

Barbara Maynard

Executive Profile

As founder and president of Maynard Consulting Services (MCS), Barbara Maynard currently runs a successful full-service consulting firm specializing in assisting local and international unions – and also more recently labor's progressive partners – with research, strategy, contract negotiations, organizing, internal and external communications, and crisis management.



Maynard is best known for her ability to synthesize complex and seemingly disconnected pieces of information (politics, policy, economics, personality, etc.), create and articulate a campaign plan, build coalitions to support the plan, and manage all aspects of the plan through to victory.

Having worked with numerous elected officials – both those elected by voters and by rank and file union members – Barbara understands that different pressures and interests guide those in positions of power. She uses this knowledge to guide campaign strategies, through direct advocacy, coalition building, member organizing, financial and economic analysis, fundraising, and/or media work.

Maynard is a founding member of the Horizon Institute, a new progressive economic think tank based in Los Angeles, and is frequently quoted in the press on behalf of her clients and as an expert on progressive economic issues.

She is the proud mother of a six-year-old girl whom she adopted as a single mother from Kazakhstan in 2005. In her spare time, Barbara skis, runs, hikes with her dog, and tends to her organic vegetable garden.

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Professional Experience

Maynard Consulting Services, Inc., Los Angeles, CA

1996 to Present

➤ *President and Founder*

Barbara Maynard founded Maynard Consulting Services, Inc. (MCS), in 1996 after leaving the office of L.A. County Supervisor Gloria Molina. Initially, Barbara's labor clients hired her for her quantitative skills, specifically to utilize her extensive knowledge of government budgets, municipal finance, and public policy. Once her research was done, however, unions quickly learned that she had a unique ability to translate this information into easy to digest, politically persuasive – and often highly agitational – sound bites.

Maynard rapidly became the “go-to” consultant for labor in Los Angeles, forging strong relationships with local, district, and international unions representing both public and private sector unions. She has also been on retainer for more than a decade with the region's powerful central labor council – both under the leadership of the late Miguel Contreras, as well as with his successor and widow, Maria Elena Durazo.

MCS, under the leadership and management of Barbara Maynard, adapted to the demands of the progressive community, growing to offer a full spectrum of services to the progressive community:

- Quantitative, qualitative, and political research;
- Public relations and marketing, including press releases and media pitching;
- Membership and coalition communications;
- Speech writing, copywriting, and spokesperson training;
- Coalition building, management, and administration;
- Graphic design, including branding, collateral and editorial materials, political mail, and web sites;
- Videography (including You Tube);
- Blogging; and,
- Event management.

Through her labor connections, Maynard's work has grown to include a broad spectrum of organizations in the progressive sphere, including environmental and affordable housing organizations and coalitions. (Please see Appendix A for a list of clients, Appendix B for selected case studies, and Appendix C for a list of selected media clip links.)

MCS is certified with the state of California, CALTRANS, and the federal government as a Woman Business Enterprise (WBE), Small Business Enterprise (SBE), and a Disadvantaged Business Enterprise (DBE). The firm's clerical employees are affiliated with OPEIU Local 537.

Supervisor Gloria Molina, County of Los Angeles, CA **1994 to 1996**

➤ *Director of Budget and Finance*

As the Supervisor's deputy, Barbara was intimately involved with policy issues of regional importance, including the \$14 billion County budget (now \$21 billion), health care policy, and labor relations. She also served as the Supervisor's alternate director to the Metropolitan Transportation Authority (MTA) and was a part of the team that developed, negotiated, and implemented the "1115 Medicaid Waiver," a multi-year plan to restructure the County's Department of Health Services.

Lehrer McGovern Bovis, Los Angeles, CA **1992 to 1993**

- *Marketing Manager for international construction management firm.*
- *Founder of California BUILD (Businesses United in Local Development), a not-for-profit public/private coalition designed to assist in the development and employment of small, minority, and women-owned businesses in construction and related fields.*

Dean Witter Reynolds, Century City, CA **1991 to 1992**
Provident Investment Council, Pasadena, CA **1990 to 1991**

➤ *Series 7-Licensed Investment Specialist*

Pacific Stock Exchange (various firms), Los Angeles, CA **1986 to 1990**

➤ *Assistant Market Maker & Equities Trader*

Ogilvy & Mather Advertising, San Francisco, CA **1984**

➤ *Media Planner*

Education

- B.A., Political Science & Economics, Columbia University, New York, NY 1986
- Summer program – European Union, London School of Economics 1983
- Exchange program, Wesleyan University, Middletown, CT 1983
- Vintage High School, Napa, CA 1980

Pro Bono Work

- Horizon Institute, Founding Board Member (www.horizon-institute.org) and Executive Director
After serving as a founding board member of the Horizon Institute, a progressive think tank, she recently took on the role of Executive Director and is charged by the board with expanding the organization's reach and impact through new programming and fundraising.
- Los Angeles Alliance for a New Economy (LAANE), Advisory Board Member
- Miguel Contreras Foundation, Founding Board Member, Vice Chair
- Brentwood Presbyterian Church – organized and managed numerous volunteer construction projects in Los Angeles, Mexico, and Sub-Saharan Africa (1987-1994)

Appendix A: MCS Clients

Labor Unions

Actor's Equity, AFL-CIO

American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME), AFL-CIO

AFSCME Locals 127, 585, 685, 1117, 1902, & 3634; Council 36, UAPD, UDW, & UNAC/UHCP

Association for L.A. Deputy Sheriffs (ALADS), MEBA, AFL-CIO

California Association of Professional Employees (CAPE), MEBA, AFL-CIO

California Federation of Teachers (CFT), AFT, AFL-CIO

Firefighters: IAFF Local 1014 and 3431

IBEW Local 18

International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU), AFL-CIO

International Union of Operating Engineers, Local 501, AFL-CIO

L.A. County Building & Construction Trades Council, AFL-CIO

L.A. County Lifeguard Association, MEBA, AFL-CIO

L.A. County Police Officers Association

Police & Sheriff Associations: Santa Mateo County, Tulare, Ventura, & West Covina

Professional Peace Officers Association (PPOA)

Santa Monica College Faculty Association

Service Employees International Union (SEIU), Change to Win

SEIU Locals 221, 721, 1000, 1877, & 6434; CIR & CFA

Teamsters Local 630, Change to Win

United Food and Commercial Workers' Union (UFCW), Locals 324, 770, 1167, and 1428, Change to Win

United Teachers of Los Angeles (UTLA), AFT Local 1021, AFL-CIO

United Transportation Union (UTU)

Labor Coalitions, Federations, & Progressive Initiatives

Alameda County Medical Center

California State University at Northridge (subconsultant)

Center for Policy Initiatives (CPI)

Change to Win

Coalition for a Better L.A. (2004-5 Pension Privatization & Special Election)

Coalition for Clean and Safe Ports (see next page)

Coalition of County Unions (County of Los Angeles)

Coalition of Los Angeles City Unions

Enterprise for Education – Clean Air Challenge Program

Food & Drug Council, Inc.

Healthcare Association of Southern California

Los Angeles Alliance for a New Economy (LAANE)

Los Angeles County Federation of Labor, AFL-CIO

March for California's Future

UCLA Labor Center

Affordable Housing Coalition

Southern California Association of Non-Profit Housing/Housing LA

1010 Development Group • A Community of Friends • ACLU of Southern California • Alcott Center for Mental Health Services • A New Way of Life • Architecture for Humanity L.A. • Asian Pacific Policy and Planning Council • Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now (ACORN) • Bethany Baptist Church of West L.A. • Beyond Shelter Housing Development Corp. • Blacksmith Records Inc. • Blessed Sacrament Church • California Partnership – L.A. Chapter • Center for Food and Justice • Century Housing • Chinatown Service Center • Coalition for Responsible Community Development • Coalition for Economic Survival • Coalition L.A. • Collective Space • Community Build, Inc. • Concerned Citizens of South Central L.A. • Corp. for Supportive Housing • East L.A. Community Corp. • Enterprise Community Partners • Esperanza Community Housing Corp. • Eviction Defense Network • Fair Housing Council of the San Fernando Valley • Figueroa Corridor Coalition for Economic Justice • Grant A.M.E. Church • Green L.A. • Habitat for Humanity of Greater L.A. • Hillview Mental Health Center • Hollywood Seventh-day Adventist Church • Homeless Healthcare L.A. • Homies Unidos • Hunger Action L.A. • Koreatown Immigrant Workers Alliance • Koreatown Resource Center • Koreatown Youth and Community Center • Inquilinos Unidos • International Union of Painters and Allied Trades, District Council 36 • Lamp Community • L.A. Voice – Pico • Little Tokyo Service Center • Livable Places • L.A. Alliance for A New Economy • L.A. Community Action Network • L.A. Community Design Center • L.A. County Federation of Labor, AFL-CIO • L.A. Family Housing • L.A. Housing Partnership • L.A. Metropolitan Churches • L.A. Neighborhood Housing Services • Local Initiatives Support Corp. • McCormack Baron Salazar • Methodist Foundation for Social Action – Cal-Pac Chapter • Mercy Housing • Pacoima Beautiful • PATH Ventures • People Organized for Westside Renewal • Pilipino Workers Center of Southern California • Progressive Jewish Alliance • Public Counsel • Rabbi Laura Geller • Ron Milam Consulting • San Fernando Mental Health Centers • SEIU Locals 721 and 1877 • Skid Row Housing Trust • South Asian Network • Southern Christian Leadership Council of Greater L.A. • SRO Housing Corp. • St. Agatha Catholic Church • Strategic Actions for a Just Economy • Temple Judea • The Blazers Foundation • The Canaan Group • Thai Community Development Center • Trinity Episcopal Church • UNITE HERE Local 11 • United Long Term Care Workers Union • United Methodist Ministries – LAD • United University Church • United Way of Greater L.A. • Urban and Environmental Policy Institute • Valley Economic Development Center • Valley Interfaith Council • Venice Community Housing Corp. • Verde Coalition • W.O.R.K.S • Ward Economic Development Corp. • Watts/Century Latino Organization • Watts Labor Community Action Committee • West Angeles CDC • YWCA of Greater L.A.

Environmental Coalitions

Coalition for Clean & Safe Ports

American Lung Association of California • Clergy & Laity United for Economic Justice (CLUE) • Coalition for Clean Air • Coalition for Humane Immigrant Rights of Los Angeles • Coalition for a Safe Environment • Communities for a Better Environment • Communities for Clean Ports • East Yard Communities for Environmental Justice • Engineers and Architects Association • Harbor Watts Economic Development Corp. • Hermandad Mexicana Latinoamericana • Long Beach Alliance for Children with Asthma • Long Beach Community Partners Council • Long Beach Greens • Los Angeles Alliance for a New Economy • Los Angeles/Long Beach Labor Coalition • Mexican American Political Association • National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Carson/Torrance (NAACP) • Natural Resources Defense Council • Physicians for Social Responsibility • Progressive Christians Uniting • San Pedro Democratic Club • Sierra Club Harbor Vision Taskforce • Change to Win • L.A. County Federation of Labor • UNITE HERE Locals 11 and 681 • IAM Lodge 1484 • IBEW Local 11 • IBT Joint Council 42 • IBT Locals 63, 495, 630, 848, & 952 • SEIU Local 1877 • Southern California Council of Laborers

Environment Now Coalition/HB Desal

Liberty Hill Foundation/GreenL.A. Coalition's Port Working Group

American Lung Association of California • Coalition for a Safe Environment • Coalition for Clean Air • East Yard Communities for Environmental Justice • Long Beach Alliance for Children with Asthma • National Resources Defense Council • Wilmington Coalition for a Healthy Community • Coalition for a Safe Environment (this is Jesse's organization) • Communities for a Better Environment • West Long Beach ICO • Center for Community Action & Environmental Justice • Harbor Watts Economic Development Corp. • Sierra Club Harbor Vision Task Force • Communities for Clean Ports

Appendix B: Case Study Campaigns

| Campaign | Client | Date(s) |
|--|------------------------------------|------------------|
| Contract Negotiations | Coalition of County Unions | 1996-2010 |
| <p>In the early 1990s, California's public agencies were hit hard by recession and reeling from the aftermath of Proposition 13. One agency – Orange County – declared bankruptcy, while others required public employees to go years without COLAs and other essential needs.</p> <p>When Maynard left the County of L.A. in 1996, the darkest days were over yet the County continued to claim poverty at the bargaining tables, refusing to move off their seven-year long "0%" position. Barbara was contacted by the chair of the coalition that represents both civilian and sworn employee unions and asked to clandestinely undertake a research project to demonstrate the employer's ability to pay.</p> <p>After successfully demonstrating that the budget could easily withstand fair pay raises, the coalition asked her to "take it on the road" and talk with members who had long-believed the County Supervisors' cries of poverty and given up the fight. The year-long contract campaign included multiple tracks, both those above the radar and below (primarily political).</p> <p>At the end, the bargaining teams were able to secure compensation increases exceeding 25% over three years – a tremendous victory.</p> | | |
| Contract Campaign | United Teachers Los Angeles | 2002-03 |
| <p>In 2002, United Teachers Los Angeles (UTLA) retained Barbara Maynard to conduct a detailed budget analysis of the LAUSD budget to find instances of waste, fraud, and mis-prioritization. Subsequent to the research – which was extremely fruitful – Maynard was asked to develop a new message for the UTLA president and to create a presentation that he could give at a Board of Education meeting.</p> <p>The presentation was game-changing for the Union, and can be viewed online at the following link: http://www.lausd.k12.ca.us/lausd/committees/bfat/pdf/utla040402.pdf</p> | | |
| So. CA Grocery Strike | UFCW Locals 770 & 1442 | 2004-05 |
| <p>Barbara Maynard served as a lead strategist and Chief Spokesperson for UFCW Locals 770 and 1442 during the 2003-04 grocery strike.</p> <p><i>See Page 12 for a description of her work on the strike and lockout.</i></p> | | |

| Campaign | Client | Date(s) |
|--|--|----------------|
| Mutual Gains Bargaining | Coalition of L.A. City Unions | 2007-10 |
| <p>MCS facilitates the work of the Coalition of L.A. City Unions, an association of six member unions representing 22,000 workers with the City of Los Angeles. Maynard and her team provide strategic support to the Coalition in politics and communications, as well as technical and economic analysis.</p> <p>Barbara serves as the lead strategist and media spokesperson for the Coalition, with MCS leading message development and conducting spokesperson training for Coalition leaders and members. MCS also handles budget and economic analysis for the Coalition, instrumental in contract negotiations and confronting ongoing budget challenges. <i>(Please refer to media clip links.)</i></p> <p>MCS handles administration of the Coalition, coordinating meetings, maintaining internal communication, and staffing working groups as necessary.</p> <p>Working through the “Mutual Gains Bargaining” process and collaborating with MCS on every level, the Coalition secured a landmark five-year contract in 2007. Since then, the Coalition unions, with the support of MCS analysts, have had unprecedented involvement in budget discussions as the City weighs strategies to confront the economic downturn.</p> | | |
| Hollywood to the Docks | L.A. County Federation of Labor | 2008 |
| <p>On April 15-17, 2008, thousands of union members and leaders, community activists, and elected officials took part in an historic three day, 28-mile march from Hollywood to the Docks of San Pedro. The march, known as “Hollywood to the Docks” was produced by Maynard Consulting Services as a symbolic way of showing that labor is committed to fighting for good jobs.</p> <p>Barbara Maynard worked closely with Executive Secretary-Treasurer Maria Elena Durazo to strategically design all aspects of the march, from the kick off rally in Hollywood, to the twenty different events along the march route, to the final rally on the docks, at which more than 10,000 people welcomed the “core walkers” to the harbor. Maynard was the executive producer and stage manager of the three-day event. MCS staff, directed by Maynard, coordinated logistics for all events, including meals, sleeping arrangements for core walkers, collateral materials, and rallies.</p> <p>www.hollywoodtothedocks.org</p> | | |

| Campaign | Client | Date(s) |
|--|--|----------------|
| Clean Trucks Campaign | Change to Win/Teamsters | 2007-10 |
| <p>In 2007, Barbara Maynard was retained by Change to Win to represent the “Coalition for Clean & Safe Ports,” a watershed “blue-green” alliance of environmental, labor, faith-based, community, and public-health organizations. The goal of the Coalition is to transform the low-wage, high-pollution port trucking system at the twin ports of Los Angeles and Long Beach into a green and sustainable industry.</p> <p>The campaign had a primarily “green” shade, focusing on the environmental impact of the 16,800 dirty trucks that were owned, operated, and maintained by low-wage, mostly immigrant, port truck drivers. A key turning point for the campaign came on January 21, 2008, when the <i>Los Angeles Times</i> carried a front-page story entitled “Unsafe trucks stream out of L.A.’s ports.” The story, which Maynard pitched to the <i>Times</i> after seeing first hand how dangerous these trucks are to have on regional freeways, was a critical tipping point in the campaign.</p> <p>www.latimes.com/news/local/la-me-trucks21jan21,1,3615994.story?coll=la-headlines-california</p> <p>Two months later, on March 20, 2008, the Port of Los Angeles adopted a landmark Clean Trucks Program, which – when fully implemented – will reduce diesel emissions by 80%. Importantly, the L.A. Clean Trucks Program places the responsibility for cleaning the air and keeping it clean squarely on the backs of trucking companies and their giant retailer clients. Trucking companies will now have to hire drivers as employees, opening the door for the drivers to improve their lives through the union.</p> <p>www.youtube.com/watch?v=WicRWIN2uws</p> <p>www.cleanandsafeports.org</p> | | |
| March for California’s Future | See coalition list on Pages 10-11 | 2010 |
| <p>In December 2009, Barbara Maynard was hired by the California Federation of Teachers (CFT) to conduct a feasibility study for a march to Sacramento in support of public services and progressive tax reform. Five short weeks later, she made a presentation to the CFT Executive Council recommending that a “March for California’s Future” that would begin on March 5 in Los Angeles and end 48 days and 365 miles later in Sacramento. A key component of the march would be to organize a broad labor, community, and faith coalition to participate in and support the march.</p> <p>On January 9, 2010, the CFT Executive Council voted unanimously to move forward with the March and allocated the seed money to make it happen. Several weeks later, the CFT hired Maynard and her firm, MCS, to direct the March, handling all organizing, logistics, fundraising, communications, and staffing.</p> <p>Six weeks later, a crowd of more than two thousand joined the six “core walkers” that made the entire 365 mile trek. As they walked toward Sacramento through the Central Valley, MCS continued to organize labor, community, and faith partners and orchestrated public events. The momentum grew through social media and, on April 21, more than 15,000 walked the final mile to the State Capitol. www.fight4cafuture.com</p> | | |

March for California's Future Coalition Partners

ABC Federation of Teachers, (AFT) Local 2317

American Federation of State, County and
Municipal Employees (AFSCME)
International Union, AFL-CIO

AFSCME District Councils 36 and 57

L.A. County Probation Officers Union, AFSCME
Local 685

AFSCME Local 2712

United Domestic Workers (UDW) Homecare
Providers Union, AFSCME Local 3930

Merced City Employees Union, AFSCME Local
2703

A. Philip Randolph Institute, California Chapter
Alliance of Californians for Community
Empowerment (ACCE)

American Federation of Teachers (AFT) Staff
Guild, AFT Local 1521A

American Federation of Teachers International
Union

AFT Locals 1931, 1936, 2034, and 4794

Association for Los Angeles Deputy Sheriffs
(ALADS), MEBA

Associated Students of Orange Coast College
BEAT (Bringing Education and Activism
Together)

Berkeley Federation of Teachers, AFT LOCAL
1078

California Faculty Association

CFA, San Diego State University

California Association of Professional Employees
(CAPE), MEBA

California Federation of Teachers (CFT), AFT

California Labor Federation, AFL-CIO

California Partnership

California Prison Moratorium Project

California School Employees Assoc. (CSEA)

California Teachers Association (CTA), National
Education Association

Center on Policy Initiatives, San Diego

Central Labor Councils, AFL-CIO:

- Alameda County
- Fresno-Madera-Tulare-Kings County
- Monterey/Santa Cruz
- North Bay
- Los Angeles County
- Orange County
- Sacramento
- San Diego-Imperial Counties
- San Francisco
- San Joaquin Calaveras
- San Mateo County
- Stanislaus Tuolumne

Clergy & Laity United for Economic Justice
(CLUE) Los Angeles

Clergy & Laity United for Economic Justice
(CLUE) California

Coalition of County Unions (Los Angeles County)

Coalition of L.A. City Unions

Coast Federation of Educators, AFT Local 1911

Coast Federation of Classified Employees, AFT
Local 4794

Dolores Huerta Foundation

East Bay Coalition of Labor Union Women

Educate for the Future, San Diego

Education Coalition of:

- Los Angeles
- Orange County
- San Diego

Faculty Association for CA Community Colleges

Field Representatives Union (FRU)

Grossmont College Academic Senate

HHS Network

Hispanic Federation*

International Association of Firefighters (IAFF)
Local 1014

International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers
(IBEW) Locals 11 and 569

In-Home Supportive Services (IHSS) Coalition

Interfaith Committee for Worker Justice (ICWJ),
San Diego

Jefferson Federation of Teachers, AFT Local
3267

March for California's Future Coalition Partners (continued)

| | |
|--|--|
| Labor Coalition for Latin American Advancement | Sacramento County Democratic Party |
| Labor Project for Working Families | San Diego Asian Pacific American Labor Alliance |
| League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC)* | San Diego Building and Construction Trades Council |
| Los Angeles Alliance for New Economy (LAANE) | San Diego Community College District |
| Los Angeles County Lifeguard Association (LACOLA), Marine Engineers' Beneficial Association (MEBA) | San Diego City College Academic Senate |
| Los Angeles Unified School District/Board of Education | San Diego City College Associated Student Government |
| Los Rios College Federation of Teachers, AFT 2279 | San Diego Community College District Board of Trustees |
| Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund (MALDEF)* | San Diego State University California Faculty Association |
| National Alliance of Latin American and Caribbean Communities* | San Francisco Community College Guild, AFT Local 2121 |
| National Day Laborer Organizing Network (NDLON)* | Santa Cruz Alliance Against Gang Enhancements |
| National Hispanic Environmental Council (NHEC)* | Service Employees International Union Locals 521, 721, and 1000 |
| National Latino Congreso (2010) | United Long-Term Care Workers, SEIU Local 6434 |
| New Frontier Democratic Party | Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) |
| Newport Mesa Federation of Teachers, AFT Local 1794 | Southwest Voter Registration & Education Project |
| North Valley Labor Federation | Teamsters Local 572 |
| Office and Professional Employees International Union (OPEIU), Local 3 | United Educators of San Francisco (UESF), AFT/CTA Local 61 |
| Office and Professional Employees International Union (OPEIU), Local 39 | United Farm Workers (UFW) |
| Oxnard Federation of Teachers, AFT Local 1273 | United Firefighters of Los Angeles City (IAFF) Local 112 |
| Professional Peace Officers Association (PPOA) | United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) State Council |
| Rabbi Jonathan Klein, Executive Director, CLUE- LA | UFCW Locals 5, 8, 135, 770, and 1428 |
| Rev. Dr. Melvin Wade, Sr. Host Pastor, Mt. Moriah Baptist Church (Los Angeles) | United Teachers Los Angeles, AFT-NEA Local 1021 |
| Rev. Eddie Hare, President, Kern County Ministerial Alliance | University of California Student Association |
| Rev. Marvis Davis, President, Southern California Baptist Ministers' Conference | University Professional and Technical Employees-CWA 9119 |
| Rev. Prentiss Lewis, Greater Starlight Baptist Church | Watsonville Brown Berets Autonomous Chapter (Watsonville, CA) |
| | William C. Velasquez Institute (WCVI) |

**Endorsed at the 2010 National Latino Congreso*

History of the 2003-04 Southern California Grocery Strike 2001 to 2003: Supermarkets and Unions Prepare for "Armageddon," Contract with Maynard Consulting Services

A year before seven Local Unions affiliated with the United Food and Commercial Workers International Union (UFCW) representing 70,000 Southern California grocery workers began contract negotiations, it was clear that this would be no ordinary face off with management. Despite enormous profits at the three supermarket chains negotiating a single industry contract with seven UFCW local unions, off-the-record conversations between corporate executives and the Unions hinted at what was to come. "Prepare for Armageddon," a high-level supermarket executive told a UFCW leader in 2002. And prepare the unions did, by hiring Maynard.

In August 2002, Los Angeles-based Local 770, with Maynard's guidance, asked members to approve a dues increase to prepare for the strike. Members approved leadership's request overwhelmingly and the fight was on.

By September, the supermarkets' definition of "Armageddon" became clear when the employers put their full proposals on the table. Safeway (parent company of Vons and Pavilions), Kroger (parent company of Ralphs), and Albertsons proposed to effectively slash workers' take home pay by 25 percent by shifting an average of \$95 a week in out-of-pocket health care costs onto workers. Other takeaways proposed included elimination of night and Sunday premiums and split shift protections and unlimited vendors and open-ended subcontracting.

October 3-11, 2003: Countdown to a Shutdown

On October 3, 2003, just two days before the Southern California Food Division Contract expired, the UFCW declared a "Countdown to a Shutdown!" "From the middle of California to San Diego," the Unions said, "Supermarket workers mobilize to save health care." With picket lines set to be up as early as October 11, mobilizations began across the region.

- On Friday, October 3, a prayer vigil – organized by Maynard and led by clergy and community members – was held at a Los Angeles church.
- During the days leading up to contract expiration and immediately thereafter, off-duty workers leafleted regional markets with information regarding the supermarket employers' devastating offers.
- The Coalition to Save Health Care, a group formed by Maynard, launched a direct mail campaign to So. California consumers to alert them of the supermarket giants' efforts to transfer millions of dollars of health care costs onto workers' families.

October 6-12, 2004: Talks Break Down; Strike Called; Lockout Begins

Contract talks broke down on October 6, 2004, and the leaders of the seven Southern California Local Unions took the employers' final proposal to members for a vote. In voting held at membership meetings throughout Southern California, more than 71 percent of the 70,000 grocery workers affected by the contract showed up to hear the details of the employers' final offer. 97 percent of voting members authorized the Union leaders to call a strike.

In hopes of averting a region-wide strike, Union negotiators, with the assistance of a Federal Mediator, continued to talk with supermarket representatives. It soon became clear that the

supermarkets did not intend to move off their position. At 10:30 PM on Saturday, October 11, 2003, a strike was called against Vons and Pavilions stores. Ralphs and Albertsons instituted a lockout of union workers the next morning.

Community Support Builds for Grocery Workers

With Maynard and her team leading the LA-based campaign, Southern California shoppers, community activists, and religious leaders immediately demonstrated support for grocery workers on the picket lines. Day after day, a groundswell of community organizations, churches, synagogues, elected officials, and union members joined striking and locked out grocery workers in front of stores. They joined us with picket signs, donuts, hot coffee, even massage tables as Union members braved the early morning cold and the mid-day heat.

By late October, Southern Californians were under siege. A combination of record-breaking heat, dry weather, and a spate of arsonists triggered a series of wildfires that engulfed the region. Unionized mechanics working at the Los Angeles Metropolitan Transportation Authority (MTA) also went on strike over health benefits, and transit dependent Southern Californians were left with few shopping choices. In an effort by the union to make shopping easier for the public, on October 31 the Local Unions announced that the picket lines in front of Ralphs stores would be withdrawn. Picketing Union members were deployed in front of Vons, Pavilions, and Albertsons stores.

November 10, 2003: Contract Talks Resume; ILWU Shuts L.A. Ports Down to Support Grocery Workers

On November 10, 2003, talks that had been stalled for some 30 days were resumed at the request of Federal Mediator. That same day, the International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU), with Maynard's help, shut down the Port of Los Angeles in support of striking and locked out grocery workers. More than 2,000 ILWU members joined 4,000 striking and locked out grocery workers on the picket line at an Albertsons store in San Pedro. After a boisterous demonstration in front of the store, we moved to a side street – closed by the LAPD to accommodate the crowd – to hear leaders from the ILWU, UFCW, Teamsters, and other unions, as well as numerous elected officials.

Picket Lines Spread to Northern California

Meanwhile, picket lines spread to Safeway's home turf – Northern California. The UFCW ran radio spots in the area targeting Safeway CEO Steve Burd's mid-strike stock sales that ultimately netted him nearly \$45 million. Shoppers were urged to boycott Safeway stores, and scores heeded the Union's call.

On November 12, 2003, Maynard organized a group of powerful women, who called upon California Governor-Elect Arnold Schwarzenegger to help workers hold the line for health care. At a well-attended news conference, and in a massive direct mail appeal coordinated by Maynard, the women asked Schwarzenegger to intervene in the ongoing grocery strike to prevent supermarkets from forcing workers to obtain health insurance through taxpayer-funded Medi-Cal. (He did not heed the call.)

Religious Community & Health Care Professionals Join Fight

Days later, Southland religious leaders, with Maynard's guidance, launched a "Week of Walking Prayer" for grocery workers. A press advisory announcing the week's schedule stated, "Throughout the week, clergy will challenge the mistruths disseminated by the supermarket chains and speak about the dramatic social cost of their attempt to slash benefits. Religious leaders and their congregants will join workers on the picket lines and take them food and beverages along with prayers of encouragement." The events were organized by Maynard and sponsored by Clergy and Laity United for Economic Justice (CLUE).

By November 18, 2003, mediated negotiations had once again broken down. Supermarket giants refused to honor the news blackout required under the terms of the mediated negotiations and they had stopped responding to the Federal Mediator's request to meet.

The next day, Maynard brought the Los Angeles area health care community into the debate. At a press conference in front of L.A. County's Roybal Comprehensive Health Center in East Los Angeles, a group of doctors and nurses represented by SEIU and AFSCME gathered to say, "Enough is enough." Dr. Robert Weinmann, President of the Union of American Physicians and Dentists (UAPD), AFSCME, declared: "When you look inside County clinics and hospitals, you know that there is a long list of companies that do not care about their employees. I never imagined that the supermarkets would seek to join that list."

Members Face Holiday Season on Picket Line; Teamsters Expand Support

With Thanksgiving rapidly approaching and striking and locked out Union members struggling, we arranged for members to receive a free turkey and a basket of fixings. The ILWU also distributed 500 baskets of Thanksgiving fixings. On the Saturday and Sunday before Thanksgiving (Nov. 22-23), Maynard coordinated the "Turkey Express," a bus carrying labor leaders, local politicians, and community leaders, delivered pumpkin pie, hot cider, and gift certificates for free turkeys to picketing grocery workers.

On November 24, the UFCW announced that picket lines would be extended to all distribution centers and warehouses serving Ralphs, Vons/Pavilions, and Albertsons. The Teamsters vowed to honor the picket lines as they had been honoring the lines at the grocery stores.

As the page turned to December, talks were sporadic yet new friends were constantly joining workers on the picket line. On December 4, entertainment industry unions and celebrities joined picketers at a Pavilions store in Burbank. SAG and AFTRA leaders announced the kick-off of a holiday toy drive for the children of striking and locked out grocery workers. The ILWU also launched a toy drive in the harbor area, and Brotherhood Crusade made a significant contribution to the workers' strike fund. The United Teachers Los Angeles (UTLA) presented holiday gift certificates for striking workers' families and rock superstars Tom Morello of Audioslave, Serj Tankian of System of a Down, and Boots Riley of The Coup held a charity concert at the Roxy.

On December 5, community activists and grocery workers staged a "slam" at a County hospital to simulate what health care would be like if corporations succeed in abandoning their obligation to provide health care to their employees. The event, which was organized by Maynard, was co-sponsored by the Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now (ACORN) and the Council of Interns and Residents (CIR), SEIU.

Consumers Stay Out of Stores; Supermarket Losses Mount

By early December, losses at the supermarkets were mounting. On December 5, 2003, Albertsons reported a loss of \$132 million from the first 19 days of the strike (their last reporting period). Maynard and her team extrapolated this information to all three stores for the first fifty-five days of the strike/lockout, estimating that the three companies had lost nearly \$1 billion since the strike. It was widely reported that total industry losses by the end of the strike/lockout were estimated to be as high as \$3 billion.

December 16, 2003: 10,000 Grocery Workers and Supporters March Through Century City

On December 16, AFL-CIO President John Sweeney, UFCW International President Doug Dority, and more than 500 UFCW Local Union presidents from across the country and Canada met in Century City to discuss ways of supporting the Southern California striking and locked out workers.

After meeting for many hours behind closed doors, the leaders emerged from the Century Plaza Hotel to thunderous applause and scores of news cameras organized by Maynard. They joined 10,000 grocery workers and other union members, labor leaders, elected officials, community and religious leaders, and celebrities. The crowd of 10,000 marched down Avenue of the Stars and Olympic Blvd. to a Pavilions store at the corner of Beverly and Olympic, stretching more than a mile from start to finish. The large demonstration, the second of three major marches organized by Maynard during the dispute in the Los Angeles area, was organized with the help of the Los Angeles County Federation of Labor, AFL-CIO.

Ralphs Breaks Law; Unions File Lawsuit

As the strike and lockout dragged from 2003 into 2004, breaking news shocked the community: Ralphs had been routinely hiring locked out workers and forcing them to work under false names and false social security numbers to avoid paying health and pension contributions on their behalf. On January 2, 2003, seven Southern California UFCW Local Unions filed a lawsuit in California Superior Court demanding that Ralphs stop this illegal practice and remedy the falsified payroll records. The Union's suit was ultimately dropped as a part of the contract settlement agreement, but the U.S. Attorney continued with the investigation. Five months after the strike ended, Ralphs finally admitted wrongdoing, and in 2006 reached an out of court settlement.

By mid January, supermarket giants were looking and acting desperate. On the national holiday commemorating Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Vons/Pavilions/Safeway ran a full-page advertisement in the *Los Angeles Times* attempting to link their name with the good name of Dr. King. Maynard rallied local leaders were outraged, calling the shameless act an "insult to the name and legacy of one of America's most influential activists for social justice and civil rights." Speaker Karen Bass, who was then the Executive Director of the South Los Angeles-based Community Coalition stated, "It is extremely inappropriate for Safeway to exploit the memory of Dr. King when 70,000 grocery workers are walking the picket lines in the spirit of Dr. King to preserve their family's health care and their standard of living."

January 20-21, 2004: ILWU Announces \$1 Million Donation; Local 770 Leaders Arrested

On January 20, 2004, ILWU Local 13 announced a \$1 million to help striking and locked out grocery workers continue family health benefits during the labor dispute.

The following day, Maynard rallied community, religious, and labor leaders protested at the Vons headquarters in Arcadia. Reverend William Jarvis Johnson declared to a large crowd, "The supermarket workers are our friends, neighbors, and congregants. Our children ride the school bus with their children. We cannot stand idly by and witness the devastation of their families. We cannot allow the devastation of our communities that comes with the loss of family health care coverage. We will take the cause of the supermarket workers directly to the Safeway boardroom and executive offices – wherever they may be – seeking the economic justice the workers deserve." Eleven union leaders, community activists, and members of the clergy were arrested that day (Jan. 21) by the Arcadia Police Department.

January 27-28, 2004: Grocery Workers Justice Pilgrimage

True to Reverend Johnson's word, days later the religious leaders took their message directly to Safeway CEO Steve Burd's Northern California mansion. Organized by Maynard and led by Clergy and Laity United for Economic Justice (CLUE), UFCW members and their children, religious leaders, and reporters climbed aboard the "Grocery Workers Justice Pilgrimage" bus on January 27 bound for Danville, California, the home of Safeway CEO Steve Burd.

The "pilgrims" were greeted by the news media and supportive congregants at Temple Emanu-El in San Jose. After dinner at Temple Emanu-El and a sleepless night on a gymnasium floor in Oakland, the pilgrimage continued in the early hours of January 28 to a Safeway store in the upscale neighborhood of Danville, near the mansion of Safeway CEO Steve Burd. Joined at the store by hundreds of local grocery workers and religious leaders as well as news media from around the world, the pilgrims walked singing and praying through the neighborhood to CEO Burd's home. A few short blocks away, the peaceful group met with strong resistance from Contra Costa deputy sheriffs in riot gear.

Tragically, law enforcement officers only allowed a few religious leaders and credentialed news media to complete the pilgrimage to Burd's mansion. Local 770 member Cynthia Hernandez, a 22-year old single mother to daughter Lily (who was with her in a stroller), was one of those turned back. "All I wanted was the opportunity to tell Steve Burd myself what his contract proposals mean for my family," Hernandez said. "My daughter and I came all the way up here on a bus and I was denied my chance."

The few who were allowed up to the gates of Burd's mansion were disappointed to be greeted by a well-dressed man claiming to be Burd's spokesman (a reporter later learned – and reported – that he was a janitor from Safeway's headquarters that Burd had brought over for the day to act as spokesman). With the news media recording his every well-rehearsed word, Burd's janitor/spokesman took the thousands of petitions signed in Los Angeles area churches, promised to give them to Burd, and joined the clergy members in a prayer.

California Attorney General Files Lawsuit Against Supermarkets

The following week (on Jan. 30), California Attorney General Bill Lockyer filed a lawsuit against the supermarket giants alleging that their profit sharing pact violated antitrust laws.

That same week, the California Teachers Association (CTA) – working with Maynard – launched a statewide radio campaign in support of the grocery workers' fight for affordable health care. The ads urged consumers not to shop at Safeway-owned stores anywhere in California until the labor dispute ended. CTA recognized that if grocery workers' families lose their health care not only could that ultimately lead to a reduction in health care benefits for teachers, but also uninsured students would be less healthy and less able to learn in the classroom.

January 31, 2004: 18,000 March Through Streets of Inglewood

By the end of January, the UFCW's repeated efforts to get the employers back to the bargaining table were proving fruitless. The supermarket giants were holding firm and rumors were rampant that the companies were trying to break the Union. AM radio talk shows began publicly speculating that the companies were preparing to fire all of the striking and locked out workers so that they could hire scabs at minimum wage with no benefits. With all of this negative talk in the press and the strike dragging into its fifth month, workers became increasingly demoralized. More than half of the Union members on strike and locked out had taken jobs elsewhere (temporarily or permanently – at this point it was unknown), and picket lines were growing thin.

In an effort to boost the spirits of striking and locked out grocery workers, Maynard coordinated with the L.A. County Federation of Labor, AFL-CIO, to organize the largest-ever labor demonstration in Southern California's history. On January 31, more than 18,000 grocery workers and national and local labor, community, and religious leaders descended upon Inglewood, California, for a massive march and rally.

February 10-28, 2004: Negotiations Resume; Longest Grocery Strike in U.S. History Ends

On February 10, 2004, the supermarkets returned to the negotiating table. Negotiations continued non-stop for the next two weeks. Though workers were drained, union staff was exhausted, and operating funds were running low, grassroots efforts to keep the workers' spirits up continued:

- Throughout Southern California, community activists and supportive consumers continued to join workers on the picket lines.
- On February 17, ILWU Local 13 presented 272 checks totaling \$100,000 to the UFCW-Food Employers Trust Fund to assure that striking and locked out grocery families would continue to receive health care during the strike and lockout.
- On February 19, massive rallies, with demonstrations of civil disobedience, were held at five Southern California locations. Heralded as a "Day of Community Resistance," forty activists were arrested in support of the grocery workers' struggle.

On February 26, 2004, a tentative agreement was reached with supermarket representatives. On February 28 and 29, Union members throughout Southern California attended membership meetings to learn the details of the tentative agreement. Members in the seven Local Unions voted by an 86 percent margin to ratify the agreement.

The vote concluded a 20-week strike and lockout that affected 70,000 grocery workers at almost 900 stores. Workers in this epic labor dispute were fighting to protect affordable health care, their pensions, and job security. Despite the immense personal sacrifice of Union members, these three goals were accomplished in the new agreement, indicating that the workers' struggle and sacrifice were worthwhile.

October 2006: Ralphs/Kroger reaches agreement with U.S. Attorney's Office; all strike-related labor charges resolved

Following an agreement reached in federal court, Ralphs Grocery Co., a unit of Kroger Co., agreed to pay the UFCW and its members \$70 million. The settlement concluded a bitter dispute centering around evidence that the grocer re-hired hundreds of workers using phony names during the 20-week supermarket strike and lockout in Southern California in 2003 and 2004.

Appendix C: Selected Media Clip Links

Unions Focus on Job Creation

The Daily News, September 16, 2009

<http://www.launionaflcio.org/fullstory/2008-09-16/Unions-Focus-On-Job-Creation/>

L.A. city unions push retirement incentives over layoffs

Los Angeles Times, May 3, 2008

<http://articles.latimes.com/2008/may/03/local/me-labudget3>

L.A. Council OKs raises for city workers

Los Angeles Times, December 2, 2007

<http://www.ftpmoore.com/sisbad/raises.pdf>

A Labor Day of pride and precariousness - Even as they celebrate the holiday, L.A. union members face rising costs and tough contract talks. Writers and actors weigh possible strikes.

Los Angeles Times, September 3, 2008

<http://articles.latimes.com/2007/sep/03/local/me-labor3>

Wal-Mart's Manifest Destiny

High Country News, June 7, 2004

<http://www.hcn.org/issues/276/14785>

A Message From the Grocery Workers Union

The Washington Monthly, November 22, 2003

http://www.washingtonmonthly.com/archives/monthly/2003_11.php

Supermarket Strike

89.3 KPCC, October 13, 2003

Listen Online (forward to time code 8:16):

http://www.scpr.org/programs/airtalk/listings/2003/10/airtalk_20031013.shtml