A young girl with dark hair and a small flower hair clip is smiling as she holds a metal shopping basket filled with various fruits and vegetables. The background is a blurred grocery store aisle. The entire image is overlaid with a semi-transparent orange filter.

FOOD *for* EVERY CHILD

THE NEED FOR MORE SUPERMARKETS
IN GEORGIA

SPECIAL REPORT

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This report was prepared by Tracey Giang and Caroline Harries of The Food Trust and David Treering, GIS Specialist at Loyola University. Photographs by Ryan Donnell. It was published in June 2011. This report was made possible by grants from the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation, Kraft Foods Foundation and the Arthur M. Blank Family Foundation.

GEORGIA must address the significant need for supermarkets and fresh food resources in many of its communities. Many factors have led supermarkets to disinvest from lower-income communities across the state, leading to a public health crisis. The Food Trust researched and wrote *Food for Every Child: The Need for More Supermarkets in Georgia* to document these findings and to ensure that all children and their families live in communities that have access to healthy and affordable food. This goal can be achieved by encouraging the development of supermarkets and grocery stores in underserved communities.

Despite their growing populations, many communities in Georgia have too few supermarkets. For example, large areas of Atlanta are underserved, and many residents have to travel long distances to purchase foods necessary to maintain a healthy diet. The situation in this city is representative of a statewide problem impacting families in both urban and rural areas in Georgia.

This report demonstrates that supermarkets in Georgia are unevenly distributed, and lower-income communities are categorically underserved with respect to supermarket access. A recent study by the Atlanta Regional Commission highlighted this issue in the Atlanta metro area: the study found that the lower-income areas in the region have poorer access to grocery stores than higher-income areas.¹ The situation in Georgia is not unique; a nationwide study of over 28,000 ZIP codes found that low-income ZIP codes have 25 percent fewer per capita supermarkets than middle-income ZIP codes.²

The lack of access to affordable and nutritious food has a negative impact on the health of children and families. A growing body of research indicates that people who live in communities without a supermarket suffer from disproportionately high rates of obesity, diabetes and other diet-related health problems. In contrast, when people live in a community with a supermarket, they tend to eat more servings of fruits and vegetables and are more likely to maintain a healthy weight.³

Increasing the availability of nutritious and affordable food in communities with high rates of diet-related diseases does not guarantee a reduction in the incidence of these diseases. If barriers to supermarket access can be removed, however, people in these communities can more easily obtain an adequate diet. Furthermore, the development of new supermarkets sparks economic revitalization and brings jobs into communities that need them most.

Through mapping, this study concludes that many neighborhoods in Georgia with poor supermarket access also have a high incidence of diet-related deaths. Access to supermarkets is a key factor in the health and development of a community.

A recent study of the Atlanta metro area found that lower-income areas have poorer access to grocery stores than higher-income areas.

We call upon state and local governments to take the lead in developing a public-private response to this problem. While not a situation of any one sector's making, it is in the interest of the entire community to solve this problem, a fact made all the more evident by the estimated \$2.1 billion that Georgia spends each year treating obesity-related diseases.⁴ Solutions that have proven successful elsewhere in the country, such as Pennsylvania's Fresh Food Financing Initiative, have included:

- Convening leaders from the business, government, public health, economic development and civic sectors to develop a strategy to establish more supermarkets in lower-income communities.
- Strategic investments with public funds to reduce the risks associated with the development of more supermarkets in lower-income communities.

INTRODUCTION

Despite their growing populations, many communities in Georgia, including large areas of Atlanta, have few supermarkets and there are many neighborhoods where none exist.

The shortage of supermarkets means that residents, particularly those in lower-income urban and rural areas, must travel out of their neighborhoods to reach the nearest store that sells fresh produce and other foods necessary to maintain a healthy diet. This issue impacts residents across the state: nearly two million Georgia residents, including almost 500,000 children, live in lower-income communities underserved by supermarkets.

Rates of childhood obesity in Georgia are among the highest in the country. According to recent data, 21.3 percent of Georgia children are obese, the second highest childhood obesity rate nationwide.⁵ Lower-income residents in Georgia are likely to suffer from obesity and other diet-related health problems at rates significantly higher than those of the population as a whole. For lower-income children, the situation is particularly alarming. A recent study on the impact of obesity on Georgia's third-grade students found that children from low-income households suffered from greater rates of obesity than children from high-income households.⁶

More than one-fifth of Georgia children are obese, the second highest childhood obesity rate nationwide.

At the same time, many families in Georgia have few, if any, places in their neighborhoods in which to shop for reasonably priced, nutritious foods. This problem is impacting both urban and rural communities, where residents often have to travel long distances to reach the nearest food store. Georgia's supermarket deficit could be eased and diet-related health problems decreased by embracing an initiative to build more supermarkets and other healthy food markets in underserved communities, resulting in improved health of children and families.

A growing body of research demonstrates that access to supermarkets has a measurable impact on people's diet and health outcomes. Both the Institute of Medicine and the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention have independently recommended that increasing the number of supermarkets in underserved areas would reduce the rate of childhood obesity in the United States. They also suggest that state and local governments should create incentive programs to attract supermarkets to these neglected neighborhoods.⁷

Such an investment would have positive economic impacts as well. Supermarkets create jobs and revitalize communities, serving as retail anchors and sparking complementary development nearby.⁸

The Food Trust wrote *Food for Every Child: The Need for More Supermarkets in Georgia* to ensure that all children live in communities that have access to nutritious and affordable food. This report is designed, in part, to stimulate a process which will result in the development of supermarkets and other healthy food retail markets in underserved communities. To achieve that goal, this study identifies the gaps in fresh food availability and highlights the relationship between supermarket access, diet-related diseases and neighborhood income levels.

This study builds on the excellent work undertaken over the past several years by a variety of government, private and civic leaders in Atlanta and across the state of Georgia. Despite these efforts, this report demonstrates that there is still more work to be done in Atlanta, as well as at the state level, to ensure that all residents have convenient access to stores selling fresh and affordable foods. The Food Trust is committed to building on this success and working with state and local leaders to improve supermarket access for residents across the state.

Methodology

To demonstrate which neighborhoods lack supermarkets, a geographical representation of food access, income and diet-related disease was created by mapping the locations of supermarket sales, income and diet-related mortality data. (See Appendix for more detail.) Retail sales data for supermarkets were obtained from Trade Dimensions. Diet-related mortality data for 2007 were provided by the Georgia Department of Community Health and demographic data were derived from the American Community Survey 2005–2009.

A series of maps was created using Geographic Information Systems computer mapping software.⁹ Weekly sales volume at supermarkets was distributed over a one-mile radius to plot the concentration of sales and then divided by total population density and the average for weekly sales per person to calculate a ratio for weekly supermarket sales per person. The ratios were mapped; ratios greater than 1 represent high sales and ratios less than 1 represent low sales. Median household income was multiplied by the number of households to determine total income density. The term "lower income" in this report is used to define areas where households have less than median income, except when citing a separate study.

A total of 24,396 diet-related deaths were mapped, including 1,238 in Atlanta. The ratio of deaths per total population was mapped. "High" diet-related mortality areas are defined as having diet-related death rates greater than the statewide average, and "low" areas have diet-related death rates lower than the statewide average. Only data for Georgia were analyzed, so no comparisons were made with rates outside of the state.

KEY FINDINGS

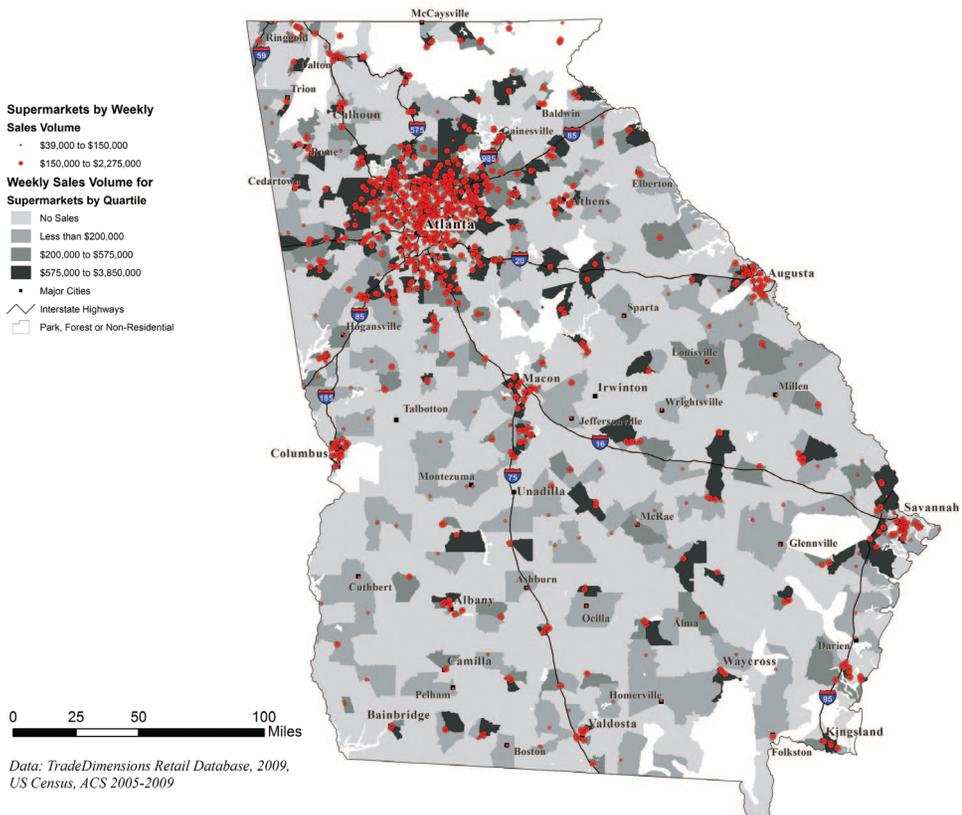
Access to nutritious food is not evenly distributed in Georgia. Many people have to travel excessive distances to buy food at a supermarket.

- The uneven distribution of supermarkets is a serious problem in Georgia. There are large areas of the state with few supermarkets, and many neighborhoods where none exist. This situation is reflected at the local level in Atlanta, where substantial gaps in neighborhood food availability exist.

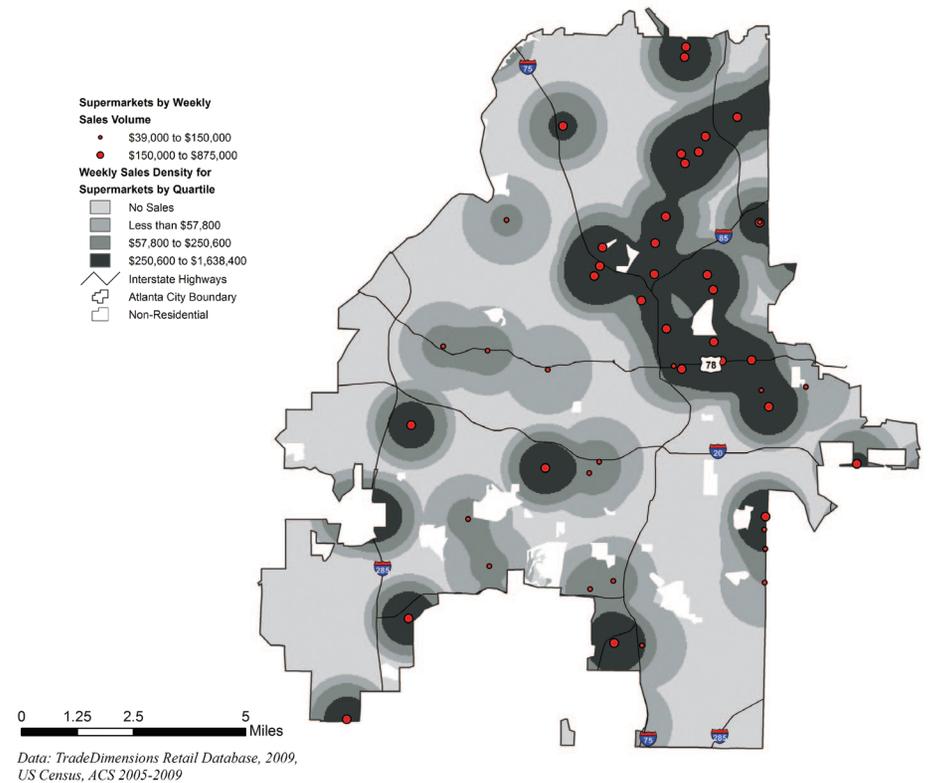
MAP 1A/B: Weekly Sales Volume for Supermarkets shows the location of 1,098 stores throughout Georgia, including 50 in Atlanta, and the weekly sales volume at each store. The smaller red circles represent lower weekly sales volume; the larger red circles represent higher weekly sales volume. The gray shading shows how supermarket sales are distributed across each census tract. The darkest areas have the highest concentration of supermarket sales, whereas the light areas have the lowest sales, indicating that few or no supermarkets are located there.

Map 1A shows that supermarkets in Georgia are unevenly distributed. Supermarkets are highly

1A: Weekly Sales Volume for Supermarkets in Georgia



1B: Weekly Sales Volume for Supermarkets in Atlanta



concentrated along major highways and in suburban areas, while urban centers, as well as rural communities throughout Georgia, are relatively underserved. This suggests that many people are traveling considerable distances to buy food at supermarkets in those areas where supermarkets are more easily accessible.

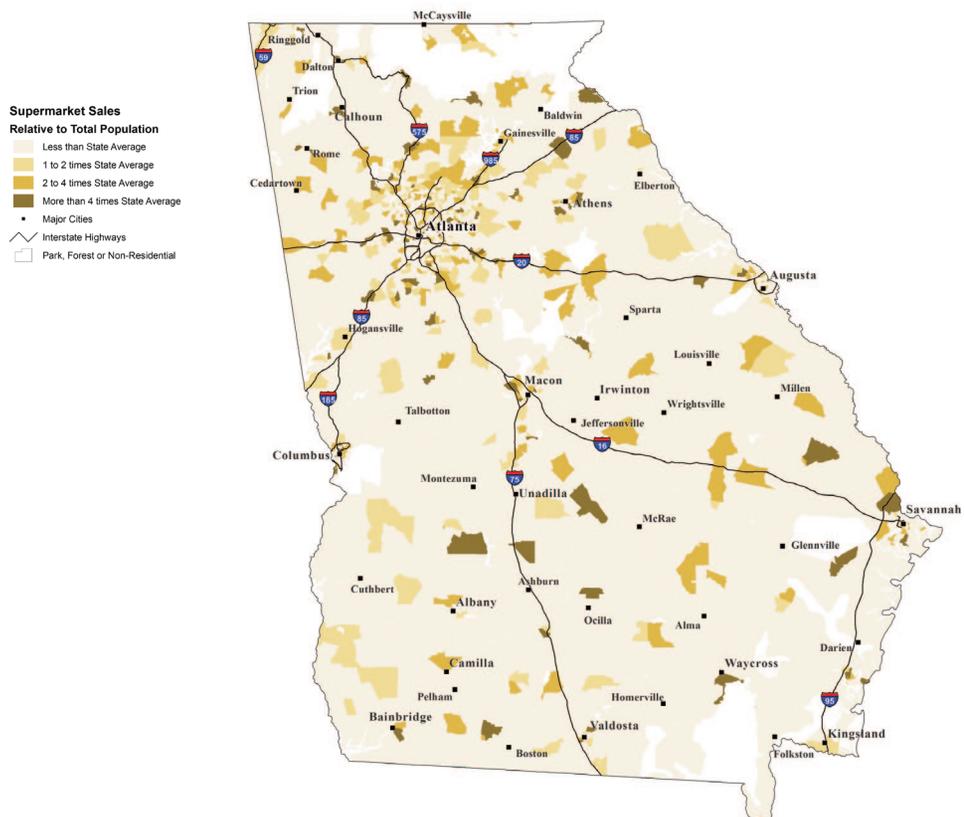
Map 1B features supermarkets in Atlanta and the concentration of sales across the city. Neighborhoods

with the highest concentration of supermarkets and supermarket sales include Midtown, Ansley Park, Poncey-Highland and Buckhead along the Peachtree Corridor. Neighborhoods with the fewest supermarkets include those in West and Northwest Atlanta such as Adamsville, Fairburn Heights, English Avenue and Grove Park. Downtown Atlanta and the Stadium neighborhoods, as well as many neighborhoods in Southeast Atlanta are also underserved.

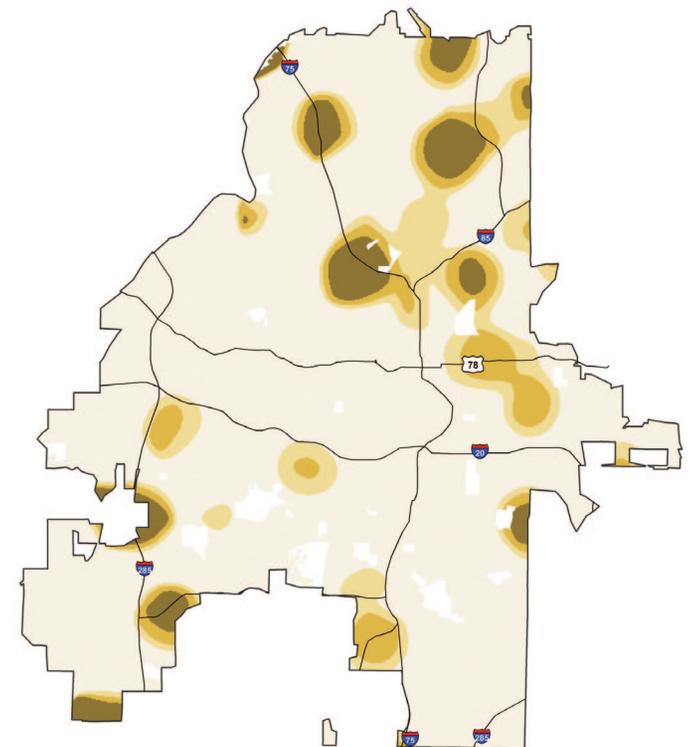
MAP 2A/B: *Supermarket Sales and Total Population* shows that the amount of supermarket sales in a particular location does not seem to be associated with the population of that area. Communities with greater than average supermarket sales relative to total population are shown in yellow and brown tones. In these communities, people are either spending more than average in supermarkets, as might be the case in higher-income communities, or more people are buying groceries in these communities than the number of people who live there, indicating that people are traveling from outside the area to shop there.

In Atlanta, supermarkets are clustered in neighborhoods such as Midtown, Ansley Park, Poncey-Highland and Buckhead along the Peachtree Corridor.

2A: Supermarkets Sales and Total Population in Georgia



2B: Supermarkets Sales and Total Population in Atlanta



KEY FINDINGS

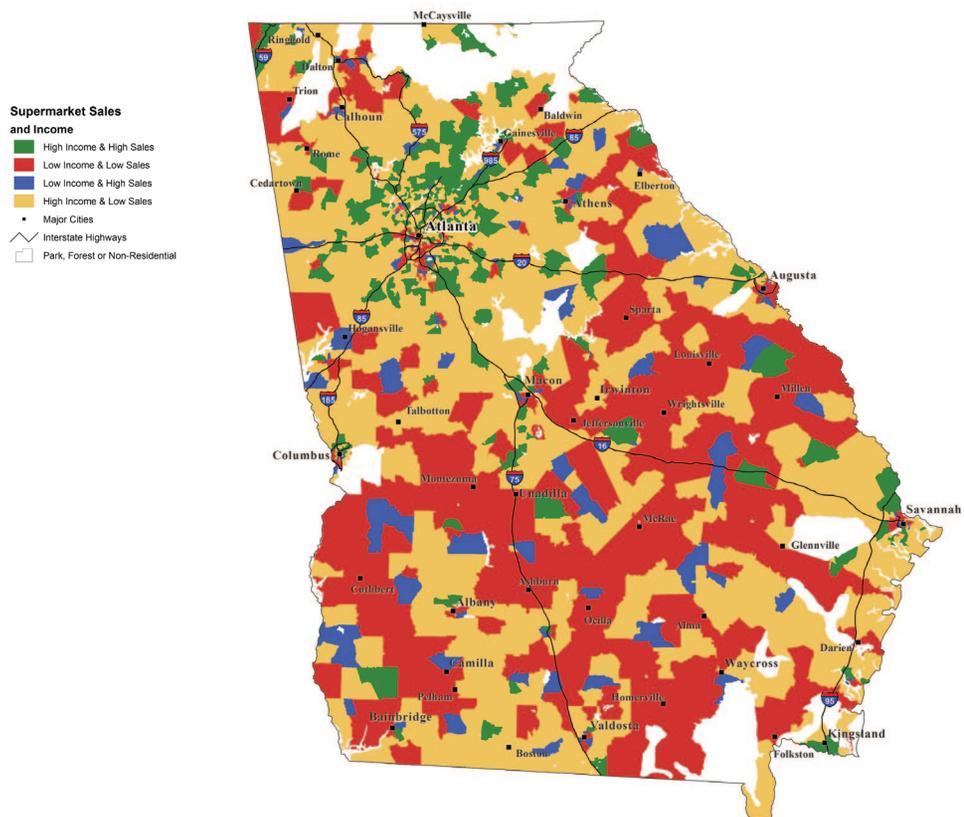
The uneven distribution of supermarkets in Georgia leaves a disproportionate number of lower-income people without access to nutritious food.

- A recent study by the Atlanta Regional Commission highlighted this issue in the Atlanta metro area: the study found that lower-income areas in the region have poorer access to grocery stores than higher-income areas.¹⁰ This problem is also impacting families across the state.

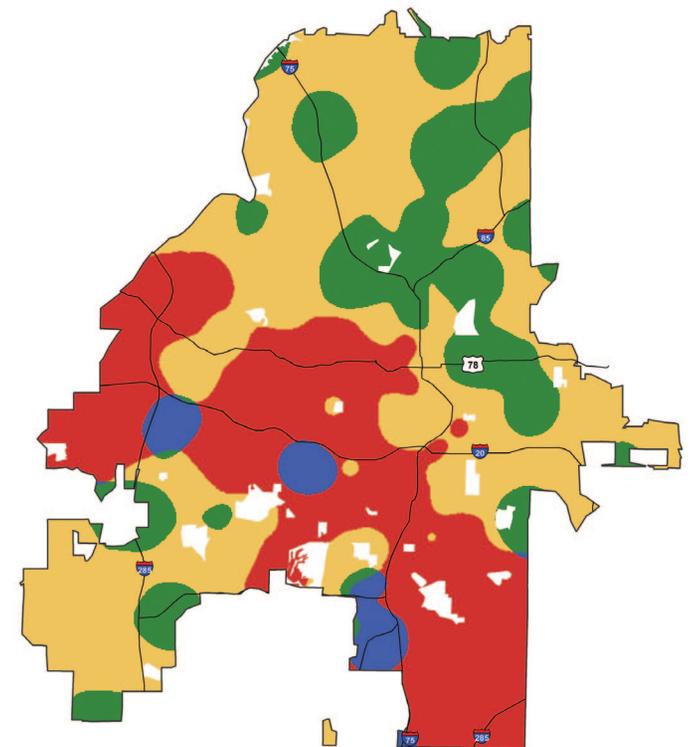
Nearly two million Georgia residents, including almost 500,000 children, live in lower-income communities underserved by supermarkets.¹¹

MAP 3A/B: *Supermarket Sales and Income* shows the distribution of supermarket sales and the distribution of income throughout the state and city. Higher-income areas with higher supermarket sales have the best access to food resources and are indicated by the green areas of the map. In some lower-income areas, there are communities with higher than average supermarket sales volumes, as highlighted in blue. People in the areas shown in yellow have fewer supermarkets to shop at in their community. However, since these communities are

3A: Supermarket Sales and Income in Georgia



3B: Supermarket Sales and Income in Atlanta



higher-income and often have high car ownership rates, residents are likely able to drive to stores or to stop at small specialty food purveyors.

The red areas represent lower-income communities that are not adequately served by supermarkets.

MAP 4A/B: *Low Supermarket Sales and Low Income* further highlights areas with low supermarket sales because there are few to no supermarkets located there. Since income is also lower in these areas, families face more difficulty traveling to the areas where supermarkets are concentrated, especially when public transit is not accessible or convenient.

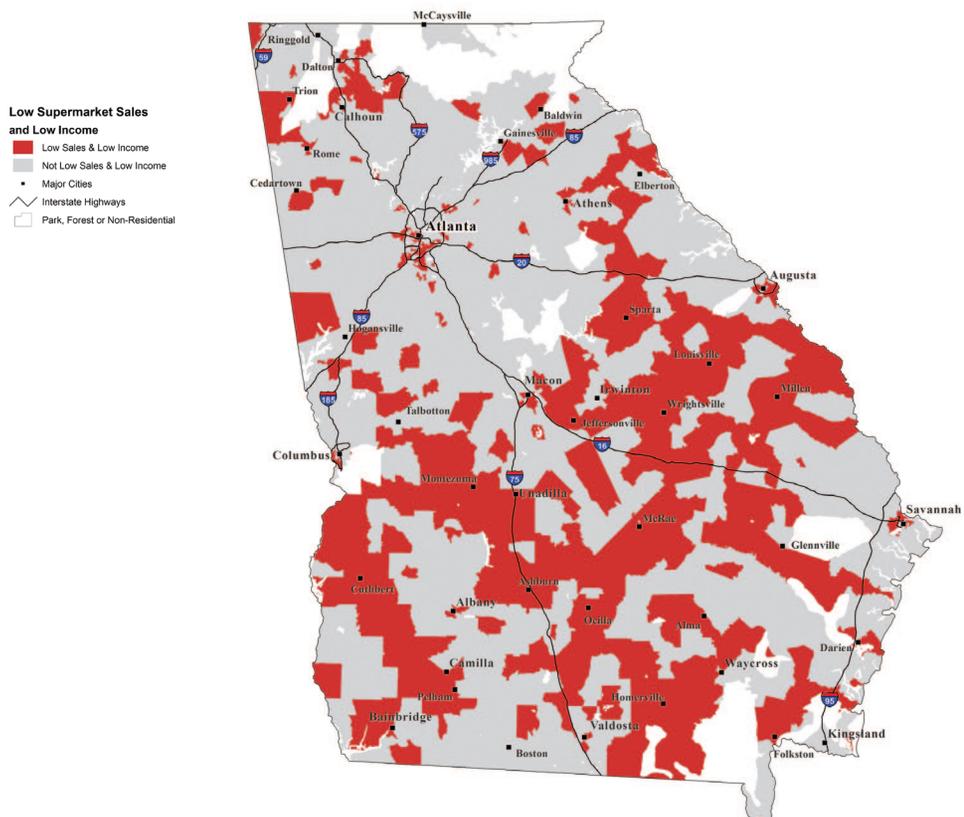
Lower-income communities with insufficient supermarket access can be found in urban and rural areas across the state of Georgia, including many areas of South Georgia below Macon and a sizable portion of East Georgia, as well as the regions around Cuthbert, Camilla, Unadilla, Millen, Folkston and Irwinton. For example, one study in DeKalb County indicated some residents there have to travel as much as eight miles to access the nearest supermarket.¹²

In Atlanta, neighborhoods that are not well-served by grocery stores include areas such as Grove Park, Bankhead and English Avenue. Other neighborhoods

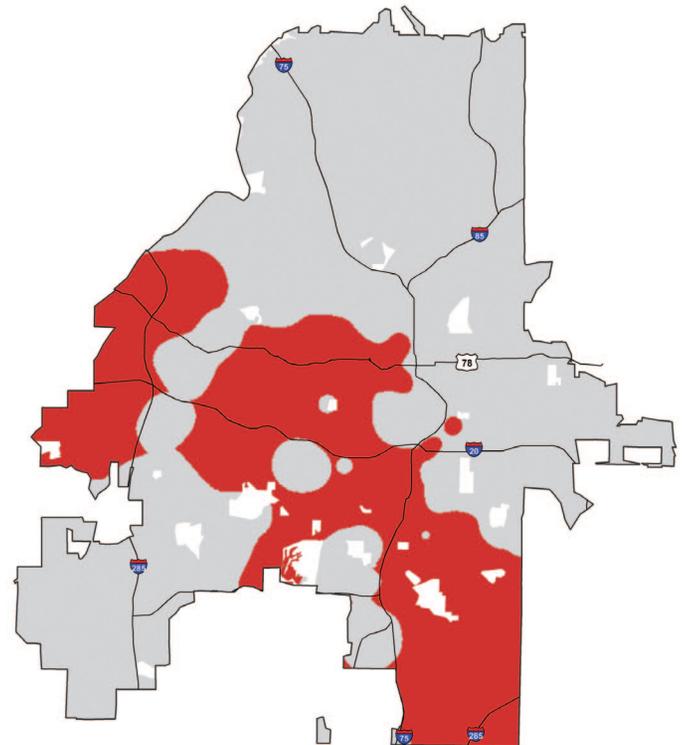
with poor access include Fairburn Heights, Adamsville, Pittsburgh, Mechanicsville and multiple communities in Southeast Atlanta.

A recent study found that underserved areas of the Metro Atlanta region have over \$300 million of grocery expenditure leaving these neighborhoods.¹³ This indicates there are not enough grocery stores located within Metro Atlanta's underserved areas to meet the significant demand of their residents, therefore many families must travel excessive distances to satisfy their demand for groceries.

4A: Low Supermarkets Sales and Low Income in Georgia



4B: Low Supermarkets Sales and Low Income in Atlanta



KEY FINDINGS

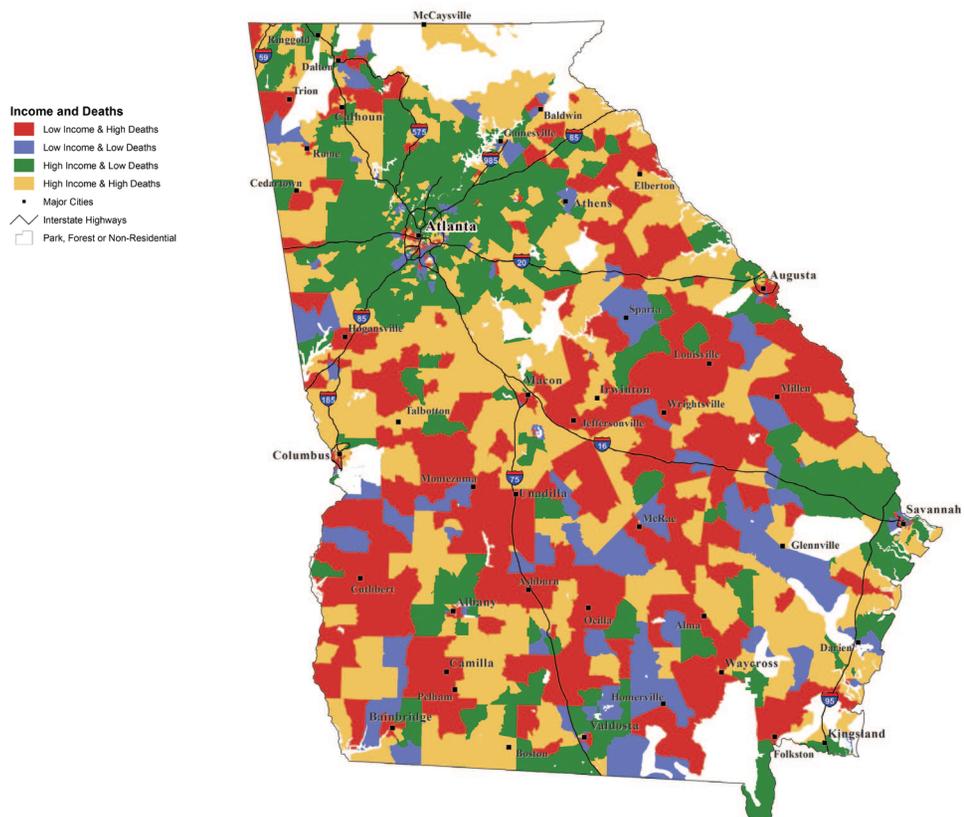
There is a connection between lack of supermarkets and diet-related disease.

- The Food Trust and PolicyLink, a national research and advocacy organization, conducted a comprehensive literature review which found that studies overwhelmingly indicate that people living in communities without a supermarket suffer from disproportionately high rates of obesity and other related health issues, while people living in communities with a supermarket are more likely to maintain a healthy weight.¹⁴

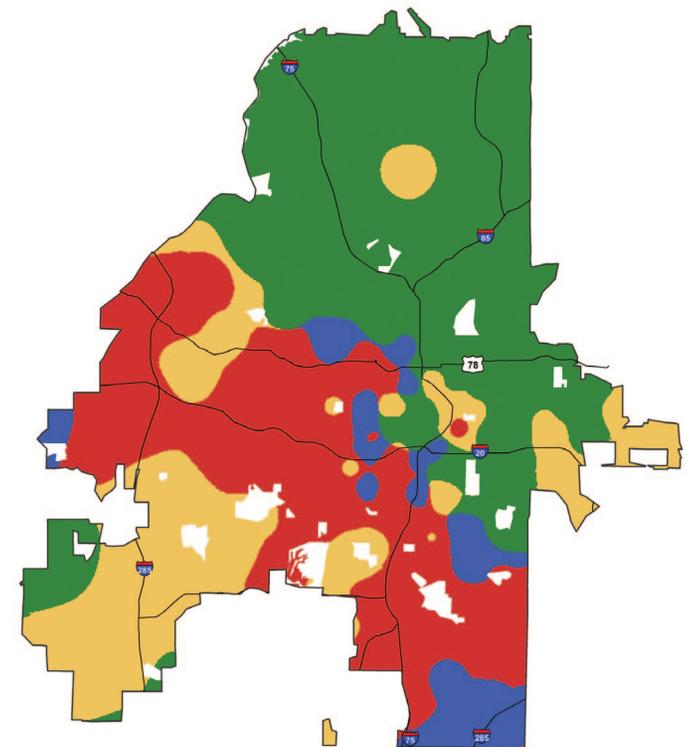
One study, for example, found lower body mass index among adolescents who live near a supermarket.¹⁵ Another documented that fruit and vegetable intake increases as much as 32 percent for each additional supermarket in a community.¹⁶

MAP 5A/B: *Income and Diet-Related Deaths* shows diet-related mortality data by income in Georgia and Atlanta. The red areas indicate a higher than average rate of diet-related deaths occurring in lower-income areas. The yellow areas display higher rates of diet-related deaths occurring in higher-income areas. The blue and green areas have lower rates of diet-related deaths.

5A: Income and Diet-Related Deaths in Georgia



5B: Income and Diet-Related Deaths in Atlanta



Diet-related diseases, such as hypertension, obesity and diabetes, create untold suffering and expense in families and communities. Heart disease and stroke are among the top three leading causes of death in Georgia, accounting for nearly one-third of all deaths in the state, and overweight or obese adults are significantly more likely to suffer from these conditions.¹⁷ Diet-related deaths are associated with many factors, including the lack of access to a nutritionally adequate diet.

sales and a high number of deaths due to diet-related disease. These areas have the greatest need for more supermarkets.

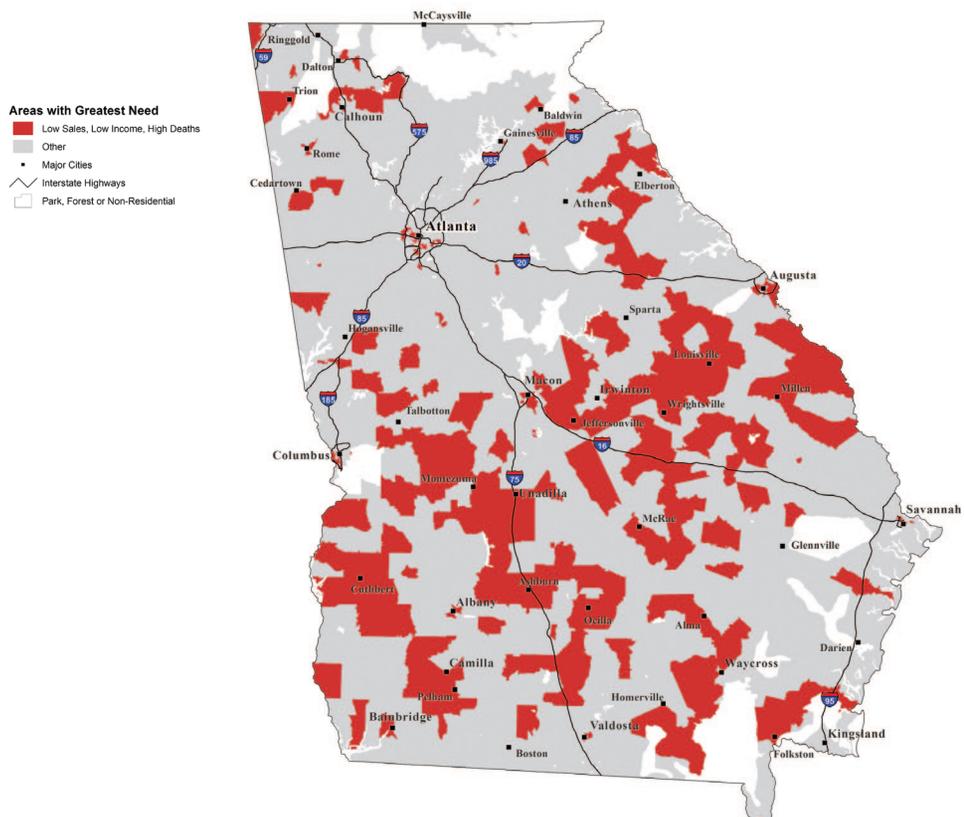
To provide affordable and nutritious food in these neighborhoods and to address the high rates of obesity and other diet-related diseases, Georgia should encourage new supermarket development in lower-income areas where there are few or no supermarkets.

Increasing the availability of nutritious and affordable food in neighborhoods with high rates of diet-related diseases does not guarantee a reduction in their incidence. However, leading public health experts, including the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention and the Institute of Medicine, agree that it is a critical component of the fight against obesity.¹⁸ Furthermore, the White House Obesity Task Force recently highlighted the importance of increasing access to healthy, affordable food as one of its key recommendations.¹⁹

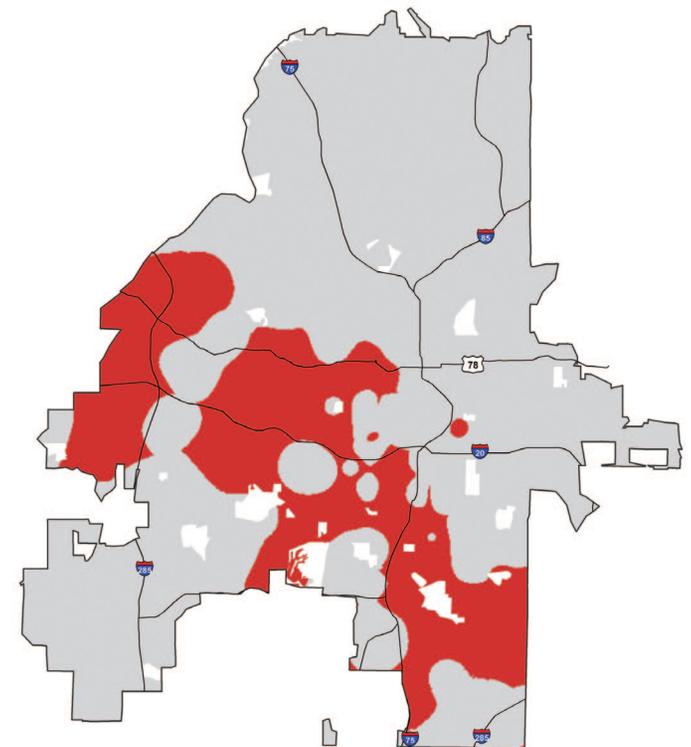
MAP 6A/B: *Areas with Greatest Need* displays lower-income communities where there are low supermarket

Leading public health experts agree that increasing access to supermarkets in underserved communities is a critical component in the fight against obesity.

6A: Areas with Greatest Need in Georgia



6B: Areas with Greatest Need in Atlanta



CONCLUSION

The lack of access to supermarkets is a problem in many communities in Georgia, especially in lower-income areas where the incidence of obesity is alarmingly high.

The lack of supermarkets in many communities means that lower-income residents have to rely on corner and convenience stores with higher prices and often lower-quality foods or travel long distances to purchase nutritious foods. Diets that rely on food from convenience stores are often higher in sugar and fat, contributing to obesity and other diet-related diseases.

The increased incidence of obesity and other diet-related diseases in lower-income communities suggests that the public sector needs to invest in supermarket development in these underserved areas to help combat these diseases. Such an investment would have positive economic impacts as well, since supermarkets bring jobs to communities that need them the most.

The public sector has a responsibility to help provide a nutritious food supply in underserved communities in order to safeguard public health and promote economic development. But as supermarkets replaced earlier forms of food retailing, such as public markets, the public sector largely withdrew from food retailing. Supermarkets later left many communities, leaving large numbers of people without a stable food supply. At the same time, the incidence of obesity and other diet-related diseases increased in these communities.

These consequences are stark for people of lower incomes. People who live in lower-income areas without access to supermarkets suffer from diet-related deaths at a rate higher than that experienced by the population as a whole. Based on additional studies conducted by The Food Trust and others, access to fresh, affordable and nutritious food plays a role in determining what people eat.^{20,21} People who can only access poor food choices eat poorly.

Through mapping, this study shows that many lower-income communities in Georgia have both poor supermarket access and a high incidence of diet-related deaths. This statewide problem is reflected at the local level in Atlanta where significant gaps in neighborhood food availability exist. Nearly two million Georgia residents, including close to 500,000 children, live in lower-income areas with poor supermarket access. This study demonstrates that this issue is related to significant health problems that adversely impact children and families across the state.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Georgia must address the critical need for more supermarkets in many communities.

The number of supermarkets—and access to them—are key factors contributing to the health and economic development of neighborhoods. People living in lower-income areas without access to supermarkets suffer from diet-related deaths at a rate higher than that experienced by the population as a whole. Through public investment, we can increase the number of supermarkets in underserved communities and improve the health of children and families across the state.



We recommend that state and local governments in Georgia:

Convene leaders from the supermarket industry, government, public health, economic development and civic sectors to develop a strategy to establish more supermarkets in lower-income communities.

A key element of this strategy is for state and local governments to create a grant and loan program to support local supermarket development projects in order to increase the availability of affordable and nutritious food in underserved areas.

GIS Methodology

All Georgia statewide analysis was at the census tract level of geography and is prefixed by A); all Atlanta citywide analysis was done at the census tract level using interpolated rasters and density grids and is prefixed by B).

SUPERMARKET SALES

Supermarkets in the 2009 Trade Dimensions retail database were included in the analysis of sales. For the purposes of this study, the definition of a supermarket is any store that has a SIC code of 541105 and an annual sales volume of greater than \$2 million. There were 1,098 supermarkets in Georgia with an aggregate weekly sales volume of \$386,988,000, and 50 supermarkets in Atlanta with an aggregate weekly sales volume of \$16,374,000. Stores were plotted using the latitude and longitude coordinates for each record and then classified into two categories; above and below \$150,000 in weekly sales volume. Values of sales density were used to classify the A) census tracts and B) raster grid into the four categories shown in Map 1: Weekly Sales Volume for Supermarkets.

POPULATION

Population data for the State of Georgia and City of Atlanta by census tract was retrieved from the US Census Bureau website (www.census.gov) for the 2005-2009 American Community Survey (Georgia total of 9,497,667 people; Atlanta total of 515,843 people). Geographies with no population were removed from the analysis, as indicated on the maps.

SALES AND POPULATION

A) The weekly sales volume was divided by the total population of each census tract, and B) the density of weekly sales volume raster was divided by the density of total population raster. The result was then divided by \$40.75 (the statewide ratio of sales to population: $\$386,988,000/9,497,667$) to create an odds ratio for weekly supermarket sales per person for Georgia and Atlanta. An odds ratio of 1 is equivalent to the statewide/citywide rate. Anything below 1 is below the statewide/citywide rate. An odds ratio of 2 means the rate is twice the statewide/citywide rate. This is used for Map 2: Supermarket Sales and Total Population.

INCOME

Median household income (Georgia: \$49,466), was multiplied by number of households (Georgia: 3,417,298), and the result was divided by total population to create an average per capita income (Georgia: \$17,798.06). Local per capita income by census tract was divided by this number giving an income odds ratio above or below the statewide/citywide rate. B) The odds ratio, assigned to the census tract centroid, was used to interpolate a grid, which was then reclassified to yield two distinct values, those below and those above the odds citywide rate.

SALES AND INCOME

The "sales" and "income" odds ratios were combined resulting in four distinct values which correspond to the four possible combinations of high and low odds ratios, which were used to classify Map 3: Supermarket Sales and Income and Map 4: Low Supermarket Sales and Low Income.

DIET-RELATED DEATHS

The Georgia Department of Community Health, Division of Public Health provided mortality data for the specified list of ICD-10 codes for the year 2007. A) A total of 24,396 diet-related deaths were mapped to at the census tract level for Georgia, and B) a total of 1,238 deaths were mapped to at the census tract level for Atlanta. The data were summarized based upon the census tract number to obtain a count of diet-related deaths per census tract.

DIET-RELATED DEATHS AND POPULATION

The total number of deaths attributed to each census tract was divided by the total population of that census tract. This result was divided by the statewide ratio of diet-related deaths to total population (Georgia: $24,396/9,497,667 = 0.002569$, or 26 diet-related deaths per 10,000 people) to calculate an odds ratio. A) A new binary field was created to store whether the census tract had a deaths odds ratio above or below the statewide rate. B) The odds ratio, assigned to the census tract centroid, was used to interpolate a grid, which was then reclassified to yield two distinct values, those below and those above the statewide odds rate.

DIET-RELATED DEATHS AND INCOME

The two A) binary fields and B) rasters of "deaths" and "income" odds ratios were combined through multiplication to calculate a new layer. This resulted in four distinct values which correspond to the four possible combinations of high and low deaths and income odds ratios, which were used to classify Map 5: Income and Diet-related Deaths.

DIET-RELATED DEATHS, SALES AND INCOME

A) To combine all three variables, a new field was created and calculated by census tract as the product of "deaths" odds and the "low supermarket sales and low income" variable. B) The two reclassified rasters of "deaths and low supermarket sales and low income" variable were combined to create a new raster layer. These results were reclassified to only retain one value: "high deaths, low supermarket sales and low income" areas and mapped to produce Map 6: Areas with Greatest Need.

Endnotes

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- ⁸ Treuhaft, S. and Karpyn, A. (2010) *The Grocery Gap: Who Has Access to Healthy Food and Why It Matters*. Oakland (CA): PolicyLink and The Food Trust.
- ⁹ All data was prepared in MS Excel and mapped in ArcGIS 9.3.1 or 10 with Spatial Analyst extension. Also used were ET GeoWizards v9.5.1or v10 and Hawth's Analysis Tools v3.27. The coordinate system and projection used during mapping and analysis were the North American Datum 1983 and Georgia State Plane West Zone.
- ¹⁰ Atlanta Regional Commission (2010). *Regional Snapshot. Fresh Food Versus Fast Food: A Look At Healthy Food Access in Metro Atlanta*. Retrieved from www.atlantaregional.com/regionalsnapshots
- ¹¹ Population in low-income, low-supermarket tracts derived from: Trade Dimensions International, Inc. (2009); Tele Atlas, American Community Survey 2005–2009, ESRI Data & Maps 2009.
- ¹² Papavasiliou, F., Essig, C., Barlett, P., and Roll, A. (2007) "Is Healthy Eating Possible in DeKalb County? An Assessment of Food Availability, Access, and Cost in Two Neighborhoods." Atlanta Local Food Initiative. Decatur, Georgia: DeKalb County Board of Health.
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- ¹⁴ Treuhaft, S. and Karpyn, A. (2010) *The Grocery Gap: Who Has Access to Healthy Food and Why It Matters*. Oakland (CA): PolicyLink and The Food Trust.
- ¹⁵ Powell, L.M., Auld, C., Chaloupka, F.J., O'Malley, P.M., and Johnston, L.D. (2007). Associations Between Access to Food Stores and Adolescent Body Mass Index *American Journal of Preventive Medicine*, 33(4): S301–S307.
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- ²¹ Morland, K., Wing, S., and Diez Roux, A.V. (2002). The Contextual Effect of the Local Food Environment on Residents' Diets: The Atherosclerosis Risk in Communities Study. *American Journal of Public Health*. 92(11):1761–1767.

Ensuring That Everyone Has Access To Affordable, Nutritious Food

The Food Trust, a nonprofit founded in Philadelphia in 1992, strives to make healthy food available to all. Research has shown that lack of access to healthy food has a profound impact on food choices and, therefore, a profound impact on health.

For almost 20 years, The Food Trust has worked with neighborhoods, schools, grocers, farmers and policymakers to develop a comprehensive approach to improving the health of America's children. The Food Trust's innovative initiatives integrate nutrition education with increased availability of affordable, healthy foods.

This approach has been shown to reduce the incidence of childhood overweight; a study in the journal *Pediatrics* found that the agency's School Nutrition Policy Initiative resulted in a 50 percent reduction in the incidence of overweight among Philadelphia school children.

The Food Trust is recognized as a regional and national leader in the prevention of childhood obesity and other diet-related diseases for this and other notable initiatives to increase food access in underserved neighborhoods, including the Healthy Corner Store Initiative and the Pennsylvania Fresh Food Financing Initiative, a public/private partnership which has sparked the development of 90 fresh-food retail projects across Pennsylvania.

The Centers for Disease Control and Prevention honored the Fresh Food Financing Initiative in its Showcase of Innovative Policy and Environmental Strategies for Obesity Prevention and Control, and the program was named one of the Top 15 Innovations in American Government by Harvard University.

For more information or to order additional copies of this report, visit thefoodtrust.org or contact The Food Trust.

"The Food Trust is transforming the food landscape one community at a time, by helping families make healthy choices and providing access to the affordable and nutritious food we all deserve."

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