

Strengthening Labor Protections in Public University Food Supply Chains

APRIL 2022

PRESENTED TO

*The Worker-driven Social
Responsibility Network*

PRESENTED BY

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WSR

**WORKER-DRIVEN
SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY
NETWORK**



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Disclaimer

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Honor Statement

On my honor as a student, I have neither given nor received unauthorized aid on this assignment.

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Maya Stephens". The signature is fluid and cursive, with "Maya" on the first line and "Stephens" on the second line, which ends with a flourish.

About the Worker-driven Social Responsibility Network

The Worker-driven Social Responsibility Network (WSRN) is a small workers' rights nonprofit that seeks to expand the implementation of the Worker-driven Social Responsibility (WSR) model to new industries and regions across the globe. Founded out of a recognition of the shortcomings of common corporate-social responsibility schemes and multi-stakeholder initiatives, WSR leverages the power of worker voice and empowerment to create meaningful change in the labor conditions of supply chains. Through protests and campaigns to push industry leaders to sign legally enforceable contracts regarding the ethics in their supply chains, WSRN and its partners have been able to implement important worker protection mechanisms in various industries. As of April 2022, WSRN supports four main WSR programs: Milk with Dignity (Vermont, USA), Fair Food Program (Florida, USA), Gender Justice for Lesotho Apparel (Lesotho), and the Accord on Fire and Building Safety (Bangladesh).

Organization Abbreviations

FFP – Fair Food Program
GFPP – Good Food Purchasing Program
MWD – Milk with Dignity
RFC – Real Food Challenge
WRC – Worker Rights Consortium
WSRN – Worker-driven Social Responsibility Network

Concept Definitions

Worker-driven Social Responsibility (WSR) – The model of supply chain worker protection that the Fair Food Program, Milk with Dignity, and other WSRN-supported programs are based upon. Founded on the understanding that in order for workers' rights and wellbeing to be truly protected and respected, change must be driven from the workers themselves. Notably, the model requires that the workers are at the forefront of how programs are designed and enforced, companies signed to the program are bound to legally-enforceable agreements, and enforcement mechanisms are created in a manner effective for the specific community of impacted workers.

Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) – Refers to a mission statement or initiative, often undertaken by a private enterprise, to enhance the positive social consequences from said corporation's operations. Occurs in many forms including initiatives about environmental sustainability, diversity, equity, and inclusion, labor support, and community enrichment.

Brand – Term referring to the companies and corporations that the WSRN's partners have signed onto a WSR program or may be campaigning to sign a WSR agreement. Examples are Taco Bell, Walmart, and Ben & Jerry's. May also be referred to as "Commercial Food."

Supplier/Grower – Term referring to the farms and agricultural sites that provide goods to national food and dining brands.

Executive Summary

Large companies that supply food products to institutions across the USA are some of the most likely to be involved in labor rights violations, as downward pressure is consistently put on their supply chain to lower costs for a competitive advantage. Often, these lowered costs come in the form of wage reduction or theft, improper maintenance of workplace facilities, or fewer resources for supply chain laborers, leading to labor rights violations. Due to their own pressure to keep procurement costs low, public universities are prone to purchasing their agricultural goods from these large companies, and thus are indirectly supporting corporations with the most likelihood of being involved in labor rights violations.

The Worker-driven Social Responsibility model represents an opportunity for universities to better ensure their agricultural supply chains are not supporting systems of labor violence. Historically, change to university procurement practices has come strongly from student voice and activism. However, there are other less explored avenues for addressing college food procurement at the company and the state level. Commercial food companies, such as fast-food chains, bring their own supply chain practices to the universities where they operate and have the most direct control over changing their supply chain labor codes. Additionally, some state governments are also heavily involved in the public university procurement process. Frequently, procurement contracts over a given monetary threshold must be turned over or approved by state government agencies, though there are some states that give complete discretion to universities for how they purchase needed products.

In order to support the effort to have universities apply WSR practices to their procurement of agricultural goods, this report proposed three policy options:

1. Target Major Food Brands with University Presence
2. State-level Civic Organizing
3. Supporting Student Activism on College Campuses

After assessing the options using the evaluative criteria of effectiveness, political feasibility, and organizational feasibility over a ten-year time span, it is recommended that WSRN pursue an initiative to engage students on supply chain labor rights issues and leverage their collective voice to influence university administrative decisions about food procurement. The University of Vermont, University of California – Berkeley, and University of North Carolina – Chapel Hill are optimal universities to begin student-led initiatives. Identifying key stakeholders of this program, such as WSRN partners, student organizations, and university administrators, will be most important in the creation of organizationally feasible campaigns. Additionally, messaging to students and maintaining an adaptable mindset is critical to the success of this policy option.

Problem Statement

Agriculture workers only make up about 1% of total U.S. employment, but account for approximately 7% of all labor violation investigations and 3% of verified labor violations by the Wage and Hour Division of the U.S. Department of Labor, often due to a company's attempt to cut costs by withholding earned wages from workers (Costa et al., 2020). Most public universities spend millions of dollars each year on food, consequently impacting the work environment of these food supply chain workers. Yet, when universities make these purchases or contract with major dining service providers, cost efficiency is usually the main driver of who supplies university food (Young et al., 2015). Without considering a company's labor practices or history of human rights violations, public universities are likely to be partnering, and thus supporting, companies with a high likelihood of allowing or indirectly committing labor rights violations during the university procurement process.



Background

Before considering various paths to changing the university food procurement system, it is imperative to understand why this is an important undertaking through acknowledging the extent of labor rights abuses in the United States for agriculture workers. Additionally, well informed policy alternatives cannot be curated without an understanding of how public university food procurement generally functions, including the various pressures and goals under which university administration operates. The following section will highlight the commonality of labor violations, particularly under large companies, and provide a briefing of the Worker-driven Social Responsibility model as a potential solution to labor rights violations in agriculture. After, an overview of the university food procurement process and its many competing components will be given.

Labor Abuses in the U.S. Agricultural Industry and Worker-driven Social Responsibility

Workers at the bottom of agricultural industry supply chains are one of the most vulnerable populations in the United States. An estimated 50% of agricultural labor is done by undocumented workers, who face inherent power imbalances with their managers and communities (FWD, 2021). Additionally, jobs in the agriculture industry are among some of the most dangerous, being ranked the 10th most dangerous industry by Business Insider in 2021 (Kiersz & Hoff, 2021). Positions at the bottom of the agriculture supply chain are also generally low-paid, with federal wage laws not applying to overtime work or workers on small farms (Costa, 2021; Farmworker Justice, n.d.).

All of these components have led tomato farms in Florida to be referred to by the U.S. government as "ground zero for modern slavery" (Bowe, 2003). Human Rights Watch has called upon the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) to address workplace safety in the meat and poultry industries, noting the federal statistic that a worker in this industry is sent to the hospital for a workplace injury every other day (Human Rights Watch, 2021). A 2017 report about dairy farm workers in New York documents not only exceptionally high rates of workplace injury, but also reports nearly 30% of workers experiencing some form of wage theft and about one-third of workers living in employer-provided housing with structural damage or bug infestations (Fox et al., 2017). These are just a handful of examples of labor and human rights abuses taking place for agricultural workers in the United States. Though the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 and rise of private regulation within the frame of corporate social responsibility (CSR) creates a sentiment that these labor abuses are diminishing and being handled with more care, the effectiveness of these systems are in high question and underreporting remains rampant in the field (Salines, 2021; Fine & Gordon, 2018).

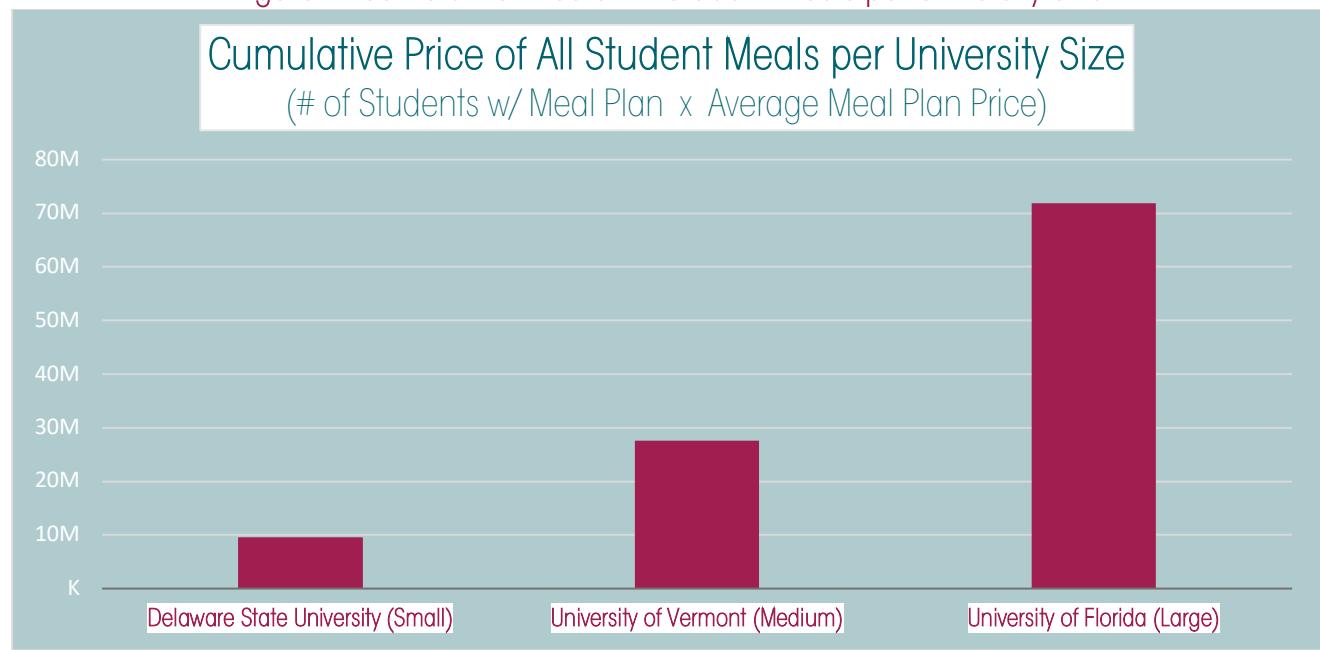
Out of the previous failures of government enforcement, as well as CSR initiatives that did not protect and listen to supply chain workers, rose a new approach: Worker-driven Social Responsibility (WSR). The WSR model is founded on the central idea that the workers who are impacted on a daily basis by human rights abuses at work should be the ones driving the conversation and creating the solutions needed to bring dignified living and working conditions to their community and workplace. With the assistance of trusted,

third-party standards councils, workers are able to drive the solution to workplace injustices without risking retaliation or being solely responsible for addressing a workplace grievance. Leveraging pressure that suppliers feel to maintain a brand's business and reputation, the WSR model targets corporations at the top of supply chains requiring them to legally commit to new binding agreements. Critically, the agreements feature promises to only use suppliers who abide by labor and workplace protection standards, which have been written by workers within the industry. Thus far, the model has been successful in improving worker wellbeing in agricultural supply chains (Gladstone, 2020).

University Food Procurement Process

A medium sized, four-year public university in the United States enrolls between 5,000 to 15,000 students each year (CollegeData, n.d.). Universities are under immense pressure to provide enough food for all of these students and enough options to keep the student body satisfied. Looking across examples of small, medium and large public universities in the United States, it becomes evident that universities spend millions on food procurement each year (see Figure 1). For this reason, most public universities have several channels of bringing food to campus. The primary two types of food suppliers are "dining companies" and "commercial food" options. These suppliers are not the only two resources that universities rely upon to receive agricultural products. For instance, many universities have started "source local" initiatives to partner with local farms. Though these smaller initiatives are generally marketed as more sustainable, they are not necessarily guaranteed to reduce a university's interaction with potential labor rights violations.

Figure 1: Cumulative Price of All Student Meals per University Size



*Information from Data USA (2021) and Primary University Websites. Estimates are approximations.

Dining companies are massive suppliers of bulk food to university dining halls and are usually the direct purchasers of food from farms and other initial suppliers. In the university space, Aramark, Sodexo, and Compass Group are the main three brands that universities contract to supply food to their establishment (Friends of the Earth, 2018). Generally, universities enter into multi-year contracts with these companies. These massive contracts have occasionally served as roadblocks to universities implementing more ethical purchasing practices, though procurement officials note that almost all contracts can be amended to incorporate new, mutually agreed upon stipulations.

The more familiar college food partners are commercial food chains. For example, brands such as Subway, Chick-fil-A, Wendy's, and Ben & Jerry's can all be found on many college campuses. These companies sign deals with universities to operate on their campuses for a specified length of time, often a couple of years. At the end of these contracts, the agreement can be renewed, the company can choose to leave, or the university can refuse to resign the original deal. When these commercial food brands hold space on college campuses, they primarily adopt practices established by their national franchise. For instance, Subway is a signatory of the WSRN-affiliated Fair Food Program, and therefore uses tomatoes from the Fair Food Program. It is therefore likely that the Subways located on public university campuses also use Fair Food Program tomatoes. However, this is not an impermeable rule. Within contracts made with commercial food retailers, universities are able to add stipulations requiring certain elements of the business operation to align with university standards.

A final element of the university food procurement process is the role of state government. Public universities are subject to state law, and therefore, there are many opportunities for intersection between what the university would like to do and what the state will allow it to do. For instance, states may have a threshold of purchase amount that if not exceeded allows the university to carry out procurement as it pleases. However, if this threshold is exceeded, state rules and regulations begin to apply (Virginia Association of State College & University Purchasing Professionals, 2021). These purchasing thresholds vary by state, where some states provide public universities with full autonomy over their purchases, while others have monetary thresholds that determine purchasing authority. Further complicating the process is a multitude of other legal stipulations from the state that require universities to go about procurement in a certain manner. As an example, New York has "Preferred Sources" which are three social organizations that must be purchased from if they are able to fill a procurement request (The State University of New York, n.d.). Many governments do include procurement codes attempting to reinforce ethical purchasing, such as reducing carbon footprints and not signing contracts with companies under legal investigation. Overall, the interaction between state procurement law and public universities is highly complex due to variation across the United States and the multitude of different provisions in each state's separate procurement codes.

Academic and Historical Precedent for Impacting University Procurement

There is limited empirical research on strategies for improving university food procurement practices in relation to labor ethics. However, a number of organizations focused on labor rights and procurement have tried to shift the process of procurement at either the university or local level. The combination of these organizations' previous techniques and the research available indicate three potential strategies by which WSRN might introduce labor ethics provisions into procurement decision-making: university administrative decisions, direct food supplier practices, and government policies.

Student and Nonprofit Leadership

Students have been shown to be a driving force for ethical purchasing at universities (Young et al., 2015; Lozano et al., 2013; Chen et al., 2010, 2011). There are two ways in which student coalitions for ethical supply can form. First, they may rise internally due to a group of likeminded students taking charge, but then eventually form into a named group or organization, often creating new chapters at other schools (Mero, 2012). Second, they can be the product of external nonprofits interested in ethical supply pushing for student involvement and representatives on campuses. In either scenario, a larger nonprofit group becomes involved in lobbying for better university purchasing practices.

A premiere example of students influencing university food purchasing practices is the Real Food Challenge (RFC). The RFC is a program that trains student members to mobilize other students at their university to push for the university to sign contracts with what the organization deems "real foods." Food items can be labeled as a "real food" if they meet one of the four main standards of the RFC: local and community based, fair, humane, and ecologically sound. Most RFC contracts involve a commitment to aim for 20% of university purchased food to be from real foods (Real Food Challenge [RFC], n.d.). To date, over 80 schools have signed RFC contracts, totaling around \$80 million annually in food supply (RFC, 2018). The RFC's website also highlights the use of their model to anchor newer, smaller businesses in the agriculture industry (RFC, n.d.). A challenge in assessing the impact of the RFC is that most reports about the progress of the RFC are written by student-led news organizations or as an undergraduate student thesis (Real Food Challenge, n.d.; Kingston, 2015; Porter, 2015). Though this stifles quantitative analysis, it also reemphasizes the key role students play in keeping the conversation about ethical and sustainable purchasing at the forefront of the university's operations.

Another successful example of reforming university purchasing, this time in the apparel sector, occurred with the Worker Rights Consortium (WRC) and their partnership with United Students Against Sweatshops (USAS). As an independent labor rights monitoring group of clothing suppliers, the WRC informs universities of when labor violations are found to be present in their garment supply chains. Thus, the WRC works as both an advisor to universities on ethical supply practices and a monitoring and reporting system for factories in across the globe (Ross, 2011). There are currently 152 collegiate partners to the WRC (Worker Rights Consortium, 2021). The approach to target universities and their supply chains is supported well by an argument from Alexander Gourevitch (2001). He suggests that because consumers

have little monitoring power over factory conditions and companies are not incentivized to realign their supply chains with ethical labor practices, universities are uniquely positioned as organized, engaged consumers. This proactivity of universities, he claims, is maintained through student activism (Gourevitch, 2001).



University Leadership

There is a large breadth of research that indicates creating ethical purchasing practices from universities require strong leadership from university administration (Lozano et al., 2013; Adams, 2013; Young et al., 2015, Chen et al., 2010, 2011). This research primarily has focused on environmental sustainability, as opposed to socially responsible practices, in which labor issues would typically lie. However, it is key that university dining service decision-makers are involved in sustainable purchasing conversations in order for supply practices to be changed. Pressure on these individuals to change dining supply practices may come from other university administrators or from the students, but just as important may be the hiring of dining administration staff that are passionate about ethical dining supply chains (Chen et al., 2011; Lozano, 2013; Stahlbrand, 2016). City level procurement campaigns have demonstrated a need for a political or internal “champion” of the ethical purchasing policy, which may be an adequate proxy for the type of leadership at the decision-making level necessary at universities (Richbart, 2017).

Non-University, Agriculture-Focused Ethical Procurement

While there are an enormous amount of certification programs¹ for the ethical production of agricultural goods, claiming protection of labor rights among other sustainable qualities, there are only a couple of organizations that focus directly on influencing large-scale procurement. A significant portion of these certification programs have been adopted as ethical supply labels by the Good Food Purchasing Program

¹ Certification programs are strategies employed by industry-specific corporate conglomerates, government agencies, and independent nongovernmental organizations that give companies a seal of approval for meeting a mission-relevant benchmark or working toward said benchmark. Examples are Fair Trade USA, B Corp, and USDA Organic.

(GFPP). The GFPP is the leading food-focused procurement organization, primarily working with local governments and school districts on their agriculture purchases (Farnsworth et al., 2019). In order to be a certified GFPP participant, institutions must meet a baseline level of compliance within five categories: local economics, environmental sustainability, valued workforce, humane treatment of animals, and health and nutrition. Institutions then work with the GFPP to improve their rating on a tiered scale through accomplishing set goals and subscribing to certification programs deemed meaningful by GFPP and national experts.

There are 43 enrolled institutions and local GFPP coalitions in 16 cities across the U.S., estimating about \$1 billion spent each year on food total (Good Food Purchasing Program [GFPP], n.d.). The impact of the GFPP is mostly seen at a local level, where in the Los Angeles Unified School District, the program was able to redirect over \$10 million in purchasing to local produce growers and in a two year span, the district doubled the amount of their dining budget that went to local businesses (Lo & Delwiche, 2016). Due to the focus on local sourcing, these results may not be able to be replicated for systems in which local producers are not able to meet supply needs. Additionally, success of redistributing funds to local growers does not on its own verify ethical labor practices or procurement.

Procurement is not the central focus of many other food-focused organizations, though it is occasionally incorporated into action plans by these non-profit policy influencers. For instance, the Sustainable Food Places organization out of the United Kingdom incorporates “catering and procurement” into one of its target areas for promoting local level sustainable food operations (Sustainable Food Places, n.d.). Once again, the vast majority of these programs focus on transitions to local food purchasing, instead of verifying that purchases from larger, non-local suppliers are in line with ethical labor codes.

Contract and Commercial Group Initiatives

There are three leading companies that supply food to university dining halls and other food services: Aramark, Sodexo, and Compass Group. Each company makes near \$20 billion per year in revenues and they account for supplying over half of the country’s cafeterias in universities, hospitals, and prisons (Mathewson, 2017; Friends of the Earth, 2018). Aramark, Sodexo, and Compass Group are already buyers from the Fair Food Program, WSR’s largest agriculture program to date. These companies have put generous effort toward incorporating and marketing their sustainable supply chain practices.

The three companies tend to follow one another in terms of sustainable actions, likely to keep pace with their market competition. For instance, Compass Group pledged to use all cage-free eggs by 2019 once both Aramark and Sodexo had done so themselves (Bhumitra, 2015). The organizations share similar goals around sustainable fishing, cutting environmental damages, and all follow the United Nations relevant Sustainable Development Goals (Aramark, 2020; Sodexo Group, 2020; Compass Group, 2020). The exact methods that the companies employ to achieve their supply goals are extremely diverse and case dependent. For example, Aramark highlights their inclusion of small businesses in their sourcing practices, while Sodexo references strongly to the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals and their own environmental sustainability initiatives.

Figure 2: Pressures and Impact Chain of University Food Procurement



Along with dining hall food supplier contracts, public universities will commonly also have contractual relationships with commercial food brands. Typically, these restaurants are popular, well-known organizations, such as Subway, Ben & Jerry's, Wendy's, and other similar establishments. These commercial food options carry their own individual sustainability and purchasing practices to the university they are operating within, and thus have the potential to influence and signal about the overall food purchasing practices at an institution (Chen, 2010).

Some commercial food companies have struggled to gain spots on college campuses due to a lack of ethical purchasing. For instance, Wendy's has long been petitioned by the Fair Food Program to sign on to their program, but has continuously refused to do so, resulting in students at the University of Michigan protesting against Wendy's receiving a spot on their campus (Farkas, 2019). However, the effectiveness of this student-focused approach on fast food chains is questionable, as similar student actions did not stop Ohio State from renewing a contract with Wendy's (Kidwell & Langer, 2021). Nevertheless, the ability of universities to decide which commercial food suppliers to sign or renew contracts with provides a window of opportunity for more ethical dining options to become prevalent on campuses.

Main Takeaways

A large proportion of the existing literature on influencing university purchasing practices to become more ethical or sustainable focuses on the role of student involvement. Students, often in partnerships with nonprofit organizations, are able to apply pressure to university leaders to make supply changes in the sustainable direction. University leaders are also able to spearhead movements to ethical supply contracts. However, much of the research on these initiatives comes from student groups, undergraduate theses, or reports done by the nonprofits and their leadership. There are very few sources that empirically

research the effects of student organizing on university supply chains practices. Nevertheless, student movements are fairly common and could be considered as a potential route for WSR to explore in addressing university procurement.

Students and university administration are not the only supply chain decision makers; In fact, they may have less control over the actual supply practices than other relevant actors. Most universities contract their dining services to large-scale dining brands, as well as contract with commercial food retailers. These national food enterprises have direct control over their own sustainability practices, and are also susceptible to pressures from citizens or public institutions to modify their supply chain to be more ethically driven. Directly addressing these organizations is the current model that WSR undertakes to promote supply chain labor ethics.

There are also other non-university related organizations fighting for better procurement practices in the contexts of local/state government and school districts. Insights can be taken from these programs about both successes and challenges in changing procurement strategies. The vast majority of these university and non-university initiatives have been entirely or primarily focused on environmental sustainability, once again limiting the direct research on labor rights-focused purchasing changes.

All of the above insights indicate certain areas of a university's scope that can potentially influence food procurement's interaction with labor rights violations. The interaction of universities and the state's government may also be an interesting area to explore windows of opportunity for WSRN to become involved in state procurement decisions. Possible policy alternatives can be derived from these areas of influence.



Policy Alternatives

Alternative #1: Targeting Major Food Brands with University Presence

The WSR model emerged from an analysis of power, where brands at the top of supply chains are seen as having the market power necessary to make effective changes within their supply chain by using such power as leverage to implement worker-driven solutions (Gladstone, 2020). This is the method through which WSR's two current USA based food programs, the Fair Food Program (FFP) and Milk with Dignity (MWD) have achieved partnerships with large commercial food corporations, such as McDonalds and Ben & Jerry's. Using the same method that has proven successful in the past, pressure could be applied to the most common dining management companies or brands of universities. The three main mass dining suppliers for universities, Aramark, Sodexo, and Compass Group, are already participating buyers of the FFP (Friends of the Earth, 2018). However, they are not signed onto the MWD program. In addition, common fast-food chains that appear on college campuses could also be the target of WSR-partner campaigns. This alternative effectively circumvents interaction with university or state policies and is consistent with previous campaigns that WSRN members have completed in the past.

Alternative #2: State-level Civic Organizing

For a wide variety of states, many public university agricultural purchases are handed over to state governments to validate. There are many different relationships the state government can have with university procurement, including but not limited to requiring universities to accept the lowest costing bid, giving the university full autonomy of procurement, and requiring expenditures over a certain threshold to go through or be validated by the state (Hurley et al., 2010). If states change current procurement codes to give preference to procurement bids from organizations with strong labor rights protection histories, such as WSR program participants, this policy change would also impact many university purchases that have fallen to state jurisdiction. Beginning conversations with legislators and gathering support from state constituents could potentially convince lawmakers to add in a labor rights addendum to their current procurement codes.

Alternative #3: Grassroots Organizing on College Campuses

Many social initiatives have begun with grassroots organizing on college campuses. For instance, the Real Food Challenge (RFC) and Workers Right Consortium (WRC) have found great success through utilizing student voice (Wells, 2013; Mero, 2012). Additionally, conversations with university personnel have emphasized the impact that student protests and activism can make on administrative decisions. Engaging with the decision-makers at universities would likely also be a central component of working directly on college campuses. Through this alternative, WSRN member organizations could expand the current Student/Farmworker Alliance (SFA) group to more college campuses, provide resources to strengthen their presence on campuses, begin shifting student focus to their own institutions, and integrate Milk with Dignity into the campaign efforts.

Evaluative Criteria

Proposed policy alternatives will be evaluated using three criteria: effectiveness, political feasibility, and organizational feasibility. Estimates are made based on predictions for a 10-year time period, beginning in 2022. The decision to leave other common criteria off this list, such as equity and cost, was made based on the context of WSRN's work. The mission of WSRN inherently reduces inequities in labor and the degree to which equity is decreased via an initiative will then be captured in the alternative's effectiveness. Additionally, placing a monetary estimate on the protection of supply chain workers' labor rights and empowerment is not aligned with WSRN's core principles and values. Concerns related to cost may be absorbed in the organizational feasibility predictions, but are not inherently linked to the value of expanding the WSR program and protecting workers.

Effectiveness

The criterion of effectiveness refers to how well an intervention accomplishes the client's goal. WSRN's outcome for effectiveness is the number of universities that have *WSR-supportive* food procurement practices. A university will be considered in support of WSR agricultural programs if they have promised procurement preference to companies that are signed onto WSR programs. This requires a binding commitment, otherwise understood as written agreements, to support WSR participating buyers in food procurement. Verbal promises will not be considered as a change in unit of effectiveness. If this change is made at the state-level, then all of the state's public universities will be designated as *WSR-supportive*.

The outcome of effectiveness must be slightly modified when analyzing the option of targeting companies, since a new WSR contract with a food brand does not change procurement codes within universities. Instead, the number of new contracts with companies over a ten-year period will be the measure of effectiveness. This decision lies on the assumption that the positive consequences for workers is equivalent between a new company contract and university contract. Since a contract with a commercial food group common on college campuses does expand the practice of WSR principals on college campuses, but does not enforce those principals throughout an entire singular university, the net gain in impact is assumed to be similar.

Political Feasibility

All policy initiatives need to evaluate the current *ecosystem* of that policy area. This understanding provides insight on the political feasibility of an alternative, referring to the likelihood that the initiative could succeed in the present political landscape. The "political" entity may change based on the alternative. Operationalization of these different political environments for the relevant institutions are described as such:

Company Level: Political feasibility is constructed from the history of similar corporations taking on labor rights initiatives, their own company's record in emphasizing ethical sourcing, and current media

attention and public engagement on issues of labor rights and violations. A company's number of corporate-social responsibility (CSR) certifications will also concretely inform political feasibility estimates.

State Level: Political environment is made up of the party in control of the state's House of Representatives, Senate, and executive branch. The emphasis and stance taken by state legislators and the governor's cabinet on issues of ethical sourcing, racial equity, employee wellbeing, immigration, sustainability, and related issues will heavily contribute to the likelihood of WSRN initiatives obtaining state-level traction. Finally, the attitude of the state's constituency around these topics will feed into political feasibility. An analysis of prior related social movements in the state will inform this calculation.

University Level: At public universities in the United States, the political feasibility of creating policy change is largely decided by the university's administration, board of trustees, and students. Several online platforms have ranked U.S. universities by their level of ethical or sustainable practices, which will assist in evaluating a college's prior emphasis toward labor rights. Alongside these indicators, an analysis of the university's prior student engagement on human rights and equity issues and the administrations and board's response to this activism will contribute to the political feasibility score received (Chen et al., 2011). Lastly, the number of other public CSR-related initiatives by the university and their level of publicity will be assessed and used to determine the current political environment.

Policy alternatives will be given a political feasibility score, ranging from one to five. A score of one indicates extremely low viability that the policy alternative could succeed in the current political environment, while a score of five indicates near certainty that the initiative would be enacted.

Organizational Feasibility

A final criterion is operational feasibility for WSRN member organizations. As expressed by the client, the largest resource constraint is time. Thus, the estimated amount of attention and energy a project is expected to receive will heavily contribute to the score received on organizational feasibility. Additionally, as a relatively small nonprofit, there is a limited budget that can be put toward new initiatives. Expensive alternatives, despite their level of anticipated impact, will receive low estimates for organizational feasibility. Alignment of an alternative with the values and mission of WSRN will also be a component of organizational feasibility. WSRN has high standards for social justice being met in every aspect of their operation. Thus, certain components of policy alternatives must align with these standards. For example, policy initiatives must require binding and enforceable contracts and for agricultural workers themselves to be involved in advocacy. The degree to which this is possible for a given policy initiative will be assessed and put into the final organizational score received for each alternative.

Policy alternatives will be given an organizational feasibility score, ranging from one to five. A score of one indicates extremely low viability that the policy alternative is actionable for WSRN members at the current moment, while a score of five indicates near certainty that the initiative would be adopted by its members.

Analysis of Policy Alternatives

Alternative 1: Targeting Major Food Brands with University Presence

Effectiveness

Running public campaigns in order to pressure food brands to sign onto WSR programs is the current strategy for WSRN members. Therefore, this alternative is considered the status quo with the qualifier of targeting businesses that are commonly found on public university campuses. This method of increasing WSR program presence on college campuses effectively circumvents WSRN members having to interact with the university itself or state government. However, the outcome by which effectiveness is measured is the number of universities with WSR-prioritizing procurement codes, which this method will not generate. Yet, common fast food chains on college campuses are still interacting with universities and would be a positive gain for WSR programs if they sign contracts. Thus, the alternative should not be entirely discounted. Instead, for this policy option only, the number of new contracts signed by prevalent food chains on college campuses is the outcome of effectiveness.

As the Milk with Dignity (MWD) campaign only has one buyer, the Fair Food Program (FFP) was used as the primary precedent for how many companies can be expected to sign WSR contracts in a ten-year period. When the FFP first gained traction, the program brought on about one new company per year (The Fair Food Program[FFP], n.d.). However, there have been no new buyers since 2016. This plateau period warns of difficulty getting new companies to sign WSR contracts. New buyers do tend to join the program in waves – a consequence of trying to keep up with their competition. Thus, a slow start to getting common commercial chains at colleges to sign WSR contracts is expected, but ultimately about three are predicted to join in a 10-year period.

Political Feasibility

When considering the feasibility that a company responds to a campaign by WSRN members with signing a WSR contract, the brand's previous commitment to ethical labor practices needs to be strongly examined. Starbucks, Chick-fil-A, and Einstein Bros Bagels have been determined as the top three companies WSRN members should target campaigns toward. These organizations were chosen based on their commonality on public college campuses, the size of the corporation, and their proficient use of products provided by WSR programs. In order to assess their feasibility of taking up a WSR-contract, the table below logs previous ethical labor commitments and industry norms that may contribute to the company's likelihood of signing an agreement.

	Certifications/Programs	Value Statements	Industry Pressure
Starbucks	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Partners with SCS Global Services Ethical Tea Partnership Coffee and Farmer Equity Practices (C.A.F.E. Practices) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Strong emphasis on sustainability of coffee sources Large focus on retail workers wellbeing, but less mention of non-coffee agricultural workers in their supply chains Disability-inclusion 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Would be first coffee shop chain to join a WSR agreement Coffee industry faces lots of labor and sustainability attention, but the food products in the café are less focused on
Chick-fil-A	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Green Restaurant Certification Various "Best Employer" awards 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Emphasis on taking care of commercial location workers Sustainability efforts in local community and business practices No mention of labor in supply chain 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Many other fast food chains already signed onto WSR contracts Would be first chicken-focused fast food chain to sign WSR agreement
Einstein Bros Bagels	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Commitment to renewable energy in Texas 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Very little corporate-social responsibility information available Some focus on using fresh ingredients in their products 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Would be first café style restaurant to join WSR program

*Information in the table is primarily from company websites, sustainability pages, and Codes of Conduct. Limited sources from media articles.

**All citations listed in bibliography

Of the organizations evaluated in the table above, Starbucks has the strongest focus on labor in their supply chains. However, this emphasis only reaches as far as their coffee, tea, and manufactured goods providers (Starbucks Coffee Company, n.d.). Chick-fil-A discusses supply chain practices to the extent required by the California Transparency in Supply Chains Act of 2010 (Chick-fil-A, n.d.). Einstein Bros Bagels, as well as their parent company, Panera Brands, fails to mention any corporate-social responsibility (CSR) practices on their main webpage, apart from vague promises of fresh and good ingredients in their products (Einstein Bros Bagels, 2020). The lack of internal initiatives to improve supply chain labor practices highlights a dichotomy in political feasibility; A WSR contract may be less appealing to a company that does not already outwardly value supply chain laborers, but being the first chain in their industry to sign onto the WSR program also may boost brand reputation and fill a weak spot in the brand's CSR practices before an accident or scandal occurs and receives mass media attention

It has been seven years since the last buyer signed with the Fair Food Program (FFP) and five years since the first and only buyer contract with Milk with Dignity (MWD) (FFP, n.d.; Ben & Jerry's, 2017). The most recent company targeting efforts have been directed toward Hannaford grocery stores (MWD) and the Wendy's fast food chain (FFP), of which both companies have been holding out for several years against signing a WSR contract (Migrant Justice [MJ], 2019; Coalition of Immokalee Workers [CIW], 2014). This lack of current momentum of buyers participating in WSR programs decreases the feasibility of new companies joining, as often companies sign onto the program in order to match their competitors.

With the organizations' competing interests in signing a WSR contract and the limited momentum in adding new buyers to WSR programs currently, targeting companies that are common on university campuses receives a political feasibility score of two.

Organizational Feasibility

The process of campaigning for certain brands to sign WSR contracts is familiar and status quo for WSRN members. Though each campaign has its own human capital and resource expenditures, this alternative merely suggests shifting campaign focus to one of the top three recommended brands (Starbucks, Chick-fil-A, and Einstein Bros Bagels). Since WSRN members are well practiced in running these types of campaigns, the operational feasibility is extremely high, receiving a score of five.

Alternative 2: State-level Community Organizing

Effectiveness

There are very few comparable campaigns with a supply chain labor or procurement focus to set precedent for change at the state level. The Good Food Purchasing Program (GFPP) is the closest initiative, as they work in the agricultural procurement space and target institutions at the local level. Their model was first implemented in 2012 in Los Angeles, and began expanding to other parts of the country in 2015. Since then, they've had eight localities adopt the GFPP model, averaging about one per year (Center for Good Food Purchasing [CGFP], 2021).

It is assumed that creating legislative change at the state level will be vastly more difficult than changing procurement practices at selected institutions in one locality. Therefore, the expected rate of being able to influence states to adopt a WSR procurement strategy has been adjusted from the GFPP progress to take additional time. It is estimated that in 10 years, the WSRN could have two states adopt WSR procurement contracts. However, the average number of public universities in the states listed as the top ten most feasible (see Appendix A) is 41 when removing the outlier of California. Thus, in a 10-year span with two states estimated to sign contracts, WSRN members could expect about 82 public universities to have to abide by WSR procurement standards.

Political Feasibility

At the state government level, political feasibility is heavily influenced by the political leanings of the state, the potential for social activism, and how the consequences of the policy change would impact important metrics for state officials, such as economic growth. The following three states were chosen as the most likely to adopt a procurement policy involving WSR programs prioritization based on the prior listed elements: California, Vermont, and New York. See the table below for further details of each state's context on party control, prior community organizing, and other potential influences.

	Political Party	State Activism	Other Influences
California	Strong Democratic	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Starting location for many similar programs, such as the Good Food Purchasing Program By far, has the most strikes and protests by the United Farm Workers organization of any state 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Common launching pad for some of the most progressive policies in the U.S. Enacted the California Transparency in Supply Chains Act in 2010 Far distance from many WSR product suppliers, risking quality of goods
Vermont	Weak Democratic	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Large youth activist culture currently, primarily for climate change and systemic racism Migrant Justice has history of running protests in Vermont 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Dairy farming is a very large portion of Vermont's agricultural industry and overall economy Milk with Dignity program located in Vermont, making product access easier
New York	Strong Democratic	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> High union membership rates showing emphasis on labor practices regulation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> WSR Coordinating Committee members located in New York, NY Near MWD suppliers and New Jersey FFP suppliers, assisting in obtainment of high quality goods

*State political party was determined by past national and state election results, primarily using ballotpedia.org

**Locations of WSR programs and partners determined via organizations' websites

***All citations listed in bibliography

Though these three states are the most likely to take up WSR-contracts in the United States, there are still challenges to partnering with each state's government. For instance, California is the birthplace of many labor and procurement focused reforms, but these previous programs have often focused on local supply or modified international supply chain laws (Cross, 2020; Pickles & Zhu, 2013; CGFP, n.d.). The vast majority of WSR suppliers are on the east coast and the deterioration of agricultural goods over time and during travel to California may risk the quality of the product. This concern may be remedied by the likely outcome that WSR suppliers would form in California if such procurement code was agreed upon, but this reaction is unlikely to be seen until after several years from legislation change.

Vermont, on the other hand, is home to the Milk with Dignity WSR program and is near some northern-reaching FFP suppliers. However, the government has been split along party lines for five years with a Republican governor and a Democrat-controlled legislature (Ballotpedia, 2022). Dairy is also a vital industry in Vermont, making changes around the dairy industry high stakes for economic efficiency and political favor (Vermont Dairy Promotion Council, 2014). The lack of party unity and potential requirement for governor approval of new procurement law could thus hinder the likelihood of WSR contracts being taken up.

New York is in proximity to many WSR suppliers and has had an entirely Democratic state government for four years (Ballotpedia, 2022). They state is also known for its strong unionization efforts by civil society, showing support for labor reform (Dewitt, 2021). WSR partner organizations, such as Partner for Dignity

and Rights, are also based out of New York City and may be able to assist in campaigns in this region. Yet, there is less precedent of other procurement and supply chain labor programs forming in the area.

If WSRN members pursue these three states as initial targets of state-level campaigning, then the political feasibility receives a score of three. Each state has conditions both supporting and challenging the adoption of a WSR procurement contract for public universities, setting its feasibility score to a middle range.

Organizational Feasibility

Running a state-level campaign for procurement legislation change will require a lot of resources including protest supplies, travel expenses, and people to lead the initiative. Assistance can be drawn from current partner organizations that will likely want to contribute to the campaign. Over time, state campaigns may become easier as resources can be reused and, if successful, activism moves from organizing street protests to individual meetings with government officials. However, WSRN members still faces resource challenges of a limited budget for new initiatives, and primarily, constraints on staff availability. Feasibility for WSRN members to pursue this option is scored at a two since each individual campaign will have decent monetary costs and require extra time to be dedicated to the initiative by WSRN members' staff.

Alternative 3: Action on College Campuses

Effectiveness

The impact of organizing by students on college campuses has shown lots of demonstrated success for certain programs. For instance, the Real Food Challenge (RFC) has used student activism on campuses to have 47 different universities sign onto their program since 2007, averaging nearly 3 universities per year (RFC, n.d.). However, the guidelines of the RFC are more lenient in terms of how much progress universities make toward the top tier of RFC standards and do not put universities in legally enforceable contracts. These key differences between the WSR programming and RFC structure highlight the reasons universities are likely to be more resistant to taking up a WSR procurement plan, insinuating that WSR will have slower success mobilizing students on college campuses than RFC.

Training students on how to campaign for WSR programs and building coalitions across various campuses will take time. Likely, there will be a slow start to the initiative, but some universities will ultimately respond to the unified voice of their students. Adjusting roughly 60% down from the rate of RFC, it is predicted that nine universities will take up a WSR procurement contract in a 10-year time frame.²

Political Feasibility

University decision-makers are often influenced heavily by the voices of the students at that school (Young et al., 2015; Lozano et al., 2013; Chen et al., 2010, 2011). However, procurement officers and other university administration are also operating under state law and authority from their Board of Governors. Thus, the political feasibility of a university incorporating WSR programs into its procurement standards relies on both the strength of the student voice on the campus and the flexibility allotted for

² This estimate is a prediction based on the ease of implementation difference between the RFC and WSR guidelines. It should be considered that this number may vary given particular policy contexts.

decision-makers to change procurement codes. Public universities with a history of student engagement and location near the affected workers may be more likely to form strong student networks outwardly pushing for WSR practices at their university. Colleges that have stated commitments to ethical purchasing of agricultural goods and that are more decentralized from state regulation of procurement have more precedent and authority by which to create new procurement practices. The University of Vermont, University of California – Berkeley, and University of North Carolina – Chapel Hill have been identified as strong contenders for both student and decision-maker engagement.

All of the noted universities have high to medium levels of authority over their procurement of goods. These institutions also all have strong histories of student activism (UNC University Libraries, n.d.; Flanders, 2021; The Vermont Cynic, n.d.). Though these have primarily not been procurement or agriculture focused movements, a culture of political and civil engagement at the university levels supports the creation of new movements. UC Berkeley, in particular, has a very active student body and is known throughout the U.S. for being a leader in voicing a need for social change (Berkeley News, n.d.). These universities are spread across the United States, but UC Berkeley is at a particular locational disadvantage. UVM and UNC Chapel Hill are in close proximity to current WSR program participants, while UC Berkeley is hundreds of miles from any WSR participant. This not only risks the quality of the food product, but also makes it more difficult for students to connect with stakeholders, such as farm laborers. If the program expands into the west coast area, it is extremely likely that new WSR-associated suppliers will form in that area, potentially heightening the connection between students and workers further down the timeline.

	Student Activism	State Oversight	Procurement Practices	Location
University of Vermont	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Recent student organizing regarding sexual assault and sustainability 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Universities have total authority over purchasing 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Member of Real Food Challenge Lots of local food procurement initiatives 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Milk with Dignity program located within state
University of California – Berkeley	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A top politically active school Long history of student activism 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> High autonomy Unclear if State becomes involved in purchases over \$50,000 - \$1,000,000 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Room to grow on sustainable food scores Emphasis on waste and emissions reduction 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Far from majority of current WSR programs Anticipated Texas expansion of FFP
University of North Carolina – Chapel Hill	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Early history of labor and food-related activism on campus 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> State becomes involved with purchases over \$500,000 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Emphasis on local food and reducing carbon footprint 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Near FFP suppliers

*Information on current university procurement practices found on college websites for sustainability and dining

**State procurement codes and college procurement websites used as sources for the level of state involvement in public university procurement

***All citations listed in bibliography

Almost all major public universities now have a sustainability department and a sustainability sector of their dining operations. This means that all of the above institutions, in addition to hundreds of others across the U.S., have some form of written commitment to sourcing food sustainably. Including concern for labor ethics in their supply chains is more rare, but these three target schools do show signs of authentic efforts toward better dining sourcing practices. The University of Vermont, in particular, has many different efforts to bring local food to their dining halls (University of Vermont, n.d.). While this shows good precedent in the procurement department, over-saturation of ethical purchasing initiatives could also weaken the likelihood of another program being adopted. This concern may not be tested until engagement is attempted, but should be considered for feasibility.

The shift toward universities taking on more sustainable practices and responding to social issues voiced by students is promising for getting university administration to engage with WSR-aligned policy. This, combined with targeting schools within states that give more flexibility on procurement options, allows for generally good political feasibility. Therefore, the determined political feasibility score is a four.

Organizational Feasibility

There are both resource advantages and disadvantages when working with students on college campuses. A benefit is that students may have additional resources from their school at their disposal for generating activism supplies, reducing technical costs such as printing or design fees. Further, students may be able to generate support from new partners local to the area or even on their college campus. However, WSRN partner organizations would be expected to provide generous support to students throughout their campaign to have the university sign a WSR procurement agreement. One major fee, in addition to technical costs and travel expenditures, is having to train the students on WSR messaging. The training of college students is also a large undertaking and will require significant time by WSRN members' staff. As staff time is the largest resource constraint for the WSRN, the organizational feasibility of this option receives a score of 2.

Outcomes Matrix

	Effectiveness	Political Feasibility	Organizational Feasibility	Score
	# of Contracted Universities	1-5 Rating	1-5 Rating	PF + OF
Targeting Food Brands with University Presence	3	2	5	7
State-level Community Organizing	82	3	2	5
Action on College Campuses	9	4	2	6

Recommendation: Pursue Action at the College Campus Level

The Worker-driven Social Responsibility Network should begin an initiative that mobilizes students on the recommended college campuses to request that their university administration start prioritizing WSR programs in their food procurement policies, expanding on their current partnership with Student/Farmworker Alliance. This recommendation is based on the effectiveness of this option being the second-best of the three policies and the combined political and organizational feasibility score being the second highest as well.

Though targeting major food brands on college campuses ranked slightly higher on feasibility than student organizing on college campuses, the former alternative does not actually allow WSRN members to enter the university procurement space and sign universities onto WSR contracts. The organizational feasibility of targeting major food companies on college campuses also brings about a complicity with the status quo and does not push for what may be needed organizational change. Targeting brands on college campuses as a whole avoids becoming involved with procurement codes at any institution, which evades draining resources, but also does not open new avenues for WSR to expand.

Further, though the level of impact may be far greater at the state level, the feasibility of running a successful state-wide campaign is lower than campus organizing and has little precedent for success. There is potential the student organizing may be the most organizationally costly of the options, requiring the most time and resources. However, this tradeoff may be cushioned by relying on partner organizations to contribute to campus campaign resources. Precedent relating specifically to WSR practices has been set for this option, and so, the likelihood of success outweighs potential organizational challenges when compared to state-level campaigns.

Finally, this recommendation is also sensitive to various states having different levels of control of university purchasing and may also change based on the exact stipulations of the WSR procurement code. Initial university targets have been recommended based on the interactions between university procurement with state policy, but additional state-related complications or venturing into other U.S. states may cause the likelihood of success to vary.

Implementation

Launching a new student body campaign at any institution is not a small or easy task. Highly important to the success of campus organizing will be WSRN members' identification and interaction with stakeholders. Identifying all relevant stakeholders can map out who is able to provide resources, drive student voice, and make decisions about WSR practices at universities. Additionally, the messaging that is used to mobilize students will be vital to the take-up of WSR campaigns by student groups and the momentum that they can maintain. Finally, preparing for change and remaining adaptable as an organization will be pertinent to working within such a large, complex, and dynamic stakeholder system.

Stakeholders

There are three main categories of stakeholders that are critical to forming, running, and successfully winning campaigns for universities to implement WSR programs in their food procurement practices. These groups are WSRN partners, student organizations/leaders, and university decision-makers. Identified below is an extensive list of organizations and positions that may fit into these categories.

WSRN Partners ¹	Student Organizations/Leaders ²	University Decision-Makers ³
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Alliance for Fair Food• Business & Human Rights Resource Centre• Center for Alliance of Labor and Human Rights• Coalition of Immokalee Workers• Migrant Justice• Partners for Dignity & Rights• T'rueah: The Rabbinic Call for Human Rights• United Students Against Sweatshops• Venceremos	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Sustainability Groups• Human Rights Groups• Student Worker Labor Unions• Labor-oriented Groups• Real Food Challenge student representatives (if present)• Key student leaders (student government or activist leaders)	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Head of Strategic Sourcing• Head of Supplier Diversity• Director of Procurement/Purchasing• Director of Sustainability• Campus Partnerships Manager• Dining Operations Manager

¹Partners taken from WSRN website and shortened to most relevant entities for university food procurement

²Common student clubs, organizations, and groups found on college campuses. Will vary by school. Not all inclusive.

³List includes most common position titles in areas of sustainability, dining, and procurement at universities. Not all inclusive.

The WSRN partners listed above are critical for assisting with implementation of the student campaign and providing resources and support to students. Organizations such as Migrant Justice are familiar with working with students for protests, while groups like the United Students Against Sweatshops likely have great experience connecting to students and motivating them to engage in labor rights issues. Acting in partnership with these pre-established groups is essential to reducing the organizational burden that WSR members may face with pursuing this alternative.

The student organizations and leaders may represent good launching places for conversations with students that are already predisposed to caring about labor, agriculture, and related issues. These

groups are active on all of the identified target universities, particularly sustainability and unionization focused organizations. A sense of the readiness and enthusiasm of a campus culture to take on a WSR campaign may be obtained from meeting with these student-led groups. Additionally, these students may become the leaders of the campus campaign and will need to have strong communication networks with WSRN and involved partners.

Finally, the university decision makers will be important contacts for when university administration expresses interest in modifying their procurement policies. Making contact with these officials early in the campaign process could lead to shorter campaign lengths and insightful conversations, as well as assist targeted campaign marketing efforts. Eventually, legal staff from WSR programs will need to meet with university procurement code and contract writers to ensure that the arranged agreement is up to program and legal standards.

Initial Student Contact: Messages that Stick and Mobilize

Recruitment of students to become active in the campus campaign will be a critical first step in generating movement. There are a couple of strategies WSRN can employ to engage students quickly on the importance of this movement.

1. Have messaging generally follow the “sticky” principles of Heath & Heath (2007). The acronym SUCCESS is used to represent messaging tactics that are more likely to impact and influence a person: Simple, Unexpected, Concrete, Credible, Emotional, Stories. For instance, testimonials and experiences on farms from workers in the surrounding area will target the “emotional” and “stories” principles, making the importance and prevalence of poor working conditions stick in students’ heads for longer.
2. Relate the movement back to the student’s lives as much as possible. For campus locations near WSR program participants, mention the proximity of the suppliers. For all cases, the prevalence of labor abuse in one’s own state, the opportunity for universities to create large-scale change, the serving of this food to the students can all relate back to the students directly.
3. Academic literature suggests that people will be more likely to volunteer their time toward civic participation when the messaging and a person’s reasoning behind volunteering match (Snyder, 2009). Identifying whether the students of target are more self or other interested in their rationale for hearing about WSR may give important insight into how to frame marketing of the campaign.

Adaptability

Given that each campus culture and institutional organization is likely to be different from one another, it is important that WSRN and participating partner organizations remain flexible on their approach to engaging with students and university decision makers on the issue of food procurement. For instance, some universities may address student discontent very early on and wish to handle the contract creation quietly and internally. Other universities may take more time and public recognition of student campaigns before acting. Though new campaigns can certainly draw on prior ones at different schools, it is likely that student leaders will also want to take their own approaches to engaging their student body and university administrators.

Though adaptability to each campus context is important, it is also critical to keep the central mission and premise of WSR consistent across campaigns. This will likely require regular engagement by WSRN

and partner representatives. Finally, it is uncertain how surrounding universities will respond to these initiatives. Though there are three top universities recommended via this report, it is recommended that WSRN follows where the energy and enthusiasm seems to be taking place. One campaign may get the ball rolling for all state universities, or it may be an isolated event. Nevertheless, remaining aware of the broader context and being ready to react to changes in momentum is essential.

Conclusion

The agriculture industry in the United States is extremely prone to the exploitation of laborers (Costa et al., 2020). Worker-driven Social Responsibility has proven to effectively protect agriculture workers from labor abuses, ranging from lost paychecks to forced labor offenses. Expanding the reach of the model could greatly increase the empowerment of workers and reduce harmful practices in the agriculture industry. However, model expansion requires major industry players to commit to purchasing their goods from WSR suppliers. For this reason, the enormous public university system is an ample target for where WSRN partner organizations can focus their efforts for expansion. Through their partnerships with commercial food groups and dining companies, universities have great purchasing power and influence in the agricultural sphere.

To begin working with public universities, WSRN members should utilize the student body on college campuses and the influence they have over university procurement decisions. There is significant precedent for the impact student organizing can have on university administrative decision-making, contributing to the optimization of this option (Young et al., 2015). WSRN and its member organizations should be prepared to continue with research on university stakeholders and campaign tactics to receive the most payoff of their campus civic organizing efforts. Resources can be drawn from several partner organizations to help mitigate the time and personnel costs associated with this policy initiative. Additionally, experience with campus organizing from partners or other student groups can assist in the actual creation and timing of major campaign events. However, even with researching and planning being a critical part of campus activism implementation, maintaining an adaptable and reactive disposition by WSRN and partners will be crucial to best interacting with certain campus contexts and taking advantage of moments of opportunity.



Appendix A
Ranking of Companies, Universities, and States per Policy Alternative

Target Brands were determined on the criteria of commonality on college campuses, use of WSR program products, and the size of the company. Data on the number of locations a company has on college campuses is not available, so commonality was determined through rankings of college student's favorite on-campus fast-food chains, article mentions, and researching a small sample of university dining options.

States for Community Organizing were determined via the state's proximity to WSR participants and partner organizations, level of procurement authority, previous support for similar initiatives, and the political party in control of government.

Universities for Campus Activism were determined by the university's proximity to WSR participants, university's level of procurement authority, history of student activism at the institution, and the ethicality of procurement practices at the school currently.

University Food Brands to Target	
1	Starbucks
2	Chick-fil-a
3	Einstein Bros Bagels
4	Au Bon Pain
5	Jersey Mikes
6	McAlisters
7	Which Which
8	Compass Group – Milk with Dignity
9	Sodexo - Milk with Dignity
10	Aramark - Milk with Dignity

States for Community Organizing	
1	California
2	Vermont
3	New York
4	Illinois
5	Pennsylvania
6	Massachusetts
7	Colorado
8	Florida
9	New Jersey
10	Texas

Universities for Campus Action	
1	University of Vermont
2	University of California - Berkeley
3	University of North Carolina - Chapel Hill
4	University of Michigan
5	University of California - Santa Cruz
6	New College of Florida
7	University of Wisconsin - Madison
8	Central Michigan University
9	University of Pittsburgh
10	University of Missouri

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