major chain or an independent, establishing a joint venture approach between a community group or community development corporation (CDC) and a private investor can often increase the success of supermarkets. Such partnerships connect the company to the community and help to alleviate some of the costs and barriers associated with urban development.

Joint ventures can take one of two forms: either the CDC owns the property and partners with a commercial developer, and then attracts a tenant like Ralphs; or the community organization actually partners with the supermarket, having a role in how the store is run as well as partial ownership and share in the profits. Both arrangements allow revenue from the store to recycle back into the community, and there are financial benefits for the supermarket company as well. Often CDC’s qualify for special community development grants and subsidies to which the supermarket company would not otherwise have access. The relationship between community and store also fosters a feeling of local ownership and provides a communication pathway between residents and the store in terms of desired product mix and services.

Despite the benefits, joint ventures require a dedicated partnership; many community groups are overworked and understaffed, and supermarkets have an established process for developing new stores making them hesitant to change their approach and partner with a CDC.

Acknowledging that the “promises offered after the 1965 riots were not fulfilled,” Alexander
Haagen’s development firm partnered with the Vermont Slauson Economic Development Corporation to construct the Vermont Slauson shopping center. According to Haagen, “These projects pay for themselves. What the hell did it cost us? Peanuts!” Of the increased employment opportunities created by the new supermarket and other retail shops says Haagen, “These jobs create a sense of pride.”

Across the country other developers and supermarkets have mirrored Haagen’s optimism about his successful redevelopment in South Central Los Angeles. For example, in southeast Washington D.C. the Anacostia Economic Development Corporation collaborated with Safeway to construct a 55,000-sq. ft. store in an underserved low-income area. In Harlem, the Abyssian Baptist Church CDC partnered with Pathmark to open a store that created more than 275 jobs, the great majority of which were filled by neighborhood residents. The Pathmark location was developed and owned by the East Harlem Abyssian Triangle Limited Partnership, a consortium of the Community Association of East Harlem Triangle, Inc., Abyssian Development Corporation, Retail Initiative, Inc. and the New York City Economic Development Corporation. Helping to alleviate barriers for site acquisition, or locating land for store construction, the Greater Dwight Development Corporation in New Haven partnered with Shaw’s Supermarket to build a store on an abandoned car dealership lot.

Piecing together parcels of land to create an affordable and sizable piece of property represents a significant benefit that CDC’s can provide in the supermarket development process.

Land Use

Part of the reason that supermarkets experience difficulty finding adequate land in the inner city is that the “super” sized grocery stores are a suburban convention. One hundred years ago central city residents met their shopping needs at public markets that used creative methods, such as using long, narrow spaces down the middle of wide boulevards, to fit more easily into the urban landscape. Dallas’ increasingly affluent downtown seemed to think that such a market would be a great idea. In 1999, city officials hoped to inject $2.2 into renovating a shed to house a grocery store that would sell meat, fish and dairy products, located within a farmers’ market. Perhaps now that urban population density is again reaching high levels, markets that are reminiscent of the public market houses, such as Los Angeles’ Grand Central Market, can become a viable source for food shopping for low-income people as well as for high-end consumers like those moving into downtown Dallas.

Public Market

A publicly owned market could also reduce problems associated with trying to attract private investment, as well as provide entrepreneurial opportunities to community members in the tradition of the LA-based non-profit group Esperanza’s Mercado La Paloma. According to James M. Mayo in *The American Grocery Store*:

“The most radical transformation in the decline of public markets was the
change in labor relations. Whatever shortcomings existed in the retail public market, it reproduced a system that enabled small merchants to operate as independent businesses. With local government providing market facilities, the joint city-merchant relationship was at least a symbiotic agreement. Municipalities did monopolize the markets, but this public monopoly allowed many stall merchants to be their own entrepreneurs. This arrangement continued with privately owned markets, although leases based on gross annual profits began to treat stall merchants like tenant farmers. As business corporations began to dominate both the food processing and food retailing industries, the small merchant system began to fail.”

Rejuvenating this “old-fashioned form of food merchandising…where poor people shop at dozens of competitive retail stalls that specialize in everything from fruit to nuts to meat,” could provide opportunities for low-income people and local producers to be autonomous and empowered.

However, even if such open-air markets are established, low-income urban communities will still have a need for the conventional supermarkets that other sectors of the population enjoy. Farmer’s markets and other similar formats can supplement shopping in urban areas, while supermarkets that locate in the inner city can use some of the ideas and concepts of public markets in order to facilitate successful development.

The Opportunities Are There

The most common refrain when discussing the need for supermarkets in low-income communities is that they are not viable investments and that the barriers are overwhelming. Ten years ago, the supermarket industry began to talk about inner city re-investment, in part due to the need to identify new investment opportunities as the shift to the suburbs appeared to be reaching a saturation point. While reinvestment in the inner city has not significantly increased as the earlier discussion noted, that may well be due to other trends, such as market concentration, the rise of a large box format, and the absence of an organizational culture that can accommodate and build on the opportunities and complexities of inner city investment. The opportunities are there; the issue is how they can best be seized.
Chapter 5

One Hundred Years of Market Divide: Tracing the Evolution of the Urban Grocery Store Gap in Los Angeles

Following the 1992 civil unrest in Los Angeles, public attention was drawn to the increasingly visible urban grocery store gap in the city’s urban core/low-income neighborhoods. In 1992, the predominantly minority and low-income residents at the city’s core had access to fewer than half as many full-service grocery stores as did the majority white and middle-to-upper class residents of surrounding suburbs. This chapter documents the continuing, and in some cases even wider, gap that exists today where the average number of supermarkets per household in zip codes with few low-income residents is more than three times greater than the number of supermarkets in zip codes that are predominantly low-income. In addition, zip codes where the population is more than 20% white have access to a greater number of supermarkets per capita than do zip codes where blacks make up more than 20% of the population. Without access to supermarkets, inner city residents miss out on the high quality, low prices, variety, and convenience that suburban full-service grocery stores provide.

In 1992, a Los Angeles Times article cited “30 years of red-lining” as one cause for this food divide, suggesting that the fallout from the earlier 1965 riots continued to impact the community. While loan denial and fear of failure in the inner city were clearly factors, the history of inadequate supermarket access in inner city Los Angeles reaches further back than 1965. At least a hundred years of transportation and housing policy, land availability, the evolving supermarket industry, racial prejudice, and other complex, interconnected factors have created a situation in which poor residents of the inner city, largely minority and especially African-American, experienced unequal access to supermarkets. Many of those same factors operate today.

First Supermarkets

Supermarket development in Los Angeles has always been somewhat unique. In most American cities, especially those on the East Coast and in the Mid-West, public markets were the precursor to modern day supermarkets. City-owned market houses provided space in which butchers, fish sellers, and produce vendors could convene in a central location that was accessible to the city’s consumers. This public-private partnership provided small vendors the opportunity to be successful. However, integral to the success of these market houses was their centrality and convenience to shoppers, which in most cities was linked to the public transportation system and relied on the densely compact populations of cities such as New York and Boston. Los Angeles, on the other hand, lacked a comprehensive public transportation
system and tended to be more spread out, making the success of market houses less viable. As a result, while public market houses existed in LA, the city began its conversion to a more modern-day, automobile-reliant supermarket configuration rather early.

Los Angeles, in some ways, set the trends. The first Ralphs Grocery Company store was built in downtown LA in 1872. Initially clerk-service and delivery oriented, Ralphs developed by 1929 into a chain of 16 non-delivery, self-service, “modern, elaborate buildings,” well ahead of the national trend toward supermarket development, which really did not begin until the 1930’s. Also established in Los Angeles in 1925 were the first drive-in markets. These one-story, open-front structures were similar to the market houses of other large cities, but with an important difference: they had parking lots.

Role of Transportation

The high per-capita ownership of vehicles had a significant impact on the type and location of supermarket development in LA and set the stage for the evolution of an inner city with limited access to fresh and affordable food. In 1905, Los Angeles boasted 350 miles of graded streets and more automobiles than any comparably sized U.S. city. By 1928, 35% of Californians owned vehicles, a rate much higher than the rest of the country. This high percentage of automobile ownership, that in turn facilitated new housing in suburban areas, also made it possible for shoppers to travel easily to outlying areas. Finding room for market construction was an issue in many cities, leading to innovations such as building long narrow market houses down the center of wide boulevards. However, in Los Angeles the focus increasingly was on expansion into the suburbs since there was still plenty of land available for construction of the stores and for their giant parking lots. As public markets declined, the role of the public sector in facilitating market location also began to erode. Not surprisingly, most new markets opted for the largely homogeneous, white middle and upper class suburban neighborhoods with inexpensive and abundant land as preferred locations.

Role of Housing Policy

The housing policies following WWII facilitated the creation of these homogeneous suburbs, while at the same time facilitating the flight of people, jobs, and grocery stores from the central cities as well. The newly created Federal Housing Administration provided home mortgages with no down payments to GI’s returning from the war, and other home-buyers easily obtained mortgages with low down payments as well. However, whites-only restrictive covenants and the process of redlining denied African-Americans access to new suburban housing developments. Loans and mortgages were not offered in neighborhoods with even a small black population, contributing to a cycle of decay in black communities. At the same time, public housing projects were built in concentrated areas in the city, away from any new housing whose real estate value may have been harmed by proximity to the typically low-income minority inhabitants of public housing. As population declined, so did employment opportunities, with the number of manufacturing jobs in the city of Los Angeles decreasing by 40% in the late 1940’s and 1950’s. Businesses, including supermarkets, left the city as well,
with the expectation that there would be higher customer volume, higher per-customer spending power, and less crime in the suburbs.

**Changing Demographics**

By the 1960’s, Los Angeles’ changing demographics and commercial development had created urban core neighborhoods with concentrated low-income, minority, primarily African-American populations and very few resources and businesses. As most of the large supermarkets departed, small mom’n’pop stores opened, typically charging higher prices for less variety and quality, with little competition to keep prices low. During this period, white businessmen, many of whom were Jewish, owned the majority of these smaller food markets. The perception that outsiders were running the stores in the urban core neighborhoods and then taking the money home to their own communities, fueled resentment of whites by blacks and growing anti-Semitism.

**The Watts Riots**

Discontent over the depressed condition of the inner city led to the Watts riots of 1965. While drawing attention to the plight of the urban poor, the riots also exacerbated the problem of supermarket access, as many of the stores that were burned were never rebuilt. While the hostility towards white merchants had in part deterred store construction before the riots, the looting and burning of stores during the civil unrest left many owners even more hesitant to rebuild. A two-year update on the Watts civil unrest, *Riot Report*, published in *Merchandising Week*, reported:

> A chain supermarket, gutted two years ago, is not rebuilding either. Today, a vacant lot filled with weeds and a sign remind Watts shoppers of the store that once stood there. “We’re not rebuilding.” A spokesman for the supermarket chain said. “Why should we? The sign? Oh, that’s to remind them [Negroes] of the old stores,” he said sarcastically.

Another Watts ex-merchant stated, “I’m too old to fight revolutions. I’m going to open a small appliance-TV store in Los Angeles and try to forget Watts. To hell with civil rights and all their causes.” The future of supermarket investment in inner city Los Angeles looked bleak. Insurance rates sky-rocketed after the civil unrest, making the cost of doing business even higher, and many banks would not give businesses loans to build in riot-torn areas.

**Profit Potential**

Yet, the attention the riots brought also generated interest, both economically and socially motivated, in supermarket investment in the inner city. A few stores were built in the aftermath of the 1965 riots, including one that was ironically named White Front, a discount-oriented supermarket that was rebuilt in Watts. The store employed local area residents and did not
charge higher prices than at their suburban locations, with one executive commenting, “We have faith in the area and in the people.” Similarly, three ABC stores opened in South Central and were applauded by one analyst as “a monument to imagination and adaptation on the part of an effective management.” The previous management had in fact been criticized for not facilitating positive customer-store relations.

**Urban Fortress**

In addition to attempting to alleviate white-owner/black-consumer tensions, the post-riot stores also focused on making the consumer feel safe while shopping. With its windowless brick walls “designed to withstand armed insurrection and Molotov cocktails,” White Front foreshadowed a trend of “urban fortress” design for supermarkets that would be popularized by the Manhattan Beach-based development firm Alexander Haagen Company in the 1980’s. Haagen’s four community shopping centers are surrounded by six-foot-high wrought iron fences and boast over a dozen security guards and police substations. Unpopular among community members, the infrared-equipped wrought iron fences created a great deal of controversy over what message was being sent about the neighborhood, especially because other low-income areas of Los Angeles that had high Latino or Asian, as opposed to African American, populations did not have such fences. However, others argued that these centers brought full-service supermarkets to under-served areas, attracted other businesses, and provided jobs, and were thus a positive addition, despite its armed camp message.

**Supermarket Consolidation**

While a few new stores opened and a couple of stores were rebuilt, the overall picture of supermarket access in the central city continued to be grim throughout the 70’s, 80’s, and 90’s. Between 1975 and 1991, the inner city lost 30% of its full-service chain stores. This loss has been attributed largely to the trend of supermarket consolidation that reduced the number of chains from 34 in 1963 to 20 in 1980, and 14 in 1991. That trend continued after 1992, with only 5 chains remaining in 2002. As the number of chains decreased the concentration of ownership increased, with the top four chains owning only 42.6% of Los Angeles’ supermarkets in 1963 but 73.4% of the market in 1991. Anti-trust regulations and store closures followed to minimize competitions within
a chain. For example, Yucaipa’s buy-out of Ralphs and subsequent merger of Ralphs and Food 4 Less in 1995 resulted in anti-trust regulators ordering the shutdown of 27 stores. Ralphs decided to close another 28 stores because of direct competition between Food 4 Less and Ralphs stores located proximate to each other. Stores in poor high-crime areas were more likely to be closed in this and other major store mergers that have occurred in the last 10 years, since they were perceived to be among the lower performing or at least more risky locations. These mergers had important implications not only for the people who used to shop at stores that closed, but for store employees as well: one thousand workers were laid off as a result of the Ralphs-Food 4 Less merger.

Latino Influx

During this period of consolidation, the demographics of central city Los Angeles changed again, with an influx of Latino immigrants increasing the population density and creating a racial majority in many neighborhoods that had previously been predominantly African-American. Between 1970 and 1990, the percentage of Hispanic residents in metropolitan Los Angeles more than doubled. To serve the needs of this increasing population, and in response to demand created by the exodus of chain stores from the inner city, some independents and smaller chains like Superior Warehouse Foods opened in buildings previously occupied by Ralphs and other major chains. Perhaps most significant among these markets were the Latino-owned and oriented supermarkets such as Vallarta, Liborio, Grupo Gigante, and Super Tienda La Tapachulteca. These markets provided ethnic and culturally appropriate foods, catering to the community in a way that many chain stores did not. (Vons and Ralphs attempted to tap into the new Latino market with Tiangius and Viva, versions of their normal store formats that catered to a Latino clientele, but neither was successful in the long term.) However, beyond a more appropriate product mix, most of the new stores did not provide the same resources as did the supermarket chains that had departed. Quality was not as consistent, and the new stores were not unionized, resulting in an increase in job insecurity for workers and as much as a 30-50% pay difference. Inner city Los Angeles was still plagued by lack of businesses, well-paying jobs, and supermarkets; while access was somewhat improved in heavily Latino neighborhoods, African-Americans still largely were under-served.

Korean Grocers

The stores that did open in the 1980s in predominantly African-American neighborhoods (and in Latino neighborhoods as well) tended to be owned by Koreans. Korean immigrants owned approximately 2,500 small markets and liquor stores in Los Angeles County by 1990. From the African-American point of view, Korean grocers were not significantly different from the Jewish grocery store owners of the 1960’s. According to Bong Hwan Kim, former co-chair of the Black-Korean Alliance, "At the street level, the animosity, the hatred, the feeling that Koreans are depriving African-Americans of economic survival is real." Some Korean merchants, he said, have had "people from neighborhoods coming in and saying they should leave and sell out their stores to African-Americans." At the same time, Koreans felt frustration with the fact that shoplifting further raised the already high cost of operating a small
business. As often happens in economically depressed communities, issues of scarce jobs, money, and resources materialized as race-based resentment. Korean grocer Hyong Kim described it thus: “What many grocers don't realize is it's not about black people stealing from Koreans. It's a problem of people with no money.”\textsuperscript{156} Sadly, just two years after Kim made this statement in the \textit{Los Angeles Times}, he was robbed and beaten to death by black gang members.\textsuperscript{157} While Kim’s son insisted that this act not be considered a race issue but simply a horrible crime, the escalation to violence of racial tension between blacks and Koreans was a trend all too familiar by the early 1990’s.

\textbf{The Widening Divide}

The period between the 1965 and 1992 civil unrest in Los Angeles proved to be a period of significant decline in access to fresh and affordable food in low-income communities in Los Angeles. Earlier trends of supermarket flight to the suburbs had become magnified. While highlighting the problem of the lack of food access in 1965, stores that burned to the ground were never rebuilt and the problems—and tensions associated with increased food insecurity—grew worse. Given the forces at play—whether supermarket consolidation, the decline of any public role, inter-ethnic tensions, or the trend to bigger stores and parking lots in the suburbs—the question remained: could it be turned around? Would supermarkets be willing and able to return to the inner city?
Chapter 6

The Gap Persists: Ten Years After

The kinds of conditions that led to the civil unrest in 1965 caused another explosive outburst of anger and rioting in April 1992 in several low-income neighborhoods in Central Los Angeles. Again, food stores were looted and burned. Supermarkets located within Haagen’s controversial fenced, high-security strip malls were some of the only stores to survive. \(^{158}\) Again, calls were made for a dramatic response to address the problems facing inner city Los Angeles. The formation of Rebuild L.A., headed by Peter Ueberroth, was established to meet that challenge, albeit by relying on private sector initiatives rather than public policy. “America doesn’t solve problems unless it’s done by the private sector,” Ueberroth argued soon after his appointment. \(^{159}\) Shortly after establishing itself as an organization that would take this “top-down” private sector approach to encouraging investment in areas of LA that were under-served by both job opportunities and access to goods and services, Rebuild LA leaders informed an Los Angeles Times staff writer that “Five years from now…South Central Los Angeles should begin to resemble Woodland Hills in the range of opportunities and services that are available.” \(^{160}\)

Supermarket Investment Claims

One of the main focuses of Rebuild L.A. (subsequently RLA) centered on grocery store investment as a way to bring much-needed jobs to poor areas. Supported by studies and encouragement from the Food Marketing Institute’s industry-wide “urban initiatives” campaign, \(^{161}\) four supermarket chains, Vons, Smart & Final, Food 4 Less, and Ralphs, made commitments to Rebuild LA to establish a number of new stores in areas with poverty rates of 20% or higher. \(^{162}\) Citing economic profitability as the main reason for the decision to invest in the inner city, then Vons Chairman Roger Strangeland stated, “Over a long period of time we simply lost sight of the opportunity that existed in the neglected areas—and shame on us for being so late to rediscover the opportunity. As a responsible corporate citizen and a leading area retailer, we recognize the need to be at least a part of the solution—not a compounder of the problem.” \(^{163}\) Also in response to the 1992 riots, a comprehensive study of food access issues in Los Angeles by UCLA graduate students entitled Seeds of Change produced a seminal evaluation and inventory of the Los Angeles food system and made recommendations for improving the system. Among other criteria, Seeds of Change cited joint ventures as one of their recommendations for successful supermarket investment. \(^{164}\) In 1993 and 1994, Smart & Final constructed two locations as joint ventures with the community development corporation Pacific Development Partners. Two other chains, Ralphs and Food 4 Less also promised to invest heavily in new inner city stores. Between the four chains, as many as 32 new inner city supermarkets were promised. It appeared, finally, that supermarket investment in under-served communities might finally take place.
Rebuilding Effort Wanes

However, by 1994, momentum from the private sector had slowed, and community criticism of the top-down attitude led to a restructuring of RLA. Rather than touting private sector promises that were already being seen as problematic, RLA decided to take a community-oriented bottom-up focus. As part of its needs assessment, RLA surveyed 1,100 residents in a 52-square-mile area affected by the civil unrest regarding the goods and services their community was lacking. The overwhelming response indicated a need for quality grocery stores and supermarkets. By this time, a few of the stores that Vons, Ralphs, Food 4 Less, and Smart & Final had committed to build were constructed and open already, indicating that some of the promises of new investment were based on plans that were developed prior to the civil unrest. Even with the handful of additional stores, residents in central city Los Angeles still cited lack of supermarkets as a major problem. In response, RLA performed a supermarket study that demonstrated that there was an annual unmet demand for groceries of $412 million, which translated to 750,000 sq. ft. of selling area. The study identified one full-service supermarket for every 7,795 people in greater Los Angeles, but only one such store for every 16,571 people in the RLA study area. Inner city Los Angeles continued to suffer a lack of full-service grocery stores. In 1997, RLA disbanded, and the problem of the urban grocery store gap in Los Angeles largely disappeared from newspaper headlines. Ultimately, fewer than half of the stores promised by the four chains and touted by Ueberroth and others were built and a couple of those have since closed. The next section of this chapter documents the status of supermarket activity in Los Angeles, including the persistence of the grocery gap in low-income communities.

Updating of the RLA Study: Documenting the Gap

In their 1995 supermarket study, RLA focused on a 52 square mile section of central Los Angeles. The study defined the area of “riot-torn and surrounding low-income communities” as bounded by Alameda Avenue to the east, Wilshire Blvd. to the north, Crenshaw Blvd. to the west and El Segundo to the south. In this area, RLA took an inventory of full-service grocery stores and found a total of 55 stores, 23 independents and 32 chain supermarkets. An evaluation of the same area in 2002 yields a total of 56 stores, 26 independents and 30 chain supermarkets. (See Appendix A for a list of the stores) With a net gain of only one store, the area has not seen a significant increase in supermarkets since the RLA study.

The RLA Study also cited a figure of one grocery store for every 7,795 people in metropolitan Los Angeles and one full-service grocery store for every 16,751 people in the RLA Study Area. In order to update this statistic, supermarkets that fall under the government SIC code 5411 (grocery) and have annual sales of $10 million or more have been identified (See Appendix). Stores that earn less than $10 million were eliminated in an effort to exclude convenience stores and limited assortment stores. The tabulation finds that each supermarket in Los Angeles County serves 18,649 people, while in the RLA Study Area, one supermarket serves 27,986 people. While these numbers are quite different from the 1995 figures provided by RLA, this is likely the result of different criteria in deciding to include or exclude a store. While the differential in the people to supermarket ratio between the RLA Study Area and the rest of LA County in 2002 appears as if it has improved since 1995, the access rates (the number of people...
served per market) significantly declined for both LA County and the RLA areas. These contrasting figures are likely to be the result of different methodologies when calculating the number of people served by a supermarket. Regardless, a significant differential—the persistence of the gap—remains evident.
This gap in supermarket access further widens when examining particular communities like Compton and East Los Angeles, as compared to more affluent communities like South Pasadena and Santa Monica.

An examination of supermarket access in low-income and minority communities throughout Los Angeles County further demonstrates the nature of the gap. In constructing the following tables, households whose annual incomes were below $15,000 in 1998 and households whose annual incomes fell below $35,000 in 1998 were examined. While $15,000 is proximate to the federal definition of the poverty level for a family of four, the Los Angeles Alliance for a New Economy (LAANE) has argued that this is a gross misrepresentation of actual poverty. When both the cost of living in Los Angeles and the income level at which people qualify for government anti-poverty programs like food stamps and Medicare was used, LAANE calculated an income level to define poverty that is twice as high as the federal level. LAANE’s annual income that defined a family of four as poor in 1998 was $33,300. The data collected by United Way LA on annual household incomes was categorized as under $15,000 and $15,000-$34,999, so the following charts use <$15,000 as a representation of the Federal Poverty line and <$35,000 as the adjusted definition of poverty in Los Angeles.
Examination of Supermarket Access in Relation to Federal Poverty Line

*In this and all following charts in this chapter “surrounding community” is defined as the zip code in which the supermarkets are located.

What the Chart Shows:

- In the zip codes in Los Angeles County where 10-20% of the households earn less than $15,000 annually, the number of supermarkets per household is .0000213, which equates to approximately 2.13 supermarkets for every 10,000 households.

- In zip codes with 0-10% of the households living below the federal poverty line there are approximately 2.26 times as many supermarkets per household as there are in zip codes where the number of households living below the federal poverty line exceeds 40 percent.

- There is a general trend of decline in per capita supermarkets as the percentage of people who live in poverty increases, meaning the higher the concentration of poverty within a community, the fewer the supermarkets.
What the Chart Shows:

- In zip codes where 10-20% of households earn less than $35,000 annually, the average number of supermarkets per capita is 0.0035, which is approximately 3.5 supermarkets for every 10,000 households.

- In zip codes where 10-20% of households are earning less than $35,000 annually, there are 3.04 times as many supermarkets as there are in zip codes where 60-70% of households are living below the adjusted poverty line.

- There is a general trend of decline in supermarkets per household as the percentage of people who live in poverty increases, meaning the higher the concentration of poverty within a community, the fewer the supermarkets.
Supermarket Access According to Race

What the Chart Shows:

- In zip codes where the percent of the population that is white is 0-10%, there are .000044 supermarkets per person, which is approximately .44 supermarkets for every 10,000 people.

- In zip codes where the population is 80-90% white, there are 2.18 times as many supermarkets as there are in zip codes where the population is only 0-10% white.

- There is a general increasing trend in per capita supermarkets as the percentage of the population that is white increases, meaning the higher the concentration of whites within a community, the more supermarkets.
What the Chart Shows:

- In zip codes where the percent of the population that is African-American is 0-10%, there are .000066 supermarkets per person, which is approximately .66 supermarkets for every 10,000 people.

- In zip codes where the population is 0-10% African-American, there are 2.06 times as many supermarkets as there are in zip codes where the population is 70-80% African-American.

- In zip codes where the African-American populations constitute 60-70% and 80-90% of the population, there are no supermarkets.

- There is a general trend of decline in per capita supermarkets as the percentage of the population that is African-American increases, meaning the higher the concentration of African-American people within a community, the fewer the supermarkets.
What the Chart Shows:

- In zip codes where the percent of the population that is Asian is 0-10%, there are .000057 supermarkets per person, which is approximately .57 supermarkets for every 10,000 people.

- With the exception of zip codes in which the population is 40-50% Asian, the varying percentage of Asians within a zip code does not seem to have a strong relationship with the number of supermarkets in that zip code.
What the Chart Shows:

- In zip codes where the percent of the population that is Latino is 0-10%, there are .000082 supermarkets per person, which is approximately .82 supermarkets for every 10,000 people.

- In zip codes where the population is 0-10% Latino, there are 2.34 as many supermarkets as there are in zip codes where the population is 90-100% Latino.

- There is a general trend of decline in per capita supermarkets as the percentage of the population that is Latino increases, meaning the higher the concentration of Latino people within a community, the fewer the supermarkets.
What the Chart Shows:

- In zip codes where Whites constitute a racial majority, there are .76 supermarkets for every 10,000 residents.
- In zip codes where African-Americans constitute a racial majority, there are .24 supermarkets for every 10,000 residents.
- In zip codes where Asians constitute a racial majority, there are .70 supermarkets for every 10,000 residents.
- In zip codes where Latinos constitute a racial majority, there are .45 supermarkets for every 10,000 residents.
- Zip codes with a White majority experience the greatest number of supermarkets per person: 3.17 times as many supermarkets as populations with an African-American majority; 1.09 times as many supermarkets as populations with an Asian majority; 1.69 times as many supermarkets as populations with a Latino majority.
Ten years after the civil unrest, Los Angeles County residents continue to suffer from unequal access to supermarkets. Inner city LA as defined by Rebuild LA, has 33% fewer supermarkets per resident than the rest of LA County. Across the county, supermarket access is heavily influenced by the average income and race of the surrounding community. The higher the concentration of poverty within a community, the fewer the supermarkets.

- In zip codes with 0-10% of the households living below the federal poverty line, there are approximately 2.26 times as many supermarkets per household as there are in zip codes where the number of households living below the federal poverty line exceeds 40 percent.

- In zip codes where 10-20% of households are earning less than the adjusted poverty level ($35,000 annually), there are 3.04 times as many supermarkets as there are in zip codes where 60-70% of households are living below that level.

In addition, the higher the concentration of whites in a community, the greater the number of supermarkets, while high concentrations of African-Americans and Latinos tend to result in access to fewer supermarkets.

- Zip codes with a white majority experience the greatest number of supermarkets per person: 3.17 times as many supermarkets as populations with an African-American majority; 1.09 times as many supermarkets as populations with an Asian majority; 1.69 times as many supermarkets as populations with a Latino majority.

**The Grocery Gap as a Public Policy Priority**

Ten years after the 1992 civil unrest, Los Angeles continues to experience a protracted, extensive, and persistent urban grocery gap. The lack of access to fresh, quality, and affordable food in low-income communities, underlined in part by the urban grocery gap, can be linked to a broad range of public policy concerns: poor diet, increased health care costs, reduced quality of life. The gap exists: the issue for communities, policymakers, and the food retail industry alike is how to reduce and eventually eliminate it, rather than focus on promises that remain unfulfilled.
Chapter 7

Recommendations for the Future

Inner city supermarket success stories can be found all over the country, and there are even a few in Los Angeles. While the experiences of these stores can provide valuable insight into techniques for gaining community, private and public support, the problem is that these are individual, single stores scattered around the country. They alone cannot solve the problem of limited supermarket availability for the poor and minorities. Instead, a citywide, comprehensive strategy must be devised, with specific criteria to ensure that stores are developed in a way that is conducive to long-term survival and that benefit both developer and customers. This chapter provides both the specific policies for supermarket development and the criteria and goals that need to be implemented for the grocery gap to be overcome.

Public Sector: Active Approach

A study by urban planner Kameshwari Pothukuchi found that the public role in supermarket investment in low-income urban communities tended to be “more reactive than activist.”\(^{174}\) For supermarkets to be successful in inner city Los Angeles, the public sector must take an active role in encouraging investment. Beyond simply offering assistance and advice to a company regarding location identification or re-zoning applications, the city should identify land, clean it up, expedite zoning and permitting processes, and offer financial incentives such as subsidies and tax breaks. In addition, market feasibility studies should be conducted in order to ensure the viability of the success of the market and to entice potential corporate investors. The involvement of the public sector should not end when a store agrees to construct in the new location. The city can aid in issues such as parking, security, and transportation. For example, the city could enact policy that requires public transportation to take into consideration access to food, thereby increasing bus routes between poor inner city residential areas and supermarkets.

Private Sector: Held Accountable

Another benefit of an active public sector is that Los Angeles can take a citywide approach to the problem. Instead of just constructing one or two new stores without taking unmet demand into account, attracting a chain to build several stores would not only result in more widespread change, but will make the investment in the community more worthwhile for the company. If a chain is opening five or ten locations instead of one, they will be more motivated to research the type of format and product mix that will be successful in the area. In 1990, the Dallas City Council developed an attractive package of financial incentives for supermarket development in predominately low-income South Dallas. In order to hold the winning bidder accountable, the city offered the incentives contingent on the construction of a minimum of five stores in the
city’s Enterprise Zone. The first chain that was supposed to invest in South Dallas, Fiesta Mart, built only three of the five stores. Because Fiesta Mart did not comply with the five-store minimum, the city then contracted with Minyard’s. Attracted by the financial incentives, Minyard’s is building all five stores. In Los Angeles, a Vons supermarket took advantage of public subsidies and was the first to open in Compton after the civil unrest. They closed their doors a short time later without being held accountable. Los Angeles needs to institute a system of accountability that fosters widespread success and prevents ongoing inner city abandonment.

**Community: Involved**

Coincidentally, Los Angeles Alliance for a New Economy (LAANE) has devised the strategy of “accountable development” as a way to link the community in a meaningful way to the construction of new businesses and urban redevelopment projects. Central to the accountable development model is the Community Benefits Plan (CBP).

The CBP process begins with interested members of the community, who identify how a proposed development project can benefit residents and workers. Once a list of potential benefits is determined, community members meet with the developer and representative of the city to negotiate a CBP. The CBP is a legal document that becomes part of the city’s agreement with the developer. It contains numerous provisions stipulating exactly how the development will benefit the community. Each CBP is unique, reflecting the needs of particular communities.

Los Angeles city government, as well as many private developers in LA, are already familiar with LAANE’s approach around accountable development; the Los Angeles Sports and Entertainment District; NoHo Commons housing development, and SunQuest Business Park are instituting CBPs into their construction plans. Because the city and corporations will be familiar with the approach and will be able to observe examples of success, implementing a CBP for supermarket development can become a more standardized process.

A Supermarket Community Benefits Plan (SCBP) could include the following:

**Quality Jobs**

**Living Wage Jobs:**

Because the supermarket will likely be developed using public subsidies, all construction workers and any permanent non-retail employees will be guaranteed a living wage under the Living Wage Ordinance, Administrative Code, Section 10.37. Part of the agreement between the city and the supermarket could involve a “Living Wage Incentive Program,” which would increase benefits if the store agrees to pay a living wage.
Worker Retention:

This is an important precaution to take in an age of supermarket consolidation. Requiring that the supermarket follow the Worker Retention Ordinance, Administrative code, Section 10.36, will ensure that if a store closes, or is bought out by another company, the new store will be required to hire the same employees. This will help employees achieve greater job security.

Responsible Contractor:

It is often the case that a developer will construct the store and then lease it to a business such as Ralphs. In these cases, the developer can agree to the Responsible Contractor Ordinance, Administrative Code, Section 10.40, which says that the contractor will not lease to a business that has violated workplace or environmental laws.

Union Jobs:

While legally the city cannot force a store to hire union workers for construction, and to have a unionized staff once the store is opened, these practices can be strongly encouraged. Unions can also be beneficial to the supermarket and the community if they provide training for employees.

Community Services

Filling Gaps in Service:

The city and the supermarket can work together to develop a transportation plan that will provide a means for people without cars to shop at the store. This could include encouraging the store to provide a van service, or requiring the city to improve public transportation access near the supermarket. The supermarket could also include services such as banking, something often lacking in low-income communities.

Built-out Space:

A truly proactive supermarket might agree to incorporate needed facilities in its construction plan such as a community meeting room. Perhaps more reasonable to expect, the store could have a designated area for nutrition education demonstrations, or cooking classes.

Neighborhood Improvement Fund:

In order to increase prosperity in the community, which will ultimately benefit the business of the supermarket, the supermarket can contribute a fraction of its profits to a fund administered by the city or a community group. The money can be used to pay for improvements in the parking lot, street lighting, sidewalks and streets surrounding the store, or for any other needed changes in the area around the supermarket that would better the community.
First Source/Local Hiring and Job Training

Agree to Participate:

Developers and/or supermarkets can be required to follow a Local Hiring Program, which requires that they hire from certain surrounding zip codes, or from a First Source Program, which is often a community group that recruits, screens and sometimes trains employees.

Provide Seed Money and Space:

The supermarket can provide funds for a First Source Program to train and manage employees, relieving some of the burden of finding good employees for the supermarket. The store can also provide space for training.

Environmental

Construction and Traffic Management:

The developer/supermarket should involve the community in parking lot plans. It is important that entrances and exits are safe, convenient, and compliment public transportation and are without negative side effects such as routing heavy traffic down a quiet residential street. The city may have to aid in this process, for example, if lanes at a busy intersection need to be re-striped.

Mitigation of Negative Neighborhood Impacts:

An Environmental Impact Report should be a required as part of supermarket construction and operation. Often there are negative impacts, such as diesel delivery trucks emitting carcinogens into the air as they wait to be unloaded at the store. Such negative impacts need to be negotiated with the community from the onset of the project. Use of alternative fuels for delivery trucks are one potential outcome of such negotiation.

Green Building Practices:

Developers should consider opportunities for green building design that include use of non-toxic and renewable building materials. Parking lot design and landscaping can also be significant in terms of water flow after a rainfall. Grass strips planted in low-lying areas can help alleviate flooding by allowing the water to soak into the ground.

Supermarket Access

Linkage Fee:

In order to ensure that low-income communities are receiving the investment by supermarkets that they so desperately need, supermarket developers in any area of Los Angeles could be required to pay a fee per square foot of construction into a fund that provides funding for inner...
city projects. That way all supermarket companies in Los Angeles will have a stake in increasing supermarket access in low-income communities.

**City-wide Ordinance on Supermarket Access:**

While such an ordinance does not presently exist, an agreement between supermarket chains and the city that designates a minimum percentage of locations in low-income communities could help establish a targeted set of goals that both supermarkets and the city could commit themselves to achieve.

**Food Quality and Price Equivalence Standard:**

There is evidence that low-income stores receive the low-quality end of meat and produce and that prices are higher in inner city neighborhoods. A commitment on the part of the supermarket to provide equivalent quality food and costs per item comparable to suburban or middle-income locations could provide a baseline for improvements in these areas.

**Community Involvement**

**Community Input in Development Process:**

Community residents can provide insight into food purchasing preferences that benefit store format decisions. This communication can occur through a variety of forums such as conversations with local community groups, a community oversight committee and/or other forms of interaction with the neighborhood. Supermarkets and the city need to communicate with the residents in the area where the store is to be built.

**Community Input in Product Mix and Store Layout:**

Food should be culturally appropriate, which not only means ethnic foods, but fresh foods. In general, African-American and Latino consumers purchase more fresh produce, fresh fish and meat when it is available than do Anglo consumers. Since such foods tend to have a higher profit margin than do processed foods, it is certainly in the interest of the supermarket to learn about the community’s preferences.

**Community Support:**

In order for a supermarket to be successful, community support should be established before construction begins. If provisions are made to cater to the community’s needs, the supermarket should be successful in attracting a critical mass of shoppers.

**Fresh Food Access**

**On Site Farmers’ Market:**

A handful of supermarkets have recognized the value of increasing fresh food, including locally grown food, as part of their product mix. One innovative program in San Luis Obispo has
established a farmers’ market on site in the parking lot on the slowest sales day as a way to increase access and overall sales (since farmers’ market shoppers are then likely to shop at the supermarket as well for other items and thereby increase overall sales).

**Overcoming the Gap**

Access to fresh, quality, and affordable food is a crucial community, health, and quality of life concern. Each of the players capable of helping fill the gap – community groups, the public sector, and the food retail industry – has an important role in pursuing that goal. The concept of accountable development – a key need that was never addressed in the aftermath of the April 1992 civil unrest – is a critical missing link in developing the strategies and gaining the community support that can make stores not only successful, but an invaluable community asset. If the shopper is king, then the wisdom of the shopper and the communities in which he or she resides, as well as the policies established by the city, and the investment and operational insights of the market developers, need to be part of the process of change; change that is not only promised but realized.
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79.  Fletcher, Michael A. “More Retailers Are Sold on Cities” (Washington Post, March 5, 1999): 4
81.  Pothukuchi, Phd., Kameshwari “Attracting Grocery Retail Investment to Inner city Neighborhoods: Planning Outside the Box” (draft paper, presented an earlier version at ACSP conference in Chicago, October 1999) p. 5
82.  Flanigan, James, “A Mass of Buying Power: Low-Income Neighborhoods Prove They Can Drive Markets” (Los Angeles Times April 10, 1996): D1
83.  Fletcher, Michael A. “More Retailers Are Sold on Cities” (Washington Post, March 5, 1999 from www.innercity/colombiaheights/newspaper/sold_on_city.html): 5
84.  Cuomo, Andrew, Secretary, New Markets: The Untapped Retail Buying Power In American Inner Cities (U. S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, July 1999): vi
85. Fletcher, Michael A. “More Retailers Are Sold on Cities” (Washington Post, March 5, 1999): 4
86. Rebuild LA, RLA Grocery Store Market Potential Study, October 1995, p.2
89. California Department of Services, calculated by California Food Policy Advocates (http://www.cfpnet/foodstamps/foodstamps.htm)
90. For a definition of redlining see endnote 124.
91. Tamborello, Frank “EBT: Eat Better Today, or Extra Big Trouble?” (draft paper, April 2002)
92. “RF system halts cart-nappers” (Chain Store Age v 76 no 1, January 2000): 118
95. “Closing in on front-end shrink” (Progressive Grocer, v 75 May 1999): 12-13
96. Weir, Tom, “Caught on Camera” (Supermarket Business, New York, Nov/Dec 2001) and Bob Ingram, “Shrink has shrunk, two surveys find” (Supermarket Business, New York, Sep 15, 2000): 65
98. Bob Ingram “Shrink has shrunk, two surveys find” (Supermarket Business; New York; Sep. 15, 2000)
99. Bob Ingram “Shrink has shrunk, two surveys find” (Supermarket Business; New York; Sep. 15, 2000)
100. Lovell, Vicky, Ph.D., Xue Song, Ph.D., and April Shaw “The Benefits of Unionization for Workers in the Retail Food Industry” (Institute for Women’s Policy Research, Washington DC, 2002) p.vi
101. Grant, John, “From Union Security to Food Security: The Link is Priceless” (in-house counsel document, United Food and Commercial Workers)
102. Lee, Don “Bagging a Career: Superstores May Cut Grocery Prices, but They Also Gut Jobs, Union Workers Say” (Los Angeles Times, February, 12, 1995): D1, D6
103. McDonnell, Patrick J. “Labor Struggle Erupts at Grocery Chain” (LA Times, 9/30/95) B5
104. Lee, Don “Bagging a Career: Superstores May Cut Grocery Prices, but They Also Gut Jobs, Union Workers Say” (Los Angeles Times, February, 12, 1995): D1, D6
107. Fletcher, Michael A. “More Retailers Are Sold on Cities” (Washington Post, March 5, 1999) Page E01: 3
108. “Spending and Saving Money” (Food Marketing Institute,
116. Pothukuchi, Phd., Kameshwari “Attracting Grocery Retail Investment to Inner city Neighborhoods: Planning Outside the Box” (draft paper, presented an earlier version at ACSP conference in Chicago, October 1999)


121. “L.A.'s super market” *Natural History* v 91, Oct 1982: 100

122. Calculated by author. In this example low-income is defined as households whose annual income is less than $35,000. Seventeen zip codes in Los Angeles County were not included in the analysis because they had fewer than 1,000 households: Zip code level data on annual household income was obtained from United Way of Greater Los Angeles, “Zip Code Data Book 1998” from http://www.unitedwayla.org/pages/uwresources/StateOfCounty/SPAs/SPAs.html. Supermarkets were defined as those business following under the government SIC code 5411 that are located in Los Angeles County and that have annual profits of $10 million or more. A list of such supermarkets was obtained from the American Business Directory (www.referenceusa.com, 2002). See Appendix for complete data list.

123. Calculated by author. Zip code level data on race was obtained from United Way of Greater Los Angeles, “Zip Code Data Book 1998” (from http://www.unitedwayla.org/pages/uwresources/StateOfCounty/SPAs/SPAs.html). Supermarkets were defined as those businesses following under the government SIC code 5411 that are located in Los Angeles County and that have annual profits of $10 million or more. A list of such supermarkets was obtained from the American Business Directory (www.referenceusa.com, 2002). See Appendix for complete data list.

124. “Redlining” is a term used to describe the denial of loans and mortgages based on race. In the 1930’s the federal Home Owners Loan Corporation (HOLC) designed to serve urban housing needs, devised a system of appraising neighborhoods that divided areas into four categories: A, B, C, and D, represented by the colors green, blue, yellow and red. Category D, outlined in red on real-estate maps, was the very worst rating, and the one that all African-American neighborhoods received. With the Federal Housing Administration refusing to insure mortgages in D-rated neighborhoods, and banks denying loans in red areas, no one wanted blacks to move into their neighborhood, and those communities that already had African-American residents did not receive additional investment. From: Jackson, Kenneth T., *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States*, 1987. p. 196-199


133. Building the American dream [video recording]: Levittown, NY / writer, producer, Stewart Bird ; a production of Hofstra University, Cablevision


147. White, George, Nancy Rivera Brooks, “Ralphs to lay off 1,000; Merger with Food 4 Less Parent Cited,” (*Los Angeles Times*, March 5, 1996)
148. White, George, Nancy Rivera Brooks, “Ralphs to lay off 1,000; Merger with Food 4 Less Parent Cited,” (*Los Angeles Times*, March 5, 1996)
156. Harris, Scott, “Riot Survivor Can’t Escape Web of Violence” (*Los Angeles Times*, Feb 19, 1993)
158. History: Rebuild LA Collection, Center for the Study of Los Angeles Research Collection, (http://lib/lmu.edu/ special/csla/rla/rla_hist.htm, visited June 28, 2001)
159. Henry Weinstein “News Analysis, Rebuild L.A. Struggles to Establish its Role” (*Los Angeles Times*, Nov 2, 1992)
161. Rebuild LA document, or Seeds of Change
162. Henry Weinstein and George White, “Vons to Open 12 Stores in Inner city Locations; Rebuilding: Expansion Could Create up to 2,000 Jobs and Help Reverse Nearly 30 Years of Redlining by Retailers” (*Los Angeles Times*, July 24, 1992)
164. The Rebuild LA study defined the following as riot-torn and surrounding low-income neighborhoods:
   - Wilshire Blvd. to the North, Alameda Ave. to the East, El Segundo to the South and Crenshaw Blvd. to the West, *RLA Grocery Store Market Potential Study* Rebuild LA, October 1995:
   - History: Rebuild LA Collection, Center for the Study of Los Angeles Research Collection, (http://lib/lmu.edu/ special/csla/rla/rla_hist.htm) or *RLA Grocery Store Market Potential* Rebuild LA, October 1995
   - *RLA Grocery Store Market Potential Study* Rebuild LA, October 1995: 5
165. The decision to include or exclude an independent is somewhat subjective. I made the decision to exclude the following independent markets based on the fact that a couple were there in 1995 and RLA did not count them, and on recommendations from John Grant at UCFW on what stores they consider full-service supermarkets.
169. Amapola Mexican Deli, 7223 Compton Ave, 90008; Assi Super Inc, 3525 W 8th St, 90005; Big Six Market, 550 S Rampart Blvd, 90057; Central Market, 1381 W 9th St, 90006; Crystal Promotions, 1820 S Grand Ave, 90015; Dave's Corner Market, 4881 Compton Ave, 90011; Mother's Nutritional CTR, 423 E Florence Ave, 90003; Nahlah Sea Plus, 1450 Long Beach Ave, 90021; Shims Bargain CTR, 735 S Vermont Ave, 90005; Unocal Fast Break, 8600 S Figueroa St, 90003; Variety Specialties Produce Co, 1131 San Pedro St, 90015.

170. The RLA Study Area cuts through several zip codes. The data for supermarkets and population is zip code level, so only the following zip codes were included as part of the RLA Study area in this particular analysis, even though portions of other zip codes lie within the area RLA defined in 1995: 90018, 90007, 90062, 90037, 90003, 90001, 90002, 90011, 90044, 90047, 90015, 90014, 90006, 90061, 90059

171. LAANE, The Other Los Angeles: The Working Poor in the City of the 21st Century

172. Zip codes excluded due to fewer than 1,000 households per zip code: 90840, 91023, 93563, 90822, 90071, 90073, 90010, 91046, 90021, 93243, 93544, 90014, 90058, 90013 For a complete list of data in included zip codes see Appendix

173. The following zip codes were excluded due to a population of less than 2,000: 90094, 91608, 90747, 91023, 93563, 90822, 90010, 90840, 90071, 91046, 90073, 90021, 90014, 93243, 93544, 90013 For a complete list of data in included zip codes see Appendix

174. Pothukuchi, Phd., Kameshwari “Attracting Grocery Retail Investment to Inner city Neighborhoods: Planning Outside the Box” (draft paper, presented an earlier version at ACSP conference in Chicago, October 1999): 9

175. Pothukuchi, Phd., Kameshwari “Attracting Grocery Retail Investment to Inner city Neighborhoods: Planning Outside the Box” (draft paper, presented an earlier version at ACSP conference in Chicago, October 1999): 12-13


### Appendix

#### Defining Supermarket Lingo

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Annual Sales Volume</th>
<th>Definition</th>
<th>Examples in Los Angeles County</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Small Grocery</td>
<td>Less than $1 million</td>
<td>Mom’n’pop, corner store</td>
<td>J &amp; J Grocery, Lou’s Market</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Superette</td>
<td>$1 million-$2 million</td>
<td>Typically independent, small</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Convenience Store</td>
<td>$2 million plus if they sell gas</td>
<td>Self-service grocery store with limited line of high-convenience items (ready-to-eat), majority sell gasoline, long hours.</td>
<td>7-11, AM PM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Limited assortment/ gourmet store</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Focus is natural and gourmet or special pricing, smaller, sell fewer nonfood items, and less complete line of food, may not carry perishables.</td>
<td>Trader Joe’s Market, 99 Cents Only, Hong Kong Supermarket</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grocery Store</td>
<td>Any amount: all-encompassing term</td>
<td>Retail store selling dry grocery, canned goods, or non-food items, plus some perishable food</td>
<td>Ralphs, Vallarta, Jon’s, Superior WarehouseFoods</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conventional supermarket</td>
<td>Greater than $2 million</td>
<td>Full-line (groceries, meat and produce), self-service grocery store, often offer service deli and bakery</td>
<td>Albertson’s, Bristol Farms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Superstore</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Larger version of conventional supermarket. 40,000 sq. ft. plus</td>
<td>Albertson’s,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Top 5 Grocers</td>
<td>More than $20 billion</td>
<td>Kroger Co., Albertson’s, Safeway, Ahold USA</td>
<td>Ralphs, Food 4 Less, Albertson’s, Vons, Pavilions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warehouse Store</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Eliminates frills/special departments, concentrates on price, reduced variety, low service level. Sells bulk items.</td>
<td>Smart &amp; Final</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supercenter</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Full-line supermarket and full-line discount merchandiser</td>
<td>Wal-Mart Supercenter, Big K-Mart</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independent</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Fewer than 10 stores</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chain</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>11 stores or more</td>
<td>Ralphs, Albertson’s, Jons</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Table 1.1
Independents in Rebuild LA Study Area (1995)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Store</th>
<th>Address</th>
<th>Zip</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>32nd Street Market</td>
<td>2129 S Hoover St</td>
<td>90007</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6th Street Market</td>
<td>1816 W Sixth St</td>
<td>90057</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Best Buy Foods Market</td>
<td>2250 W Pico Blvd.</td>
<td>90006</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>California Market</td>
<td>450 S Western Ave</td>
<td>90020</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>El Tapatio</td>
<td>310 E Florence</td>
<td>90003</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G &amp; R Wholesale Grocers</td>
<td>701 E Jefferson Blvd</td>
<td>90011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ham Nam Supermarket</td>
<td>2740 W Olympic Blvd</td>
<td>90006</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John's Market</td>
<td>1955 W Slauson</td>
<td>90047</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jons Market 1</td>
<td>3667 W 3rd St</td>
<td>90020</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jons Market 3</td>
<td>3334 W 8th St</td>
<td>90005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jons Market 4</td>
<td>840 S Alvarado St</td>
<td>90057</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jons Market 5</td>
<td>1500 W 6th St</td>
<td>90017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jons Market 6</td>
<td>1500 W Pico Blvd</td>
<td>90015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jons Market 8</td>
<td>1011 E Adams Blvd</td>
<td>90011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kawa Market</td>
<td>142 S Vermont Ave</td>
<td>90004</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Librorio Market</td>
<td>864 S Vermont Ave</td>
<td>90005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naga Food Market</td>
<td>227 S Vermont Ave</td>
<td>90004</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R Ranch Market</td>
<td>4040 W Washington Blvd</td>
<td>90018</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R Ranch Market</td>
<td>8601 Hooper Ave</td>
<td>90001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shop Wise Market</td>
<td>5829 S Compton Ave</td>
<td>90001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Superior Warehouse Food</td>
<td>7224 S Vermont Ave</td>
<td>90044</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Superior Warehouse Grocer</td>
<td>10211 Avalon Blvd</td>
<td>90003</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Superior Warehouse Grocer</td>
<td>7316 S Compton Ave</td>
<td>90001</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Total = 23**

Source: Rebuild LA, RLA Grocery Store Market Potential Study, October 1995

## Table 1.2
Independents in Rebuild LA Study Area (2002)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Store</th>
<th>Address</th>
<th>Zip</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>32nd Street Market</td>
<td>2129 S Hoover St</td>
<td>90007</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6th Street Market</td>
<td>1816 W Sixth St</td>
<td>90057</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Best Buy Foods Market</td>
<td>2250 W Pico Blvd.</td>
<td>90006</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>California Market</td>
<td>450 S Western Ave</td>
<td>90020</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>El Tapatio</td>
<td>310 E Florence</td>
<td>90003</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farm Fresh Ranch Market Inc</td>
<td>4373 S Vermont Ave</td>
<td>90037</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food Ranch Supermarket</td>
<td>4425 S Central Ave</td>
<td>90011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ham Nam Supermarket</td>
<td>2740 W Olympic Blvd</td>
<td>90006</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jons Market 1</td>
<td>3667 W 3rd St</td>
<td>90020</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jons Market 3</td>
<td>3334 W 8th St</td>
<td>90005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jons Market 4</td>
<td>840 S Alvarado St</td>
<td>90057</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jons Market 5</td>
<td>1500 W 6th St</td>
<td>90017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jons Market 6</td>
<td>1500 W Pico Blvd</td>
<td>90015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jons Market 8</td>
<td>1011 E Adams Blvd</td>
<td>90011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liborio Market</td>
<td>1831 W 3rd St</td>
<td>90057</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liborio Market</td>
<td>864 S Vermont Ave</td>
<td>90005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naga Food Market</td>
<td>227 S Vermont Ave</td>
<td>90004</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R Ranch Market</td>
<td>310 E Manchester Ave</td>
<td>90003</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R Ranch Market</td>
<td>4040 W Washington Blvd</td>
<td>90018</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R Ranch Market</td>
<td>8601 Hooper Ave</td>
<td>90001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shop Wise Market</td>
<td>5829 S Compton Ave</td>
<td>90001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Superior Warehouse Food</td>
<td>7224 S Vermont Ave</td>
<td>90044</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Superior Warehouse Grocer</td>
<td>1500 S Vermont Ave</td>
<td>90006</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Superior Warehouse Food</td>
<td>10211 Avalon Blvd</td>
<td>90003</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Superior Warehouse Grocer</td>
<td>8811 S Western Ave</td>
<td>90047</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Superior Warehouse Grocer</td>
<td>7316 S Compton Ave</td>
<td>90001</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Total = 26**

Source: American Business Directory (www.referenceusa.com), 2002
### Table 1.3
**Major Chain Supermarkets in RLA Study Area (1995)**
(Replica of chart published by RLA in 1995)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Store</th>
<th>Address</th>
<th>Zip</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Boys Market</td>
<td>10811 S Main St</td>
<td>90061</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boys Market</td>
<td>11202 Crenshaw Blvd</td>
<td>90303</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boys Market</td>
<td>11407 S Wilmington Ave</td>
<td>90059</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boys Market</td>
<td>11922 S Vermont Ave</td>
<td>90044</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boys Market</td>
<td>1730 W Manchester Ave</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boys Market</td>
<td>1748 W Jefferson Blvd</td>
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</tr>
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<td>Boys Market</td>
<td>3300 W Slauson Ave</td>
<td>90043</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boys Market</td>
<td>3670 Crenshaw Blvd</td>
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<td>Boys Market</td>
<td>4030 S Western Ave</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boys Market</td>
<td>4373 S Vermont Ave</td>
<td>90037</td>
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<tr>
<td>Boys Market</td>
<td>5824 S Vermont</td>
<td>90044</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boys Market</td>
<td>833 S Western</td>
<td>90005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boys Market</td>
<td>8620 Orchard Ave</td>
<td>90044</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food 4 Less</td>
<td>1091 S Hoover St</td>
<td>90006</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food 4 Less</td>
<td>11407 S Western Ave</td>
<td>90006</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food 4 Less</td>
<td>1651 E 103rd St</td>
<td>90002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food 4 Less</td>
<td>5318 S Main St</td>
<td>90037</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lucky Store</td>
<td>3901 Crenshaw Blvd</td>
<td>90008</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ralphs Grocery Co</td>
<td>1010 Western Ave</td>
<td>90006</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ralphs Grocery Co</td>
<td>3200 Century Blvd.</td>
<td>90030</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ralphs Grocery Co</td>
<td>3410 W 3rd St</td>
<td>90020</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ralphs Grocery Co</td>
<td>4360 S Figueroa St</td>
<td>90037</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smart &amp; Final</td>
<td>2720 Beverly Blvd</td>
<td>90057</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smart &amp; Final</td>
<td>2929 Crenshaw Blvd.</td>
<td>90016</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smart &amp; Final</td>
<td>2949 W Pico Blvd</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smart &amp; Final</td>
<td>3607 S Vermont Ave</td>
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<td>6201 S Alameda St</td>
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<tr>
<td>Smart &amp; Final</td>
<td>8137 S Vermont Ave</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Viva Market</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vons Co</td>
<td>1831 W 3rd St</td>
<td>90057</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vons Co</td>
<td>2616 W Imperial Highway</td>
<td>90030</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vons Co</td>
<td>3461 W Third St</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Total = 32**

### Table 1.4
**Major Chain Supermarkets in RLA Study Area (2002)**
(Compiled from the American Business Directory in Appendix)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Store</th>
<th>Address</th>
<th>Zip</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Albertson’s</td>
<td>3901 Crenshaw Blvd</td>
<td>90008</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food 4 Less</td>
<td>1091 S Hoover St</td>
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<td>11407 S Western Ave</td>
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</tr>
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<td>1717 S Western Ave</td>
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</tr>
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<tr>
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<td>2600 S Vermont Ave</td>
<td>90007</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food 4 Less</td>
<td>3200 Century Blvd</td>
<td>90030</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ralphs Grocery Co</td>
<td>11202 Crenshaw Blvd</td>
<td>90030</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
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<td>90047</td>
</tr>
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<td>1748 S Jefferson Blvd</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Ralphs Grocery Co</td>
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<td>90020</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ralphs Grocery Co</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ralphs Grocery Co</td>
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<td>90005</td>
</tr>
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<td>8620 Orchard Ave</td>
<td>90044</td>
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<td>Smart &amp; Final</td>
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**Total = 30**
Table 1.5
Major Chain Supermarkets in RLA Study Area (1992)

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<tr>
<td>Boys Market+</td>
<td>11922 S Vermont Ave</td>
<td>90044</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
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Table 1.6
Major Chain Supermarkets In RLA Study Area (2002)

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<td>Food 4 Less***</td>
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<td>1717 S Western</td>
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<tr>
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<td>5318 S Main St</td>
<td>90037</td>
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<tr>
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<td>90030</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food 4 Less+</td>
<td>1748 W Jefferson</td>
<td>90018</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>11202 Crenshaw Blvd</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ralphs Grocery Co+</td>
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<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vons Co</td>
<td>3461 W Third St</td>
<td>90020</td>
</tr>
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</table>


Key

+ = Name change or company change
** = Closed store since 1992
*** = Newly constructed store since 1992

The RLA Study included a Smart & Final at 2720 Beverly Blvd that is not actually in the study area. In order to maintain consistency it was included in Tables 1.3 and 1.4, but in order to present an accurate picture it was not included in Tables 1.5 and 1.6.

The RLA Study did not include a Smart & Final at 1125 E El Segundo Blvd, or at 1216 Compton Ave though stores have been located there since 1992. In an effort to acknowledge the existence of these two stores despite the fact that RLA left them off of their list, the two locations were included in Table 1.5 as well as this version of the 2002 chart (Table 1.6).

These two differences account for the 31 total in Table 1.6 as oppose to the 30 total in Table 1.4.
# Los Angeles County Businesses that fall under Government SIC code 5411
and gross $10000000 or more annually

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NAME</th>
<th>ADDRESS</th>
<th>CITY</th>
<th>ST</th>
<th>ZIP CODE</th>
<th>PHONE</th>
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<tr>
<td>99 RANCH MARKET</td>
<td>1300 S GOLDEN WEST AVE</td>
<td>ARCADIA</td>
<td>CA</td>
<td>91007</td>
<td>(626) 445-7899</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>99 RANCH MARKET</td>
<td>1015 NOGALES ST</td>
<td>ROWLAND HEIGHTS</td>
<td>CA</td>
<td>91748</td>
<td>(626) 964-5888</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>99 RANCH MARKET</td>
<td>8150 GARVEY AVE # 121</td>
<td>ROSEMEAD</td>
<td>CA</td>
<td>91770</td>
<td>(626) 573-3699</td>
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<tr>
<td>AI HOA SUPERMARKET</td>
<td>421 N ATLANTIC BLVD</td>
<td>MONTEREY PARK</td>
<td>CA</td>
<td>91754</td>
<td>(626) 308-0096</td>
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<tr>
<td>ALBERTSON’S</td>
<td>3901 CRENSHAW BLVD</td>
<td>LOS ANGELES</td>
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<td>(323) 295-1919</td>
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<tr>
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<td>3480 S LA BREA AVE</td>
<td>LOS ANGELES</td>
<td>CA</td>
<td>90016</td>
<td>(323) 299-2649</td>
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<tr>
<td>ALBERTSON’S</td>
<td>2035 HILLHURST AVE</td>
<td>LOS ANGELES</td>
<td>CA</td>
<td>90027</td>
<td>(323) 660-0687</td>
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<tr>
<td>ALBERTSON’S</td>
<td>3443 S SEPULVEDA BLVD</td>
<td>LOS ANGELES</td>
<td>CA</td>
<td>90034</td>
<td>(310) 390-7857</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ALBERTSON’S</td>
<td>8985 VENICE BLVD # B</td>
<td>LOS ANGELES</td>
<td>CA</td>
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<td>(310) 202-6167</td>
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<td>8448 LINCOLN BLVD</td>
<td>LOS ANGELES</td>
<td>CA</td>
<td>90045</td>
<td>(310) 645-3518</td>
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<tr>
<td>ALBERTSON’S</td>
<td>133 W AVENUE 45</td>
<td>LOS ANGELES</td>
<td>CA</td>
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<td>(323) 221-4108</td>
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<td>LOS ANGELES</td>
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<td>ALBERTSON’S</td>
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<td>HAWTHORNE</td>
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<td>RANCHO PLS VRDS</td>
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<tr>
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<td>REDONDO BEACH</td>
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<td>(310) 316-3551</td>
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<td>13401 WASHINGTON BLVD</td>
<td>MARINA DEL REY</td>
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<td>SANTA MONICA</td>
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<td>90745</td>
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Appendix
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<tr>
<th>Business Name</th>
<th>Address</th>
<th>City</th>
<th>State</th>
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<td>LONG BEACH</td>
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<td>ALBERTSON’S</td>
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<tr>
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Los Angeles County Businesses that fall under Government SIC code 5411 and gross $1000000 or more annually, cont...
Los Angeles County Businesses that fall under Government SIC code 5411 and gross $10000000 or more annually, cont...

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Appendix
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