

# BROKEN PROMISES: *Devastating America's Farmers and Working Families*

Monopolies in food and agriculture are harming us all, as a handful of powerful corporate players in concentrated markets profit off the backs of America's farmers, ranchers, and working families. The Trump administration claimed to be fighting for the little guy, but in reality, it has sold out to the highest special interest bidder.

Farmers and ranchers are being squeezed on both ends. Corporate consolidation has been slowly killing rural America, leaving farmers with fewer places to sell their crops and livestock and at the mercy of a few large corporate buyers with "take it or leave it" prices. At the same time, there are fewer businesses selling seeds, fertilizers, and equipment, eliminating comparison shopping and allowing corporate monopolies to drive up prices. Ravaging farmers and ranchers means undermining anchor industries in rural economies – harming main street businesses, rural schools and hospitals, and jobs.

At the same time, families are facing higher prices every day at the grocery store. This paints a very clear picture: if consumers are paying more and farmers are getting squeezed, the money is going to the middle, where consolidation is everywhere you look, creating a broken food system. Instead of picking up the bipartisan work begun under the Obama and Biden administrations to fight this decades-long trend, the Trump administration is siding with big corporate power over farmers and workers, raising prices and leaving working families with fewer healthy options for their kids.

This *Broken Promises Report* spotlights how the Trump administration is gutting markets and picking favorites, siding with monopoly interests over working Americans and leaving farmers, ranchers, and consumers to suffer the consequences. This is happening against the backdrop of the Trump administration's chaotic trade war that has left farmers and ranchers on the brink of financial ruin with lost markets, while working Americans pay higher prices for everyday needs. This means higher costs and fewer healthy choices for consumers at grocery stores and restaurants. Rural America is struggling with lost jobs, closed hospitals, shuttered schools, hollowed-out Main Streets, and a generational loss of farmers to bankruptcies.

And while working Americans struggle to pay their bills, Trump has put the interests of foreign cronies and corporations first. A few examples: Trump bailed out Argentina—a competitor of American farmers and ranchers—to the tune of tens of billions of dollars in taxpayer dollars, while quadrupling imports of Argentine beef that further undercuts America's ranchers. [In other industries, investigations](#) into the high number of poultry processing facility closures have failed to spur Department of Justice (DOJ) actions to rein in these anticompetitive practices.

Despite Trump's rhetoric, [prices are up](#), with the price of beef up 16.4%, coffee up 19.8%, lettuce up 7.3%, and frozen fish up 8.6% over the last year. A recent study [found](#) that

American families paid \$310 more for groceries during Trump’s first year in office. Trump’s Secretary of Agriculture, Brooke Rollins’, outrageous solution to these soaring food prices is for Americans to just spend less on a meager meal option: “It can cost around \$3 a meal for a piece of chicken, a piece of broccoli, a corn tortilla, and one other thing.” High grocery prices do not mean farmers are doing well. In fact, a bipartisan group of 27 agricultural leaders recently warned of “widespread collapse” in American agriculture.

While prices continue rising, Trump and Republicans are making it harder than ever for families to afford food. The so-called “One Big, Beautiful Bill” that Republicans passed last summer cut nearly \$200 billion from the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP), a program with deep bipartisan support that helps more than 40 million children, seniors, veterans, and families afford food.

Instead of taking real action to lower costs, help Americans put food on the table, and ensure farmers make a meaningful livelihood that helps support vibrant rural economies, the Trump administration has no real solutions. Rather than work with Democrats to deliver, they are prioritizing policies that put monopolies before working people, making America less affordable for all of us.

### ***Here’s why this matters***

**Agricultural consolidation leads to fewer choices for farmers and ranchers and higher prices for consumers:** When four or fewer firms control more than 40% of the market, there is a heightened risk that firms will abuse their market power and collude on their pricing decisions. Farmers will have fewer choices and less income, and consumers will pay higher prices. When farmers make less and consumers pay more, the winner is clear: the monopoly in the middle.

The food and agricultural supply chains are increasingly dominated by a few large corporations. For example:

- Four meatpackers control **85%** of the beef market and **67%** of the pork market, which is up from 36% and 34% in 1980.
- Four firms control **60%** of the market in chicken processing.
- Four firms control at least **63%** of wheat (flour) milling, **85%** of corn processing, and **80%** of soybean processing.
- Two companies control **60%** of the carrot supply—the “OPEC of carrots.”
- Two companies control roughly **72%** of the domestic corn seed market and **66%** of the domestic soybean seed market.
- Three companies control **95%** of farm tractor production and maintenance.
- Three companies dominate **most** of the North American fertilizer market.

- Four to eight corporations [control](#) over **50%** of the U,S, grocery market sector, with concentration overall continuously growing and higher in metropolitan areas.

Farmers bear a particular burden, paying three times more the price for inputs today than in the 1990s. For example, Iowa farmers have [described](#) the ways corporate power is squeezing them:

They used to have any number of vendors to buy their seeds from; now there were two. The suppliers of all their inputs—feed, fertilizer, pesticides, you name it—had slowly consolidated and were jacking up prices.

Corn and soybean growers have [lamented](#) that “fertilizer prices were moving in lockstep, such that the moment the farmers finally saw some profit, prices would go up and erase those profits.” That only serves to drive up prices even higher, leaving consumers to pay more, or as the National Farmers Union (NFU) [articulates](#), farmers are struggling to grow food, seeing their profits shrink as inputs skyrocket in cost because of corporate consolidation, coupled with the Trump administration’s disastrous trade war. As farmers barely break even, the corporations dominating the input markets are growing their profits. NFU explains that these same hardworking farmers are then facing the constant struggle of their shrinking profits not going as far in affording the inflated prices for food as they head to the grocery store or a local restaurant, just like all consumers throughout the country. It is not hard to see who profits from consolidation—big, multinational corporations. Not farmers; not workers; not consumers.

Consolidation is taking money out of farmers’ pockets. Continued rising food costs do not equate to greater farm income and are a betrayal to farmers who have seen dwindling returns on the portion of funds they keep from every dollar of food sold. Today, farmers and ranchers [keep](#) just 15.9 cents of every dollar spent on food. For example, farmers earn just \$0.12 for a loaf of bread that sells for a retail price of \$6.49, \$1.07 for a pound of bacon sold for \$6.99, \$1.83 for a gallon of milk sold for \$5.99, and \$0.59 for a pound of potatoes sold for \$4.99. And grocery store consolidation leaves many communities across the country – both urban and rural – with fewer food options and higher prices.

These declining shares in income are no doubt making it more difficult for farmers and ranchers to stay on the land. In 2025, 315 farmers [filed](#) for bankruptcy, a more than 46% increase from the year before. In the last four decades, America has [lost well over](#) a half-million farms and more than 150 million acres of farmland—all while the number of acres per farm has risen. According to the U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA), small family farms account for just 14% of agricultural sales and the number of small family farms [shrunk](#) 10% in just five years, from 2017 to 2022.

Consolidated food markets also leave food systems susceptible to supply chain interruptions. The Covid-19 pandemic exposed many of the problems with consolidation. When a few slaughterhouses shut down due to Covid-19 outbreaks, farmers were [left with little to no options](#) to have their livestock processed, resulting in the culling of millions of

[hogs](#) and [chickens](#) instead of being processed into food, which meant higher prices for consumers. Before that, in 2019, a fire at a Tyson Foods beef processing plant in Kansas, which was [responsible](#) for five to six percent of all the beef processed in the United States, caused panic and price spikes.

America’s food supply is also increasingly owned and manipulated by foreign corporations that also use consolidation to control the market and drive-up prices. For example, Brazilian-owned JBS is [employing](#) the same market concentration and consolidation tactics it has used in the meat industry to now acquire more U.S. egg producers to dominate the American market. Additionally, Smithfield Foods, owned by China’s WH Group, which is aligned with the Chinese Communist Party and China’s People’s Liberation Army, has a dominant position in the U.S. pork market, controlling a quarter of pork processing. Syngenta Group, a major supplier of agricultural chemicals, seeds, and biotechnology, is owned by ChemChina, a Chinese state-owned enterprise, giving China [control](#) over major inputs for America’s farmers.

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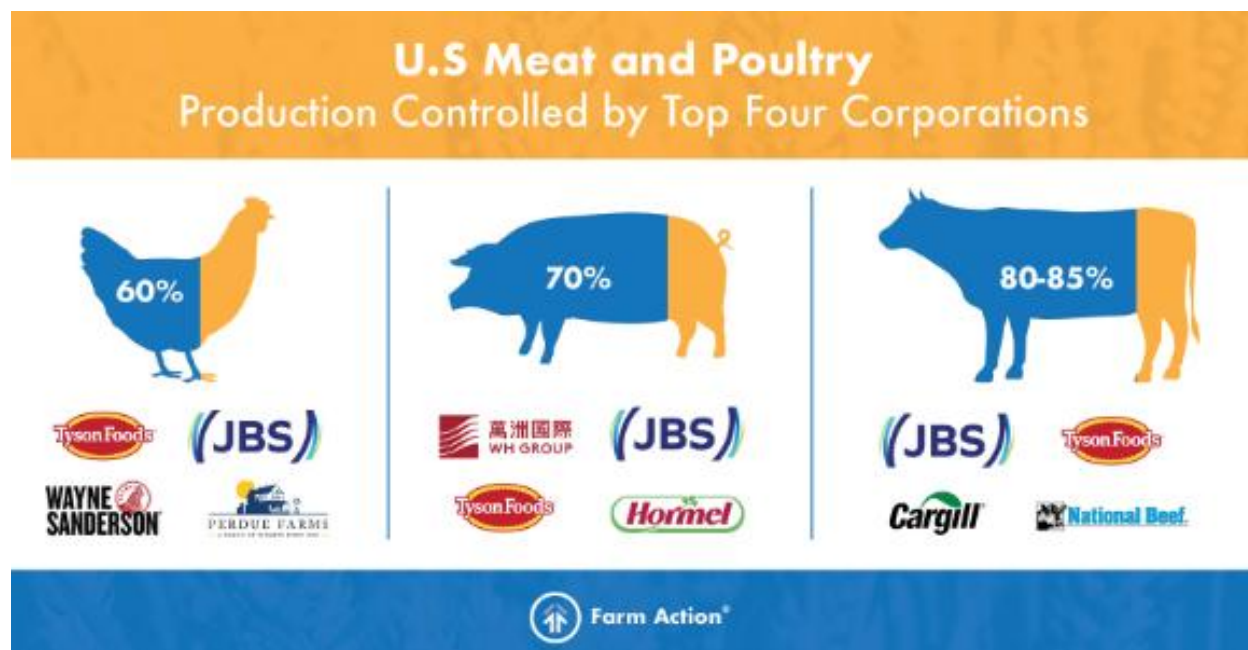
### ***Spotlight: Meatpacking, the Big Four***

When consumers head to their local grocery store, options seem unlimited. Aisle after aisle is filled with different packages, different brands, and what feels like different options. The truth is that consumers are being deceived about competitive choices because only a handful of powerful corporations own the brands you find in the store.

Meatpacking is an extremely consolidated industry. [According](#) to Farm Action, “[o]f the more than 70 meat brands marketing to consumers and retailers under the guise of individual names and logos, just four corporations—Tyson Foods, JBS, Cargill, and National Beef—are behind these brands.”



According to Farm Action, four companies control 85% of the beef market, 70% of the pork market, and 60% of the chicken market.



The big four meatpackers exercise their control in a number of ways, including reducing production in (at least tacit) coordination multiple times since the late 2010s. Over the past decade, antitrust lawsuits have been filed by the Justice Department and by private plaintiffs alleging collusion among the meatpackers to restrict output and raise prices for consumers, as well as depress prices for workers and farmers. For example, last year, JBS agreed to settle a price-fixing lawsuit for \$83.5 million. The lawsuit alleged JBS conspired with other meatpacking companies to limit supply and inflate prices. In 2021, Pilgrim's Pride pleaded guilty and was sentenced to pay a \$107.9 million fine for conspiring to fix chicken prices and passed on the costs to consumers.

Throughout the supply chain, highly consolidated markets have real consequences for farmers, workers, and consumers. Three illustrations of the problem:

- **Farmers and ranchers are earning far less from the food they produce due to corporate consolidation of the processing market.** Consider this: in 1970, “70% of the consumer’s beef dollar went to cattle ranchers, but today, ranchers’ share of the consumer dollar is closer to 30%.” Yet, prices are high. It’s clear that the profits are going to corporate actors within the consolidated supply chain.
- **Farmers have been driven out of the market.** According to USDA data, “[b]etween 2002 and 2022, roughly 58,000 feedlots (72%), 18,000 hog farms (23%), and 56,000 dairy farms (61%) exited the market.” The U.S. cattle herd has shrunk to its lowest level in about 70 years. If growers and ranchers can’t stay in business, consumers will continue to experience volatility in prices.

- **Consumers continue to pay more at checkout while farmers aren't making a profit.** USDA reports that ground beef prices have [increased](#) about 15% this year, to a record of nearly \$7 per pound. Many Americans even pay more. But ranchers are still struggling with higher production costs, impacts of climate change causing severe drought, and global market instability. The system isn't working for consumers, ranchers, or farmers.

Left to their own devices, businesses maximize profits. Our antitrust laws aim to foster open and fair competition, which supports growth, innovation, and choice for workers and consumers alike. On November 7, 2025, President Trump directed the DOJ to investigate possible price fixing and collusion in the beef industry—a narrow sliver of the full authority that he has to tackle unfair and unjustly discriminatory practices and unfair methods of competition. Moreover, Trump's track record is laughable; during the first Trump administration, the DOJ was similarly [directed](#) to investigate meatpackers, but that investigation produced *no major enforcement actions or reforms*. And further, one of the first actions Trump took in office in his first administration was to withdraw rules that were a decade in the making to protect livestock farmers from exploitative agriculture monopolies. Not only did he [throw out rules](#), but he [dismantled](#) the Grain Inspection, Packers and Stockyards Administration (GIPSA) at USDA, the office responsible for ensuring fair trade practices in the meat and poultry industries.

During the second term, Trump's Department of Agriculture (USDA) sat on the sidelines while Tyson Foods, one of the big four meatpackers, [exacerbated](#) consolidation by permanently closing a central-Nebraska beef processing plant on January 26, 2026. The plant accounted for roughly 5% of U.S. beef processing capacity. In closing the plant, Tyson acted to drive down the price it has to pay to ranchers for cattle and drive up the prices that consumers pay for beef. The local impact is [even more dramatic](#). The plant employed 3,200 people in a rural town of only 11,000. [According to an analysis](#) by the University of Nebraska-Lincoln, the plant closure will cause \$3.3 billion in annual economic losses statewide. Yet, Tyson Foods [paid](#) its CEO \$34.469 million last year, a 51% pay raise from 2024.

On January 16, 2026, Democratic Leader Schumer demanded USDA promptly seek a judicial or administrative order to prevent the plant closure. USDA failed to do so and the plant closed.

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**Democrats took major strides to protect farmers and help working families:** Over multiple administrations, Democrats have worked hard to address challenges of consolidation in agriculture. And at every single turn, Democrats have met opposition from Republicans on reform. But it has not altered steadfast commitment—from both Democratic congressional leaders and Democratic administrations.

The Biden administration launched a “whole-of-government” approach to cracking down on corporate consolidation with Executive Order 14036, which established a White House Competition Council to coordinate the effort across more than 12 federal agencies, including the USDA and the Federal Trade Commission (“FTC”). The order outlined 72 initiatives to address some of the most pressing competition problems in the economy.

As part of this Presidential initiative, the Biden administration [implemented](#) a wide range of actions targeting corporate consolidation and promoting competition in the food and agricultural sector to help bring fairer prices to farmers and consumers alike. For example:

- The USDA worked with the DOJ and the FTC to ramp up antitrust enforcement in the food and agricultural sector, [resulting in](#) two consent decrees with larger poultry integrators that increased protections for growers and paid millions to workers for suppressed wages.
- USDA modernized the rules under the Packers and Stockyards Act to bring transparency, crack down on retaliation, and support fairer practices in livestock, meat, and poultry, and to support independent processors, finalizing three rules that targeted unfair and deceptive elements of grower and farmer contracts that have long allowed harm to producers, and proposed two additional rules to tackle unfair methods of competition in cattle and other sectors.
- Under President Biden, USDA created two new cattle pricing reports, established a cattle contracts library to improve transparency in cattle and beef markets, and released a comprehensive report examining the meat merchandising industry that identifies a slew of anticompetitive pricing strategies and laid the groundwork for rulemaking.
- In 2022, the USDA [launched](#) a \$15 million challenge to partner with state attorneys general to enforce competition laws at the state level. A bipartisan group of 31 states and the District of Columbia signed up to enhance competition and protect consumers in food and agriculture markets, including grocery, meat, and poultry processing.
- USDA stood up a Farmer Seed Liaison and, together with DOJ, FTC, and USPTO, launched an Interagency Working Group on Seeds Competition to bring transparency, choice, and fairness to the seed market.
- The FTC took several important steps, including: suing Syngenta and Corteva for using illegal tactics to monopolize and block generic competition in pesticide markets, blocking the Kroger and Albertsons merger, which would have raised grocery prices, suing John Deere for illegally restricting farmers' ability to repair their own equipment, and implemented a “Made in the USA” rule prohibiting false Made in USA labels, which undermined small businesses. USDA also revised its “Product of USA” meat label to clarify that only animals born, raised, and harvested in the USA qualified.

- The Biden USDA supported this work with enhanced staffing and accountability: a Senior Advisor for Fair and Competitive Markets political appointee charged with Department-wide competition priorities; funding and staffing increases for the Agricultural Marketing Service’s competition resources; and accountability to the President through the White House Competition Council.
- USDA invested \$500 million in grants to support new, domestic, and sustainable fertilizer production capacity across the United States.

And congressional Democrats passed the American Rescue Plan Act, which provided the most significant infusion of resources to address challenges within the food supply chain that have ever been made. These resources supported more, new, and better market opportunities and options for farmers and growers. Examples of investments include: Nearly \$1 billion in grant and loan investments across all 50 states for expansion of independent meat and poultry processing capacity; more than \$500 million in partnerships with states to expand independent food supply chain processing infrastructure; investments to strengthen regional food systems, and increased investment in leveraging government commodity purchases through the Farm-to-School program. Not one Republican in Congress voted to support this legislation.

**The Trump administration has stacked the deck against farmers, working families, and rural America:** Democrats’ comprehensive approach targeting corporate consolidation and promoting competition in the food and agricultural sector has been systematically unwound by the Trump administration, harming farmers, working families, and rural economies alike. These steps echo the first Trump administration’s approach, where the Trump administration oversaw tremendous consolidation in the seed, agrochemicals, and fertilizer industries.

- **Trump administration revoked Biden Executive Order on Competition:** In August 2025, the Trump administration revoked Executive Order 14036, representing a significant shift away from the “whole-of-government” focus on competition. The National Family Farm Coalition [stated](#), “the revocation of this Executive Order will worsen existing conditions that allow abuses and the consolidation of power by the largest companies to go unchecked at the expense of small businesses, including independent farmers, and their customers.”
- **Ending collaboration:** The USDA quietly [terminated](#) its partnership with state attorneys general on agricultural competition issues and shut down the Farmer Seed Liaison and the Interagency Working Group on Seeds Competition.
- **Trump’s hand-picked FTC chairman is pro-consolidation:** The Trump administration selected Andrew Ferguson as FTC chairman, making him one of the country’s top antitrust enforcers. Ferguson’s approach to mergers is reportedly more aligned with Wall Street’s desire for looser merger enforcement. This lax approach to

policing mergers signals limited scrutiny by the Trump administration of additional consolidation in the food and agriculture sector.

- **Trump’s USDA cut \$1 billion in what would have been local purchases from farmers and ranchers** for schools and food banks. The cancellation affects over 8,000 farmers, many of whom now face financial ruin because of investments made specifically to support increased purchases.
- **No meaningful enforcement.** High-profile investigations, such as into poultry processing plant closures (and the debt that poultry farmers bear the burden of holding) and meat merchandizing, appear to have stalled or worse.

This pivot to siding with corporations is producing devastating results for farmers, ranchers, and the American people. These decisions demonstrate that the Trump administration is not committed to delivering lower prices for consumers, stable, safe, good-paying jobs for workers, and more opportunities for farmers and ranchers.

***But these changes don’t happen in a vacuum.***

**Trump and Republicans made historic cuts to vital food assistance when it is needed most.** While Trump’s policies have driven food prices even higher, he also made it harder for low-income households to feed their kids, to feed hungry seniors and veterans, all of which will force even more families to go hungry. Trump and congressional Republicans cut SNAP by about 20% under their so-called “One Big, Beautiful Bill”, the largest cut ever to the nation’s biggest nutrition assistance program. About 16 million children, 8 million seniors, and 4 million non-senior adults with disabilities have food on the table each month thanks to support from SNAP, but with these cuts, 4 million more people will be hungry.

The Republican law also requires states to pay a portion of SNAP benefits for the first time. As soon as next year, every state will be required to pay 5% to 15% of SNAP benefits offered, with some states expected to pay more than \$1 billion. These costs are so burdensome for already-strapped state budgets that some may be forced to withdraw from the program entirely, leaving many Americans without access to healthy food.

***And while more kids and families go hungry...***

**Trump’s Tariffs Push Prices Higher.** Just as farmers were recovering from the cost increases they suffered from ill-conceived tariffs imposed by Trump’s first administration, Trump’s “Liberation Day” tariffs resulted in painfully sharp price increases on American farmers and ranchers. Tariff rates on key agricultural inputs have increased from less than 1% to more than 12% on average since Trump took office. Increased tariffs on essential agricultural supplies like tractors (from 0 to 16% tariff), fertilizers (from 0 to nearly 10% tariff), and pesticides (from 6% to 24% tariff), are driving up prices and have taken a huge toll as farmers prepare for the next growing season. While farmers may have hoped for relief with the Supreme Court striking down large portions of Trump’s tariff regime, Trump

immediately doubled down, putting in place global 15% tariffs on all imports, with more new tariffs on the way. America's farmers have specifically felt the pinch from fertilizer price hikes, a direct consequence of Trump's tariffs. Compounded by the rising price of energy and broader inflation, these cost increases have made it more difficult for farmers to remain profitable. Farm debt is at a [new record high](#) of \$560 billion. In 2025 farm debt reached the highest levels since the depths of the Covid-19 pandemic. The financial hardships faced by farmers are [cascading](#) into broader rural job loss as equipment manufacturers like Deere & Co., AGCO, and CNH have slashed thousands of jobs because of Trump's trade war and the weak agricultural economy.

When President Trump campaigned, he [promised](#) that "starting on day one, [he would] end inflation and make America affordable again." The reality of his presidency has been much different, as he has plunged the United States into a chaotic trade war that has increased costs and decimated jobs. American families are realizing they have been sold a false bill of goods.

Just see some recent headlines:

- [NYT](#) - **Yes, Your Morning Coffee has Gotten More Expensive.**
- [WSJ](#) - **Grocery Prices Keep Rising. Frustrated Consumers Are Trying to Adapt.**
- [CNBC](#) - **Tariffs are pushing prices higher and consumers are feeling the hit, Fed's Beige Book shows.**
- [Yahoo Finance](#) - **GoFundMe CEO says economy is so challenged people are raising money to buy food.**

Trump's tariffs have also devastated small businesses, including independent grocers, bodegas, and other local and community stores that families rely on to buy food. Since March 2025, **America's small businesses have paid more than \$63.1 billion in Trump tariff taxes**, including \$8.1 billion in November alone. According to the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, Trump's tariffs [posed](#) a \$1.9 billion tax on foods, including more than half the food products imported into the U.S. Small businesses do not have the profit margins to eat these tariffs if they want to stay profitable and are often forced to pass costs on to consumers. Restaurants are particularly sensitive to tariffs. Restaurants operate on some of the slimmest margins – typically 3 to 5 percent – which could [shrink more as tariffs go into effect](#). Since ingredients are perishable, restaurants don't have the option of stockpiling materials and they can't change suppliers on a whim.

**Trump's Failed Trade Policy Cuts Off Key Export Markets.** Trump's trade disaster, especially his trade war with China, has severely impacted farmers' ability to access international markets. China, one of the largest buyers of U.S. agricultural products like soybeans, stopped buying from American farmers in retaliation for Trump's tariffs. In 2024, China spent \$3 billion on U.S. soybeans; in 2025, Trump's tariffs caused China to pivot

from U.S. markets, instead buying up soybeans from Argentina and Brazil. While the administration eventually negotiated a deal to resume Chinese purchases of U.S. soybeans, it [represents](#) a 32% decline since 2024, leaving American farmers with unsold crops and facing severe economic losses, especially as the Chinese embargo has expanded to other key American commodities, like corn, sorghum, and wheat. With diminished market options, this decision has [had](#) “devastating repercussions for farmers in North Dakota,” for example, who “exported more than 70 percent of its soybeans to China before Trump unveiled the new tariffs this year.” Farmers now enter a new growing year with surplus commodities they cannot sell and no certainty about what to plant in the coming year.

Trump’s response to rising prices and a farm economy on the brink has not been to pull back on his disastrous trade policies, pushing farmers and ranchers to the breaking point. It’s not to provide much-needed financial relief for consumers struggling to put food on the table. Instead, President Trump is providing a bailout of at least \$20 billion to Argentina, while Argentine farmers take advantage of China’s U.S. boycott to sell Argentine soybeans in place of American soybeans. In response to surging beef prices, Trump has also [signed](#) an Executive Order to increase the amount of beef the nation imports from Argentina by 80,000 metric tons this calendar year, undercutting American ranchers by buying Argentine beef and further selling out American agriculture. Unsurprisingly, Trump’s action has been widely [panned](#) by ranchers and members of his own party.

Unless the Trump administration ends its disastrous trade wars and gets serious about addressing extreme market consolidation that is eating away at farmers’ and ranchers’ already narrow profits, often leaving them operating at a loss, and raising prices for consumers, America’s farmers, ranchers, and rural communities will continue to face an economic crisis entirely of Trump’s making.

**Extreme Weather Ruins Crop Yields and Drives Up Grocery Costs.** Climate change is not only harming the environment but also [impacting](#) food costs. Drought is ravaging the cattle herds, making it even harder for smaller ranchers to compete. Meanwhile, gutting climate-smart agricultural solutions leaves emissions unchecked which can raise grocery store costs by as much as 6.7%. Instead of practical, farmer-centered solutions that mitigate the impacts of climate change and provide a new income stream to help farmers stay on the land, the Trump administration has taken a sledgehammer to policies and regulations designed to protect farmers and families from the consequences of more frequent extreme weather. As America weathers more severe storms, farmers [will see](#) greater crop losses, hurting their bottom line, forcing taxpayers to bail them out with costly federal aid packages, and driving up food prices.

### ***Conclusion.***

Consolidation in the food and agriculture sector has increased the economic power and profits of a handful of multinational monopolies, at the expense of American farmers, ranchers, workers, communities, and consumers.

Democrats took major strides to protect farmers, working families, and rural America, marshaling the powers of the entire federal government to set new rules for fairer play and new opportunity, and brought bold enforcement cases to rein in the greed that was raising costs for Americans. That was just the beginning, and much more is needed, but the Trump administration has abandoned its responsibility to continue this critical action on behalf of farmers and working Americans.

That leaves farmers, ranchers, and working families with falling earnings, higher costs, and holding the bag.