Exposed: How US supermarkets are failing their workers in a global pandemic

Summary

The COVID-19 pandemic is exposing deep systemic inequalities and massive failures in our economic system. Nowhere are these shortcomings more visible than in America’s supermarkets, where workers are risking their lives every day in order to keep food on our tables with little protection and seeing little of the financial rewards from the billions their companies are earning.

Oxfam analyzed the formal policies of several major US supermarkets in the first months of the pandemic in five key areas: sick leave, provision of protective gear, hazard pay, engagement with trade unions, and gender and dependent care. All supermarkets stepped up their policies on sick leave, hazard pay, and protective measures, but these steps have largely been insufficient. Of the companies we examined, Walmart, Costco, and Whole Foods/Amazon are falling especially short on directly engaging with their workers, an essential component to ensuring their safety.

As parts of the country reopen while the pandemic continues, at least 100 supermarket workers have died from COVID-19 complications, and some companies are seeking to roll back key policies on hazard pay at a time when their essential workers need it most. Oxfam calls on supermarket companies to adopt a fundamentally new worker-focused corporate strategy that ensures workers can exercise their voice and influence decisions that impact and protect their lives, along with the health of their customers.

Few winners, many losers

Shocked by sudden stay-at-home orders because of the COVID-19 pandemic, consumers across the United States rushed to their local supermarkets to buy staple foods ranging from canned goods to pasta, resulting in enormous sales growth in the sector.\footnote{3} Sales in grocery stores went up 83 percent in the middle two weeks of March\footnote{2} and have remained higher than average as restaurants have closed and Americans have turned to cooking and eating at home. Walmart, the largest US retailer, reported revenues of $134.6 billion in the three months ending
in April, 8.6 percent more than the same period last year.\(^3\) In contrast, the more than 3 million mostly low-wage workers making sales happen in the $800 billion grocery industry are living paycheck to paycheck on the razor’s edge of poverty, with few workplace benefits, little job security, and often no sick leave, forced to choose between their health and economic survival each day.\(^4\) Supermarkets continue to treat these workers as if they are expendable, while extolling them as heroes in their ad campaigns.

The current landscape for supermarket workers in the US paints a grim picture:

- At least 100 grocery workers nationwide have died of complications from the virus since late March, and at least 5,500 others have tested positive, according to a Washington Post review of data from a number of sources.\(^5\) As some health restrictions begin to ease across the country, it's no wonder workers are worried.

- More than two-thirds of staff at grocery store check-out lines and fast food counters are women\(^6\) who brave the uncertainties of repeated exposure to customers for fear of losing their jobs.

- The United States is one of the world’s two industrialized countries that does not guarantee paid sick leave.\(^7\) According to the federal Bureau of Labor Statistics, almost a quarter of the US workforce had no access to paid sick leave in 2019.\(^8\) Specifically, more than half of grocery workers in the US continue to work today without paid sick leave.\(^9\)

- Even prior to the pandemic, black workers in the US faced two of the most harmful systemic injustices—institutional racism and economic inequality. The Economic Policy Institute’s latest research\(^10\) shows that black workers and their families are facing far greater economic and health risks in the pandemic than white workers and families. Statistically, research shows that black workers are disproportionately represented in frontline industries such as grocery and convenience stores (14.2%), thus facing greater risk of exposure to COVID-19. Additionally, black workers are less likely to have paid sick leave and to be able to work from home than white workers (only 58.7% of black workers benefit from paid sick days and 19.7% are able to work from home, compared to 66.6% and 29.9% for white workers, respectively).

- Unionized workers at some major US supermarkets have succeeded in bargaining for at least temporary raises in wages and other important concessions from their employers during this unprecedented crisis. Unfortunately, those modest measures are proving insufficient. Costco and Whole Foods/Amazon ended their hazard pay policies completely in May 2020, and Kroger replaced them with appreciation bonuses.

- A broad swath of corporate investors is recognizing the risk that supermarkets and other frontline employers take in failing to adequately protect their workers. More than 300 institutional investors with more than $9 trillion in assets under management called on companies to provide paid sick leave and prioritize the health and safety of their workers as essential in reducing risk and safeguarding long-term financial value.\(^11\)

- There is growing consumer recognition of and appreciation for the risks that retail workers are taking as well. Perhaps more than ever, consumers have an acute interest in understanding where their food comes from and who is responsible for delivering it to them. This knowledge has led to newfound support for retail workers, more in line with how the public views workers more traditionally considered first responders.
As of late June, more than 50,000 people have signed Oxfam’s petition calling on US supermarkets to protect their workers. Yet even as the number of confirmed cases and deaths rise, supermarkets are beginning to roll back their COVID-19 responses. As health restrictions ease as the pandemic continues, supermarkets must demonstrate leadership and prioritize a worker-centered corporate strategy that further engages and empowers the workers who know these workplaces best. Companies should fully recognize the human—not just the business—value of their workers and stop treating them as expendable.

Policy responses to the pandemic

US retailers have taken some steps to protect their workers during the pandemic, but these measures are not sufficient. Oxfam reviewed publicly available information on the policy responses of Albertsons Companies (the nationwide grocery chain that owns Safeway, Vons, Albertsons, and Pavilions grocery stores), Costco, Kroger, Walmart, and Whole Foods/Amazon in five key areas: sick leave, provision of protective gear, hazard pay, engagement with trade unions, and gender and dependent care policy.

We also worked with labor allies to identify gaps between each company’s stated policies and their actual implementation. Oxfam acknowledges that the COVID-19 crisis is evolving, and companies are responding to its rapidly changing challenges; thus, this analysis covers US supermarkets’ early responses to the coronavirus. Oxfam provided an opportunity for companies to comment on this analysis and received responses from Albertsons Companies, Kroger, and Walmart that we have incorporated in the findings below.

Our conclusion is that companies are not doing enough for their low-wage workers – yet they continue to make outsized profits on the backs of these workers.

Table 1: Supermarket policy responses to COVID-19

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Estimated number of US employees</th>
<th>Paid sick leave for the pandemic</th>
<th>Protective gear</th>
<th>Hazard pay</th>
<th>Engagement with unions</th>
<th>New hires</th>
<th>Gender/dependent care policy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Albertsons Companies/ Safeway</strong>&lt;sup&gt;4&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>270,000</td>
<td>2 weeks with COVID-19 diagnosis</td>
<td>Masks for all store staff, plexiglass installed, sanitation throughout stores, limited store capacity and modified hours for restocking and seniors,&lt;sup&gt;15&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>$2/hour increase (expired June 13),&lt;sup&gt;16&lt;/sup&gt; and replaced with a “reward bonus” equal to $4/hour for average hours worked/week between March 15- June 13.&lt;sup&gt;17&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>Engagement with United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW)&lt;sup&gt;18&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>55,000&lt;sup&gt;19&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Costco</strong>&lt;sup&gt;20&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>173,172</td>
<td>Employees allowed to take COVID-19-related unpaid leaves of absence until the end of May;</td>
<td>All customers and employees must wear masks in stores</td>
<td>An extra $2 an hour for their work during the coronavirus outbreak&lt;sup&gt;22&lt;/sup&gt; (expired by mid-May)</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Information not available</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Company</td>
<td>Employees</td>
<td>COVID-19 Policy Details</td>
<td>Incentives</td>
<td>Other Details</td>
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<td>Kroger</td>
<td>453,000</td>
<td>- 2 weeks with COVID-19 diagnosis—expanded to include those with medical documentation to isolate; emergency leave can be applied retroactively</td>
<td>- Bonus for all hourly frontline workers—$300 for full-time and $150 for part-time associates; $2 premium pay (ended in mid-May); replaced hazard pay with a “Thank You Pay” ($400/full-time and $200/part-time)</td>
<td>Engagement with United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walmart</td>
<td>1,500,000</td>
<td>- 3 levels of emergency leave policy: Level 1: Associate’s own choice to self-isolate—leave is unpaid for up to 2 weeks but may use available paid time off; Level 2: Quarantine required by healthcare provider/government agency/Walmart—paid 2-week leave; Level 3: Confirmed COVID-19 diagnosis—paid 2-week leave and then partial pay replacement for up to 26 weeks with medical certification</td>
<td>- No hourly premium/hazard pay provided; Walmart provides special COVID-19 bonuses—$600 for each full-time and $300 for each part-time associate, including temporary associates</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Whole Foods/Amazon</td>
<td>95,000/341,000</td>
<td>- 2 weeks with COVID-19 diagnosis or All workers are required to wear</td>
<td>- $2/hour on top of current hourly rate; replaced hazard pay with a “Thank You Pay” ($400/full-time and $200/part-time)</td>
<td>Amazon is reported to have fired</td>
<td>175,000 for Amazon; Access to 10 days of subsidized leave</td>
<td></td>
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</table>
Paid sick leave for COVID-19: Most essential workers across all five companies have some access to paid sick leave during the pandemic. However, current policy for the companies does not allow workers to take preventive measures, if they choose to, against COVID-19 without having to take accumulated paid time off or unpaid leave. In order to qualify for paid sick leave, workers must be required to quarantine by a government agency, by a healthcare provider, or by the company—or show that they are confirmed positive for COVID-19. Some companies, like Kroger, assert that while documentation is required to qualify for paid sick leave, it is not tied entirely to testing, which was difficult to obtain in the early days of the pandemic.

Protective gear: All five companies have implemented some form of protective measures and are aligning their policies with the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention guidance to safeguard their workers’ health and safety, including implementing social distancing practices, providing face masks, sanitizing surfaces, and installing protective barriers. Costco and Whole Foods require their customers and workers to wear face masks while in stores. Costco’s CEO notably stood his ground as some of Costco’s customers protested this requirement.

Nevertheless, workers continue to report that they are afraid of getting sick while working in grocery stores. One Costco employee described the experience of working for Costco during the pandemic as a “living nightmare,” and for many Amazon workers, protective measures came “way too late.” Dozens of workers at Walmart and Amazon have reportedly died because of COVID-19. Mary Pat Tifft, a longtime Walmart associate, wrote in the Financial Times that “while most retailers started launching social-distancing strategies and protective partitions in February and March, Walmart didn’t start limiting customers in its stores or installing sneeze guards until early to mid-April.” Several Walmart stores in Massachusetts have been ordered to temporarily close after employees tested positive for COVID-19. United Food and Commercial Workers Union (UFCW), which represents workers in both Albertsons Companies and Kroger, recently released data showing that among the grocery store workers it represents, more than 10,000 have been exposed to the virus; at least 68 workers have died due to the virus; and 3,257 have confirmed infections.

Hazard pay: All companies except Walmart have provided a $2/hour increase to all associates during the pandemic for hours worked. Walmart has thus far offered two bonus payments to their full-time, part-time, and temporary workers not based on hours worked. In total, the company paid $600 for each full-time employee and $300 for each part-time employee (hourly associates employed as of March 1 qualified for the first bonus payment, and every hourly
associate employed by the company as of June 5 will qualify for the second bonus payment. However, United For Respect, the nation’s leading retail worker advocacy organization, calculated that the bonuses offered by Walmart are equivalent to approximately $37/week for full-time workers and $19/week for part-time workers assuming no other bonuses are paid over a 16-week period. As the largest employer in the US, enjoying a nearly 9 percent surge in sales revenue, Walmart’s role as a laggard in this category is disappointing.

The $2/hour hazard pay offered by other supermarkets has largely ended, however. Kroger ended its “hero pay” on May 17; it was one of the first supermarkets to do so despite calls from eight union locals to extend the bonuses for all frontline workers amid the pandemic. Kroger then announced that it would provide “Thank You Pay”—$400 for each full-time associate and $200 for each part-time associate in two installments (May 30 and June 18), which the UFCW has calculated is less than the $2/hour bonus pay.

In collaboration with UFCW Local 367, Albertsons Companies extended its appreciation pay to June 13, while Amazon/Whole Foods and Costco’s expired in May with no indication of an extension. A Whole Foods associate told Oxfam:

“Whole Foods is going back to ‘normal’ in June. We will lose our ‘hazard pay,’ which is $2 an hour extra. We will also be punished (written up or fired) for too many sick-outs. This doesn’t make sense. They should leave that $2 an hour pay increase in, continue the temporary policies toward sick-outs …. I’m exhausted both mentally and physically.”

With respect to pay, advocates have been demanding a minimum of $15 an hour for workers under non-pandemic conditions. Certainly the industry can pay better for workers who risk their own and their family’s health to work during the crisis, especially as company profits soar.

**Engagement with trade unions:** Supermarket workers know the realities of their workplaces better than company headquarters do. It may seem obvious to demand that all grocery stores engage with workers, workers’ rights organizations, and unions to hear workers’ concerns and jointly develop the best solutions to support them, but the reality is far different. Two companies, Albertsons Companies and Kroger, stood out as the only two chains with unionized stores and for their willingness to engage with trade unions during the pandemic.

After extensive bargaining with Local 5, the Northern California chapter of UFCW, Albertsons Companies “pledged to give a [temporary] $2-an-hour pay raise to California grocery workers at…[its] stores.” Kroger also implemented comparable measures after engagement with UFCW Local 400. Additionally, both Albertsons Companies and Kroger joined the UFCW to seek a temporary designation of “extended first responders” or “emergency personnel” for supermarket associates to ensure that they are prioritized for testing and provided personal protection equipment during the coronavirus outbreak. This kind of collaboration between worker representatives and companies is what leads to win-win solutions for both—and in this case, for the public as well.

Meanwhile, Costco and Walmart have shown no evidence of direct engagement with trade unions or workers’ rights organizations in the United States, while Amazon is reported to have fired workers for organizing and speaking out, which is unacceptable—and potentially illegal. Amazon-owned Whole Foods is reported to be using a tracking technology and scoring system to monitor its stores for the risk of unionization.
Gender and dependent care policies: US retailers are also neglecting gender equality in their policies. Oxfam’s Supermarket Scorecard\textsuperscript{60} which assesses supermarkets’ policies on human rights in their supply chain sourcing, shows leading US supermarkets received a zero score for addressing gender equality. The pandemic reveals how women are the hardest-hit group of workers as 58 percent of women lack access to paid sick leave and women are far more likely to be single parents and to bear a significant share of care work (which has increased for many with schools and child care facilities closing). Out of the 58 percent who reported a lack of access to paid sick leave, more than one-third reported a time when they fell behind on bills or went hungry because they didn’t have money to pay for food.\textsuperscript{61}

While almost all supermarkets are laggards on gender and care work, there are recent signs of progress. On June 2, after internal advocacy by Amazon’s employees, the company offered 10 days of subsidized child and adult care for all its US employees, including Whole Foods associates, until October 2, 2020.\textsuperscript{62}

Lots of profit, little engagement with workers

Oxfam’s initial assessment of supermarkets’ COVID-19 responses found that all five companies continue to make profits at the expense of their essential workers. Sales continue to surge by double-digit percentages for major supermarkets,\textsuperscript{63} and sales may stay elevated even in the coming economic downturn. According to the Financial Times,\textsuperscript{64} the net worth of Jeff Bezos, Amazon’s founder and CEO, has increased 23 percent since the start of March. In the first three months of 2020, Amazon’s sales soared more than a quarter on the previous year to a record $75.5 billion, and shares are up 28 percent since the beginning of the year.\textsuperscript{65} In contrast, most essential workers at Amazon and Costco saw their hazard pay end in May despite strong calls from unions to reverse the decision in the midst of the pandemic.

The pandemic has already prompted a rise in worker organizing and walkouts due to slow responses by employers to prioritize worker health and safety.\textsuperscript{66} While unions like UFCW have shown solidarity at this difficult time to advocate on behalf of all workers, not just its dues paying members, US supermarket workers who are not unionized have inarguably had a harder fight yet received fewer concessions from their employers in terms of health and safety measures and fair compensation.

Engaging directly with workers and unions enables companies to better formulate a response plan that focuses on workers’ real needs. UFCW has been bargaining with Albertsons Companies and Kroger on workers’ behalf for stronger benefits and other protections—enabling a worker-friendly environment that benefits both the employers and workers themselves. Disappointingly, Costco, Walmart, and Whole Foods/Amazon are falling especially short on directly engaging with workers, an essential component to ensuring their safety.

Costco: Costco’s workers have described slow responses to protecting their health and safety in-store.\textsuperscript{67} Despite its reputation, Costco has shown no evidence of meaningful engagement with its workers during the pandemic. The company is reported to have loosened or abandoned social distancing measures to increase sales as some states are reopening,\textsuperscript{68} actions that would significantly increase risks for front-line workers.

Walmart: Walmart’s workers have reported that the company fails to adequately implement its COVID-19 response policy,\textsuperscript{69} and attorneys general from a dozen states across the US sent a
letter to Walmart President and CEO Doug McMillon, raising concerns that the company has not taken adequate steps to protect employees and the public from the pandemic. United for Respect and Majority Action together filed a shareholder resolution urging the Walmart board to adopt a policy of promoting significant representation of employee perspectives among corporate decisionmakers, by including hourly associates as director candidates. These organizations argue that workers are in a better position to present the realities of their day-to-day operations and to oppose any risky corporate decisions that are likely to put workers at risk, as observed during the pandemic.

Whole Foods and parent company Amazon: Both companies have opposed efforts by employees to unionize and both have responded sluggishly to workers’ concerns regarding health, safety, and livelihood during the pandemic. Whole Foods announced measures comparable to other supermarkets—hourly wage increases of $2, two weeks paid sick leave for employees who test positive for COVID-19, and unlimited unpaid sick leave—only after the threat of a sick-out strike and the public backlash that occurred when company executives infamously suggested workers donate their sick leave to colleagues that fell ill. But workers’ groups such as Whole Worker argue that these measures are hardly sufficient to account for the increased risks to health and safety faced by Whole Foods workers every day, particularly in light of the record sales the company is enjoying. These groups are calling for retail workers to receive hazard pay of double their usual hourly pay.

Amazon is currently facing widespread public criticism, as well as from many of its own white-collar employees, for the company’s response to warehouse employee actions calling attention to the unsanitary conditions at a Staten Island, NY, distribution center—where more than two dozen employees have reportedly been infected with COVID-19. Even in the midst of the health crisis, Amazon fired or dismissed nearly half a dozen workers who dared to raise concerns about safety issues. UFCW International President Marc Perrone said in a statement: “Now, more than ever, corporations like Amazon must be held responsible for failing to keep its frontline workers from being exposed to the coronavirus outbreak.”

Employees organized two walkouts to protest working conditions in which co-workers were falling ill and the company’s failure to take sufficient measures to stop the spread of the disease among employees. Rather than entering into a collective bargaining agreement with worker representatives and engaging with them in good faith, Amazon terminated the employee who had organized the protest actions in what may have been a retaliatory measure, according to Amazon executives’ own internal emails. Similarly, Whole Foods fired a California associate, according to news reports, for keeping a public tracking of confirmed COVID-19 cases at Whole Foods stores across the country. At a fundamental level, and to their own detriment, Amazon and Whole Foods leaders seem bent on rejecting the crucial idea that they should genuinely listen to their workers who have the most at stake in the current pandemic.

At the end of May, Oxfam attended Amazon’s virtual annual meeting to present a shareholder proposal calling on Amazon to better address human and labor rights risks in its global supply chain—risks that have grown more acute as a result of COVID-19—by conducting at least one human rights impact assessment. The proposal garnered nearly one-third of the vote from shareholders, signaling strong support from Amazon’s investors.
Recommendations for a new worker-centric corporate strategy

Food retail workers worldwide—and particularly in the United States—have long been among the most marginalized and undervalued workers, facing significant wage gaps and economic inequities, lack of pension payment plans, and, in many cases, lack of access to basic health protections even as they handle the food products that sustain their communities. This fundamentally unjust reality has never been more evident as the world grapples with the effects of the pandemic on our public health and economies.

This crisis calls for a fundamentally new corporate strategy that puts workers at the center. We must be reminded that nobody is safe from COVID-19 until everyone is safe. To ensure that workers can exercise their voice and influence decisions that impact their lives, we urge supermarkets to undertake the following measures:

- **Embrace, not obstruct, the role of workers’ unions and worker advocates in representing the needs and voice of workers.** The pandemic has shown the world how vitally important freedom of association and collective bargaining are to keeping workers safe, healthy, and reporting to work in their essential functions. Employers should be relying on the insights and ideas that workers can bring to navigating these troubled times, rather than intimidating them with terminations and other retaliatory measures in response to efforts to organize.

- **Compensate employees with premium pandemic pay equal to at least time-and-a-half, retroactive to the start of the public health crisis and lasting to the end of the stay-at-home order in the location at which the worker is employed.** This pay increase will never fully compensate for the risks now faced by retail workers staffing stores and braving contact with consumers every day, but it begins to show respect for their dignity and vocation. This pay should apply to part-time workers and independent contractors as well as to full-time employees, regardless of immigration status, and should be paid as part of regular paychecks.

- **Protect the health and safety of workers by continuing social distancing practices, and by providing workers with the best available protective gear (including masks, gloves, and plexiglass partitions for cashiers).** Supermarkets also should provide two weeks of paid sick leave for workers who fall ill or have been in contact with someone who is ill, regardless of whether workers can provide proof of testing positive for COVID-19, especially as many states and regions face testing shortages. Crucially, company policies must be quickly and comprehensively conveyed to local management and then effectively implemented; if not, they will fail to actually help workers.

- **Provide two weeks of paid sick leave (regardless of the source of the illness) as a permanent policy going forward.** Countless public health studies have shown that policies like these slow the spread of infectious diseases and help keep consumers as well as workers safe. Such policies are also good for morale, productivity, and retention.

- **Ensure that suppliers across companies’ food supply chains are similarly protecting the health, safety, and livelihoods of the workers producing the food that is ultimately sold on supermarket shelves.**
• Ensure that the rights to freedom of association and collective bargaining are respected, and that workers’ representatives are not discriminated against and have access to carry out their representative functions in the workplace.

• Extend common-sense best practices and measures adopted at this time to protect workers’ health and safety (e.g., paid sick leave and wage increases) in an ongoing and permanent manner to reflect the essential nature of this work, not only in times of crisis.

• Commit to best-practice standards by implementing the UN Women’s Empowerment Principles and asking suppliers to do so as well.

• Disclose gender disaggregated data around the workforce to make visible where women are in operations and supply chains, and set timebound targets to create action plans demonstrating how to improve the position of women in the workforce.

Methodology note

The information collected and presented in Figure 1 and this report was extracted from each company’s policy response to COVID-19, as well as from news reports and press releases. The links to each company’s policy are provided below, as are links to publicly available information and reports published during the time of this writing.

Oxfam provided all mentioned companies with an opportunity to comment on this brief and received responses from Albertsons Companies, Kroger, and Walmart.

• [https://www.costco.com/coronavirus.html](https://www.costco.com/coronavirus.html)
• [https://corporate.walmart.com/here-for-you](https://corporate.walmart.com/here-for-you)

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3 [https://www.ft.com/content/fb92d678-d99e-43c9-8985-fdc3b0f85783](https://www.ft.com/content/fb92d678-d99e-43c9-8985-fdc3b0f85783).
Associates do not have to show documentation to utilize the 2-week quarantine pay and protected leave: https://corporate.walmart.com/media-library/document/covid-19-u-s-fact-sheet/_proxyDocument?id=00000172-9b0c-d717-ad76-bb0d04c00000.

30 United For Respect (UFR) tracks COVID19-related reports across the country, and as of May 19, 2020 – 598 reports were filed by Walmart’s employees and 460 reports were filed by Amazon’s employees (https://areyousafe.work).

https://www.theguardian.com/technology/2020/may/05/amazon-protests-union-organizing-cracking-down-workers
and http://www.ufcw.org/tag/amazon/


estimates-wrongful-death-lawsuit.html.

https://www.ft.com/content/5a351ca0-a4cd-11ea-92e2-cbd9b7e28ee6#comments-anchor.


https://www.ft.com/content/5a351ca0-a4cd-11ea-92e2-cbd9b7e28ee6#comments-anchor.
