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# EXPLAINING BENEFIT UTILIZATION VARIABILITY IN FMNP IN KENTUCKY: AN APPLICATION OF PIERRE BOURDIEU'S THEORY

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IN FMNP IN KENTUCKY: AN APPLICATION OF PIERRE BOURDIEU'S THEORY.

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DISSERTATION

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A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the  
requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the  
College of Arts and Sciences  
at the University of Kentucky

By  
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2012

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## ABSTRACT OF DISSERTATION

### EXPLAINING BENEFIT UTILIZATION VARIABILITY IN FMNP IN KENTUCKY: AN APPLICATION OF PIERRE BOURDIEU'S THEORY.

Research has demonstrated the crucial role fresh fruit and vegetable consumption plays in maintaining good health. However, most Americans do not consume adequate amounts, and low-income Americans consume the lowest quantities of fresh fruits and vegetables. The Farmers' Market Nutrition Program (FMNP) and Senior Farmers' Market Nutrition Program (SFMNP) attempts to rectify this situation by providing vouchers to low-income women, children, and elders that can be used only at farmers' markets for the purchase of locally grown, fresh fruits and vegetables. Unfortunately, FMNP and SFMNP exhibit variable and often low benefit utilization. This variable and often low benefit utilization is unique among all other federal food assistance programs. Given the importance of fresh fruit and vegetable consumption to health and the incomplete understanding of low-income food-related behaviors, this research endeavored to understand the unique benefit utilization patterns exhibited by FMNP.

Utilizing the theoretical framework of Pierre Bourdieu, benefit utilization was conceptualized as an inherently social activity occurring within the field of food acquisition. Through the use of extensive interviews with FMNP and SFMNP officials, field observations, and secondary data analysis, data was collected to determine the relevant capitals and features of the field contributing to benefit utilization. Cultural capital was deemed to be particularly important to benefit utilization vis-à-vis the requirement to enter the subfield of the farmers' market to redeem their vouchers. Compared to SFMNP participants, FMNP participants exhibited lower and often multiple deficits of the types of cultural capital needed to successfully use the vouchers at farmers' markets. However, the local fields in which the farmers' markets operated also had a significant impact on benefit utilization. For example, Appalachian counties exhibited higher rates of benefit utilization that were statistically significant compared to non-Appalachian counties. This resulted in several policy recommendations including the distribution of recipes, interagency collaboration, and repeated opportunities to enter the subfield of the farmers' market to encourage higher benefit utilization in FMNP and SFMNP.

KEYWORDS: Food Assistance Programs, Field of Food Acquisition, FMNP, Pierre Bourdieu, Food-Related Behaviors

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IN FMNP IN KENTUCKY: AN APPLICATION OF PIERRE BOURDIEU'S THEORY

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For Laken, Adeline, and Coraline.

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## **Chapter One : The Boundaries of the Field: An Introduction to the Food Assistance Landscape**

Imagine a society in which food is abundant and within the reach of the majority of the population. Supply and distribution networks are stable and reliable. Except for a few pockets of extremely marginalized populations, the specter of famine has largely vanished. The least resource-endowed segments of society enjoy access to a wide range of foodstuffs that were incomprehensible to the nobility of just a few centuries ago. This society represents the utopian fantasies of countless societies and populations throughout human history. However, it is not a fantasy today. Contemporary industrial societies, such as the United States, have achieved food systems that have permitted unparalleled abundance at the dinner table across nearly all segments of society.

Unfortunately, it is not quite the utopia envisioned. Among other problems, the current structure of the food system with its emphasis on heavily processed, high-calorie and low-nutrient-dense foods is associated with increased rates of obesity (Barr and Wright 2010; CDC 2010; Collier 2010), diabetes (Crawford et al 2010), and cardiovascular diseases (Stamler 1982; Bazzano et al 2002; Roger et al 2011). In turn, these diseases increase risks for other diseases. For example, diabetes is correlated with certain cancers (Guixiang et al. 2009), and obesity is associated with increased risks of both diabetes and cardiovascular diseases (Wannamethee, Shaper and Walker 2005). Health experts and scientific studies assert these risks can be reduced by a diet focusing on low-calorie, nutrient dense foods and especially by increasing fresh fruit and vegetable consumption (McCall et al 2009; Zhang et al 2011). Recent public health

efforts have been directed at promoting, among other things, increased consumption of fresh fruits and vegetables among all Americans. The introduction on June 2, 2011 of the USDA's My Plate exemplifies this emphasis; one half of the "plate" is made up of fruits and vegetables.

Not surprisingly, the risks of dietary-related chronic disease are unevenly distributed across the social spectrum (Karlman et al 2010; Ogden et al 2010). Although most Americans do not consume adequate amounts of low-calorie, nutrient dense foods such as fresh fruits and vegetables, low income populations have the lowest levels of fresh fruit and vegetable consumption (Kant 2004; Stewart and Blissard 2008; Miura, Giskes, and Turrell 2011). Subsequently, they also experience increased rates of dietary-related chronic diseases than their higher-income counterparts (Lyons, Park, and Nelson 2008; Avendano et al 2009; Wang and Chen 2011). Additionally, education, access to health insurance, food environment and minority race-ethnicity, all of which are related to income, are factors correlated with risk and prevalence rates of obesity, diabetes, and other chronic diseases (Herd, Goesling, and House, 2007; McWilliams 2009; Olafsdottir 2007; Wang and Beydoun 2007; Kiviniemi, Orom, and Giovino 2011.).

It is in this context that food assistance programs have begun to shift their focus from ensuring adequate caloric intake to promoting increased consumption of fresh fruits and vegetables. Within this shifting food assistance landscape, significant revision has already occurred. Nutrition education has taken center stage alongside the

traditional provisioning of benefits used to purchase food, and food baskets have been modified to include not only whole grains but also fresh fruits and vegetables.

The Farmers' Market Nutrition Program (FMNP) and Senior Farmers' Market Nutrition Program (SFMNP) are unique among food assistance programs. They are unique because FMNP and SFMNP are the only federal food assistance programs that provide vouchers (i.e. benefits) to be used only to purchase fresh fruit and vegetables. FMNP provides vouchers for eligible low-income women and children and SFMNP provides vouchers for eligible low-income older adults. These vouchers can be redeemed at any participating farmers' market or farm stand for fresh fruits and vegetables.

Regrettably, FMNP and SFMNP are also unique among other food assistance programs due to their variable and often low benefit utilization rates. This is unlike all other food assistance programs; other food assistance programs exhibit exhaustive rates of utilization. *Exhaustive* means that benefits, whether these are credits on electronic debit cards or paper coupons, are used by program participants to purchase eligible food items until the benefits have been completely used up. FMNP and SFMNP exhibit variable and often low benefit utilization rates. Though this will be discussed later in this chapter, program participants rarely use all of their benefits and often redeem less than half of their allotted coupons. Given the importance of consuming fresh fruits and vegetables to good health and the considerable role of food assistance programs in providing adequate food for low-income Americans, underutilization of vouchers for fresh fruits and vegetables is cause for concern. If participants are not



using the vouchers, how can FMNP and SFMNP possibly be improving their nutritional statuses or increase consumption of fresh fruits and vegetables? My objective for this dissertation was to investigate a more fundamental question than has been covered by the existing FMNP and SFMNP research. Instead of evaluating the effects of benefit utilization, this was an exploratory research to understand why FMNP and SFMNP exhibit variable and often low benefit utilization rates.

### **The Dual Farmers' Market Programs**

The Farmers' Market Nutrition Program (FMNP) and the Senior Farmers' Market Nutrition Program (SFMNP) are both federal food assistance programs administered through state and local partnerships. Both programs provide vouchers or "checks" to program participants to use at local farmers' markets for the purchase of fresh fruits and vegetables. FMNP was created in 1992 and provides vouchers to low-income pregnant, postpartum, and breastfeeding women, infants six months of age and older, and children through the age of five through the Special Supplemental Nutrition Program for Women, Infants and Children (WIC). SFMNP was created a decade later in 2002 and provides vouchers to low-income older adults over sixty years of age. Although low-income elders can apply directly for SFMNP vouchers, eligibility is often assessed based on participation in another food assistance program. Typically, Commodity Supplemental Food Program (CSFP)<sup>1</sup> participation is used to determine

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<sup>1</sup> CSFP serves low-income seniors and the same population as WIC: low-income pregnant, post-partum, and nursing women and their children. However, participants cannot receive WIC and CSFP at the same time. CSFP also differs from WIC, SNAP, FMNP, and SFMNP because CSFP provides food rather than vouchers for food. CSFP baskets (or "boxes" as they were referred to by those in my study) are already prepared for pick up by CSFP participants and include items such as canned green beans, corn, and/or peas, canned salmon and/or beef stew, evaporated milk, spaghetti pasta, and boxed cereals.

eligibility for SFMNP, which is the case in Kentucky. Although low-income older adults can apply directly for SFMNP, CSFP is also used in Kentucky to determine eligibility for SFMNP.

From their inception, FMNP and SFMNP have spread rapidly and now operate in many locations across the United States. In 2010, FMNP operated in thirty-six U.S. states, six Native American tribal nations, Guam, Puerto Rico, and the District of Columbia (FNS 2010). In that same year, SFMNP operated in forty-two U.S. states, seven Native American tribal nations, Puerto Rico, and the District of Columbia (FNS 2010b). Thirty-six states including Kentucky, the District of Columbia, and Puerto Rico operate both FMNP and SFMNP (FNS 2010c).

Broad operational procedures are similar for both programs. Although distribution procedures do vary between FMNP and SFMNP agencies and will be discussed below, vouchers are distributed by the local agencies early in the harvest season. In Kentucky, distribution usually occurs during the month of May. Participants may use the coupons at any state-authorized market to purchase local<sup>2</sup>, unprepared fresh fruits and vegetables from any vendor authorized by the state to receive FMNP and/or SFMNP vouchers. (In other words, both the market and the vendor must be

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<sup>2</sup> Local is, of course, a contested definition. Federal guidelines have shifted the responsibility of creating definitional boundaries to the state governments. In 2008, the year for which data were analyzed, the state of Kentucky defined “local” as grown within the geographic boundaries of the state. This definition of local was used in tandem with the “Kentucky Proud” campaign, the state’s “buy local” initiative. However, in areas near border-states, reports of frustration and confusion over this definition surfaced during data collection; program participants and market vendors questioned why broccoli from the opposite side of the state is considered “local” when broccoli grown by neighbors five miles away is not considered local simply because it is across the state line. Perhaps partially in response to these complaints, the definition of local was revised in 2010 to include not only produce grown with the state boundaries but also food grown within 50 miles of the Kentucky border.

authorized by the state.) All unredeemed vouchers expire at the end of the harvest season. In Kentucky, the vouchers may be used through October 31<sup>st</sup>. These dates coincide fairly well with most farmers' markets in Kentucky.

Participants are allotted one set of vouchers each season (usually 20 dollars per eligible person), and a few counties receive enough to distribute to all eligible participants<sup>3</sup>. Practically, this means eligible older adult couples in the same household may receive up to forty dollars to use at local farmers' markets while eligible WIC households may receive substantially more. Eligible WIC recipients each receive twenty dollars each season, and there is technically no maximum limit on how many FMNP vouchers a family can receive. For example, a pregnant woman with two children under the age of five would be eligible to receive sixty dollars in FMNP benefits. A household with a mother, who is not nursing or post-partum, and one child under the age of five would be eligible to receive twenty dollars in FMNP benefits; only the child is eligible for FMNP benefits. According to the interview data, most WIC households receive between twenty and sixty dollars in FMNP benefits each season. Households receiving eighty dollars in benefits are exceedingly rare but do occur.

The administration and distribution of FMNP and SFMNP vouchers exhibit substantial agency differences. Local FMNP agencies show high levels of homogeneity while local SFMNP agencies exhibit high levels of heterogeneity. Particularly in regard to benefit distribution, FMNP agencies are very uniform in their practices and policies while SFMNP agencies have a wider variety of practices and policies. This is due in large

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<sup>3</sup> This was nearly always SFMNP agencies.

part to which agencies oversee and administer FMNP and/or SFMNP both at the state and local level. As with other states, Kentucky FMNP is administered by the WIC program, which operates under the direction of the Department of Health in each state. SFMNP is administered by different agencies in different states and localities. Across states, Departments of Agriculture and Departments of Health are the two most common agencies charged with administering the program. In Kentucky, the Department of Agriculture administers SFMNP, and similar to other states, the Kentucky Department of Agriculture (KDA) has considerable discretion concerning which agencies are charged with county administration. Taking advantage of the local infrastructure existent in the counties with SFMNP, Cooperative Extension Agencies, churches, community action agencies, and senior centers are among the most common local organizations administering SFMNP. It is not uncommon in other states for FMNP and SFMNP to be administered by two different agencies at the state level. This division of administration only occurred in Kentucky in 2008 (the year for which data were analyzed). Prior to that year FMNP and SFMNP were administered by the Kentucky Department of Agriculture (KDA) (Anderson 2008; Sullivan 2008). This administrative change brought Kentucky's FMNP/SFMNP operational structure more in line with that of other states<sup>4</sup>.

Across the Commonwealth, FMNP policies and procedures were much more uniform while SFMNP policies and procedures varied from county to county. Regardless

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<sup>4</sup> It is unknown whether this division of administration impacted redemption rates in subsequent years since data were analyzed only for 2008. However, it is likely the effects were negligible. Prior to 2008, the Department of Agriculture was officially responsible for FMNP in Kentucky, but the Department of Health received funds from the Department of Agriculture to administer the program. Thus, even before 2008, the Department of Health was the *de facto* agency responsible for FMNP in Kentucky.

of the county, FMNP participants in Kentucky almost always picked up their coupons at their recertification appointment at the health department. Recertification appointments, referred to as such because participants recertify their eligibility to receive WIC vouchers, occur every three months during which WIC vouchers (not necessarily FMNP vouchers) are distributed to program participants. A minority of counties (3 cases) did allow participants to pick up their coupons at times other than their recertification appointment. FMNP participants could call ahead to see if FMNP coupons were available and come in on a “walk-in” basis. However, data indicated that WIC participants often did not know FMNP coupons were going to be allotted to them until they came in for their recertification appointment.

On the other hand, SFMNP participants received their coupons at a wide variety of locations, including Extension Offices, churches, and senior centers. In some cases, distribution sites were even set up in locations away from the administering site. For example, several SFMNP agencies took vouchers to senior apartments to distribute them to eligible participants. SFMNP participants could pick up their vouchers either during specially designated times, with their CSFP boxes, or as walk-ins. Some SFMNP agencies permitted participants to do all three. Most SFMNP officials noted this variety of distribution procedures and sites was primarily done to accommodate the limited mobility experienced by many elderly adults. However, it should also be noted that SFMNP recipients are not coming to the SFMNP agencies on a regular basis to receive

benefits as is the case with the WIC recipients<sup>5</sup>. The one exception was for SFMNP agencies that also distribute CSFP benefits. SFMNP benefits were primarily given out during the CSFP distributions (usually a designated Saturday once per month).

Initially, I suspected these organizational distinctions would contribute substantially to variable benefit utilization or redemption rates. In particular, the flexibility of SFMNP administration seemed to correlate with the generally higher rates of benefit utilization exhibited by SFMNP as compared to FMNP. While organizational differences did exhibit some influence, the data collected did not support this as the primary factor influencing benefit utilization. Instead the data revealed other factors to be more important to explaining variable benefit utilization rates.

### **The Significance of FMNP and SFMNP in a Changing Food Assistance Landscape**

Beginning in the 1990s, food assistance programs began to incorporate nutrition education in an effort to influence food choices to include more low-calorie, nutrient dense foods. Emphasis on nutrition education has continued to increase and has become a primary objective for food assistance programs (Fox, Hamilton, and Lin 2004). Increased fresh fruit and vegetable consumption have become part of the core message for all food assistance programs. FMNP and SFMNP provide benefits that can only be used to purchase fresh fruits and vegetables at farmers' markets, but all food assistance programs, including flagship programs like SNAP and WIC, have begun to search for and

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<sup>5</sup> For counties in which SFMNP is administered by the local senior center, some of the SFMNP recipients do come to the center once or twice per week. However, not all SFMNP recipients regularly attend activities at the senior center, and not all older adults who attend activities at the senior center are eligible for SFMNP.

experiment with policies and practices that encourage program participants to use their benefits for more fresh fruits and vegetables. SNAP and WIC are large, year-round food assistance programs. Participation is calculated monthly. With a monthly average of 29.2 million participants in 2008 (FNS 2009b: 6) and an average of 33 million monthly participants in fiscal year 2009 (Cunningham and Castner 2009: 1), SNAP continues to be the largest program by a wide margin. WIC served an average monthly 9.5 million participants in 2008 (Connor et al. 2010). On the other hand, FMNP and SFMNP are much smaller programs and benefits are issued once per year during the summer farmer's market season. Thus, in fiscal year 2008, 2.3 million WIC participants received FMNP benefits (FNS WIC Factsheet 2009), while slightly less than 1 million seniors received SFMNP in 2008 (FNS Senior FMNP Factsheet 2009).

With FMNP and SFMNP being such small programs, one might wonder what benefit an analysis of benefit utilization could provide. Noted previously, food assistance programs have shifted their attention towards nutrient-dense, low-caloric foods (see Altman 2008 for an overview). Food policy and assistance research has devoted considerable effort to understanding factors contributing to low consumption of nutrient-dense, low-caloric foods and increasing healthy food consumption among low-income Americans (see, for example: Bowman 2007, Dong and Lin 2009; Just et al 2007; Mancino and Andrews 2007; Stewart et al 2011). SFMNP and FMNP provide benefits that can only be used to purchase fresh fruits and vegetables, the standards for nutrient-dense, low-caloric foods. An analysis of the variable benefit utilization rates in SFMNP and FMNP contributes not only to policy recommendations for these programs

but also has broader implications for larger programs like SNAP and WIC. As the shift continues towards promoting fresh fruits and vegetables in food assistance programs, SNAP and WIC are reorganizing policies and types of benefits in ways that encourage increased consumption of fresh fruits and vegetables. Thus, lessons learned from variable FMNP and SFMNP redemption rates could be applied to improve other food assistance programs and perhaps low-income fresh fruit and vegetable consumption in general.

For example, until the revised recommendations were published in 2006, the WIC program remained virtually unchanged since the 1970s (Oliveira and Ralston 2006). Despite dietary changes and the surge in rates of obesity, the typical WIC food package included peanut butter, cheese, eggs, milk, cereals, and fruit juices. Most of the foods were high-density caloric foods with little whole grain or fiber content. The final rule, which was implemented in Kentucky in May 2009 and in all states by October 2009, increased the recommended intake of fresh fruits and vegetables and added them to the WIC basket.<sup>6</sup> Thus, WIC increased benefits to purchase fresh fruits and vegetables and has specifically designated an amount (\$8-\$10 each month per participant) to be used for purchase of fresh fruits and vegetables at the grocery store. Although there is a list of WIC-approved foods, participants have discretion in what they purchase. Because low-income individuals as well as the broader American population have low fresh fruit and vegetable consumption and economic incentives are not enough to induce an increase, findings from this study could be applied to the WIC program.

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<sup>6</sup> The guidelines also included the addition of whole grains and allowances for cultural preferences.



Another example of the increased emphasis on healthier food choices stems from SNAP. The change in program name from Food Stamp Program (FSP) to Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP) could be interpreted as superficial, but it is interesting nonetheless because of the purpose behind the name change. The name change was mandated by the Food, Energy, and Conservation Act of 2008 to reflect the “focus on nutrition and putting healthy food within reach for low income households” (FNS 2009b). Furthermore, the Food, Energy, and Conservation Act of 2008 called for SNAP pilot projects to “increase access to farmers markets by participating households through the electronic redemption of supplemental nutrition assistance program benefits at farmers’ markets” (HR 2419: 196). Kentucky has very few operating SNAP-approved farmers’ markets. At the end of 2008, the United States had 753 farmers’ markets authorized to accept electronic SNAP benefits (FRAC 2009; SNAP 2009). The Kentucky Department of Agriculture reported in the 2008 Annual Farmers’ Market Report that 11 farmers’ markets in Kentucky accepted EBT cards (Woods 2010). The USDA acknowledged “the percentage of redemptions is very little” but noted \$2.7 million in 2008 went to smallholder farmers in 2008. Though these changes are laudable and could potentially increase fresh fruit and vegetable consumption, one would expect similar variability in redemption of SNAP benefits at farmers markets to those exhibited by FMNP and SFMNP. Lessons learned from these smaller programs could be used to boost the fresh fruit and vegetable consumption and increase smallholder revenues (see below for an expanded discussion of smallholder farming and FMNP/SFMNP).

FMNP and SFMNP are important programs not only because they provide low-income populations with benefits to be used for fresh fruit and vegetable consumption but also because these dual programs can provide insight into the most effective ways to promote fresh fruit and vegetable consumption among a broad array of food assistance programs. Alexander (1996) found that 51% of FMNP recipients visited a farmers' market for the first time because of the vouchers. Another report found that 40% of those who participated in FMNP had never been to a farmers' market (NAFMNP 2003).

### **The Importance of FMNP to Populations of Low-income Women and Children**

Low-income women and children represent a population that is extremely vulnerable to food insecurity and its effects. While poverty is the strongest predictor of food insecurity, households headed by single mothers with children present have the highest rates of food insecurity. Food insecurity rates for these households are nearly three times the rate for all US households (Nord, Coleman-Jensen, Andrews, and Carlson 2010).<sup>7</sup> In 2008, food insecurity rates in the United States had reached 14.6% (Nord, Andrews, and Carlson 2009). This is particularly relevant because it represented an increase from relatively stable food insecurity rates in previous years (typically around 11%), and it was also the year on which data for this project was collected. Low-income women and children are not only at an increased risk of food insecurity but also consume inadequate levels of fresh fruits and vegetables (Braun, Anderson, and Zoumenou 2009).

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<sup>7</sup> Not all WIC participants live in female-headed households, but female-headed households are also at an increased risk of living in poverty.

Food insecurity has a wide range of effects on women. Ironically, women living in food insecure households are at a greater risk of obesity than women living in food secure households (Townsend, Love, Achterberg, and Murphy 2001). Wilde and Peterman (2006) found that marginally food secure women were more likely than women with high food security to be obese. Furthermore, this study found that women with low food insecurity were even more likely to be obese than women with marginal food security. This suggests that even a small amount of food insecurity can have an effect on women's health. The effects of food insecurity extend beyond obesity. Seligman, Laraia, and Kushel (2010) found food insecurity was associated with hypertension and diabetes among nonelderly adults with incomes below 200% of the federal poverty line. This held even with controlling for increased rates of obesity among low-income, food insecure women. The authors argued the increased risk of chronic disease among low-income and food-insecure adults was due (at least partially) to low consumption of fruits and vegetables and high consumption of relatively inexpensive refined carbohydrates.

Although a strong link between food insecurity and obesity in women has been established (Townsend et al 2001; Wilde and Peterman 2006), the relationship between overweight status and children living in food insecure households is less clear. While some research has suggested food insecure children were less likely to be overweight than their food secure peers (Rose and Bodor 2006), other research has found a strong association with food insecurity and overweight in both boys and girls (Casey et al 2006). Still other research found no correlation between food insecurity and children's

body weight (Gundersen, Garasky, and Lohman 2009). There is evidence of a link between higher levels of fresh fruit and vegetable consumption and healthy body weight among children (Roseman, Yeung, and Nickelsen 2007), but living in a low-income household, while only one among many factors, reduces children's fruit and vegetable intake (Dave et al 2010; Hildebrand and Shriver 2010) .

Food insecurity among children arguably has more severe and potentially longer-term consequences. Although hunger among children is rare, most children's eating is disrupted in food insecure households (Nord 2003). These disruptions include inadequate intake of calories, nutrient-poor meals, and consuming only one or two types of foods for extended periods of time (Kaiser and Townsend 2005; Nord 2003). These food disruptions caused by food insecurity contribute to cognitive, academic, and psychosocial problems in developing children (Alaimo, Olsen, and Frongillo 2001; Slopen et al 2010). Furthermore, children with recurrent episodes of hunger exhibited poorer general health and higher risk for chronic diseases including asthma (Kirkpatrick, McIntyre, and Potestio 2010).

### **The Importance of SFMNP to Populations of Older Adults**

As older adults become a larger proportion of the US population, their food security becomes increasingly important<sup>8</sup>. Interestingly, elderly adults are more food secure than non-elders (Nord, Andrews, and Carlson 2009; Guthrie and Lin 2002). In 2008, 9.5% of elderly people were living in food insecure households compared to the

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<sup>8</sup> Many older adults are at risk of inadequate nutrition that may lead to malnutrition. Food insecurity, which is defined as lack of access at all times to enough food for a healthy and active life, can contribute to malnutrition, but it is just one factor. Changes in taste, decline in ability to digest foods, and difficulty preparing foods all can contribute to malnutrition and be unrelated to food insecurity.

general population rate of 14.6% (Nord, Andrews, and Carlson 2009). Low-income older adults are at an increased risk of food insecurity compared to higher-income older adults (Bengle et al 2010; Hall and Brown 2005) but can also be at increased risk of food insecurity for a variety of reasons including limited mobility and chronic disease (Philips et al 2010), and low social capital (familial or community isolation) (Dean, Sharkey and Johnson 2011). This can lead to cyclical problems because food insecure populations are at a greater risk for numerous health problems. Food insecurity among older adults can increase vulnerability to disease, exacerbate existing conditions, speed age-related degenerative diseases, and delay recovery from illness necessitating longer and more frequent hospital stays (Hall and Brown 2005). Research suggests many older adults do not consume the recommended intakes of fruits and vegetables (Sharkey, Johnson, and Dean 2010), and low-income older adults consume fewer servings of fruits and vegetables than their high-income counterparts (Guthrie and Lin 2002). There is evidence that increased fresh fruit and vegetable consumption supports better cognitive performance at any age, but increasing fresh fruit and vegetable consumption may be particularly important to delaying cognitive decline later in life (Polidori et al 2009).

### **Explaining Low Fruit and Vegetable Consumption in Low Income Populations**

Health and nutrition experts continue to produce a flood of evidence demonstrating low-caloric, nutrient-dense whole foods are essential to good health and crucial for mitigating the risk of a number of chronic diseases. Although most Americans do not consume the recommended amounts of fresh fruits and vegetable, low-income

Americans consume the least fresh fruits and vegetables of all Americans. Low-income diets are comprised extensively of heavily processed, low-nutrient dense foods. With increased publicity about the ill effects of such diets and possibly directly experiencing dietary-related chronic diseases, what explains low-income populations' paltry consumption of fresh fruits and vegetables?

There are two broad explanations that dominate the discourse in the literature. Although these broad explanations cross disciplinary boundaries, research stems primarily from the fields of nutrition and dietetics, public health, and economics. Although theoretical assumptions are rarely made explicit in the research studies, these explanations can be classified as either welfare dependency theory or rational choice economic theory. Welfare dependency theory prioritizes social structure as the major force on human behavior and specifically assistance programs on the behavior of low-income populations. It explains that low-income diets are the product of poorly designed assistance programs that teach and reinforce unhealthy food-related behaviors. On the other hand, rational choice economic theory places an almost exclusive emphasis on individual agency as the prime determinant of human behavior. It accounts for low-income diets through use of a presumed economic cost-benefit analysis performed by rational actors. Low-income populations have low consumption of fresh fruits and vegetables because fresh fruits and vegetables cost too much in comparison to other foods.

### **Partial Explanations**

Dietary habits and food consumption patterns across the US have changed dramatically since the first food assistance programs were implemented. While the primary goals arguably may have been to increase consumption of domestic agricultural products, initial food assistance programs in the 1930s were also intended to alleviate hunger or consumption of inadequate calories. Program expansion during the 1960s was also partially due to highly publicized cases of hunger and undernourished pockets of low-income Americans. Food assistance programs continued to emphasize quantity of food/calories rather than quality of food/nutrients until rather recently. However, demographic changes were taking place that could not be ignored, and food assistance policy began to change, albeit slowly, in response.

Although there were criticisms of food assistance programs (Whitfield 1982 ), it was not until the Surgeon General's landmark report on overweight and obesity in 2001 that research began to scrutinize food assistance programs intently for their contribution to unhealthy individuals and lifestyles. With the *Surgeon General's Call to Action to Prevent and Decrease Overweight and Obesity* (USDHHS 2001), a flurry of research emerged investigating the correlation between food assistance programs, high-calorie diets, and obesity. Although the Surgeon General's report noted overweight and obesity levels had increased across the American population, it stated overweight and obesity were most prevalent among minority and low-income groups. Other research corroborated the unmistakable correlation between low-income populations and increased rates of overweight and obesity (see, for example, Mei et al. 1998; Morrill and Chin 2004; Wang 2001). From the perspective of welfare dependency theory, food

assistance programs were the logical place to start looking for causation. After all, low-income populations were and continue to be the groups served by food assistance programs.

Much of the research concluded there was indeed a link between food assistance programs, overconsumption of calories and fat, and overweight/obesity. As a result, high-fat commodities such as cheese and butter, examples of the emphasis on quantity, distributed as part of The Emergency Food Assistance Program (TEFAP) came under scrutiny (Levendahl and Oliveira 1999). Some research concluded there was a strong correlation between participating in Food Stamp Program (then referred to as FSP but now called SNAP) and overconsumption of calories and fat (Wilde, McNamara, and Ranney 1999). Other studies found a significant link between obesity, low-income populations, especially women, and participation in FSP/SNAP (Gibson 2003; Gibson 2006).

However, some research on food assistance programs found no relationship between food assistance programs and obesity (Oliveira 2007; Ver Ploeg and Ralston 2008; Ver Ploeg 2009). Research on WIC, in particular, found positive benefits for WIC participants compared to eligible non-participants, including healthier birth outcomes (Bitler and Currie 2005) and nutritionally sound diets (Ritchie et al 2010). Some of the discrepancy may be due to the time period from which the data are derived as well as a reflection of program changes. Research from participation in the 1980s and 1990s is more likely to demonstrate a correlation between overconsumption, obesity, and food assistance programs compared to later participation rates. For example, Ver Ploeg,



Mancino, and Lin (2006) reported a significant relationship between FSP participation in the 1980s and 1990s and increased risk of obesity that dissipated in the early 21<sup>st</sup> century. By 2000, food assistance policy had begun to shift significantly. A study by Ver Ploeg, Mancino, and Lin (2006) suggested the emphasis on food quantity may have contributed to increased body weights among participants while the revised emphasis on food quality may have mitigated the upward weight trend. This finding and the observation that period of data analyzed influence whether a relationship is found is consistent with the assumptions of welfare dependency theory.

However, a welfare dependency perspective cannot explain why research that compares food assistance participants to eligible non-participants finds comparable patterns of food consumption and obesity. For example, Ralston (2006) found that children participating in WIC as well as eligible non-participants consumed too many calories. In some instances, these children were consuming too many calories but not getting enough of the appropriate nutrients or the proper balance of carbohydrates, fats, and proteins. This pattern was seen in both participants and eligible non-participants. Similarly, Hofferth and Curtin (2005) found no significant difference in obesity rates of children who participated in food assistance programs compared to those who were eligible non-participants. In an extensive review of literature, Oliveira (2007) found the evidence suggested poverty was the common factor linking food assistance programs to obesity and poor diet in low-income populations. Low economic capital appeared to be the possible causal link between both participation in food assistance programs, poor dietary habits, and obesity. Thus, while there is support to

indicate food assistance programs impact food-related behaviors, there is also evidence to conclude food assistance programs do not *determine* food-related behaviors among low-income populations.

As Oliveira (2007) suggested, lack of economic capital also likely plays a role in shaping food-related behaviors. Within rational choice/economic constraint theory, the role of economic capital in shaping food-related behaviors takes center stage. Although there are disagreements about the specific mechanisms through which this occurs, numerous studies suggest low-income populations do not consume adequate fruits and vegetables because their disposable income is limited and purchasing low-calorie foods that have also have a high economic cost would be irrational. For example, Drewnowski and Spector (2004) calculated that cookies and snack chips were significantly less expensive than fresh carrots. Per energy unit, chips and cookies cost about 20 cents whereas fresh carrots cost about 95 cents. This means low-income populations can purchase more food, albeit of lower nutrient quality, if they rely on energy dense foods. Burney and Haughton (2002) concluded that more economic constraint (i.e., lower economic capital) corresponded to more reliance on energy dense foods. They found that decreasing household food expenditures by 10-20 dollars each month correlated with a caloric increase of several hundred additional calories.

Using a food constraint model based on these assumptions, Martin (2005) predicted that a tax on energy dense foods would lead to a decrease in the consumption of energy dense foods. However, one wonders whether a “junk food” tax would increase fresh fruit and vegetable consumption or simply lead to an overall lower

consumption of food. In fact, based on a broad review of literature, a food tax could very well lead to even lower consumption of fresh fruits and vegetables. Economists Steward and Blisard (2008) reported that even very small increases in income correlated with increased beef and prepared foods purchases and had no effect on fresh fruit and vegetable purchases. In fact, income had to increase substantially before any increases in fresh fruit and vegetable purchases were made. This suggests fresh fruits and vegetables may not be priority food purchases in low-income households, even with the loosening of economic restraint. Contrary to Martin's proposition (2005) that a food tax would decrease the consumption of energy dense foods, Kuchler, Tegene, and Harris (2005) found that a food tax on energy dense foods would have negligible impact on low-income food behaviors. Despite the correlation between low-income consumption habits and food costs, it does not appear that economic constraints completely explain food related behaviors. Both decreases and increases in income appear to increase energy dense food consumption. While evidence certainly supports the idea that economic constraints do influence food-related behaviors, they fail to offer a comprehensive explanation.

Despite the utility welfare dependency theory and rational choice economic constraint theory have in explaining aspects of human behavior, neither provide a satisfactory framework for explaining benefit variability in FMNP and SFMNP. If low-income populations' behaviors are primarily influenced by the assistance programs in which they are participating, then why are they not utilizing their SFMNP and FMNP vouchers as welfare dependency theory would predict? If low consumption of fresh

fruits and vegetables among low-income populations is primarily due to lack of cost-effectiveness, then why are FMNP and SFMNP participants failing to use their vouchers to obtain free fresh fruits and vegetables? I do not deny the influence of program design and economic factors on low-income diets. However, to continue to try to explain what cannot be adequately explained by prevailing theories by using those same prevailing theories is to commit what Pierre Bourdieu referred to as “the scholastic fallacy- the ordinary error of professionals of logic, namely, that which consists in ‘taking the things of logic for the logic of things’ as Marx said of Hegel” (1992:123).

### **The Significance of Variable Benefit Utilization**

A familiar mantra within the food assistance research is this: a food assistance program can only be effective at alleviating food insecurity if it is used by food insecure populations. Though there are phrasing variations, statements and assumptions such as the preceding abound throughout food assistance literature (see, for example, Castner, Mabli and Sykes 2009; Cunnyngham and Castner 2009; Fuller-Thompson and Redmond 2008). These statements underscore the emphasis on participant enrollment among eligible populations, and this focus on enrollment has usually been well-placed. For nearly all food assistance programs, enrollment of eligible populations appears as the primary concern and challenge (See, for example, Beebout 2006; Coe and Hill 1998; Haider, Jackowitz, and Schoeni 2003; Hernandez and Ziol-Guest 2009; Moore, Ponza, and Hulsey 2009; Newman and Jolliffe 2009).

Two events serve to highlight this emphasis on participation and access. On March 25, 2010, Agriculture Secretary Vilsack announced grants “to improve access and increase participation in the Supplemental Nutritional Assistance Program (SNAP)” (USDA Release No. 0151.10). Just a few days afterward, Agriculture Secretary Vilsack announced on March 31, 2010 that states with expanded participation in WIC would be given performance awards in order to “recognize those states that are doing an exceptional job promoting and expanding access” to WIC (USDA Release No. 0158.10). The USDA reported that 59% of the population eligible for WIC was participating in the program, and this percentage was virtually unchanged since 1997 (FNS 2009c).

A review of the literature on SNAP/FSP and WIC provides ample support for Vilsack’s focus on participation. Two of the primary goals of the research on SNAP is to evaluate participation, whether it is barriers to access and enrollment (see, for example: Hanratty 2006; Redmond and Fuller-Thompson 2009) or the effects of participation on food security, obesity, or health status (see, for example: Genser, Cole and Fox 2009; Lombe, Yu, Nebbitt 2009; Wilde, Troy, and Rogers 2009). Analogous to the SNAP literature, research on WIC has also focused on access and enrollment in WIC (see, for example: Jacknowitz and Tiehen 2009; Tiehen and Jacknowitz 2008; Ver Ploeg 2009) or the effects of participation in WIC (see, for example: El-Bastawissi et al 2007; Foster, Jiang, and Gibson-Davis 2010). For both SNAP and WIC, one common way to assess the effects of SNAP and WIC participation has been to compare participants with non-participating eligible persons (Pan and Jensen 2008; Ver Ploeg, Mancino and Lin 2007).

An extensive review of the literature on SNAP (and its previous incarnation as FSP) and WIC programs turn up no studies on benefit utilization. In other words, there are no known studies assessing why WIC and/or SNAP participants do not use their benefits.<sup>9</sup> This is because, among those enrolled in the majority of food assistance programs, benefit utilization is consistently high and does not vary (Hunt 2006; Roberts 2007). WIC and SNAP participants simply use all of their benefits. For SNAP participants, it is extremely rare for benefits not to be utilized in a given month (Hunt 2006; Castner and Henke 2011). Though not the norm, WIC participants have sometimes exhausted their allotted benefits and then attempted to solicit more benefits through a variety of tactics (Roberts 2007). Indeed, the data I collected corroborate findings of the previously mentioned literature. In nearly all cases, individuals interviewed were not only involved with administering FMNP and SFMNP but also were involved in other food assistance programs. If one will recall, FMNP is administered through the WIC program and thus through the local health departments. The WIC personnel administered WIC at a minimum alongside FMNP and were in positions to directly compare the two programs. SFMNP was administered through a wider variety of organizations including senior centers, community action agencies, and churches. But, these various agencies were typically also administering other food assistance programs. Commodity Supplemental Food Program (CSFP), which provides packaged surplus foods once per month to low-income older adults, pregnant or nursing

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<sup>9</sup> There are studies that examine how or, more specifically, on what SNAP benefits are used to purchase. However, there are few that examine how WIC participants use their benefits, because there is a list of approved foods which constrain their choices.

women, and children, was the most frequent food assistance program also administered by the agency that administered SFMNP. Even agencies not directly responsible for food assistance administration often assisted their participants with SNAP certification, recertification, and providing transportation to the grocery store to use their benefits. Many interview respondents contrasted the exhaustive benefit utilization rates of other food assistance programs with FMNP and SFMNP and expressed how puzzled they were over the contrast.

#### **Alternative Explanation Needed**

While both welfare dependency and rational choice frameworks have utility, I argue they cannot satisfactorily explain FMNP and SFMNP redemption rates. The reality of variable and often low benefit utilization does not support either of these theoretical explanations. Welfare dependency theory asserts low income populations food-related behavior is the result of food assistance programs. However, if low income populations simply do what food assistance programs tell them to do, why aren't their diets healthier with all of the nutrition education that has been bombarding them from assistance programs for the past decade or so? If low-income populations purchase foods solely on the basis of what is dictated to them via food assistance programs, then why don't FMNP and SFMNP exhibit the same exhaustive and high rates of benefit utilization as other food assistance programs? Welfare dependency theory cannot explain this variability because FMNP and SFMNP aren't completely dictating program participants' behavior and choices.

Rational choice theory posits human behavior as the result of calculated cost-benefit analysis. According to this explanation, fresh fruits and vegetables are too costly for low-income populations compared to other sources of calories. Not purchasing fresh fruits and vegetables is economically rational. Yet, if price is the primary, or only, obstacle to purchasing fresh fruits and vegetables for low-income populations, then why aren't SFMNP and FMNP participants obtaining their "free" fruits and vegetables? If rational choice theory is entirely correct, why aren't these economic incentives being used? If rational choice theory provided a complete explanation of low-income populations' food-related behaviors, then there would not be variable benefit utilization in FMNP and SFMNP.

It was not just from a logical standpoint that an alternative explanation was needed to explain variable benefit utilization. The available literature on FMNP and SFMNP also suggested the need for a different explanatory framework. Though the majority of the literature on FMNP and SFMNP overlooked variable benefit utilization, the research strongly hinted that welfare dependency and rational choice theories could not fully explain food-related behaviors for FMNP and SFMNP program participants.

### **FMNP and SFMNP Literature**

The body of literature on FMNP and SFMNP could not contrast any more sharply with the literature on SNAP, WIC and other food assistance programs. Literature on SNAP, WIC and other food assistance programs is prolific while the FMNP and SFMNP literature was extremely sparse. The content between the two bodies of literature also contrasted sharply. Review of the literature on FMNP and SFMNP focused on two broad



themes. The primary theme was investigating whether FMNP/SFMNP coupons impacted fresh fruit and vegetable consumption. Only a small percentage of the literature suggested benefit utilization might be a challenge. This lack of research on benefit utilization seemed perplexing. Practitioners in the food assistance field were highly aware of how variable benefit utilization for FMNP and SFMNP. Food assistance practitioners were also aware FMNP and SFMNP benefit utilization variability was unique among food assistance programs. The interview respondents in this study noted the distinction between benefit utilization in FMNP and SFMNP with the other food assistance programs also administered; both FMNP and SFMNP exhibited variable benefit utilization that they did not see in their other food assistance programs. Variable and often low benefit utilization is not limited to the state of Kentucky; it is prevalent throughout the Southeast and nationally (Robinson 2006; Shackman 2010). Internal data from other state FMNP and SFMNP programs further supports the national character of utilization variability. Given the high level of awareness that practitioners have of benefit utilization challenges, it is puzzling that researchers have given so little attention to this aspect. This neglect of benefit utilization could be due to the remarkably few studies on FMNP and SFMNP and the slow expansion of research on FMNP and SFMNP.

The existing scholarly literature on FMNP and SFMNP is drawn primarily from economics or nutrition fields. While many studies have several distinct and overlapping objectives, the focus has mainly been the potential or actual impact on fresh fruit and vegetable consumption (Anderson et al 2001; Anliker et al 1992; Kunkel, Luccia, and

Moore 2003; Johnson et al 2004; Smith et al 2004; Kropt et al 2007; Racine, Smith Vaughn, and Laditka 2010), access to local foods/farmers' markets (Joy, Bunch, Davis, and Fujii 2001; McCullum et al 2005; Markowitz 2010; Kamp, Wellman and Russell 2010), and/or food security (Fox et al 2004; Hall and Brown 2005; Kropt et al 2007; Walker et al 2007; Markowitz 2010).<sup>10</sup> Except in one case (Anliker et al 1992), these studies concluded FMNP and SFMNP had positive, if small, effects on the program participants' food security, consumption of fresh fruits and vegetables, and access to farmers' markets.

Initial studies were more concerned with whether FMNP increased economic security (Galfond et al 1991; Just and Weninger 1997; Anliker et al 1992), but they share the same assumption as those studies that focus on food security, fruit and vegetable consumption, and farmers' market access. These studies all assume if the participants are given the benefits, then the participants will use them. This is not an unreasonable assumption given the fact that all other food assistance programs have consistently exhaustive rates of benefit utilization. However, it has led to a general oversight of benefit variability in FMNP and SFMNP research. Though the details vary, the general research design has taken one or two forms. In some research studies, FMNP/SFMNP participants are compared to non-participants (see, for example, Kunkel, Luccia, and Moore 2003; Kropt et al 2007). Other studies use a quasi-experimental design. Food security, fruit and vegetable consumption, and/or access to farmers' markets are

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<sup>10</sup> Several studies (Anderson et al 2001; Peterson et al 2002) have included SFMNP or FMNP participants as part of research on larger food assistance groups, but the research was on an educational intervention rather than SFMNP/FMNP.

compared to before and after enrollment in FMNP or SFMNP (see for example Anderson et al 2001; Racine, Smith Vaughn, and Laditka 2010). Most of these studies fail to even note anything about benefit utilization. This is surprising because practitioners are highly aware of the prevalence of low benefit utilization in FMNP and SFMNP, but researchers have largely ignored this issue. More importantly, if participants are not using the vouchers, how can that possibly be improving their nutritional statuses or increasing access to farmers' markets?

Of the studies that directly examine challenges to benefit utilization, two studies specifically examine SFMNP. Kunkel, Luccia, and Moore (2003) primarily focused on whether SFMNP increased fruit and vegetable consumption, but it also investigated potential barriers to benefit utilization. Although the options were not exhaustive, most of the barriers to redemption reported were structural, specifically the market was not open at convenient times, lack of transportation, and/or there was no market in area. There was no attempt to correlate reported barriers with redemption rates, probably due to the study being conducted during the first year of SFMNP operation. Another study of SFMNP was a comprehensive assessment of the benefits and challenges to SFMNP with equal focus on administration and program participants (Smith et al 2004), but benefit utilization was not found to be problematic in this study. This was almost certainly because the Seattle program differed from the majority of SFMNP programs in a very important way: the Seattle program directly delivered produce baskets to the homes of the elderly participants while nearly all other programs required the coupons to be exchanged at farmers' markets.

Three studies on FMNP specifically examine benefit utilization. Conrey, Frongillo, Dollahite, and Griffin (2003) and Dollahite, Nelson, Frongillo, and Griffin (2005) both focused on a series of interventions to increase benefit utilization in New York State. In both cases, a community development approach was taken with an emphasis on community capacity-building. Stakeholders in FMNP were identified, and collaboration between state agencies and local community groups was cultivated. Both studies found that increased collaboration and coordination between state and local agencies and dissemination of nutritional information increased FMNP recipients' utilization of benefits (i.e. redemption rates). These efforts to address benefit variability in New York state continue to the present (Shackman 2010). While Conrey et al (2003) and Dollahite et al (2005) found increased agency coordination and nutritional education for program participants increased redemption rates, another study found previous redemption of FMNP coupons was the most significant predictor of benefit utilization (Racine, Smith Vaughn, and Laditka 2010). Previous participation in FMNP (whether the benefits were utilized in the previous year or not) and higher fruit and vegetable consumption were correlated with increased benefit utilization. Like the findings from Kunkel, Luccia, and Moore (2003), participants reported lack of farmers' market close to home and transportation to the farmers' market as the most significant barriers to benefit utilization.

While Kropt et al (2007) did not specifically examine benefit utilization, the findings are provocative nonetheless. Those recipients who participated in WIC but not FMNP had lower educational levels than those who participated in WIC and FMNP.

Moreover, FMNP participants had higher fruit and vegetable consumption than those participating only in WIC but were not any more likely to be food secure. While it was not disclosed how or why certain participants were enrolled in WIC but not FMNP, the findings are provocative. Since food security is related to poverty levels and WIC and FMNP use the same income guidelines to determine eligibility, it is unlikely the difference in fresh fruit and vegetable consumption between the groups is due to economic differences. It could be due to the economic incentive of the FMNP coupons that has boosted fruit and vegetable consumption, but it could also likely to be due to the increased educational attainment of the FMNP participants. Given the variability of FMNP redemption nationwide, it is likely the economic incentive by itself is not enough to increase fresh fruit and vegetable consumption.

An additional study (Herman et al 2008) supports the idea that merely economic incentives are not enough. Though it did not specifically assess FMNP, it focused on a farmers' market pilot program conducted with WIC participants who were divided into two groups. One group received no vouchers while the other group was given vouchers that were issued bimonthly at a rate of 10 dollars per week for 6 months. At the end of the six months, unredeemed coupons accounted for approximately 10% of those issued. Herman et al (2008) concluded there were no real barriers to voucher usage. However, there are some very important distinctions between this pilot program and FMNP and SFMNP. First, participants in this pilot program were given 20 dollars every two weeks while FMNP participants are given 20 dollars *once per year*. WIC agencies were selected

because they “had a major supermarket chain store and a certified year-round farmers’ market within walking distance (not more than ½ mile) from the WIC program site.”

All of this supports my assertion that low benefit utilization among FMNP and SFMNP participants, as well as low consumption of fresh fruits and vegetables, is more complex than a purely economic rational choice or welfare dependency approach would suggest. Geographic and/or social distance (Herman et al 2008; Kunkel, Luccia, and Moore 2003; Smith et al 2004), higher educational attainment (Kropt et al 2007), previous usage of coupons (Racine et al 2010), community social networks (Conrey et al 2003; Dollahite et al 2005), higher fruit and vegetable consumption (Racine et al 2010), and nutritional education (Conrey et al 2003; Dollabite et al 2005) have all been shown to be correlated with benefit utilization. Though not completely unrelated to economic factors or organizational/assistance programming, they strongly suggest cultural and social factors play a significant role in shaping benefit utilization in FMNP and SFMNP. This should not be ignored because variable and often low benefit utilization has undermined a food assistance program that could potentially be an effective tool to redress the low consumption of fresh fruits and vegetables and, by extension, potentially reduce the high rates of dietary-related chronic diseases among low-income populations. FMNP and SFMNP cannot single-handedly eliminate obesity and poor dietary habits, but a study of benefit utilization can potentially offer insight into how to nudge low-income populations towards healthier food-related behaviors. Variable and often low use of FMNP and SFMNP vouchers calls into question the dominant explanations of low fresh fruit and vegetable consumption among low-income

populations, and an alternative explanatory framework could greatly augment our understanding of food-related behaviors.

### **A Sociological Approach**

Benefit utilization is more than an economic activity, nutritionally related action, or food assistance program outcome. It is more than a food-related behavior. Benefit utilization is a social activity by social actors that occurs in a social context. While economics and the more interdisciplinary welfare dependency approach analyze social phenomena, a sociological approach offers a unique perspective from which to view and explain benefit variability in FMNP and SFMNP. Sociology is particularly well-suited to uncovering social complexity. This is a result of more than simply looking at one institution, organization, or group. Sociology's contribution is the examination of what happens between two (or more) social entities, whether this is between institutions, a set of organizations, or between a group and a social space (i.e. set of networks and structures).

Like all sciences, sociology attempts to describe, analyze, and predict principles and recurrent patterns. As with other social sciences, sociology is concerned with social phenomena. A sociological analysis is an attempt to grasp the *logic* of the social. By the use of *logic*, I mean to invoke the term *logos*. *Logos* is typically rendered as *knowledge*, but Pierre Bourdieu tended instead to use *discourse*, as in *verbal representation* or *model*. Thus, sociology ultimately is attempting to construct a model of the social. This means sociology is a search not only for social patterns but also for the "code" by which

interactions, groups, institutions, and structures are established, maintained, evolve, and dissolve.

The construction of a model or set of principles is somewhat complicated because part of sociology's task is to reveal what is *social*. Sociology must not only describe and analyze the social world but it must also determine what social *is*. Sociologists must wrest the social from that which is "taken for granted" as "natural", "self-evident", or even beyond articulation. Because sociology is a relatively young discipline and the sociologist is never able to completely divest him or herself from the process and effects of socialization, the painstaking process of uncovering and discovering what is social and the concurrent construction of a model of the social remains in flux and is a work in progress. It is this state of being a work in progress that makes sociology challenging and exciting.

Based on the findings from the available literature on FMNP and SFMNP, I argue that a sociological analysis is extremely appropriate to investigating benefit utilization variability. The literature indicates that something social is going on *between* the program participants, FMNP/SFMNP organizations and policies, and the social space in which participants and FMNP/SFMNP organizations operate to shape benefit utilization. Not just an analysis of social phenomena, sociology is uniquely able to uncover and analyze this interaction between structures, institutions, social spaces, and groups because it asks what is it about this specific interaction of these specific structures, institutions, social spaces, and groups that produces this specific outcome. Though there are many unknowns when it comes to FMNP and SFMNP benefit utilization (and



perhaps because of the many unknowns), a sociological analysis provides an unparalleled entry point for research on FMNP and SFMNP. I argue a sociological analysis provides the most fruitful avenue for augmenting the gaps within our understanding of low-income participants' food-related behaviors.

### **Extending the net beyond health statuses**

While this dissertation focuses on the potential nutritional and health benefits for low-income populations and the contribution a sociological analysis can provide to understanding food-related behaviors among low-income populations, the significance could expand far beyond improved health status of low income populations and filling a gap in the sociological literature. If fully utilized, FMNP and SFMNP could be used to promote local economic development and serve social justice. These two potential outcomes are intertwined with each other and improved health statuses of low-income populations.

Most of the literature has touted alternative food networks (AFNs), such as farmers' markets, as the harbinger of food democratization and social justice. However, this claim seems to fly in the face of the actual findings. The research has demonstrated a high correlation between income and AFN participation, education and AFN participation, and very low participation among low-income populations (Brown 2003; DuPuis 2000; Goodman 2004; Hinrichs 2000; Hinrichs and Kremer 2002; Kantor 2001; Guthman, Morris, and Allen 2006). Zepeda (2009) found no significant correlation with income and shopping at the farmers' market. However, when cost was reported to be the most important factor in food purchases, the probability of shopping at a farmers'

market was reduced (Zepeda 2009). This suggests that perception of the farmers' market as a place for the affluent or as higher priced than supermarkets may be a deterrent for some low-income consumers.

While low-income consumers still comprise a very low percentage of direct marketing consumers, some farmers' markets do attempt to increase access to low-income populations through the acceptance of FMNP coupons, WIC, food stamps, donations to food pantries, marketing in low-income communities, and offering discounts to low-income consumers (Guthman, Morris, Allen 2006). Winne (2008) has argued that public policies and programs such as these are the most promising strategy for addressing what he calls "the food gap" between the affluent and poor. In particular, he praised FMNP for "currently do[ing] more than any other public or private effort to connect low-income families with affordable, locally grown food" (Winne 2008: 156).

Winne (2008) also noted that, because it represented a near-guaranteed source of income, FMNP<sup>11</sup> assisted smallholder and family farms by creating a "pull" towards direct marketing of produce. Indeed, the low-income population represents an untapped market that may facilitate the survival of smallholder farming. This point is particularly salient in Kentucky. Tobacco allowed many small-scale and family farms to survive the farm crises. However, many smallholder farms have struggled with the demise of tobacco. Some Kentucky farmers have turned to direct marketing (e.g., farmers' markets) of fruits and vegetables as an alternative. Many former tobacco

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<sup>11</sup> Winne uses "FMNP" to refer to both FMNP and SFMNP in many cases.

farmers have unfavorably contrasted the financial uncertainty of vegetable farming with the financial stability of tobacco farming (Craig 2008). Increased usage of FMNP and SFMNP coupons could alleviate some of this uncertainty and potentially improve the economic situation of Kentucky smallholder farming.

Comparable to national patterns, farmers' markets in Kentucky also appear to be drawn from middle and upper class consumers. A recent study of the farmers' market in Lexington, Kentucky concluded the majority of the shoppers were affluent (Tanaka 2010). Thus, there is a situation in which the farmers have the products needed by low-income populations to develop a healthy diet and improve their nutritional statuses, but these products are not reaching the population. This untapped market has been recognized by some farmers. In Kentucky, the Community Farm Alliance (CFA) has been instrumental in the development of farmers' markets in low-income areas. CFA has actively coordinated with FMNP and SFMNP officials in a few counties to maximize benefit utilization, particularly in Louisville. CFA originally was founded to represent and promote smallholder farming interests. However, as CFA organizers are fond of saying, the organization recognized the "shared destiny" between smallholder producers and low-income consumers. The organization recognized their social justice goals could be extended to include low-income populations while capitalizing on an untapped market for their fresh produce.

This has led to the development of farmers' markets in low-income areas that could otherwise be classified as food deserts. *Food deserts* are neighborhoods and regions in both urban and rural places that suffer a severe lack of retail food sources.

Grocery stores, neighborhood markets, restaurants, supermarkets, and other food outlets are notoriously absent or inadequate in food deserts and are associated with poor dietary habits (Morton et al. 2005; Hendrickson et al 2006) and obesity (Schafft Jensen and Hinrichs 2009)

Two community food assessment studies have documented substantial food deserts in Louisville and Lexington, Kentucky (CFA 2007; Tanaka et al 2008). In both of these studies, access to fresh produce, among other Market Basket staples, was notoriously absent in low-income areas. Tanaka et al. (2008) and the CFA study (2007) both argue that a partial solution to these food deserts, aspects of the field which undeniably contribute to the low fresh fruit and vegetable consumption and attendant health problems among low-income populations, can be found in connecting low-income populations to farmers' markets. However, both studies stress this can only be attained by creating an attendant infrastructure necessary to effectively connect the low-income populations to the farmers' markets.

Although the studies are relatively few, there is evidence that FMNP and SFMNP increase the revenue for farmers market vendors (Conrey, Frongillo, Dollahite, and Griffin 2003; Kunkel, Luccia, and Moore 2003). Winne (2008) also provided anecdotal evidence that these programs increase smallholder revenues. The National Association of Farmers' Market Nutrition Programs (2003) reported nearly 90% of farmers reported FMNP increased their revenue. This is similar to Alexander's (1996) finding that 84% of farmers indicated an increase in revenue due to FMNP. Tessman and Fisher (2009) argue that some farmers' markets have specifically formed to take advantage of FMNP

and SFMNP vouchers. Though I did not systematically collect data on all farmers' markets in Kentucky, I also found evidence to suggest that FMNP and SFMNP increase smallholder earnings. The farmers' market managers interviewed in Kentucky estimated a wide range of revenue generated from FMNP and SFMNP. One farmers' market manager estimated that less than 5% of the revenue came from FMNP and SFMNP coupons. At a farmers' market located in a low-income neighborhood, receipts from FMNP and SFMNP were estimated to be at least 25% of all revenue<sup>12</sup>. One market set up outside the SFMNP distribution site was reported to be supported almost entirely by SFMNP coupons. This suggests FMNP and SFMNP could benefit farmers by increasing revenue and promoting income stability. Moreover, with the USDA's recent push to increase EBT usage at farmers' markets (Jones and Bhatia 2011), understanding FMNP and SFMNP benefit utilization could be only the first step to increasing farmers' market revenues alongside social justice and better nutrition for low-income populations.

This concern for social justice aligns with the recent interest in public sociology. Allen (2008) argues public sentiment is ripe for promoting significant change within agri-food systems and addressing food justice issues for both farmers and low-income populations. Echoing Burawoy (2005), Allen asserts academics have an important role to play in addressing these food justice issues because "the purpose of sociology is not only to document and analyze the condition of the social world, but also to illuminate ways in which it can be improved" (Allen 2008:159).

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<sup>12</sup> This did not include the additional cash purchases made by FMNP and SFMNP consumers when at the farmers' market.

While this dissertation may not be strictly within the confines of public sociology, my primary hope is this research will stimulate discussion and further sociological research on not only FMNP and SFMNP but also on low-income populations' food-related behaviors. FMNP and SFMNP are small food assistance programs that could help promote positive social change in many areas including low-income health statuses, effective implementation of food assistance program goals, enhance the financial stability of local economies and smallholder farms, and promote social/food justice for low-income populations. They are not the magic solution but they do offer a partial solution to some pressing social problems.

## Chapter Two: Applying Bourdieu's Theory to Construct a Theory of the Field of Food Acquisition

Before one can adequately explain variable and often low benefit utilization in the Farmers' Market Nutrition Program (FMNP) and the Senior Farmers' Market Nutrition Program, assumptions about social behavior and particularly food-related behaviors need to be explicated. Especially because this is an exploratory study, there is the risk of explaining little more about benefit variability than the previous studies critiqued in the introductory chapter. Because "facts" cannot speak for themselves, explanations always carry with them implicit assumptions about the forces shaping those "facts". The use of theory forces researchers to articulate those assumptions and frameworks explicitly. Theory encourages the researchers to confront what has been explained and what has not adequately been explained by exposing the structure and limits of the assumptions.

Use of theory is particularly important in the social sciences. As human beings, social scientists are part of the very things they are studying and do not stand outside of the social world. As such, social scientists, like other human beings, have a *natural attitude* towards the world. Originating with Alfred Schutz, "natural attitude" refers to "the habit [of] taking for granted that we know what other people are like; and where we are prone to accept what Goffman called the frontstage reality and miss what goes on in the backstage" (Collins and Makowsky 2010:xi). Because the natural attitude defaults to acceptance of what we have been taught during socialization and comes with a set of semi-conscious assumptions, the work of the social scientist is made doubly

difficult. However, sociological theory provides “simultaneously a construction and a break” (Bourdieu, Chamboredon, and Passeron 1991 [1968]: 57). It is a construction because it is a framework from which social phenomena can be made coherent and analyzed, but it is also a break because it diverges from the “taken for granted” framework in which “facts” “speak for themselves” and severs the inherent preconceptions of the socialized individual researcher. Thus, the use of theory forces the researcher to strive to divest him or herself of preconceived explanations of social activity while explicitly acknowledging the process of scientific construction.

In the first part of this chapter, I present Bourdieu’s theoretical framework. In the second part, I apply Bourdieu’s framework to create a theory of the field of food acquisition. I have done this to assist me in breaking away from my own preconceptions and construct a framework by which variable and often low benefit utilization in FMNP and SFMNP can be explained. Bourdieu’s theory was chosen specifically because it focuses on how social actors, structures and networks interactively produce social activity. Because it incorporates macro and micro social phenomena, Bourdieu’s theory offers a way to examine the interaction between program participants, the social space of benefit utilization, and the food assistance institutions.

### **Bourdieu’s Framework**

Before applying Bourdieu’s theory to construct the field of food acquisition, Bourdieu’s framework and attending concepts need to be elaborated. Two of the most relevant concepts are *habitus* and *field*. They exemplify Bourdieu’s effort to create a relational model of social reality. In other words, habitus and field represent different



layers of social reality that coexist simultaneously and are mutually co-creative of each other and social reality. In what is perhaps the clearest articulation of the relationship between these two concepts, field and habitus are described by Bourdieu and Wacquant.

A field consists of a set of objective, historical relations between positions anchored in certain forms of power (or capital), while habitus consists of a set of historical relations “deposited” within individual bodies in the form of mental and corporeal schemata of perception, appreciation, and action. (1992: 16)

Furthermore, field is characterized as “objectivity of the first order”, and habitus is characterized as “objectivity of the second order” (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 11), indicating priority is given to the field over the habitus. Objectivity does not refer to “realness” or “truthfulness” as might be misconstrued from a popular interpretation, but it is instead used in the epistemological sense to indicate the construction of an object, or a model of knowledge. (This is in contrast to subjectivity, which contains its own “truth” and “reality” but is filtered through the subject [i.e. social agent or actor] and is unverifiable but also irrefutable.) While theoretical construction is necessary, the field and the habitus cannot be determined *a priori* or without empirical analysis (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992); this would amount to reverting to subjectivity (or perhaps philosophy). However, this should not be interpreted to mean that a researcher should collect empirical data and then analyze the data according to what the researcher “thinks” (i.e., which is often wrongly said to be letting the data speak for itself) has been uncovered by the data collection. Rather, field and habitus are both constructed as *objects*, verifiable or refutable, through the use of empirical data *and* a theoretical paradigm. In other words, there is a dialectical relationship between the

theoretical framework and empirical data. There is a dynamic back and forth cycle that may repeat multiple times throughout a research project between theory and empirical evidence.

Fields are formed from the intersection of objective structures with practical meaning and action. Bourdieu writes that fields are “structured spaces of positions (or posts) whose properties depend upon their position within these spaces and which can be analyzed independently of the characteristics of their occupants (which are partly determined by them)” (1993a:72). Fields are thus a set of relations between structures and positions within social space. Elsewhere, Bourdieu states:

We may think of a field as a space within which an effect of field is exercised, so that what happens to any object that traverses this space cannot be explained solely by the intrinsic properties of the object in question. The limits of the field are situated at the point where the effects of the field cease. (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 100)

Thus, a field is not the same thing as a set of social organizations or social institutions in a geographically or politically bounded space. A field is a social space. Just because a group or an organization is geographically close does not imply it is socially close. For example, I live within a five minute walk of two hunting and ammunition purveyors. Except to recall their existence for the purposes of this example, I do not normally think of these hunting and ammunition shops. Despite the fact that I have lived in my current home for five years, I have never stepped foot inside these shops even though I frequently walk within a few feet of their front door on my way to a nearby restaurant or other store. These shops are geographically close to me but are not close to me in my social field. My habitus does not recognize the space of the hunting purveyors as

part of my field, as matching with my particular capital and dispositions. I do not, therefore, enter into that field. This means that I do not help to constitute that field, and it does not shape my perceptions and behaviors.

If the parameters of the field were constructed differently, the agents who are part of the hunting and ammunition field and I might objectively be part of the same field even if I (or they) disputed it. If the boundaries are drawn to include hunting as part of a larger field of outdoor recreation, I am certainly part of that field because of my hiking and camping activities, even if the relationship is potentially oppositional between hunters and hiking habitus. This is despite the fact that I almost certainly would not subjectively consider myself to have much in common with a group of hunters.

Thus, those who consider themselves in opposition or having “nothing in common” may in fact be part of the same field, which is important to note as the field of food acquisition includes agents who would hardly consider themselves to be part of the same field. In fact, perceiving themselves to have nothing in common may be an indication of potential points of struggle within the field. Thus, to stress only the subjectivity contained within the body of the actor (whether I define an institution or agent as part of my field) is to ignore the objective components which are yet exerting a force upon one’s habitus without conscious perception or with only semi-consciousness perception. In this case, it is important to comprehend that...

[w]hen we speak of a *field* of position-takings we are insisting that what can be constituted as a *system* for the sake of analysis is not the product of a coherence-seeking intention or an objective consensus (even if it presupposes unconscious agreement on common principles)

but the product and prize of a permanent conflict or to put another way that the generative unifying principle of this system is the struggle, with all the contradictions it engenders...(Bourdieu 1993b:34, italics in original).

Agents and institutions may or may not subjectively consider themselves to be part of field in which they are objectively located. This is why an objective construction of the field necessarily takes precedence (i.e. is constructed first) over the construction of the habitus.

If a field is the network of historically specific “structured spaces of positions”, habitus is the “field of stances and position-takings (*prise de position*)” (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 105) and is “a socialized subjectivity” (Ibid. 126). While on the surface this definition of field and habitus may seem to be similar to status and role, there are important differences. Perhaps the most important difference is the centrality of power (both material and symbolic), struggle, and change to the concepts of field and habitus. Both field and habitus are always the result of historical and ongoing struggles by actors, groups, and institutions in the field to transform or conserve their parameters. Status and role do not necessarily place a priority on power, struggle, or change as part of their definition; role conflict and strain emphasize power and struggle but only within the individual. Field and habitus are always relational. Positions can only be understood and defined in relation to each other and their effects on other positions. Bourdieu (1996) argues that while beginning with a basic knowledge of the field is essential it is only through working with the data that specific points and boundaries will emerge. This is because a specific field can only be defined in relation to a specific habitus.

Status and role do not imply a relationship with a particular context or set of relationships but rather generalize across structures. It is a bounded view of more or less fixed positions in which individuals occupy and perform but ultimately exist independently and outside of the individuals themselves. Habitus is integral to one's identity and behaviors; the boundaries and qualities of which shift as one's position in the field changes. Field and habitus are not independent of the individuals, groups, institutions, and structures that constitute them. While the concepts of status and role are not outmoded, they do provide a different lens from which to view social relations than do field and habitus. Status and role correspond to a structural static view while habitus and field correspond to an integrative and interactional relational model. Status and role correspond to positions in the structure. Habitus and field co-create each other<sup>13</sup>.

Habitus is the sum of all socially learned and acquired *dispositions*, or habits of thought and behavior from the multiple and intersecting, overlapping, and nesting fields in which we are reared and/or subsequently operate. During the course of socialization, actors learn their position within the field and simultaneously the structure of the field is deposited within the actor forming the habitus. Thus, the actor acquires and learns the behaviors, attitudes, and culture available via his or her position in the field. The patterns of perception and behavior associated with actor's positions in the field are durable but not immutable and often transposable. Habitus should not be interpreted

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<sup>13</sup> If anything, status and role correspond more closely to Bourdieu's *prise de position*. In other words, it might be postulated that a habitus' *prise de position* within a field corresponds loosely to status and role. However, a habitus is more than just the sum of its status and attendant roles.

as a deterministic mechanism. Agents are improvising and more or less cognizant of their actions, behaviors, and thoughts. However, the durability of the habitus stems both from the socialization process as well as because the improvisation takes place within the bounds of the habitus. The socialization process makes the habitus durable because socialization begins at birth. Through the socialization process we learn all of the expected behaviors, ways of thinking and understanding the world, and norms of society. Not only do we learn these behaviors and schemas but we learn them so well that we do not even have to think about how to behave or why to do something. We internalize those rules, schemas, and behaviors so that they become part of us and become part of our unconscious or semi-conscious. It is also important to note that during socialization we are learning specific rules, specific behaviors, specific expectations, and specific ways of understanding the world. It is not broad American culture that we are internalizing. It is the rules, behaviors, expectations, and worldviews specific to our position within a field and especially within the field of power. The durability of the habitus, however, stems particularly from the fact that while we are learning “how the world works” and accepted behaviors for us based upon our position in the field, we are also learning who we are. While we are internalizing behaviors and rules, we are also internalizing our own identity. Messages about whom we are, how we should behave, and what is appropriate are all tangled together from birth. Our understanding of the ordering of the world is intimately connected to our understanding

of our place in that world.<sup>14</sup> Thus, the socialization process ensures that while the habitus is mutable it is also durable<sup>15</sup>.

The habitus tends to shape behavior in regular patterns (*dispositions*), and thus reinforces the boundaries of the habitus within a field. Moreover, the tendency to behave in regular ways continues to define and redefine the parameters of the field in which one operates, thus creating a general congruence between one's habitus and one's field(s). Much of this durability of the habitus and a general congruence between habitus and field stems from *doxa*, which is transmitted during socialization and reinforced continuously via the field. Bourdieu writes that doxa is "that which is beyond question and which the agent tacitly accords by the mere fact of acting in accord with social convention" (2009[1977]:169). Doxa is both a source of symbolic power (Bourdieu 2009[1977]) and an organizing principle that permeates deeper than ideology (Bourdieu 1990[1980]) because it constitutes both what is thinkable and unthinkable and is embedded in our earliest habitus. Though similar to Schutz's natural attitude, doxa encompasses not only the presuppositions of habitus or a field but also implies those of a historical period. Because doxa are not explicit assumptions or justifications, they are difficult to question. Inconsistencies, logical fallacies and even objective falsehoods tend to remain unchallenged in the murkiness of *doxa*.

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<sup>14</sup> This is also why social trajectory is a good indication of whether or how much the habitus changes. If one experiences significant change of position, there is also corresponding change in the habitus. It is, however, interesting to note that the durability of habitus remains even in cases such as this. In particular, Bourdieu noted that food-related behaviors were the most indicative of earliest socialization experiences, persisting even through significant changes in social position (Bourdieu 1984: 79).

<sup>15</sup> This durability does not preclude a habitus whose durability is oriented towards change and adaptability. A field in flux would produce agents with habitus geared towards adaptation.

Because of the mutually co-creative relationship between habitus and field, doxa is incredibly potent.

The habitus is the product of the work of inculcation and appropriation necessary in order for those products of collective history, the objective structures (e.g. of language, economy, etc) to succeed in reproducing themselves more or less completely, in the form of durable dispositions, in the organisms (which one can, if one wishes, call individuals) lastingly subjected to the same conditionings, and hence placed in the same *material conditions of existence* (Bourdieu 1977[2009]: 85, italics added).

The “material conditions of existence” refer to the field (objectivity of the first order), which is also referred to as “the *distribution of material* resources and the means of appropriation of social scarce goods and values (species of capital)”(Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992:7, italics in original). As such, the habitus (objectivity of the second order) internalizes the field “ in the form of systems of *classification*, the mental and bodily schemata that function as *symbolic* templates for the practical activities—conduct thoughts, feelings, and judgments—of social agents” (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 7, italics in original). Fully comprehending “the material conditions of existence” and the “symbolic templates” of the habitus is vital in Bourdieu’s “double reading” of society and to later understanding the full implications of the field of food acquisition with its material and symbolic components; food is simultaneously both materialistic and symbolic.



### **Species of Capital**

A central feature of Bourdieu's theory is use of the metaphor: *capital*. Although there are numerous species of capital, Bourdieu focuses on four major forms: economic, social, cultural, and symbolic. *Economic capital* refers to financial and monetary resources. *Social capital* refers to networks of acquaintances, colleagues, friends, and family. *Cultural capital* refers to valuable (as defined by a particular field through contestation) knowledge, "taste", and symbols indicating one's "good taste". *Symbolic capital* refers to prestige and reputation. These species of capital are not completely independent of one another, but neither do we find rigid congruence between the types. Each of these species of capital can be transformed, or converted, from one form into another. For example, a casual friendship with a manager of a particular company (a type of social capital) may be parlayed into employment within that company (a type of economic capital). Alternatively, a wealthy business person (with high economic capital) may donate generously to various charities thus increasing his or her prestige (symbolic capital) within a community, which may in turn elevate social capital (friendships and acquaintances) and/or economic capital (increased interest in his or her business because of their philanthropic spirit).

Nonetheless, this conversion does not necessarily always work smoothly or occur readily. As an example, high cultural capital—earning a PhD, for example—doesn't necessarily translate into high economic capital. Thus, rigid congruence between types of capital is not implied by the fact these types of capital can be converted from one form to another. Bourdieu argues that within any field different capitals are prized and represent "trump cards" that allow an actor/agent (endowed with a specific valuable

capital or capitals by virtue of their positions/habitus with the field) to access more resources, navigate the social space more easily, and gain entry into certain positions by virtue of possession of and ability to utilize these species of capital. This, in turn, increases the chances an agent can successfully leverage and convert his or her capital into other species of capital. Alternatively, those actors/agents whose habitus/position within the field endows them with low amounts of the valuable species of capital often find themselves unable to access more resources/capital, have more restrictions placed upon their movement within the social space, and barred from certain positions within the field.

Two things must be noted. First, these restrictions are generally not externally or officially imposed; rather it is the habitus that 'reads' (or even mis-reads) the spaces and assesses whether the requisite capital is available or is able to be converted from other species of capital. Second, the valuable capital(s) are the product of historical struggle within a particular field. These two caveats are essential to understanding the field of food acquisition and the variability of SFMNP and FMNP benefit utilization.

### **The Social Space of Food Acquisition**

Food related behaviors are one example of position-taking and the field being incorporated or deposited into the habitus. One's habitus includes behaviors and patterns of perception pertaining to appropriate means of acquiring, preparing, and consuming food. Moreover, one's habitus also includes which foods are appropriate and desirable. The field shapes what food is available via its production and distribution networks while the position occupied in the field (with its attendant intersections of

class, gender, family background, race, ethnicity, etc) shapes how the field and its contents are perceived and navigated and thus which foods present in the field are indeed available. It shapes where one consumes food, both in the sense of the literal place of eating and the site where one purchases the food. It shapes how food is consumed, including methods of preparation, presentation/display of food, and rituals and bodily hexis (Bourdieu's term) accompanying the actual ingestion of the food into body. Food acquisition becomes far more than a means to satisfy physiological needs for nutrients and energy. It becomes for the habitus a complex social activity laden with symbolic meaning that reflects distinctions of different habitus and inequalities of the social field. The distinctions in food consumption reflect the distinctions (the inequalities) of the field and the positions within the field and reinforce those distinctions as food is consumed and deposited within the body and the habitus. Food taken into the body is a literal and symbolic depositing of the field into the habitus.

Within the field of food acquisition, there are doubtlessly several capitals that are operating in multiple subfields and certainly within the farmers' market subfield. Economic capital is certainly a requirement for purchasing food in all areas of the food of field acquisition (except perhaps food obtained as a gift through social capital). However, economic capital is not the only determining factor as to how an actor navigates this field and what effect the field has on the actor. As posited above, food is a "symbolic good" with "a two-faced reality, a commodity and a symbolic object (Bourdieu 1993:113). Thus, one cannot limit analysis of food acquisition to economic capital, à la rational choice models. This is especially pertinent since Bourdieu has

pointed out in his classic *Distinction* (1984) that cultural capital, although not unrelated to economic capital, is the prime influence on food-related behaviors. In fact, Bourdieu (1984) argues that aspects of culture deemed to be the most personal, such as food, are most revealing of the cultural capital inculcated via social origins.

Thus, for example, the habitus acquired in the family underlies the structuring of school experiences (in particular the reception and assimilation of the specifically pedagogic message), and the habitus transformed by schooling, itself diversified, in turn underlies the structuring of all subsequent experiences... (Bourdieu 1977[2009]: 87)

The dispositions acquired during an agent's earliest socialization tend to be the most durable, "[a]nd it is probably tastes in food that one would find the strongest and most indelible mark of infant learning, the lessons which longest withstand the distancing or collapse of the native world and most durably retain nostalgia for it" (Bourdieu 1984: 79). Johnstonn and Baumann (2010) find substantial links between early socialization within the family and foodies' interest in food. This will be vitally important to understanding the reasons behind not only lower-income populations' reluctance to enter the field of the farmers' market but also in comprehending the differences between Senior and WIC redemption rates.

Cultural capital becomes increasingly important in fields or subfields, such as the farmers' market, that offer the agent a space to acquire and/or display an *aesthetic disposition* or "good" *taste*, which privileges *form over function*. "Tastes (i.e. manifested preferences) are the practical affirmation of the inevitable difference" (Bourdieu 1984:56) expressed in different positions occupied within a field and produced through the habitus' dispositions. Here, we arrive at a critical cleavage in the types of cultural

capital: *institutionalized cultural capital* and *embodied cultural capital*. Taste, especially the aesthetic disposition, emerges from embodied cultural capital, which, although it may be converted from institutionalized cultural capital, is best acquired through earliest exposure and “acquired in daily contact” (Bourdieu 1984:77). *Institutionalized cultural capital* refers to professional certifications, diplomas, academic degrees, and official training that are prized within a particular field. It is a scholastic knowledge that includes knowledge of rules, processes, and norms possessed intellectually but not necessarily possessed in a manner capable of implementing in *practice*. Institutionalized cultural capital can be converted to *embodied cultural capital* by putting knowledge into *practice* and by embodying the “rules” and “norms” of that field so well that an agent can not only abide by those “rules” and “norms” consciously but can afford to let them slip into “unconsciousness” and into “second nature” and can improvise comfortably (Bourdieu 1977/2009: 8, 78-81) because one has acquired the *sense du jeu* (literally, “sense of play”, but better thought of as “a feel for the game”), which is “that [which] causes us to do what we do at the right moment without needing to thematize what had to be done and still less the knowledge of the explicit rule that allows us to generate this comfortable practice” (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992:224). It is ultimately our ability or inability to incorporate this knowledge into our habitus, our dispositions, our hexis, to literally embody it that allows or does not allow us to exhibit the aesthetic disposition. Our ability to acquire and embody the aesthetic disposition is the yardstick by which all other dispositions are measured.

It does mean taking note of the fact that all agents, whether they like it or not, whether or not they have the means of conforming to them,

find themselves objectively measured by those norms. At the same time it becomes possible to establish whether these dispositions and competences are gifts of nature, as the charismatic ideology of the relation to the work of art would have it, or products of learning and to bring to light the hidden conditions of the miracle of the unequal class distribution of the capacity for inspired encounters with works of art and high culture in general. (Bourdieu 1984:29)

The aesthetic disposition, which Bourdieu also referred to as the *pure gaze*, is “one of the surest signs of true nobility” (Bourdieu 1984:11) because of the distance from *necessity*. One who possesses the aesthetic disposition need not be concerned with such vulgar, *distasteful* things as function or material use because of the often unacknowledged possession of adequate economic capital. However, the aesthetic disposition is contrasted with “[t]he naïve exhibitionism of ‘conspicuous consumption’ which seeks distinction in the crude display of ill-mastered luxury” (Bourdieu 1984: 31). The aesthetic disposition is inherently one of distinction.

It should not be thought that the relationship of distinction (which may or may not imply the conscious intention of distinguishing oneself from the common people) is only an incidental component in the aesthetic disposition. The pure gaze implies a break with the ordinary attitude towards the world which, as such, is a social break. (Bourdieu 1984: 31)

Although a completely *pure gaze* cannot be obtained due to the physiological needs for food consumption, empirical research has indeed demonstrated a positive correlation between income and alternative food network (AFNs) -- which include farmers’ markets -- participation, education and AFN participation, and very low participation among low-income populations (Brown 2003; DuPuis 2000; DuPuis and Goodman 2005; Goodman 2004; Hinrichs 2000; Hinrichs and Kremer 2002; Kantor 2001; Guthman, Morris, and

Allen 2006). Arguably, the symbolic dimensions of the social space of the farmers' market are as important as the material dimensions. Alkon (2008) compares the social construction of two farmers' markets, one located in an affluent, largely white neighborhood and the second in a low-income, largely African American food-insecure neighborhood. The discourse surrounding the two markets was rather divergent.

In the farmers' market located in the affluent neighborhood, the focus was on "connecting to nature", which Alkon (2008) located within the mainstream of local foods discourse. While the low-income market did express discourses on the environment, these discourses referred to the *neighborhood* of the market inhabitants and focused on themes of social justice and racial equality (Alkon 2008). However, while social justice is not unusual within the AFN discourse, there is evidence that unequal capital resources (i.e. social inequality) are accepted by middle and upper income consumers (and also producers) and are thought to reflect "personal choice" (Allen 2004). This resonates with Bourdieu's assertion that lifestyle is mistakenly attributed to "personal" style rather than as a product of the dispositions acquired by the habitus in a specific field (or series of fields) and the amount and species of capital possessed by the agent (for one discussion of this, see Bourdieu 1977[2009]: 85-87). Moreover, it illustrates Bourdieu's assertion about the continuous search for distinction because Johnston and Baumann argue the current emphasis on social justice and democratization ("anyone can be a foodie") is a means to distinguish themselves from the "old" cultural elites (2010: 60-61). Indeed, Johnston and Bauman (2010) found with respect to food choice social justice concerns to be at the bottom of priorities and

incidental for these cultural elites and “taste” and “authenticity” to be at the top of their priorities.

Low income participants have a particular set of dispositions manifest through their habitus, which is both produced by the internalization of the field and reproduces the field because of its (the habitus’) general tendency towards durability. Their current field, habitus, and attending “tastes” dispose them to low fresh fruit and vegetable consumption. Like all agents, FMNP and SFMNP participants tend to avoid fields and subfields incongruent with their habitus, dispositions, and capital(s). Capital can be acquired only if it is present in a field and then only through interaction with other agents or institutions in that field to which we have access to through our position within the field. As noted in the previous chapter, low-income agents are often situated in geographic areas called *food deserts* without access to fresh foods especially fruits and vegetables (Kaufman et al. 1997; Zenk et al.2005; Morton et al. 2005; Hendrickson et al 2006). Two recent community food assessment studies have documented substantial food deserts in Louisville and Lexington, Kentucky (CFA 2007; Tanaka et al 2008). These food deserts are aspects of the field that undeniably offer species of capital and shape a habitus, set of dispositions, and “taste” that lead to low fresh fruit and vegetable consumption. Because lower amounts of capital tend to make the conversion process more difficult and tend to inhibit the navigability of social and geographic spaces, the economic capital to be used for fresh fruits and vegetables (i.e. SFMNP and FMNP vouchers) is not easily utilized because of the low amounts of capital possessed.



In fact, to speak of deficits of capital (whether economic, cultural, or otherwise) in low income participants as barriers to FMNP/SFMNP benefit utilization is to implicitly indicate the field of FMNP/SFMNP benefit utilization as a separate field of food acquisition because it requires different forms of capital compared to the field in which FMNP/SFMNP participants put their available embodied capital into practice to purchase/acquire food. Thus, to acknowledge multiple *deficiencies* of capital is also to acknowledge FMNP/SFMNP participants are neither producers, nor products, of the farmers' market field of acquisition. (To say that an agent has *deficiencies* of capital is to indicate they do not possess capitals valued in a *specific field or subfield*. FMNP/SFMNP participants certainly do possess capitals and perhaps even high amounts of it in certain fields of food acquisition but not for ease of navigation in the subfield of the farmers' market. Indeed, FMNP and SFMNP participants are likely to hold forms of capital in fields that typical farmers' market consumers do not.) Since FMNP/SFMNP participants are neither producers, nor products, of the farmers' market field of food acquisition, it is certainly necessary to provide economic capital (coupons for redemption) and institutionalized cultural capital (nutritional counseling, recipes, cooking instructions) as FMNP/SFMNP agencies currently do. However, it is not sufficient to ensure benefit utilization without the required dispositions and congruencies between the field and habitus, which FMNP/SFMNP participants often lack. Thus, to increase and maintain benefit utilization, FMNP and SFMNP participants must acquire the necessary dispositions and congruency between the farmers' market field of food acquisition and their habitus.

Acquiring the necessary dispositions and congruencies means FMNP and SFMNP must become products and producers of the farmers' market field of acquisition because the necessary dispositions can only be achieved through the interaction within a field that contains and values the specific capital(s) needed and thus offers the opportunity for conversion of their current capital(s). In other words, in order for recipients to acquire the proper disposition, they must transform their institutionalized cultural capital, which presumes they have the requisite economic capital available (in this case, the FMNP/SFMNP coupons), into embodied cultural capital. Institutionalized cultural capital is converted to embodied cultural capital by putting knowledge into *practice* and by embodying the "rules" and "norms" of that field so well that an agent can not only abide by those "rules" and "norms" consciously but can afford to let them slip into "unconsciousness" and into "second nature" and can improvise comfortably (Bourdieu 1977/2009: 8, 78-81) because one has acquired the *sense du jeu* (i.e., a feel for the game), which is "that [which] causes us to do what we do at the right moment without needing to thematize what had to be done and still less the knowledge of the explicit rule that allows us to generate this comfortable practice" (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992:224).

Thus, for FMNP/SFMNP recipients to acquire this embodied cultural capital and incorporate it as part of their disposition, they must be able to put their institutionalized cultural capital into *practice*, which requires repeated entry into the field of the farmers' market to overcome the durability of the habitus and allow them to become producers of the field and be (re)produced (because as adults it is resocialization) by the field.

And another effect of the scholastic illusion is seen when people describe resistance to domination in the language of consciousness – as does the whole Marxist tradition and also the feminist theorists who, giving way to habits of thought, expect political liberation to come from the ‘raising of consciousness’ – ignoring the extraordinary inertia which results from the inscription of social structures in bodies, for lack of a dispositional theory of practices. While making things explicit can help, only a thoroughgoing process of countertraining, involving repeated exercises, can, like an athlete’s training, durably transform habitus. (Bourdieu, *Pascalian Meditations*: 172).

It is not enough to transmit intellectual knowledge if a long-lasting and substantial change in food-related behaviors is desired. One way to promote this conversion and thus the utilization of benefits (and long-term usage of farmers’ markets and increase fresh fruits and vegetables) is to provide repeated means of entering the field. I argue this is why Herman et al (2008) concluded there were no barriers to benefit utilization and exhibited 90% redemption rates. This pilot program offered multiple opportunities to enter the subfield of the farmers’ market. In contrast to the 20 dollars FMNP participants are given *once per year*, participants in this pilot program were given 20 dollars every two weeks for a period of six months. Furthermore, WIC agencies were selected because they had a farmers’ market within walking distance of the voucher distribution site.

### **Hysteresis**

Bourdieu’s theory of habitus and field are predicated on a central notion: both are the product of historical struggles and must be defined relationally. If we recall that a field is “a set of objective, historical relations between positions...of power” and habitus “is a set of historical relations “deposited” within individual bodies” (1992: 16),

then it should not surprise us that there is frequently congruency between the habitus and the field. Much of this congruency is due to the *sens du jeu* possessed by agents and to the material constraints of the species of capital possessed. However, incongruency also frequently occurs. The variability of FMNP/SFMNP redemption rates is partially explained by the incongruency between FMNP/SFMNP participants' habitus and the subfield of the farmers' market. However, incongruency often occurs during *hysteresis*. *Hysteresis* is that "which causes previously appropriate categories of perception and appreciation to be applied to a new state" (Bourdieu 1984: 142). In some cases, this causes perceptions of objects to be endowed with a symbolic value they no longer possess owing "to past patterns of distribution, because of the effects of hysteresis" (Bourdieu 1984: 209). Bourdieu argues that when there is congruency between the habitus and field, the effect of the habitus "remains, so to speak, invisible, and the explanation in terms of habitus may seem redundant" (Bourdieu 2008[2005]:214) when viewed in relation to a structuralist explanation or explanation generated by analyzing the field. However, when there is an incongruency between the habitus and field, the effects of the habitus and its attending dispositions become clear (Bourdieu 2008[2005]).<sup>16</sup>

Hysteresis may occur due to a variety of causes such as a social agent's upward or downward social trajectory (moving from the working class to the upper middle class) or to larger structural shifts in the field (the transformation of local and regional

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<sup>16</sup> Indeed, although not entirely analogous, disrupting this congruency between field and habitus forms the basis for Garfinkel's breaching experiments (Garfinkel 1999[1967]) in which typically semi-conscious social norms were deliberately violated.

agriculture into an industrialized, global agrifood system). However, the “effects of hysteresis, of a lag in adaption and counter-adaptive mismatch, can be explained by the relatively persistent, though not entirely unchangeable, character of the habitus” (Bourdieu 2008[2005]: 214). A change in the field, in one’s position in the field, or movement into another field altogether may elicit hysteresis because the habitus still possesses dispositions congruent with a previous field or position. Hysteresis may be only a brief interlude before the habitus is able to acquire the necessary *sens du jeu* of the new field. Alternatively, hysteresis may be a persistent and even permanent situation dependent upon a variety of factors including the length of time invested in the former field, the speed of change, and the degree of change between the fields.

This “lag” between the habitus and the field (or within subfields within a larger field), is most pronounced for those with the least amounts of capital and in the most dominated positions (see Bourdieu 1984: 135-150 for a discussion of this in relation to the educational system<sup>17</sup>). If we recall that Bourdieu argued different capitals represent “trump cards” that allow an actor/agent to navigate social space more easily and agents with larger amounts of capital also are able to navigate social space more easily, which increase the chances an agent can successfully leverage and convert their capital into other species of capital (institutionalized capital into embodied capital, for example),

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<sup>17</sup> Bourdieu argues that “[t]he hysteresis effect is proportionally greater for agents who are more remote from the educational system and who are poorly or vaguely informed about the market in educational qualifications. One of the most valuable sorts of information constituting inherited cultural capital is practical or theoretical knowledge of the fluctuations of the market in academic qualification...” (1984:142). In other words, it allows agents with high levels of cultural capital to know when to “pull out of devalued disciplines and careers...rather than clinging to the scholastic values which secured the highest profits in an earlier state of the market” (Bourdieu 1984: 142).

then the persistence of the hysteresis effect on low-income individuals becomes comprehensible.

Until the past few decades, highly processed foods and meats were the high status foods (See Levenstein 2003 and Smith 2009 for a comprehensive discussion). Like the lower classes described by Bourdieu (1984) who were excluded from secondary education, low-income consumers were unable until the past few decades to fully purchase these highly processed foods and meats. For low-income consumers, these foods still hold high status despite the shift in the field of food acquisition. This partially accounts for the preference for processed foods and meats among low-income populations<sup>18</sup>. For example, Blisard (2008) found that even very small increases in income correlated with increased beef and prepared foods purchases; income had to increase substantially in order to see any increase in fruit and vegetable purchases. Wilde et al (2000) found that FSP participants were no more likely to purchase fresh fruits and vegetables than their eligible non-participant counterparts. According to the findings from my research, FMNP participants still view processed and packaged foods as the most desirable and generally do not have the “taste” for fresh fruits and vegetables. This indicates hysteresis is affecting their food purchasing habits and

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<sup>18</sup> This echoes certain arguments made by Simmel (1957) about fashion. Similar to Bourdieu, Simmel stated [f]ashion... is a product of class distinction and operates like a number of other forms, honor especially, the double function of which consists in revolving with-in a given circle and at the same time emphasizing it as separate from others” (1957: 544). Thus, like food, fashion serves to identify agents as part of a certain group and not as part of another. More cynical than Bourdieu, Simmel argued that the constant changes in fashion were the result of the upper classes seeking to distinguish themselves from the remaining classes. In other words, as soon as something became available to a wider audience, the upper classes abandoned it for something less attainable by the less resource endowed classes. Thus, the majority of classes were constantly experiencing a form of hysteresis (although Simmel did not use this term) in relation to fashion.

partially contributes to their low redemption rates of FMNP coupons at the farmers' market. Interestingly enough, there is some indication in my data that these young women even view fresh vegetables and fruits from local farmers as "old fashioned".

On the other hand, in the case of SFMNP participants, hysteresis works to their advantage. SFMNP agents demonstrate the capacity and ability to leverage homologies between a previous field (most grew up on farms or in rural areas with backyard gardens) and the current field of food acquisition. As we will see, my research indicates SFMNP agents are able to (re)acquire capitals possessed in the former field and convert them into similar species of capital valued in the new field. In other words, because of a previous hysteresis effect in their field of food acquisition during their earliest socialization, SFMNP recipients, as a specific subset of low-income consumers, are able to overcome the current hysteresis effect within the present field of food acquisition. They are thus able to utilize their SFMNP coupons at the farmers' market at a less variable and overall higher redemption rate than the FMNP participants. The younger low-income population, characterized by the FMNP participants, grew up entirely within a field of food acquisition that privileged processed foods and had only begun to shift towards alternative food networks among the very culturally elite. Indeed, my data indicate both FMNP and SFMNP participants associate locally grown foods with an older generation, a previous configuration of the field of food acquisition. However, the SFMNP participants are part of that older generation, acknowledge it, and exhibit nostalgia for that period of their lives. Indeed, SFMNP officials reported that many SFMNP participants expressed delight to be able to consume foods they hadn't seen

since their childhood while FMNP officials reported FMNP participants expressed disdain and even occasionally repugnance for the same foods.

### **Why Do We Need a Theory of Food Acquisition?**

The field of food acquisition is the answer to the deceptively simple question: “how do we get our food?”. The choice of the concept of a *field of food acquisition* is not an arbitrary choice. It is used to diverge from the framework that views food production, consumption, and distribution as related but separate *systems*. To more adequately explain food related behaviors, we have to move away from the notion that production, consumption, and distribution are closed structures that operate autonomously or within only one field or institution. Economic explanations posit that food choices result from structures related to what is fiscally rational to produce, distribute, and consume, but these production, distribution, and consumption patterns are rarely treated as if they relate to each other conceptually or practically. Welfare dependency theory compartmentalizes food consumption even further by reducing it to the outcome of one institution (i.e. food assistance programs). Production is ignored except as it relates to how food assistance programs acquire or receive certain foods as distribution becomes the central locus of explaining consumption. Economic explanations can at least be generalized to a broader population, but welfare dependency theories have little explanatory value for populations that do not receive food assistance.

The reconceptualization as a field of food acquisition provides the necessary tools to transcend these former approaches. With a field of food acquisition, a specific



type of consumption necessarily implies a specific distribution and production. A field theory/model of food acquisition can contain the how and where and for and by whom the food is cultivated, especially when habitus and the multiple forms of capital are incorporated as Bourdieu originally intended. A field theory of food acquisition can contain the means by which it is made available for consumption including the way it is packaged or processed, how it is transported and to where it is transported, and even the displays and social space around the actual food. Food acquisition contains the act of procurement (whether by economic purchase, gift-exchange or other means) of the food for bodily and symbolic consumption, the preparation and presentation of the food, the rituals and bodily hexis accompanying the actual ingestion, and where and with whom the food is ingested. It is not a perfect one-to-one equation, but the farmers' market subfield of food acquisition implies a very different set of production, distribution, and consumption patterns compared to the subfield of the hypermarket, with its global production practices intended for a mass market, or the food pantry, with its surplus food intended for a marginalized clientele. For example, in *Eating History: Thirty Turning Points in the Making of American Cuisine*, Smith (2009) documented the reciprocal relationship between the rise of supermarkets, factory farming, and modern advertising, all of which targeted and still target the mass public. Convenience, price, predictability and innovation/novelty (indeed, *predictable innovation*) are the hallmarks of this model. The alternative food movement, in contrast, stresses artisanal and independent producers and local retail spaces. The emphasis is on creativity, originality, quality, "natural", and rarity (Johnston and Baumann 2010), which is the inversion of the

McDonaldization process documented by Ritzer (1993) and others that has overtaken the agrifood industry in the previous decades<sup>19</sup>. The target is a small niche consumer, often referred to as “foodies” (Johnston and Baumann 2010). Products are advertised by word of mouth (social capital) and through sacred outlets, which are often consecrated by food writers, critics, and/or chefs supported by a technologically savvy blogosphere. These consecrated authorities are not tangential to the production and consumption of food in alternative food networks but essential elements in the legitimation of a food’s “quality”, rarity, or other desirable attribute.

[D]iscourse about a work is not a mere accompaniment, intended to assist its perception and appreciation, but a stage in the production of the work, of its meaning and value (Bourdieu 1993:110)

Being part of social networks (social capital) that participate in and produce and thus have their habitus shaped by this discourse, which is part of the field of food acquisition, is crucial to acquiring the necessary dispositions and capitals to fully participate in the subfield of the farmers’ market (or other foodie subfield). It is also critical to the elevation of food as art, to viewing food the “right” way and being able to fully appreciate its form as opposed to just its function. The discourse, however, contributes to the symbolic value of the product. Being able to speak about the specific farmer and his or her methods of cultivation, where the farm is located, and which specific variety of heirloom tomato (a Costoluto Genovese in contrast to an Arkansas

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<sup>19</sup> McDonaldization refers not only to the agrifood system but also to broader aspects of society. As an extension of rationalization, Ritzer used the fast food restaurant (epitomized by McDonald’s) as an analogy to represent the emerging hallmarks of modern society. Efficiency, calculability, predictability, and control are the primary characteristics of McDonaldization.

Traveler variety) adds significantly more value (*symbolic capital*) to the experience of eating. It shifts the balance away from the function (“pigs can eat well” quoted in Johnstonn and Baumann 2010: 53) towards form.

In identifying what is worthy of being seen and the right way to see it, they are aided by their whole social group (which guides and reminds them with its “Have you seen...?” and “You must see...”) and by the whole corporation of critics mandated by the group to produce legitimate classifications and the discourse necessarily accompanying any artistic enjoyment worthy of the same (Bourdieu 1984: 28).

Thus, social capital interacts with both cultural capital and symbolic capital (reputation and prestige) in the process of consecration. Those lacking the social capital, not to mention other forms of capital, are excluded from this discourse. This interplay between the different forms of capital, the difficulties of conversion experiences by those with low amounts of capital, position within the field, and the process of consecration begin to suggest the ways distinction is created and maintained in the field of food acquisition.

### **An Overview of the Hypothesized Model of the Field of Food Acquisition**

Although the field of food acquisition is a field of cultural production, there is a more pronounced bifurcating tendency within the field of food acquisition than is documented by Bourdieu in other fields of cultural production. Bourdieu’s concept of production includes not only those who produce objects (in this case, food) but also includes those social agents, institutions, and structures that retail, review, consume or are otherwise engaged with the production of the field (in this case, field of food acquisition). This is partially due to the nature of food compared to other forms of

cultural artefacts. While arguments might be put forth that poetry and theatre are essential to life (and indeed certainly enrich one's life), they are not essential in the same manner in which food is essential for the sustenance of bodily functions. Food serves both mundane and symbolic functions, often with emphasis on one or the other but always simultaneously. One cannot exist without food, but food does not exist without also being a representation of something more, even if it is only to indicate the necessity exhibited by the agent. Thus, the field of food acquisition must include *all agents without exception* in contrast to the literary field or field of theatrical artistry, or any other field, for that matter. All agents must, at a minimum, acquire enough food to sustain their bodily functions. Not all agents must partake of the opera or ballet to remain functioning and alive. The field of food acquisition is simply larger and has more possible positions than nearly any other field.

As such, the field of food acquisition reflects the structuration and distribution of power within a society. Access to, possession of, and ability to utilize and convert various forms of capital are hallmarks of power. The subfields that exist closer to the higher economic and cultural capital move closer to a field of artistic expression, production, and consumption. These subfields exhibit more autonomy from the field of power relative to the subfields closer to necessity and more closely mirror the fields of cultural production examined by Bourdieu in which he described them as the "economic world reversed". This area of the field is that of the dominant and is the arena of "taste" and "style". However, the subfields that exist closer to the lower economic and cultural capital axes move closer to necessity. As one moves towards the axis of

necessity, these subfields become less autonomous from and more directly under the influence of the field of power. At the most constrained and restrictive end of the field, food acquisition is dominated by the field of power. How much, what and where one can purchase becomes increasingly dependent not only on an agent's habitus, dispositions, and capitals but also on external institutions from the field of power. Economic interests (both on the part of the consumer and the producer/manufacturer) are paramount at this end of the field of food acquisition; however, political interests, not surprisingly, also figure prominently.

Food assistance programs, whether government or NGO, abound in the most dominated sections of the field of food acquisition. These institutions and programs occupy a unique position straddling the field of power and the field of food acquisition and thus serving multiple and sometimes contradictory interests. Food assistance programs serve both producers and consumers. One objective is to provide a market for surplus food and stabilize agricultural prices<sup>20</sup>. Food assistance programs manifestly exist to address the necessity of food to survival and to meet nutritional recommendations but also simultaneously expand and limit food choice. As many welfare dependency theorists have recognized (while ignoring the albeit limited agency of food assistance participants), reliance on food assistance programs belie the dominated position and low amounts of capitals possessed by agents in this segment of the field. Food instruments (EBT cards, FMNP coupons, etc) can only be used to purchase certain foods (with some instruments being more restrictive than others) and

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<sup>20</sup> This dual function also serves to legitimate the existence of the programs.

only at certified retailers. However, these food assistance programs also address the unequal distribution of resources across the field of food acquisition. They aim to expand access to food not only in quantity but also aim to increase access to quality and healthy foods.

Food assistance programs are also attempting to address the bifurcating tendency of the food acquisition field. FMNP and SFMNP are among the first to do so, but previously existing food assistance programs are being retooled. The overall shift in the food assistance landscape over the previous decade has been towards promoting the consumption of nutrient-dense, low calorie foods, such as fresh fruits and vegetables. In September, 2009, Agriculture Secretary Tom Vilsack and Deputy Secretary Kathleen Merrigan announced a new USDA initiative called “Know Your Farmer, Know Your Food” (KYF). This initiative was designed to promote the usage of farmers’ markets through food assistance programs. However laudable this paradigm shift may be, it is uncertain how successful it will be in increasing farmers’ market usage and improving nutritional statuses. Without a better understanding of the field of food acquisition leading to a more tailored approach, food assistance efforts to promote increased usage of the farmers’ market and increase fresh fruit and vegetable consumption are likely to be met with the same variable and often low results as have been the case for FMNP and SFMNP. Farmers’ markets could transition from a preponderance of unprocessed fruits and vegetables to heavier emphasis on value-added goods such as pastries and other baked goods to meet the “tastes” of the lower income populations.

Efforts need to be made to fully conceptualize the field of food acquisition to understand this interplay between the various positions, agents, institutions, and capitals operating in the field. This dissertation is an initial attempt to begin theorizing this field of food acquisition utilizing FMNP and SFMNP as entry points into the field. The remainder of this dissertation aims to situation FMNP and SFMNP with the field of food acquisition.

### **Chapter Three: Methods of Data Collection and Analysis**

Although methods are discussed in a separate chapter from findings, this division is done for the sake of presentation rather than as an indication of the actual relationship between the content of the other chapters. Theoretical considerations, as will be indicated where appropriate, informed methodological decisions as much as the practical constraints of the tools themselves. Similarly, empirical findings from earlier stages of data collection informed methodological choices in the later stages of data collection. This will also be indicated where appropriate.

The basic design was an inductive, multistage format. Findings from each stage were used as the platform for building the next stage of data collected. The first stage of data included interviews and observations. This initial stage was used to pilot questions and provide basic descriptive information about FMNP and SFMNP. This data were then used to construct a second set of interview questions. This second set of interviews was primarily used to collect data on the SFMNP and FMNP habitus and the field of the farmers' market to determine the impact on SFMNP and FMNP redemption. The results were used to understand why SFMNP recipients exhibited overall higher redemption rates compared to FMNP recipients. During this second stage of interviews, some data about the broader field of SFMNP/FMNP redemption was also collected. Once the second set of interviews were conducted and analyzed qualitatively, pertinent interview data were merged with secondary data about the broader field of food acquisition to create a data set that was analyzed quantitatively to determine its impact



on SFMNP and FMNP redemption. This was then used to examine why redemption rates varied by county.

### **Research Questions**

As noted previously, the primary focus was to identify the underlying factors contributing to variable benefit utilization in both the Senior Farmers' Market Nutrition Program (SFMNP) and WIC Farmers' Market Nutrition Programs (FMNP). Based on preliminary research discussed in the introduction, three subordinate questions helped elucidate this broad research question.

- 1) Why do Senior FMNP and WIC FMNP exhibit variable benefit utilization compared to other food assistance programs?
- 2) Why does Senior FMNP exhibit overall higher benefit utilization rates compared to WIC FMNP?
- 3) What accounts for variable benefit utilization rates between counties within the same program (Senior FMNP or WIC FMNP)?

In other words, this project sought a partial explanation for the observed differences in benefit utilization between the dual FMNPs and other food assistance programs, between Senior FMNP and WIC FMNP, and between counties within each of the FMNPs. While the first two questions could have been addressed via state level data, the third research question necessitated the acquisition of county-level data. Therefore, all data were collected at the county level and then aggregated to answer the first two questions.

### **Basic Research Design**

Because of the lack of sociological literature on FMNP and SFMNP coupled with the overall sparseness of literature on the two programs, this was conceived as an

exploratory project. In other words, the methods were selected to allow as much unanticipated data to emerge as possible while still operating within a focused framework. The project was primarily qualitative due to the many unknowns as well as due to the potentially large number of variables with a smaller known number of cases. Qualitative analysis worked well for addressing the first two questions. For each of the first two questions, the comparisons were between four cases (WIC, SNAP, FMNP, and SFMNP) in the first instance and two cases (FMNP and SFMNP) in the second. Field observations were conducted during the first stage to get a better understanding of the social space of various farmers' markets. Observations were also included to examine how FMNP and SFMNP signage were displayed and judge the ease by which FMNP or SFMNP participants might determine which vendors accepted the vouchers (since it was rare for all vendors to be certified to take the vouchers). Observations were also conducted in anticipation of observing unobtrusively FMNP and SFMNP transactions.

Semi-structured interviews were used in both the first and second stages of data collection. Semi-structured interviews were selected because they fit well with the theoretical assumptions about constructing the field, the corresponding habitus and dispositions, and identifying the relevant capitals for operating in the field. Because the parameters could not be identified without empirical evidence and the state of the research on FMNP and SFMNP did not provide adequate information to do so, I chose to pursue a more open-ended approach and interviews were selected because they would allow the data to emerge. While this is not a work of grounded theory, the principles of the approach have nonetheless informed my research design and choice of methods.

For the final question pertaining to variability between counties, comparing over 40 cases for each program became unwieldy to analyze qualitatively by hand (see discussion below for the reasons behind using hand-coding for the qualitative data). While qualitative software could have been used at this stage (the contradictions, which are discussed below, for its use dissipated by this third stage), reliable secondary data on each county was available only in quantitative form. Transforming data from the interviews into quantitative data was a time-consuming but necessary step that permitted the use of a wide range of data from other sources including the USDA's Food Environment Atlas and US Census. Since there was no way to turn this secondary data into qualitative data, the qualitative data on the broader field from the interviews was transformed into numeric data. The use of quantitative analysis allowed the inclusion of far more data on the field through the use of secondary data that could be used to identify how broader field characteristics impacted FMNP and SFMNP redemption rates.

During the process of data collection and analysis, I have also benefitted from personal communications with several individuals connected directly or indirectly with FMNP and SFMNP. These personal communications via email and telephone with individuals from Kentucky as well as in other states have provided invaluable information and often clarified findings. In some cases, these personal communications have provided specific information and are (and have already been in earlier chapters) cited as such. These individuals were either affiliated with state health departments or with state department of agriculture and included FMNP/SFMNP specialists, nutrition researchers, extension agents, and division supervisors.

### **Study Respondents**

Although interviews with FMNP and SFMNP participants were considered, identifying and recruiting FMNP and SFMNP participants was difficult. First, there was no way to obtain a list of individuals participating in either FMNP or SFMNP. Additionally, research participation rates among low-income groups are typically very low (Gross, Julion and Fogg 2001). While cash incentives can increase research participation rates (Gibson et al 1999; Singer et al 2002), this was not an option for an unfunded dissertation project. Preliminary research with FMNP and SFMNP officials indicated I would be unlikely to get participants to consent to be interviewed, especially FMNP participants (Sullivan 2006; Anderson 2006). Furthermore, since this was an exploratory study of benefit utilization, I believed I could gain a broader view of the program and the participants by interviewing agency personnel. Although each interview was from the perspective of an individual, aggregating the data with more than 40 other interviews from different counties assisted with the construction of more objective data.

FMNP and SFMNP officials were also in the position to affect change in the administration and policies of these programs. Interviewing local and state officials not only provided data about the program participants, the administration of the program, and the broader context of the field, but it also encouraged the development of rapport and trust (social capital) between me and those officials. Because application and praxis were and are important goals of this dissertation, social capital increases the likelihood that agency officials will be receptive to my findings and recommendations. It also

increases the likelihood of receptivity to subsequent research and collaborations to implement interventions to increase benefit utilization.

I emphasize this because FMNP and SFMNP participants were different from the interview respondents in this study. As noted elsewhere, FMNP and SFMNP participants were drawn from the lower classes while the interview respondents were primarily professionals and paraprofessionals.<sup>21</sup> FMNP officials were typically WIC coordinators and trained as nurses or dieticians while SFMNP officials were most often extension agents with degrees in nutrition, agriculture, or family studies or senior center directors with degrees in business administration. This means the interview respondents possessed different and often higher amounts of capital, especially cultural and economic capital, compared to program participants. To avoid any confusion, *participant* will always refer to program participants (i.e. those who receive FMNP or SFMNP benefits). *Respondent* will always refer throughout this dissertation to interviewees (i.e. FMNP and SFMNP officials who were interviewed).

### **Multiple Stage Data Collection**

Due to the sparse literature available on FMNP and SFMNP, the research initially followed an inductive approach. (While the body of the literature on FMNP grew during the span of time between the proposal stage of this project and completion, it remained an understudied program.) Furthermore, to access the advantages of triangulation, a multi-stage mixed methods approach was utilized. There were three distinct stages consisting of:

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<sup>21</sup> In a very few instances, SFMNP respondents were volunteers. However, except in one case, these individuals all had professional or paraprofessional occupations unrelated to their volunteer status with SFMNP.

- 1) Face-to-face interviews and field observations
- 2) Telephone interviews
- 3) Primary and secondary data aggregation

**First stage: Face-to-face Interviews and Field Observations**

In the first stage, a series of face-to-face semi-structured interviews were conducted in six Kentucky counties with ten county FMNP/SFMNP officials along with two state FMNP administrators (one from WIC and one from Senior) for a total of twelve interviews (see the following section for information on how these counties were selected). Additionally, I conducted an interview with an urban community organizer actively involved in supporting the use of SFMNP coupons, which brought the total to thirteen interviews. These in-depth interviews ranged in length from 45 minutes to 3 hours with a median of 1 hour 15 minutes (see Appendix 3.A for the complete list of interview questions). The topics included in the schedule of questions were derived primarily from the available literature on FMNP and SFMNP. However, they also were derived from theoretical assumptions about the importance of multiple capitals, social space/field, and low-income dispositions. These interviews were conducted during the period of November 2007 to April 2008. Six follow-up contacts were initiated via email or phone (depending on the respondents' stated preference) to clarify information or statements. These follow-ups were conducted during June and July 2008. Interview data from this pilot stage were then hand-coded and analyzed. The data were then used to construct a second interview schedule of questions used in the next stage (see Appendix 3.B for the list of questions for the second stage of interview questions). Overall, the data from the first stage of interviews were primarily utilized to rephrase

questions to elicit more complex responses from study respondents, discard questions which yielded little information, and revise questions that were confusing to respondents.

Field observations were conducted during the period of June through August 2008 at eight farmers' markets in the Kentucky counties selected for first stage interviews. I observed at one farmers' market accepting FMNP/SFMNP coupons in four of the case study counties. In two case study counties (one rural and one urban), I observed at two FMNP/SFMNP certified farmers markets. I did not attempt to interact with other customers or vendors except as a consumer browsing the displays and purchasing my selections. To remain as unobtrusive as possible, I took my young child with me and did not take notes while I was observing. However, jottings were taken immediately upon leaving the farmers' market and entering my car. Fieldnotes were constructed within 48 hours of the observations and jottings. My objective was to observe how many vendors accepted FMNP/SFMNP coupons and how prominently the signage was displayed. I also hoped to be able to witness the utilization of FMNP/SFMNP coupons and observe the interactions between the vendor and FMNP/SFMNP customer. Unfortunately, I only observed one transaction using vouchers. This was at an urban farmers' market located in a low-income neighborhood.

After the field observations, I also conducted six brief telephone interviews with farmers' market managers from each of the counties. These were conducted primarily during September 2008. In the case of the rural county with two farmers' markets, the manager was the same for both. In the case of the urban county where I observed two

markets, I conducted one telephone interview with one of the farmers’ markets market managers. However, I had difficulty contacting the manager of the other market in this county. Nonetheless, because I had previously conducted an in-depth interview with a community organizer actively involved in the operations of this second market, I already had adequate information about this market.

**Table 3.1, Summary of First Stage Data Collection**

<b>Interviews with county officials</b>	<b>with FMNP</b>	<b>Interviews with state officials</b>	<b>with FMNP</b>	<b>Farmers’ Market Observations</b>	<b>Other interviews</b>		
5	FMNP county administrators	1	FMNP state administrator	3	urban farmers’ markets	1	urban community organizer (face-to-face)
5	SFMNP county administrators	1	SFMNP state administrator	5	rural farmers’ markets	6	farmers’ market managers (telephone)

**County and Case Selection**

Cases for the first stage of data collection were selected from the population of Kentucky counties participating in SFMNP and/or FMNP during the 2006 season. County refers to the officially recognized geopolitical area and jurisdiction below the Kentucky state government and geopolitical area. Case refers to the individual FMNP operating within a county. Thus, in most instances in the first stage, there were two cases (FMNP and SFMNP) in each county (see table 3.2 below).



Cases were selected on the basis of four criteria. First, cases representative of both rural and urban counties were included. Because Kentucky has historically been and continues to be a primarily rural state, there was a high probability all cases selected could be rural cases. To include only rural counties could potentially overlook the effect an urban environment might have on FMNP/SFMNP benefit utilization. Additionally, urban counties in Kentucky have the most racial and ethnic diversity; most rural counties are predominantly white. Including only rural counties could have led to overlooking the possible effect of racial or ethnic composition on benefit utilization. Therefore, it was determined that two urban counties (of a possible three) would be included regardless of whether they met the following criteria. Second, cases must have the program operating in 2004 (the first year for which redemption data were available) and 2005 seasons. This was done to minimize the variability introduced by comparing a case in its first year to a more established program. Counties not meeting this criterion were eliminated from the sample. Third, cases must have both SFMNP and FMNP operating in the county in 2006. This criterion helped minimize the effects of county differences and also to investigate the relationship within a county between the two programs. Counties not meeting this criterion were eliminated from the potential sample.

The last criterion was that a representative be selected for each of four categories. The remaining counties were placed in one of four categories based on their redemption rates for 2005 (redemption rates for 2006 were not then available). These four categories were

- 1) High Senior/Low WIC
- 2) Low Senior/Low WIC
- 3) High Senior/High WIC
- 4) Low Senior/High WIC.

“High” refers to higher than average redemption rates while “low” refers to lower than average redemption rates for that program in 2005 season. “Senior” refers to SFMNP, and “WIC” refers to FMNP. For example, “High Senior/Low WIC” corresponds to a county with higher than average redemption rates for SFMNP and lower than average redemption rates for FMNP, and “Low Senior/Low WIC” corresponds to a county with lower than average redemption rates for both SFMNP and FMNP. Eastern Appalachian County 1 was selected to represent the High Senior/Low WIC category because it was an Appalachian county with an Appalachian Regional Commission (ARC) designation as distressed. Furthermore, I already had strong ties to the county extension and other relevant agencies in the county and was very familiar with the area. Southwestern County 1 was selected to represent the Low Senior/Low WIC profile to provide geographic diversity. Additionally, Southwestern County 1 was the only Appalachian county to fit the Low Senior/Low WIC profile. Furthermore, it had an ARC designation of “at-risk”. Central Appalachian County 1 was chosen because it was the only Appalachian county considered transitional by the Appalachian Regional Commission that also fit the High Senior/High WIC profile. This provided three Appalachian counties with three different ARC designations. Finally, Central County 1 was one of only two counties that fit the initial two criteria and the Low Senior/High WIC designation. Because there were considerable similarities between the two possibilities, Central County 1 was chosen at

random. It is not considered an Appalachian county (see table 3.3 for county characteristics).

**Table 3.2, First Stage Cases**

	FMNP	SFMNP
Case 1	Urban County 1 FMNP	Urban County 2 SFMNP
Case 2	Eastern Appalachian County FMNP	Eastern Appalachian County SFMNP
Case 3	Southwestern County FMNP	Southwestern Kentucky County SFMNP
Case 4	Central Appalachian County FMNP	Central Appalachian County SFMNP
Case 5	Central County FMNP	Central Kentucky County SFMNP

**Table 3.3, First Stage County Characteristics**

County	Number of Cases in County	Case Category	Rural/urban	ARC Designation
Urban 1	1	N/A	Urban	N/A
Urban 2	1	N/A	Urban	N/A
Eastern Appalachian	2	High Senior/Low WIC	Rural	Distressed
Southwestern Kentucky	2	Low Senior/Low WIC	Rural	At-risk
Central Appalachian	2	High Senior/High WIC	Rural	Transitional
Central Kentucky	2	Low Senior/Low WIC	Rural	N/A

**Second Stage: Telephone interviews**

In the second stage of data collection, telephone interviews were selected to generate the most robust data possible. While surveys would have likely been less time-consuming, they were rejected due to the exploratory nature of the project. Furthermore, the results from the first stage of interview data collection presented a clear portrait of agency operations but did not contain adequate information about features of the field or program participant habitus. An open-ended and exploratory approach would have to be used again because I could not generate a succinct yet comprehensive survey even if I had desired to do so. Additionally, since the total population of cases was rather small, I was concerned about the response rate. I believed I could obtain a much higher response rate via telephone interviews than I could via electronic or mailed surveys.

Telephone interviews were conducted with 83 county SFMNP and FMNP administrators about program season 2008. Additionally, one electronic interview was conducted via email due to persistent scheduling conflicts for a total of 84 interviews. The telephone interviews ranged from 15 minutes to 2 hours 15 minutes with a median of 30 minutes and were conducted between April and September 2009. All questions were asked as they pertained to the previous season (2008). Three follow-ups for clarification were conducted via phone, and all were less than 10 minutes. Interviews were semi-structured and followed a more conversational style of interviewing. Questions were constructed based on analysis of data generated from the first stage (see Appendix 3B for a complete schedule of questions).

A case was considered eligible if it had also been operating the program during the previous year (2007) on which research was being conducted (See Appendix 3C for a list of cases). A total of 41 SFMNP cases were deemed eligible, and all were successfully enrolled in the research. Additionally, a total of 43 FMNP cases were determined to meet the eligibility requirements, and all cases were successfully enrolled in the research. Thus, research conducted both in this stage and the next stage represents data collected on the entire eligible population of FMNP and SFMNP cases in Kentucky.

**Table 3.4, Second Stage Summary**

Number of Cases in Population	Number of Cases Enrolled	Total Number Interviews	Total Number of Senior FMNP interviews	Total Number of WIC interviews
84	84	84	41	43

**Third Stage: Primary and Secondary Data Aggregation**

After the second stage of data collection was completed, data generated from both the first and second stage were analyzed via hand-coding. Information generated from this analysis was used to construct a hypothesized model of elements from the local field of food acquisition that impacted redemption for FMNP and SFMNP. Data from the interviews were also used to identify potentially explanatory variables pertaining to variable benefit utilization between counties in the same program. This will be discussed in more detail in the following data analysis section.

During the third and final stage of data collection, I created two datasets: one for FMNP and one for SFMNP. Primary data aggregation entailed coding data from the interviews conducted during the second stage and entering the values into SPSS. Specifically, these were variables pertaining to agency organization, distribution procedures, and FMNP/SFMNP administration. Secondary data aggregation entailed collecting data from a variety of state and federal sources and entering it into the appropriate SPSS datasets. These were variables pertaining to the broader field of food acquisition. Secondary data were collected from the USDA's Food Environment Atlas, Kentucky Department of Agriculture 2008 Farmers' Market Directory, Appalachian Regional Commission Designations Kentucky 2008, Kentucky Department of Transportation Interstate System 2009, and Kentucky Education and Workforce Development Cabinet Kentucky Unemployment Rates by County 2008. Additionally, Google Maps were used to calculate the distance between the farmers' market and main FMNP/SFMNP distribution site for each case.

### **Data Analysis**

Two primary methods, interviews and secondary data aggregation, were used to collect data. Field observations were also used to supplement the interview data from stage one. The data collected during the interviews and through field observations were primarily qualitative and analyzed via hand-coding. Some of the data collected via interviews were converted to quantitative data and entered into an SPSS dataset with the secondary data collected. This was data that could not be obtained through

secondary data. It was data specifically related to local agency administration and distribution of FMNP/SFMNP coupons as well as the structure and organization of the local agencies. Remaining quantitative data were acquired through secondary sources. The quantitative data were analyzed via hierarchical regression in SPSS, and the model constructed was tested via structural equation modeling in AMOS.

### **Qualitative Analysis**

Data collected during the first stage was analyzed with three objectives. First, the data generated by the interviews were analyzed thematically. The main themes from each interview and between the interviews were identified. These themes were then analyzed to determine the information they provided concerning the low-income habitus, the field of food acquisition and FMNP redemption, relevant capitals, and dispositions. Second, the data were analyzed for patterns within and between FMNP cases with respect to agency organization and services provided. Finally, the interview instrument was evaluated for the salience and quality of the information generated by the questions.

The first stage primarily generated information about agency operations and services, but there was not enough information to make strong inferences about the field, the low-income habitus, or other relevant theoretical constructs. Field observations conducted during the first stage allowed me to study the social space of several farmers' markets. During this data collection, I witnessed only one FMNP transaction during all my observations. Nonetheless, this lack of visibility both on the

part of the FMNP consumer and of the vendors (many had their signs in very inconspicuous places; a couple of vendors had them *under* boxes of produce) seemed to indicate the peripheral nature of FMNP to the subfield of the farmers' market.

Results of the first stage of data analysis allowed me to revise my schedule of questions to elicit responses about the subfield of the farmers' market and the habitus of FMNP and SFMNP participants. The resultant data generated during the second stage of data collection were analyzed together initially for similar themes such as those relating to the low-income habitus, the subfield of the farmers' market, the field of food acquisition, and the species of capital. The interviews were then divided according to which FMNP they belonged. First, FMNP data were analyzed thematically using Bourdieu's framework. Then, the SFMNP data were analyzed for patterns pertaining to habitus, capitals, and the like. Afterward, the findings were compared to determine what similarities or divergences were present. The results of this qualitative data analysis are discussed primarily in Chapters 4 and 5 but are also used to augment findings in Chapter 6.

### **Rationale for Hand-coding**

Although I am familiar with qualitative data analysis programs (particularly NVIVO), I hand-coded for several reasons. First, NVIVO's main advantage is the speed with which the analysis can be completed. Since I had conducted and transcribed all of the interviews myself, the time saved would be negligible (especially since coding would have to be entered prior to any analysis anyway). Second, the primary reason to hand-code was due to the application of Bourdieu's theory to the data. The nature of



Bourdieu's approach required a dialectical relationship between the theoretical and the empirical. Habitus and field, if one will recall, cannot be identified *a priori*. Thus, I could not identify elements of the habitus without analyzing the data. Without being able to specify the parameters of the habitus, I could not code for themes with which NVIVO could perform an analysis. This meant using a data analysis program was impractical.

### **Inductive Thematic Analysis**

Interview data were first coded for themes pertaining to the farmers' market. In particular, data were analyzed for descriptions of the farmers' market, comparisons with other programs, and perceptions, attitudes towards, and reports of experiences at the farmers' market and with FMNP/SFMNP usage. I coded both FMNP and SFMNP data for themes on the farmers' market before I began the second round of coding. In the second round of coding, I analyzed the data for themes pertaining to the SFMNP/FMNP habitus, dispositions, and capitals. I analyzed the data not only for evidence of dispositions and capitals relevant to the farmers' market and FMNP/SFMNP but also to fruits and vegetables, cooking, and food in general. Although I was initially looking for positive evidence (i.e. the presence of certain dispositions/capitals), it became evident that the absence of certain dispositions/capitals were important themes in the data. (This also led me to re-analyze the data about the farmers' market in order to ascertain not only what was said but also to try to determine what was left unsaid about the farmers' market and its subfield.) I next subdivided and coded the different capitals into their respective species (e.g. social, cultural). Once I had identified the themes related to the dispositions and capitals, I then coded the data for themes about the broader

field of food acquisition. Although the data about the field of food acquisition would be analyzed quantitatively, I used the interview data to guide the construction of the hypothesized model of redemption (i.e. identify the relevant variables and relationships that were hypothesized to impact FMNP/SFMNP redemption rates). First, I coded the data for themes about aspects of the field of food acquisition that were likely to impact FMNP/SFMNP redemption. Then, I assessed whether data on these aspects of the field of food acquisition were available in the interviews or needed to be collected via secondary data analysis. Transforming the interview data about the field of food acquisition into quantitative data and acquiring the necessary secondary data will be discussed in the following section.

As one might suspect, these themes often intersected. In practice, I frequently found myself having to code a certain passage or statement in several different ways because it contained one or more themes. This overlap was not limited to one level, such as having to code a passage about the farmers' market two different ways because it contained a thematic description of the market as well as themes about experiences at the market. Interview passages sometimes contained themes about the subfield of the farmers' market and relevant capitals present or lacking in FMNP/SFMNP participants. This should be kept in mind during the data presentation chapters.

### **Quantitative Data Analysis**

Quantitative data were analyzed via hierarchical regression analysis and structural equation modeling (SEM). Due to data constraints discussed below and in particular population size (i.e., number of cases), the decision was made to use two

complimentary analysis techniques to triangulate findings from each analysis. Statistical techniques and methods of analysis are generated by mathematicians using abstract models. Sociologists and behavioral scientists rarely encounter the ideal data conditions and assumptions stipulated by mathematicians. As Cohen et al. (2003) astutely note, behavioral scientists are not performing statistical analysis but are performing data analysis. Data analysis incorporates statistical analysis but also theoretical knowledge and previous findings on the phenomena.

[Behavioral scientists] attempt to apply the statistical model that best matches their data. For them, data analysis is not an end in itself, but the next to last step in a scientific process that culminates in providing information about the phenomenon....Data analysis accepts "inadequate" data, and is thus prepared to settle for "indications" rather than conclusions...all in the interest of getting on with the task of making data yield their meaning. If we risk error, we are more than compensated by having a system of data analysis that is general, sensitive, and fully capable of reflecting the complexity of the behavioral sciences...And we will reiterate the injunction that no conclusions from a given set of data can be considered definitive: Replication is essential to scientific progress. (Cohen et al. 2003: 12-13).

In other words, statisticians and mathematicians are solving equations; sociologists and behavioral scientists are using statistical tools to uncover relationships and meanings within the empirical world.

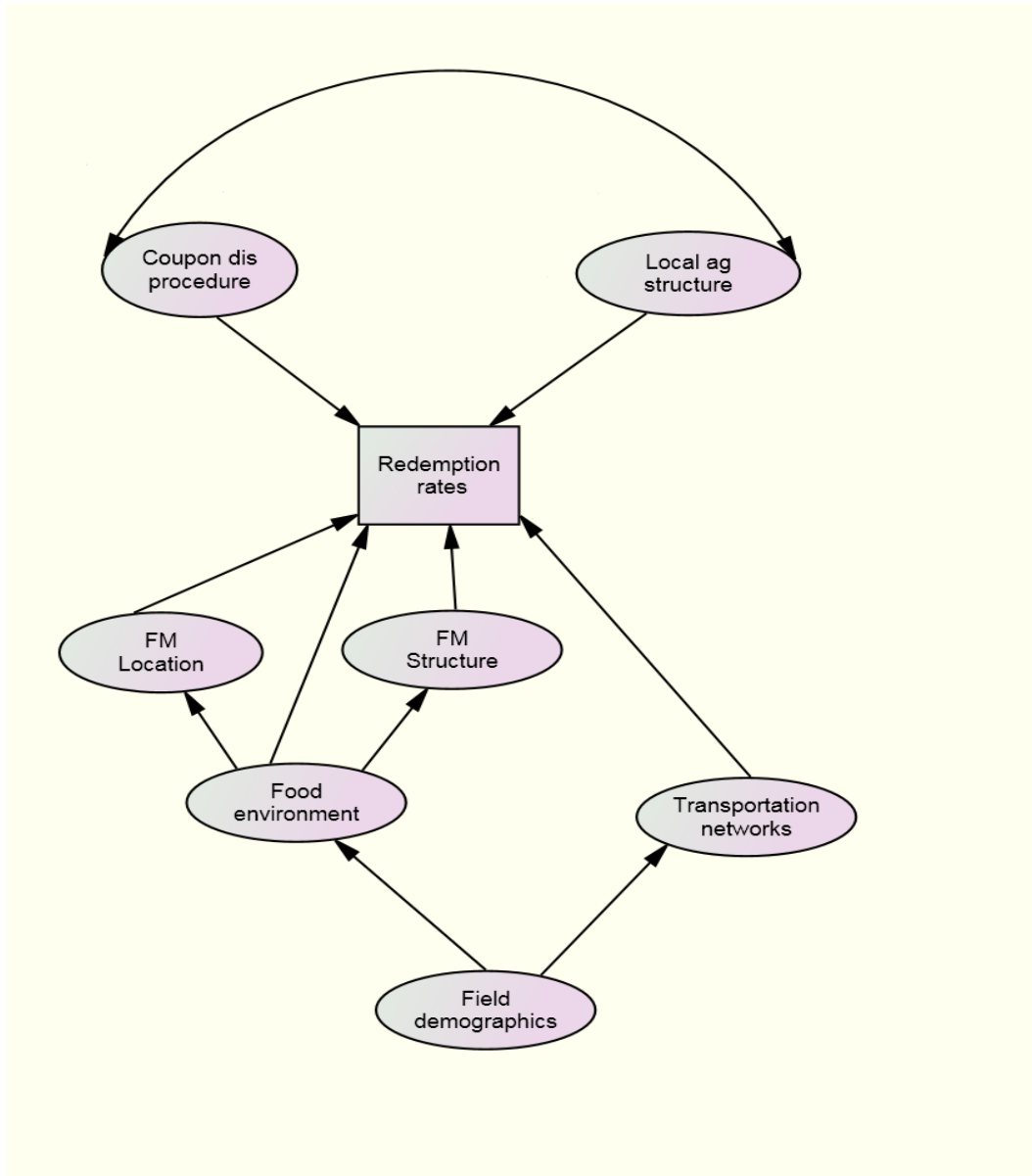
The first step in this stage of data analysis was to decide what variables likely impacted county redemption rates and needed to be included in the analysis. Based on theoretical assumptions and findings from the interview data, a hypothesized general model of FMNP/SFMNP redemption (see figure 3.1 below) was generated including seven latent concepts. This general model served to re-emphasize the role of theory in

statistical data analysis. Seventy-one variables (70 indicator variables plus redemption rate) were entered into the original datasets. Variables were selected and entered into the dataset based on this general model. Because I had entered and coded the data myself, I was able to tailor the data to the statistical analyses to be performed. This meant there was no need for the data to be cleaned or recoded. However, after entering all of the data, I suspected several of my variables were actually constants. In particular, I suspected much of the agency-related data acquired via interviews and converted to quantitative variables were constants. This was confirmed during the initial analysis. Nine variables were eliminated from the SFMNP dataset due to being constants (or having extremely low variation as defined by 90% homogeneity or greater). Twenty-one variables were eliminated from the FMNP dataset for the same reason. In both of these datasets, the variables eliminated were almost all variables pertaining to the local FMNP/SFMNP agency. These variables were primarily procedurally-related (see Table 3.5 below). In other words, these dealt with how the coupons were distributed, where they were distributed, how they were announced, and who received the coupons. The twenty-one variables pertaining to agency organization and policies that were eliminated from the FMNP dataset are one good indicator of the high degree of homogeneity between distribution procedures among the counties.

**Table 3.5, Variables Eliminated Due to Being Constants or Extremely Low Variability**

FMNP	SFMNP
<p>Staffing type (AgStaff), Agency type (AgType), Transportation provided by agency (AgTrans), Individualized nutritional counseling (AgInCoun), Food prep/cooking demonstrations (AgDemo), Informational pamphlets distributed (AgPamph), In-home assistance with cooking (AgHome), Number of distribution sites (NoDisLoc), Location of coupon distribution (SiteDis), Communicate with other community development agencies (ComDPer), Announcements posted at other locations in community (PostTown), Informational flyers given directly to participant (PostPart), Announcements made on local radio (Radio), Announcements made on local television (TV), Coupon availability announced via telephone calls to participants (CallRec), Announcement not otherwise specified (OtherAn), Announced at Appointment (AtAppt), Coupons only reason for visit (CoupOn), Give out all benefits to eligible participants (Exhaust), Transportation to FM not otherwise specified (OtherT).</p>	<p>Individualized nutritional counseling (AgInCoun), In-home help with cooking (AgHome), Coupon availability posted at agency (PostCenter), Coupon availability mailed to recipients (PostPart), Coupon availability announced on local television (TV), Coupon availability announced via telephone calls to participants (CallRec), Coupons announced via methods not otherwise listed (OtherAn), Coupon availability announced during appointment/officially designated time (AtAppt), Transportation to FM not otherwise specified (OtherT).</p>

Figure 3.1, Hypothesized General Model



### Data Reduction

Although they had been selected via theoretical framing and empirical evidence, with 63 SFMNP and 50 FMNP variables remaining, substantial data reduction was necessary for anything approaching parsimony. (It also ran counter to the general

quantitative principle of having a small number of variables and large numbers of cases.) The hypothesized general model served as the focal point for data reduction. The hypothesized general model contained seven latent concepts, each of which had 5 to 8 indicators. Factor analysis was utilized to identify the most robust indicators for each latent concept. Because factor analysis generally requires sample sizes of 100 or more, it was important to make sure the data passed the minimum standard before proceeding with factor analysis. Therefore, careful attention was paid to the values of the correlation matrix determinant, Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Accuracy (KMO Measure), and Barlett's Test of Sphericity. The correlation matrix simply had to be greater than zero; it was in all factor analyses performed. Most sources recommended the KMO measure be a minimum of .6. With rounding in a few cases, all met this minimum requirement. Finally, Barlett's Test required the null hypothesis that the correlation matrix was an identity matrix be rejected. It was in all cases. This meant utilizing factor analysis was appropriate for data reduction.

Principle components analysis was used to determine which factors loaded the most (on the latent concept). Factors were grouped together and entered according to the latent concept with which they were theoretically designated to indicate. Two factors were requested to be extracted; this was done to test how robust the theorized concepts were. In most cases, the proposed latent concepts and the factors/indicators worked well as theorized. However, minor adjustments were made to both the SFMNP and FMNP model.

Originally, two latent variables pertaining to the local SFMNP/FMNP agency were hypothesized and called “coupon distribution procedures” (coupon dis procedures) and “local agency structure and organization” (local ag structure). Factor analysis confirmed these were relatively robust; however, the factors loaded in a slightly different distribution pattern from what was originally hypothesized. Therefore, the names of the latent variables were adjusted to better reflect the indicator variables. “Local agency structure and distribution” became “type of agency” (agency type) for both SFMNP and FMNP because the indicators were not just structural but also reflected procedures and some social networks. “Coupon distribution procedures” became “agency focus and priorities” (AgFocus) for SFMNP to indicate the amount of resources that went towards promoting SFMNP. It was transformed into “agency social capital” (AgSocCap) for FMNP to reflect the factors pointed to the strength of social networks between recipients and other recipients in the county and with FMNP personnel.

In similar fashion, two latent concepts, “farmers’ market location” (FM location) and “farmers’ market structure” (FM structure) were hypothesized in the general model. However, the factors loaded slightly different from what was hypothesized, and the decision was made to adjust the latent variable names to more accurately reflect the factor loading. However, there was more divergence between how the factors loaded for SFMNP model and FMNP model with these latent concepts compared to the latent concepts associated with the local agencies. For the SFMNP model, “farmers’ market location” (FM location) and “farmers’ market structure” (FM structure) were transformed into “market availability” (MktAvail) and “market accessibility” (MktAsses).



“Market availability” for SFMNP was used to describe the factors that pertained to location and how frequently the market was open while “Market accessibility” pertained to location convenience relative to the distribution site(s) and transportation networks. “Farmers’ market location” (FM location) and “farmers’ market structure” (FM structure) became “market location” (MktLoc) for FMNP to indicate the factors loading pertained to location and placement of the farmers’ market while and “market availability” (MktAvail) to indicate convenience of hours and days open.

Finally, the latent variable “field demographics” was adjusted for FMNP model because SES factors loaded onto a different factor from race/ethnicity factors. The decision was made to split this concept into two, “socioeconomic demographic characteristics” (SESDemo) and “racial and ethnic demographic Race/ethnicity”. “Field demographics” was retained as “demographics” for SFMNP because all of the race/ethnicity factors loaded very weakly.

The adjustments to the latent variables were deemed especially appropriate once weaker factors were eliminated altogether from the models. Factors loading .600 and higher were kept in the analysis while factors loading .599 and below were eliminated. For the FMNP dataset, 25 variables were eliminated, leaving 25 robust variables. For the SFMNP dataset, 39 variables were eliminated. This left 24 variables for analysis. Despite the fact that the remaining variables were similar in number, the variables in each dataset were not the same exact variables (see table 3.2 and 3.3). Some of this is due to the high number of variables related to agency structure that were eliminated in the FMNP dataset during frequency analysis because they were

constants. The remainder resulted from different loadings on the latent concepts, which theoretically should be expected since the SFMNP habitus differed somewhat from the FMNP habitus. This, in turn, meant that the fields and subfields would be navigated somewhat differently as well. Nevertheless, when modified to accommodate the specificities of the newly hypothesized FMNP and hypothesized SFMNP models that were generated, the basic latent concepts were retained from the hypothesized general model (see figures 3.2 and 3.3).

**Table 3.6, SFMNP Latent Variables and Factors loading  $\geq .600$**

<b>Latent concept</b>	<b>Factors</b>
(County demographics) Demographics	ARC designation (ARC), Appalachian status (App), County poverty rate (PovRate)
Food Environment (FoodEnviron)	Number of WIC grocery stores (WICgroPer), Number of SNAP grocery stores (SNAPgroPer), Number of grocery stores (GrocPer)
Transportation Environment (TransEnviron)	Interstate system present in county (Inter), Households without car (HousNoCar)
Market Availability (MKTAvail)	Farmers' market location (FMLoc), Number of farmers' markets (NoFM), Number of days farmers' market is open (NoDays), farmers' market placement (FMPlac)
Market Accessibility (MKTAssess)	Miles between coupon agency and farmers' market (MiFM), public transportation system PubTran
Type of Agency (AgencyType)	Local agency-farmers' market relations (AgFM), distribution sites (SiteDis), Call community organizations (ComDPer), collaboraton with other community organizations (Collab), number of distribution locations (NoDisLoc)
Agency Focus (AgFocus)	Newspaper advertisements (NewsA), radio announcements (Radio), coupons primary reason for visit (CoupOn), post flyers around community (PostTown), number of announcements (NoAnn)

**Table 3.7, FMNP Latent Variables and Factors loading  $\geq .600$**

<b>Latent concept</b>	<b>Factors</b>
Socioeconomic characteristics (SESDemo)	ARC designation (ARC), Appalachian status (App), County poverty rate (PovRat)
Racial and ethnic demographic characteristics (Race/Ethnicity)	Caucasian/white American (White), Asian American (AsianAm), Black/ African American (AfriAm), Hispanic/Latino (His)
Food Environment (FoodEnviron)	Number of WIC grocery stores (WICgroPer), Number of SNAP grocery stores (SNAPgroPer), Number of grocery stores (GrocPer)
Transportation Environment (TransEnviron)	Interstate system present in county (Inter), Households with no car (HousNoCar), Public transportation system (PubTrans)
Market Location (MKTLoc)	Number of farmers' markets (NoFM), farmers' market retail environment (FMRet), farmers' market placement (FMPlac)
Market Availability (MKTAvail)	Number of days farmers' market open (NoDays), Number of hours farmers' market open (NoHrs)
Type of Agency (AgencyType)	Collaboration with other community organizations (Collab), agency provided recipes (AgRecipe), number of services (NoSer)
Agency Social Capital and Networks (AgSocCap)	Participants call agency (RecCall), word of mouth (Mouth), number of announcements (NoAnn)

Figure 3.2, Hypothesized SFMNP Model

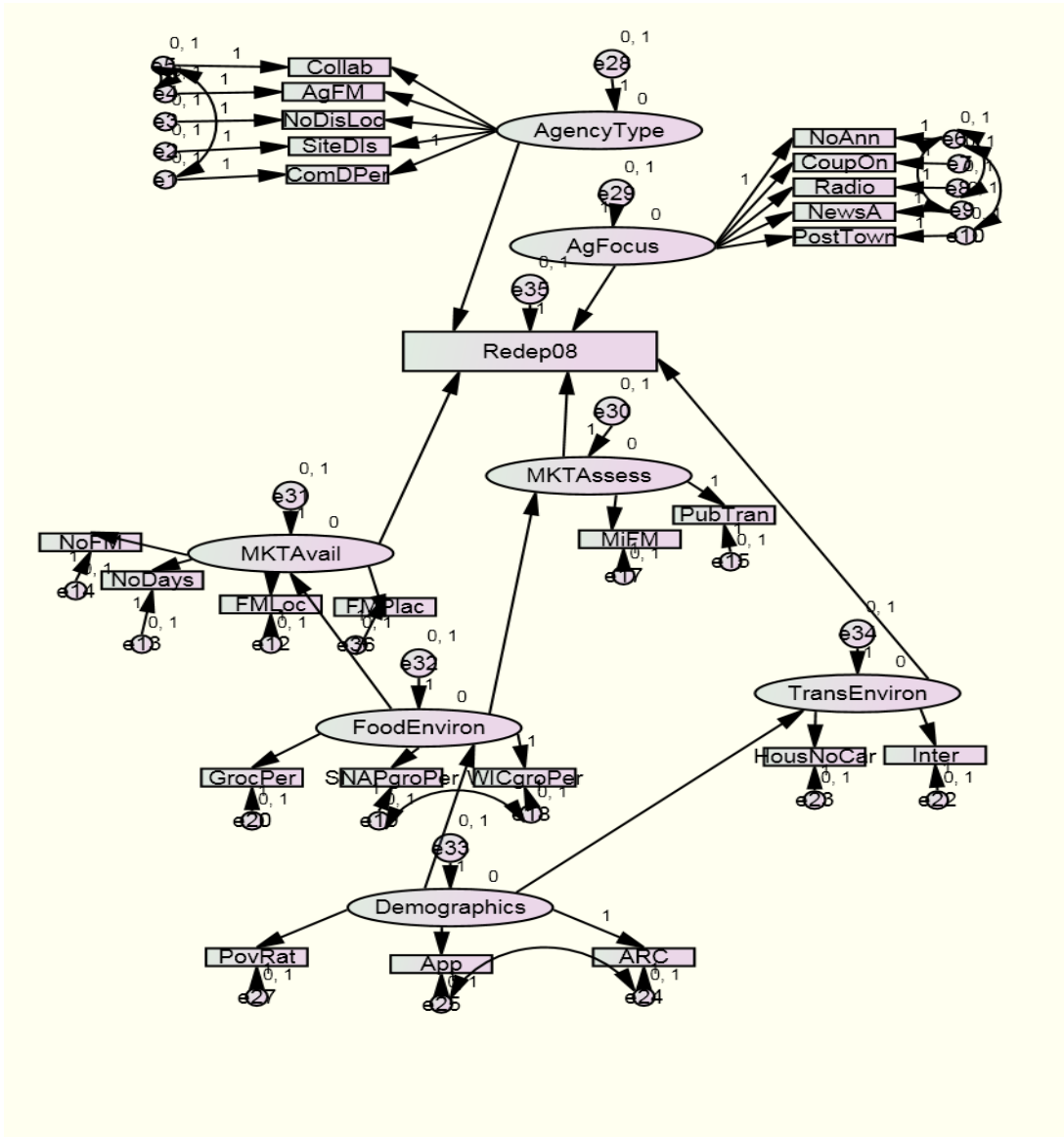
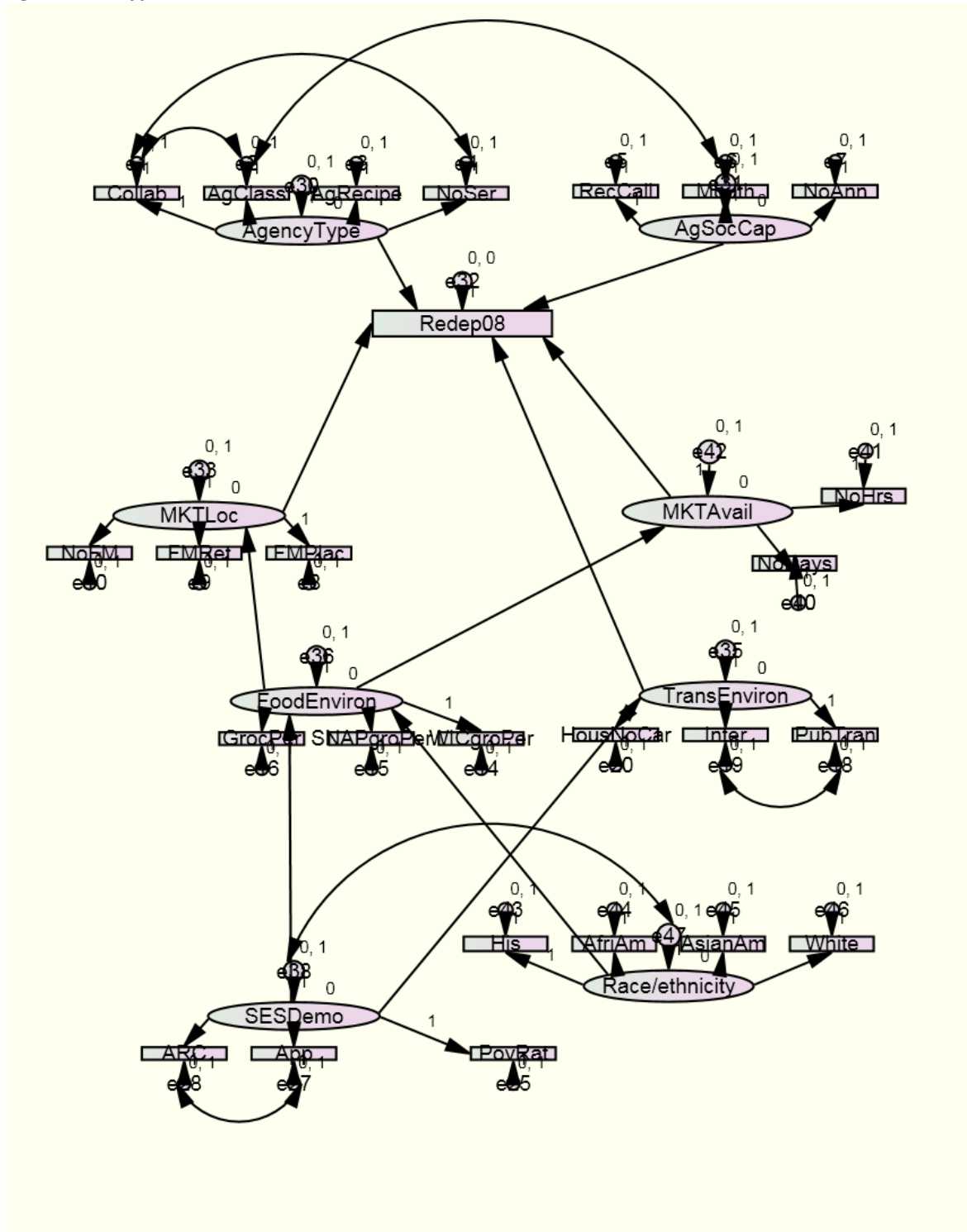


Figure 3.3, Hypothesized FMNP model



### Hierarchical Regression Analysis

The remaining predictor variables in the FMNP and SFMNP datasets were analyzed separately via simple linear regression and hierarchical multiple regression to determine the effects of each on benefit utilization (operationalized as redemption rate). SPSS was used to perform the statistical analysis. Variables for each of the seven latent concepts were entered in blocks to determine their individual, additive, and full model effects on benefit utilization. For the WIC model, the variables associated with the broad latent concepts and consistent with the hypothesized model to be tested via SEM were entered in the following order: SESDemo (demographics), Race/Ethnicity (race and ethnicity), FoodEnviron (food environment), TransEnviron (transportation environment), MKTLoc (market location), MKTAvail (market availability), AgencyType (agency type), and AgSocCap. For the Senior model, the variables associated with the latent concepts were entered in the following order: Demographics (demographics), FoodEnviron (food environment), TransEnviron (transportation environment), MKTAvail (market availability), MKTAccess (market accessibility), AgencyType (agency type), and AgFocus (agency focus). The results of these analyses are discussed in Chapter 6.

**Table 3.8, SFMNP Latent Variables**

<b>Latent concept</b>	<b>Description</b>
Demographics	Demographics (SES and Appalachian status)
FoodEnviron	Food environment (grocery stores and WIC/SNAP approved food stores)
TransEnviron	Transportation environment (ease of travel)
MKTAvail	Market availability (location and how frequently the market was open)

**Table 3.8, SFMNP Latent Variables (continued)**

MKTAccess	Market accessibility (relative to the distribution site(s) and transportation networks)
AgencyType	Agency type (structure, policies, and procedures)
AgFocus	Agency focus/priorities (resources that went towards promoting SFMNP)

**Table 3.9, FMNP Latent Variables**

<b>Latent concept</b>	<b>Description</b>
SESDemo	SES demographics (SES and Appalachian status)
Race/Ethnicity	Race and ethnicity (racial and ethnic composition)
FoodEnviron	Food environment (grocery stores and WIC/SNAP approved food stores)
TransEnviron	Transportation environment (ease of travel)
MKTLoc	Market location (location and placement of the farmers' market)
MKTAvail	Market availability (hours and days open)
AgencyType	Agency type (structure, policies, and procedures)
AgSocCap	Agency social capital (networks between agency and recipients, recipients and recipients)

**Rationale for Regression Analysis**

Multiple regression was utilized for several reasons. First, multiple regression will work with relatively small sample sizes. Since the population for both FMNP cases and SFMNP cases was each 42, most statistical techniques were eliminated just on the

basis of this alone. Keeping in mind that since 42 represented the entire population available to me, there was no way to increase my number of cases. Regression analysis also allowed for the analysis of the effects of individual variables on redemption rates. Being able to identify the relative importance of a variable was desirable because one of the objectives from the beginning was to be able to make recommendations to local and state FMNP organizations to improve their redemption rates and increase fresh fruit and vegetable consumption in Kentucky. Specifically, I used hierarchical regression analysis. Variables were entered in blocks until the full model was achieved (i.e. all independent variables were entered). Utilizing hierarchical regression analysis allowed variables to be entered in blocks according to the latent concepts of which they are indicators. This was highly appropriate because theoretical assumptions are required to determine what variables are entered in a certain block and in what order. In this case, variables were entered in blocks according to latent concepts of which they were indicators. The specific order and rationale were based on the hypothesized FMNP and SFMNP models.

The biggest limitation of regression analysis for the purposes of this research project was that multicollinearity between the predictors could impact the results. While it could not be determined precisely if or how much correlation between the variables there would be, it was expected that there would be some correlation between the variables. For example, a variable measuring the number of hours a farmers' market was open during a week would surely be correlated with a variable measuring the number of days a farmers' market was open during a week. High levels of multicollinearity would result in lack of significance in regression analysis. In other



words, the risk was that a significant factor impacting FMNP redemption would be overlooked. This was considered an acceptable risk since most data sets exhibit some collinearity and the amount in this data set could not be established prior to data collection. Moreover, failure to identify a significant predictor variable would not result in recommendations that could needlessly consume scarce resources at the state or county level. However, despite confirming some collinearity, correlation results indicated acceptable levels that would not adversely impact the analysis.

### **SEM Analysis**

Using the graphical interface, the path diagram for the WIC FMNP hypothesized model was drawn in AMOS. This hypothesized model also incorporated correlations as well as error terms to provide an arguably more “realistic” depiction than regression analysis of the social phenomena impacting benefit utilization. Bootstrapping was utilized, and 1000 samples were drawn. The same procedure was followed with the hypothesized Senior FMNP model. The results are discussed in Chapter 6.

### **Rationale for SEM**

SEM was ideally suited to analyze complex models of social phenomena beyond the additive model employed by regression analysis. As an extension of the general linear model (GLM), structural equation modeling was selected for its ability to address the complexities of variable interactions including correlations between independent variables, which was expected and confirmed during analysis. SEM was also selected because models must be theoretically driven; relationships and pathways must be defined by the research and cannot be (should not be, anyway) obtained through

automated analysis. By extension, SEM is primarily confirmatory. These assumptions corresponded well to my research approach as well as the theoretical posits proposed by Bourdieu. Both theoretical and preliminary empirical evidence suggested redemption rates were the product of several (if not numerous) interacting variables, and data analysis from the interviews were used to generate a hypothesized model of FMNP redemption with multiple latent variables. This hypothesized model was analyzed by AMOS using strictly confirmatory testing. Although I considered taking a model development approach, I rejected it because models developed based on the “notes” generated by AMOS (or other SEM programs) may not be stable because they were created based on the singularity of the dataset. Models generated under these circumstances might exhibit a high level of goodness of fit for the specific dataset with which they were created but may not fit or explain other data. A model development approach provides results that are more publishable but are often unreliable. Because these results are intended not only for an academic audience but also for practitioners, I have chosen to take a deliberately conservative approach regarding the data analysis.

There is one limitation of SEM in my research that bears discussion. Though there is no consensus, the ad hoc rule-of-thumb for minimum sample size is 100. As noted previously, both of my populations were just over 40 total cases each. Even if I were to combine FMNP and SFMNP cases (which would be hard to defend), the total population would still not reach the recommended 100 minimum sample size. However, it is on this distinction between population and sample that I make the assertion that using SEM was still appropriate for my analysis even if not quite perfect.

Moreover, I utilized bootstrapping during SEM analysis. Bootstrapping treats a sample as if it were indeed the population. In this situation, my cases were indeed the population. The number of samples taken during bootstrapping from my set of cases was 1000. Because I was able to utilize bootstrapping, my results are more robust than they would otherwise be.

### **A Look Ahead**

The three research questions asked in this project are addressed in the following three chapters. The next three chapters should be read as extensions of one another as they explore the multiple, coexisting levels of the same social phenomena. Chapter Four addresses the question, “Why do Senior FMNP and WIC FMNP exhibit variable benefit utilization compared to other food assistance programs?” and focuses on the subfield of the farmers’ market. Chapter Five addresses the question, “Why does Senior FMNP exhibit overall higher benefit utilization rates compared to WIC FMNP?” and emphasizes the FMNP and SFMNP habitus, dispositions, and capitals. Both Chapter Four and Five deal primarily with the results of data collected via interviews and analyzed via hand-coding. In Chapter Six, data were aggregated from primary (interview) and secondary sources to address the question, “What accounts for variable benefit utilization rates between counties within the same program (Senior FMNP or WIC FMNP)?” This chapter deals primarily with a broader segment of the local field of food acquisition.

## Chapter Four: Explaining Variable Benefit Utilization Unique to the Dual Farmer's Market Nutrition Programs

*[T]hey say they just don't know how to use the vouchers, but we tell them. We explain very directly how to use the farmers' market [coupons]; it's just like their regular WIC vouchers. But, they're afraid they won't know which vendors take the vouchers, what the prices are, but we tell them all of that is posted. All of that is posted. You know, even ones that I know have used their farmers' market in the past still act like they're intimidated. But, I've never heard anything about actual bad experiences. When I ask them, they all tell me the farmers were very nice, very helpful. They'll tell me the produce was good, the selection was good. No, they didn't have any trouble. But, still...I don't know.*  
- quote from FMNP official, interview respondent.

The Farmers' Market Nutrition Program (FMNP) and Senior Farmers' Market Nutrition Program (SFMNP) both exhibit variable and often low benefit utilization. As noted in the introductory chapter, variability in benefit usage is unique to these two programs. This chapter discusses some of the factors associated with this variability, particularly in comparison to other food assistance programs. The interview data reveal the farmers' market to be a distinct social space for food acquisition, which I argue significantly impacts benefit utilization.

### **Making the Distinction**

One of the most unexpected but striking features of the data was the stark distinction made between the farmers' market and the grocery store. It was made even more striking by the fact that *none* of the interview questions asked about grocery

stores. The only questions about grocery stores were follow-up questions or probes to responses my interview respondents provided. This in itself was provocative. A direct comparison with grocery stores was made when asked about farmers' markets in the same way that a respondent might reference masculinity when asked about femininity. The comparisons of farmers' markets and grocery stores were often in terms of how the one was not like the other, while sometimes still acknowledging a tacit set of similarities. The following quotation represents one example of the comparison between the farmers' market and grocery made by an FMNP respondent.

**And too, this too is a lot with some of them [FMNP recipients]. Even though they [the vendors] have a big sign that they take the WIC farmers' vouchers the people are leery to go up and ask. They're leery. They're used to going to the grocery store and going to the farmers market is a totally different situation.**

In the above example, the grocery store was referenced as the primary place for food acquisition while the farmers' market represented an unfamiliar and separate space along with the suggestion of discomfort with the farmers' market. These were echoed throughout the interview data with FMNP and SFMNP respondents.

During data analysis, five related themes were identified that marked the distinctions between the farmers' market and grocery store subfields. The first theme suggested the farmers' market was non-essential compared to the grocery store as essential to food acquisition. The underlying assumption in the data was that the grocery store was the "default" for food acquisition, which can be seen in the above quote. The second related theme was that the farmers' market was special in contrast to the grocery store that was more ordinary. At times the suggestion of the farmers'

market as special splintered into various subthemes, including the farmers’ market as more expensive and/or as trivial (always explicitly or implicitly in comparison to the grocery store). The third theme emphasized the predictability and standardization for the grocery store with the unpredictability and lack of standardization for the farmers’ market. This was sometimes related to the fourth theme that compared the limited or constrained choices of the farmers’ market with the expansive choices of the grocery. The final theme implied that shopping at the grocery store was relatively convenient or easy, but shopping at the farmers’ market was relatively inconvenient or difficult.

**Table 4.1, Themes Distinguishing the Farmers’ Market and Grocery Store Subfields**

<i>Themes</i>	<u>Farmers’ market</u>	<u>Grocery store</u>
Essential/non-essential	Non-essential	Essential
Special/ordinary	Special	Ordinary
Predictable/unpredictable	Unpredictable	Predictable
Convenient/inconvenient	Inconvenient	Convenient
Constrained choices/expanded choices	Constrained choices	Expanded choices

Although I have separated these themes for identification purposes, many of these themes overlapped and were embedded together. Unpredictable and inconvenient were frequently posed simultaneously for the farmers’ market while essential was often embedded with predictable, convenient, or both predictable and convenient. Examples provided during the discussion and exposition of the data below

illustrates the nesting of these themes. While not as “tidy” as other forms of data analysis, it was invaluable for representing the nuances of the interview data.

### **Going to the Grocery Store....and Maybe On to the Farmers’ Market**

When asked why recipients did not use their benefits, challenges with transportation and forgetfulness were two common reasons cited by FMNP and SFMNP officials. However, as the following quotations reveal, transportation challenges and forgetfulness, while posing real impediments to benefit utilization, were often indicative of the dichotomy between the farmers’ market and the grocery store. The following quote from an SFMNP official explicitly described transportation as a barrier to benefit utilization while implicitly characterizing the grocery store and farmers’ market as separate social spaces.

**Well, transportation. Transportation not just to the farmers’ market but transportation in general. Many of them don’t drive. And getting anywhere means they have to get somebody to take them. And, you know, some of them don’t want to impose. I mean, they [SFMNP recipients] might get their kids to take them to the grocery store, to come here to get some help because they have to have it, but a lot of them don’t feel like they should be having their kids to chauffeur them around here, there, and yonder. Even if their kids were willing and didn’t care, a lot of them don’t want to impose if they don’t have to.**

While this response was explicitly about transportation, the first theme of essential/non-essential was also embedded in this quote. Going to the grocery store was essential while going to the farmers’ market was non-essential. The implication was that one goes to the grocery store (or one takes his or her elderly parent to the grocery store) because having food is essential and the grocery store is where one purchases the

food. In addition, the theme of the farmers' market as a luxury or even trivial (a variation on the special theme) was also suggested. The use of the word "chauffeur" and "here, there, and yonder" suggested the farmers' market was not only non-essential but also perhaps also an indulgence or frivolity.

Unreliable transportation was also the explicit barrier cited in the following quote by an FMNP official, but the same themes of essential/non-essential were also present and a clear boundary between the farmers' market and the grocery store was drawn.

**I know from being in clinic a large percentage of them [FMNP participants] take the bus and get rides with friends or family members. [This could be] how they get to the farmers' market too. And of course that may be how they get to the grocery store as well but they may go to the grocery store with someone when they're going. So the person [the FMNP participant] may not naturally be going, may not be part of the natural routine to go to the farmers' market.**

This quote drew the distinction by indicating going to the grocery store was something that occurred frequently enough that an FMNP participant without access to reliable transportation could simply go when another person was going to the grocery store. It suggested the grocery store was both essential and ordinary or "routine" while the farmers' market "may not be part of the natural routine" because it was not ordinary. Going to the farmers' market required a "special" trip for food acquisition. Thus, the themes of the farmers' market as non-essential and special are contrasted with the themes of the grocery store as essential and ordinary.

Forgetfulness was also explicitly cited as a challenge for benefit utilization as in the following example. However, the same themes of the grocery store as essential and



the farmers' market as non-essential were evident. The following quote is from a WIC coordinator responding to a question about why she thought FMNP participants did not use their benefits.

**We've really tried to figure it out because it doesn't make sense. You'd think that if you are getting free coupons to spend you'd spend them. So, we've been asking some of the clients when they come in for an appointment if they used their coupons and they're usually pretty honest about it. If they tell us they didn't, we'll ask them why they didn't. Most of them tell us it's because they didn't have transportation or they couldn't get there when the market was open. Some of them just forget about it. They don't normally go to the farmers market. They're used to using their WIC vouchers at the grocery store, but they just don't think about their farmers' market vouchers. I tell them to keep their farmers' market vouchers in their purse, and some of them have told me they do that but they still forget about them.**

Forgetting about the FMNP benefits coupled with the explicit statement "They don't normally go to the farmers' market" strongly indicate the farmers' market as non-essential and perhaps even extraneous or trivial.

This conjunction between the farmers' market as non-essential and varieties of special was repeated in many instances and often much more explicitly as in the following examples. In both of the following examples, the farmers' market is not only non-essential but also special. In the first instance, the special theme is one of luxury or excess. Responding to a probe question about their county having less demand in recent years, one SFMNP official replied with:

**Well, I think it's the same reason our redemption rate is so low. We've only got one farmers' market in the county. And so they can set the prices however high they like. There's no competition. And a lot of the seniors say that it's a monopoly and that it's illegal and that's why the prices are so high. And it**

**is high. Around here you can get cucumbers 2 for a dollar at the grocery store and they'll charge you 2 dollars for one cucumber at the farmers' market. Now, that might not be high in Lexington but that's high around here. And the seniors feel like they're getting cheated. Like they're getting robbed. And I can't say that I blame them.**

The grocery store was presented here as the baseline for comparison with the farmers' market on prices. The grocery store was presented as having "ordinary" prices, while the farmers' market was presented as having "excessive" prices. Additionally, the theme of "choice" appeared. While not evident in the typical constrained/expanded choice frame, the implication was that the grocery store presented better or more "reasonable" choices for food, even with the addition of the FMNP/SFMNP benefits. The following quote from a local agency official contained a more typical framing of choice as constrained/expanded.

**Some of it is getting to the farmers market and it's not what they wanted. Maybe the farmer they like to buy from isn't there that day. You know, some people has [sic] better stuff. Or, they've already sold out of what it was they wanted or it wasn't quite ready to pick. Or, they don't like the quality. Sometimes, I'll hear that. They'll complain that the produce didn't look good, it had been picked over but not often. Oh, and a lot of them complain about the prices. They say the farmers market is too high. They'll tell me: It's too high. They don't have to charge that much, they'll tell me. And it is higher than the grocery store. But, I keep telling them: it's free food. Use your coupons. Use them..... So, I really push them to just use the coupons. Get the benefit of this fresh food. And most of them do because they do understand that the produce at the farmers' market is fresher than what you get at the grocery store.**

The farmers' market is characterized as a shopping environment in which the choices are limited and may or may not be desirable. The theme of constrained choice is embedded along with the theme of the farmers' market as special in the sense of

“excess” but also in the sense of “extraordinary”. *The farmers’ market* was “excessively” priced compared to the grocery store, but the farmers’ market was also acknowledged to be “special” because the food was fresher.

The preceding example also contained evidence of yet another theme: predictability/unpredictability. Not all vendors set up every time the farmers’ market is open; produce may not be available because of weather conditions or having already sold-out. Although neither the preceding nor the following quote directly invokes a comparison between the grocery store and farmers’ market, displeasure about the unpredictability arguably stems from a latent comparison with the more familiar and highly rational shopping experience of grocery stores, supermarkets, and hypermarkets. The following is a quote from an SFMNP respondent.

**Well, I’d have to say the fact that they can’t always get what they want and maybe have to make two or three trips to use their coupons. I think if there was some kind of list, you know, a list of who was going to be there and when and what they were going to have. I think it would be better. Some of this about transportation issues too. Not all of ours [SFMNP recipients] drive. Most do but not all. If you’ve got to get somebody to take you, then it’s even more of a problem when you get there and there’s nothing you want. So, transportation is problem, but for those that don’t use their coupons, I think it’s more about not having what they want.**

This quote constructs the farmers’ market, with its non-routinization and constrained choices, in contrast to the routinization and predictability of the grocery store.

Often unpredictability and constrained choices intersected with inconvenience.

In the following example, all three themes are evident.

**Lack of transportation is a problem for some, but in some cases it's just that the farmers' market is inconvenient for them. It can be hard to get a couple of young children ready and out the door in time for the farmers' market. Not to mention trying to keep up with them out of doors while you're trying to shop. And most of the time if you don't get there early the good stuff is already gone...or the farmers are simply sold out. A few of them have told me they got there and nothing was left...or at least nothing they wanted to buy.**

Though the grocery store is not directly referenced, its specter looms large and provides the implicit comparison to the subfield of the farmers' market. In particular, "out of doors" shopping is deemed difficult compared to the unspoken but still implicit indoors shopping experience of the grocery store.

However, it is not just the "out of doors" shopping environment that was cited as a reason the farmers' market was inconvenient. In both the preceding and the following examples, the limited hours of the farmers' market and the constrained choices feed into the theme of inconvenience. This first example by an FMNP respondent specifically cited the hours of operation.

**[S]omehow there just seems to be no motivation to go to the farmers' market like there is to go to Walmart. Even though they have what boils down to free money to use at the farmers' market. But, you know, Walmart is always open, and the farmers' market isn't.**

This preceding quote suggested that even the economic incentives were not enough to overcome the inconvenience of the farmers' market compared to the convenience of the grocery store while the following FMNP respondent suggested convenience might in many cases trump other considerations.

**Also possibly when they're [FMNP participants] doing their grocery shopping...as far as, I don't want to say I'm putting down the farmers or anything like that...A lot of time when they're [FMNP participants] grocery shopping that's when they'll pick up the corn, green beans and stuff like that. You know, in one central...We're all such on a limited time frame, one-stop shopping and I.... I'm not big on Walmart. OK? I don't appreciate that at all. But I know I'm just as bad for that if I can find everything in one place but I love the farmers' market. That's where all of my fresh fruits and vegetables come from but like them [FMNP participants] with the grocery store I can get it in all one place. And I just wonder if that's what a lot of them does with food stamps and I just wonder if a lot of them do that instead of the farmers' market.**

However, this quote is important not only because it illustrated the dichotomy between the convenient grocery store and the inconvenient farmers' market, but it also returned us to the essential/non-essential theme. "[W]hen they're [FMNP participants] doing their grocery shopping" and "A lot of time when they're [FMNP participants] grocery shopping" used in contrast to shopping at the farmers' market implied shopping for food happens at the grocery store. The grocery store is where food acquisition ordinarily happens, not the farmers' market.

### **Incongruent with the Farmers' Market**

The themes embedded in the interviews (essential/non-essential, special/ordinary, predictability/unpredictability, constrained/expanded choices, and inconvenient/convenient) served to draw a distinct boundary between the farmers' market and grocery store. However, the pattern of discussing the farmers' market in tandem with the grocery store in order to highlight the differences seems to indicate

that that they are understood to be part of the same larger category but represent very separate components. Based on the analysis of the interview data discussed above and supported by the literature covered in chapter one, this provides very strong support for the assertion that the farmers' market and grocery stores are part of the same larger field of food acquisition but represent distinct subfields conceptually and in practice within that larger field. The data suggest FMNP and SFMNP participants behave within and think differently about the social spaces of the farmers' market and the grocery, while acknowledging a tacit and sometimes explicit set of similarities.

If we recall that fields are formed from the intersection of objective structures with practical meaning and action (Bourdieu 1993a), then it becomes quite apparent that the farmers' market and grocery store can indeed be accurately characterized as distinct subfields of the larger field of food acquisition. Throughout the data, the five dichotomous themes divided the farmers' market and grocery into distinct aspects of the field of food acquisition. Woven throughout these more explicit themes was another (difficult to miss) theme: FMNP and SFMNP participants did not regularly shop at farmers' market. Most importantly, data suggest low income participants do not regularly (if at all) enter the farmers' market subfield without the capital of food assistance benefits. This is contrasted with the findings that suggest low-income participants regularly enter the grocery store subfield even without the capital of food assistance benefits. This finding is particularly important because by not entering the subfield of the farmers' market on a regular or semi-regular basis they are not assisting in the production of the subfield (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 232) and thus not

gaining *sens du jeu* (literally, “sense of game” but better thought of as a “feel for the game”), which would allow their habitus to convert economic or institutionalized capital necessary to operate comfortably within the farmers’ market subfield. *Sens du jeu* is “that [which] causes us to do what we do at the right moment without needing to thematize what had to be done and still less the knowledge of the explicit rule that allows us to generate this comfortable practice” (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 224).

*Sens du jeu* is thus embodied cultural capital. Embodied cultural capital, if one will recall, is the ability to put knowledge into *practice*. It is the ability to embody the “rules” and “norms” of a field so well that an agent can not only abide by those “rules” and “norms” consciously but can afford to let them slip into “unconsciousness” and into “second nature” and can improvise comfortably (Bourdieu 1977/2009: 8, 78-81). As such, one of the ways it manifests is the ability to “read” the field and the habitus of those present in comparison to one’s own habitus and thus recognize “this is not for the likes of us” (one of Bourdieu’s favorite phrases) or vice versa. Indeed, the data suggest FMNP and SFMNP participants sometimes consciously recognize their habitus as incongruent with the subfield of the farmers’ market, and this may partially account for their reluctance to enter the subfield. Paradoxically, the only way to acquire *sens du jeu*, or embodied cultural capital, for a specific field or subfield is to enter the subfield and practice/praxis.

**Ce n'est pas pour les semblables d'entre nous. [This is not for the likes of us.]**

In constructing this objective analysis of the data, one must remember that this objective construction of the field of food acquisition, the subfields of retail groceries

and farmers' markets, and the congruencies or incongruencies of the habitus and field are not identical to the practical and subjective logic of the SFMNP and FMNP participants (or even the SFMNP and FMNP officials interviewed). It is likely that, even rephrased in the vernacular, SFMNP and FMNP program participants would recognize only some of this analysis as "true" because, as with all agents, we are often unconscious of the multiple factors impacting our behaviors and thus of the "reasons behind" our practices (see Bourdieu 1977/2009 for a discussion of this). However, the data reveal instances in which SFMNP and FMNP participants may be conscious or semi-conscious of the incongruencies between their habitus and attending capital and that of the farmers' market field. In a county in rural central Kentucky, when asked about why they were unable to give out all of their coupons allotted over the past few years, the SFMNP official's response was:

**Well, not all of them. We did, but I'd say 2006 was the last year we were able to give them all out. (S: Do you know why that happened?) Not exactly. I mean, our farmers' market just keeps growing and getting better. It's really grown and expanded over these past few years. It's gone from a few cobbled together tables with tomatoes on them to just beautiful displays. They have really learned how to market their products, but I think that's turned off some of the seniors. A lot of them that still go to the market says it's getting "too built up". It's catering too much to...well, they're focusing too much to the people in all the ritzy new subdivisions. There's....I don't know how much of this you want to know...but there's some...um...hard feelings towards all the development, turning old farmland into these million dollar lots and houses. These big houses and all these people moving in. It's changed the area definitely. You know, and not everybody thinks it's good. I'm just telling what some of the seniors say. That's all.**



In the preceding quote, there appears to be a rather conscious perception by the SFMNP program participants that the field of the farmers' market is being constructed for (or has shifted towards) a different set of positions and habitus within the field, which is incongruent with their own. While one can argue these participants consciously perceive the farmers' market to be "not for the likes of us", this incongruity may only be semi-conscious for other recipients. When asked if there were any organizations that were directly or indirectly assisting in the use of farmers' market coupons, a WIC coordinator from central Kentucky replied:

**No. No, nothing that I can think of. But, it would be nice to have something or somebody encouraging the girls to get there. A lot of them are really intimidated. (S: Why are they intimidated? By the farmers' market? The coupons? Something else?) Well, I don't know exactly, to be honest with you. They don't...they say they just don't know how to use the vouchers, but we tell them. We explain very directly how to use the farmers' market [coupons]; it's just like their regular WIC vouchers. But, they're afraid they won't know which vendors take the vouchers, what the prices are, but we tell them all of that is posted. All of that is posted. You know, even ones that I know have used their farmers' market in the past still act like they're intimidated. But, I've never heard anything about actual bad experiences. When I ask them, they all tell me the farmers were very nice, very helpful. They'll tell me the produce was good, the selection was good. No, they didn't have any trouble. But, still...I don't know.**

Whether or not the FMNP participants could articulate it or not, this quote suggests the program participants may recognize on some level that their habitus and dispositions are not congruent with the subfield of farmers' market. Furthermore, despite the institutionalized capital (nutrition education) and economic capital (FMNP/SFMNP benefits) transmitted to them, they are unable to convert it into embodied cultural capital. Institutionalized cultural capital is converted to embodied cultural capital by

putting knowledge into *practice* and by embodying the “rules” and “norms” of that field so well than an agent can not only abide by those “rule” and “norms” consciously but can afford to let them slip into “unconsciousness” and into “second nature” and can improvise comfortably (Bourdieu 1977/2009: 8, 78-81) because one has acquired the *sense du jeu*, which is “that [which] causes us to do what we do at the right moment without needing to thematize what had to be done and still less the knowledge of the explicit rule that allows us to generate this comfortable practice” (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992:224). Though this incongruity is evident in numerous places within the data, it is difficult to ascertain how frequently the participants are conscious of it or could articulate. However, these WIC recipients are at least semi-conscious of this incongruity and suggest others may be as well.

### **Implications for Benefit Variability**

The distinction between the two subfields of the farmers’ market and the grocery store obviously cannot explain all forms of food related behavior in low-income populations, but it does offer substantial explanatory value for explaining FMNP and SFMNP benefit variability. When viewed through the lens of Bourdieu’s theory and compared to the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Programs (SNAP, formerly known as Federal Food Stamp Program or FSP) and the Special Supplemental Program for Women, Infants, and Children (WIC), the data analyzed reveal benefit utilization rates to be strongly influenced by distinctions drawn between the subfield of the grocery store compared to the subfield of the farmers’ market. FMNP and SFMNP have variable and often low benefit utilization because these two programs require participants to enter a

subfield of the field of food acquisition (i.e., the subfield of the farmers' market) with which they are generally unfamiliar and do not already participate. This is in contrast to SNAP and WIC, which have consistent and generally exhaustive benefit utilization. Both SNAP and WIC are redeemed at grocery stores, which constitute a familiar subfield of the field of food acquisition to program participants because this is where they primarily procure food.

#### **Four Programs, Two Subfields**

While there are numerous federal food assistance programs with which SFMNP and FMNP could be compared, comparisons are limited to the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP, although better known by its former appellation: Food Stamp Program or simply "food stamps"), and the Special Supplemental Nutrition Program for Women, Infants, and Children (WIC) for several reasons. These parameters were selected not only for the sake of focus but also primarily selected due to operational similarities between the dual FMNP, SFMNP, SNAP, and WIC. SFMNP, FMNP, SNAP, and WIC share similar procedures for distribution and redemption of benefits. All four programs operate by providing program participants with benefits that must be exchanged for food in another, off-site location. Whether in the form of electronic benefits (SNAP) or printed coupons (SFMNP, FMNP, and WIC<sup>22</sup>), these benefits are "food dollars" with which program participants purchase food from authorized food retailers. This is in contrast to programs like Commodity Supplemental Food Program (CSFP) and The Emergency Food Assistance Program (TEFAP), which

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<sup>22</sup> EBT (electronic benefit transfer) has been piloted in Kentucky. In 2009, it was piloted in two counties and expanded to six additional counties in March 2010. As of this writing, EBT has not been expanded and remains a paper-based voucher system.

target the same populations as SFMNP (low-income elderly) and FMNP (low-income breastfeeding and postpartum women, infants, and children) but the food is directly distributed to program participants. Likewise, the Child and Adult Care Food Program (CACFP) targets low-income elderly and children, but the food is distributed as prepared meals and consumed on-site. This is a similar delivery plan followed by the National School Lunch Program, School Breakfast Program, Special Milk Program, and the less widely available Fresh Fruit and Vegetable Program. All of these preceding four programs are delivered via school systems to low-income children and provide food that is consumed on-site and does not require parental or guardian involvement beyond enrollment.

The second reason SNAP and WIC can be legitimately compared with FMNP and SFMNP is due to the ability to substantiate significant overlap in the populations who participate in each program. This overlap goes beyond being able to say that all of these programs serve low-income populations. FMNP participants are drawn from WIC participants.<sup>23</sup> All of those receiving FMNP are also receiving WIC. Thus, this is a population that exhausts its WIC benefits but often has very low FMNP benefit utilization. While the extent of the overlap cannot be stated with such confidence, there is evidence to suggest substantial overlap with SFMNP and SNAP. Although no interview questions specifically asked about this, much of the data indicated SFMNP

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<sup>23</sup> Policy regulations make those on the WIC waiting list also eligible to receive FMNP coupons. However, since there are rarely enough FMNP coupons to allocate to WIC participants, FMNP coupons are in practice never given to those on the waiting list. .

participants also received SNAP.<sup>24</sup> Many of the senior agencies even indicated that they would help the seniors fill out their SNAP applications and forms. Although it is not possible to estimate the extent of the overlap, the data suggest SFMNP participants are also often participants in SNAP. Thus, there is likely some part, perhaps a large proportion, of the SFMNP population that exhausts its SNAP benefits while exhibiting variable SFMNP benefit utilization. The overlap between the populations suggests that differences between SFMNP and FMNP compared to SNAP and WIC are not due to differences in the populations.

In addition, it is worth noting that in some instances in the interview data, FMNP and SFMNP were directly contrasted with SNAP and WIC. If one will recall some of the quotes from earlier in this chapter such as [t]hey're used to using their WIC vouchers at the grocery store, but they just don't think about their farmers' market vouchers, the implicit theme was that using SNAP and WIC were both familiar and were used in the familiar subfield of the grocery store. FMNP and SFMNP, on the other hand, were unfamiliar and used in the unfamiliar subfield of the farmers' market. Although it did not occur frequently, SNAP was even cited as a direct competitor with FMNP and SFMNP with the implication of grocery stores and farmers' markets were also competing subfields of food acquisition. When asked if there were any programs or organizations competing with the farmers' market nutrition program, the following reply from a SFMNP in southwestern Kentucky provides an example of this atypical explicit comparison.

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<sup>24</sup> There is also indication of overlap between FMNP and SNAP.

**I mean, maybe if they get food stamps, it might be easier if they don't drive to just go to the grocery store and skip the farmers' market.**

In the following example from an FMNP official, SNAP and FMNP were similarly contrasted in not just a dichotomous but competitive frame.

**Some of them might not use them because they also get Food Stamps and they can buy whatever they want with those. The farmers' market coupons have to be used for fresh unprepared fruits and vegetables.**

This potential competition is important to note because it supports the assertion that SFMNP, FMNP, SNAP, and WIC are drawing upon the same populations and arguably have substantial overlap. It also suggests that something about the interaction between the program participants and the program policies is impacting benefit utilization.

Because SFMNP, FMNP, SNAP, and WIC allow program participants to use their benefits to select food of their choosing (provided it meets the requirements stipulated by the program), these four programs provide participants with more control over their food choices than CSFP, CACFP, and other food assistance programs. But, SFMNP, FMNP, SNAP, and WIC also add an additional step to food acquisition. As a rule, benefits cannot be utilized at the same location in which benefits are distributed.<sup>25</sup> This additional step is a necessary component of understanding SFMNP and FMNP's benefit utilization variability compared to the consistency and high rates of utilization exhibited

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<sup>25</sup> There are extremely rare exceptions to this general rule. In a few counties, farmers' markets will be set up on select days in the parking lot of the FMNP/SFMNP distribution location or on an adjacent lot. However, these farmers' markets tend to be infrequent and in practice only a small percentage of participants (especially FMNP) would be able to take advantage of the close proximity.

by SNAP and WIC. By itself, the requirement to acquire food at a different location does not cause either benefit variability or consistency. However, it is the difference in location that shapes the variability. By location, I do not mean to imply a geographic space but rather a *social space*. The farmers' market and the grocery store constitute separate and distinct subfields of the field of food acquisition and provide the social context for benefit variability or benefit consistency. However, the distinctions of social space are necessary but insufficient to completely induce benefit variability or benefit consistency. Rather, it is the congruency or incongruency between the subfields and food program participants' habitus and especially their dispositions and capitals that leads to benefit variability in the cases of SFMNP and FMNP and benefit consistency in SNAP and WIC. In other words, SFMNP and FMNP exhibit variable and often low redemption rates compared to SNAP and WIC in part because of specific parameters posed by SFMNP and FMNP redemption guidelines that intersect with the specific capital, or resources, possessed by the low-income populations served by these food assistance programs. Thus, the most salient factor to explaining variable benefit utilization in SFMNP and FMNP compared to SNAP and WIC is the role of the subfield of the farmers' market.

Entering and negotiating the subfield of the farmers' market to redeem FMNP and SFMNP benefits is complicated because the low-income habitus must acquire and/or implement a different set of capital, especially salient forms of cultural capital, from that in use in the subfield of the grocery store which they normally inhabit and in which SNAP and WIC benefits can be utilized. Furthermore, FMNP and SFMNP benefit

utilization parameters require the selection of a specific type of foods (fresh fruits and vegetables) which are *not* typically purchased within their typical field of food acquisition and/or consumed by those with the program participants' habitus. This further means that FMNP and SFMNP participants must act in multiple ways that are incongruent with their habitus in order to utilize their benefits. FMNP and SFMNP have variable redemption rates because of the requirement to enter another field of food acquisition that utilizes different forms of capital not possessed by the program participants.

However, for this to be true, FMNP recipients would need to demonstrate substantially lower amounts of specific capitals needed to operate in the FMNP field of food acquisition compared to SFMNP recipients since FMNP redemption rates are substantially lower than SFMNP. As will be discussed in the following chapter (Chapter Five), findings strongly support these assertions. The data collected show multiple and significant deficits of capital, especially cultural capital, among FMNP recipients compared to SFMNP recipients.

### **Conclusion**

In this chapter, I have endeavored to explain why FMNP and SFMNP exhibit variable and often low benefit utilization rates compared to the consistently high benefit utilization rates of other food assistance programs, specifically SNAP and WIC. Drawing upon Bourdieu's theory, I argued that the most salient explanatory variable when comparing both SFMNP and FMNP to food assistance programs like SNAP and WIC was the subfield in which the benefits were required to be redeemed. Specifically,



FMNP and SFMNP have variable benefit utilization because these programs require their participants to enter a subfield of the field of food acquisition that they do not normally enter. This is in comparison to SNAP and WIC benefits that are utilized in a subfield of the field of food acquisition (that of the grocery store) which SNAP and WIC participants regularly enter. SNAP and WIC benefits are consistently high because their benefits can be utilized in a subfield in which the participants are already operating and participating. Therefore, benefit utilization is strongly shaped by the subfield in which those benefits must be redeemed. If this is the case, then the question must be posed: how can SFMNP and FMNP achieve consistent and high benefit utilization? Understanding the role of the subfield required for benefit utilization is only one component of addressing variable and often low benefit utilization in SFMNP and FMNP. The role of recipients' capital and dispositions along with the broader field of redemption must be included. Thus, this question will be addressed in Chapter Seven.

## Chapter Five: Explaining differences in FMNP and SFMNP benefit utilization rates

*That's a whole other issue that many of us take for granted.  
Some of them say, "Well, what do you do with this broccoli?"*  
-Quote from FMNP official.

In the previous chapter, benefit variability in the Farmers' Market Nutrition Program (FMNP) and the Senior Farmers' Market Nutrition Program (SFMNP) were argued to be a function of requiring program participants to enter a subfield (that of the farmers' market) to which their habitus was not accustomed in order to redeem their vouchers. This accounts for the variability of SFMNP and FMNP benefit utilization compared to other food assistance programs, which exhibit high and typically exhaustive rates of benefit utilization and can be used in grocery stores. However, SFMNP participants consistently exhibit higher benefit utilization rates compared to FMNP participants. This chapter examines data on SFMNP and FMNP to explain the differences in benefit utilization between the dual farmers' market programs.

### **Different Skills, Knowledge, and Experiences**

Data analysis comparing FMNP and SFMNP data reveal a rather pronounced distinction: SFMNP participants possess substantially different skills, knowledge, and experiences with food compared to FMNP participants. These different sets of skills, knowledge, and experience lead to the differences in benefit utilization exhibited by the two populations. Those sets possessed by SFMNP participants tend to enhance their ability to utilize the coupons while the skills, knowledge, and experiences possessed by

FMNP participants tend to act as barriers to coupon usage at farmers' markets. Indeed, the relative absence of barriers and attributes that assisted with coupon usage was common throughout the SFMNP data. This compared to the themes of multiple and often substantial barriers contained in FMNP data.

### **A Few Barriers but Many Things that Facilitate Usage**

The data analyzed show SFMNP recipients possessed a variety of skills, knowledge, and experiences that generally served to facilitate usage of their benefits. In numerous instances, when SFMNP respondents were noting explicit barriers to benefit utilization, they also explicitly and/or implicitly indicated attributes that served the opposite effect. For example, the following two quotes from SFMNP officials were ostensibly about the challenges of forgetfulness (which were also seen in some of the FMNP data), but both also contain more about attributes that facilitate benefit usage than they do about barriers.

**They'll put them back and forget they have them. That's the biggest thing. Oh, I know. They [the officials/the state, *my addition*] say it's lack of transportation, but they [SFMNP recipients, *my addition*] can get around if they want to go somewhere. I'm not saying that's not true for some, but for most of the ones that don't use them, it's just putting them [the coupons, *my addition*] back and then they forget them. You know, those coupons expire. You can only use them until October 31 or is it November? I can't remember now. Anyway, we give the coupons out in May or June and most of the garden stuff isn't in yet. So, they put them [the coupons] back, fully intending to use them later. You know, when the corn is in. That's usually what they'll tell me they're waiting on. Corn. They want sweet corn. But, then, August comes, September and they forget they wanted corn. That's what it is with ours, anyway.**

While saving the coupons for later led to forgetting to use the coupons, it also indicated a familiarity with the seasonality of food items and particularly with the Kentucky growing season. As will be shown later on, knowledge of seasonal availability and Kentucky agriculture was often lacking in FMNP recipients and provided a barrier to benefit utilization. Understanding that corn grown in Kentucky is not available in May is beneficial knowledge that could facilitate the usage of SFMNP coupons. The following quote from a senior center director made the link between knowledge and usage more explicit.

**They forget. They just forget. Sometimes they forget they've got them completely. Everybody forgets; it's not just the elderly. You know, they're going to the grocery store and maybe they get to the grocery store and think "well , I should have brought my farmers' market coupons and have gone there too". I've had many of them tell me they've done that. I've done it. And I'm sure you've done it. You're out and you go "Well, if I'd been thinking, I could have done this, too". But, other than that, I don't think there's many barriers for our seniors. They really enjoy it. It's a real treat for them to go and get out there and socialize and maybe try something new or be able to buy something they hadn't seen in years. I don't know if you've ever had them, but you can't buy greasy beans in the grocery store. But, they've got them at the farmers' market. And a lot of the seniors get there to market for the first time and they get so excited because of those greasy beans. They hadn't had them in 20, 30, 40 years even and there they are. They grew up on them, and it just...it...they just haven't seen that kind of food in a long time. So, I think the farmers' market is so good, and our seniors really do love it. They really do enjoy, but they're just like the rest of us. They forget, and I'd say that's the only real problem we have with them using the coupons.**

Forgetfulness was noted as "the only real problem", but this quote also framed the farmers' market as "special" and imbued with nostalgia. Being able to purchase

products from their youth was clearly an incentive to go to the farmers' market and also an indication of familiarity with fresh produce. Moreover, the theme of the farmers' market as a comfortable "third place" for socialization appeared, implying not just instrumental rationality (for purposes of using SFMNP coupons) but also a substantive (value-based action) rationality. Indeed, the farmers' market was frequently characterized as a social space and social networks were cited as encouraging benefit utilization among SFMNP recipients. This was the case in the following quote from an SFMNP official in southern Kentucky.

**Honestly I don't really think we have a challenge in [\_\_\_\_\_] County. The market is out at the county fairgrounds for most of the summer. It sets right up there. It's a great location. It's right there. We have a good working relationship with the senior center and the extension and the farmers market. We're very fortunate because I don't think most counties have that. And it shows in our rates. We're close to 90% redemption every year. Sometimes a little more. We're able to get people the services they need. We can coordinate better since we talk to each other. You know, we... we're a small, tight-knit community. I'm not going to say everybody always gets along all the time, but people here...you know, we know each other. And it works to our advantage because we can get stuff done. You know, you aren't dealing with a faceless bureaucracy or some "clients". You're dealing with your neighbor, the guy you went to high school with. So, really I don't think we've got a challenge to speak of. We can always do better. But a real challenge? No, we're fortunate.**

This socialization theme can also be seen in the following response from another SFMNP official.

**They do have problems getting around, but most them (sic) don't want to just sit at home. They like getting out even if it is hard sometimes. They like getting to the farmers market. It's a....it's time to talk. It's time to socialize. It's funny. They're almost like high school kids on a field trip. [Laughs] You get them on that bus, and they have to sit by their special friend. And then they'll just mill around the farmers market. They'll talk to farmers about...oh, I don't know...the weather, how their fields are doing, did they get their corn planted early enough, are they having problems with deer....you know, some of them come just to get the farmers market vouchers.**

The farmers' market is characterized as a space for socialization and even the bus ride to the farmers' market is characterized as a social event. The nature of socialization at the farmers' market (asking about the weather and pest problems) implied knowledge of agriculture or at least gardening.

The preceding quote also introduces another theme of mobility in the form of physical limitations. In the majority of instances, SFMNP officials reported the SFMNP participants were well elders with little to no cognitive and/or physical decline<sup>26</sup>. However, some of those participating in SFMNP also exhibited ailments (such as diabetes) and physical limitations that impeded mobility<sup>27</sup>. Mobility limitations could take the form of being in a wheelchair, walking with an assistive device (cane or walker), or having balance problems, but mobility could also mean lack of transportation to the market. In the following quote, the SFMNP official notes both forms of mobility are

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<sup>26</sup> Most senior centers indicated they also served a set of frail elderly through other services (typically through home delivery of meals, grocery shopping assistance, and/or "friendly visits"). A minority of senior centers indicated they served homebound elders through SFMNP.

<sup>27</sup> Physical mobility was not anticipated as a factor impacting benefit utilization. Therefore, questions were not systematically asked about the number of well elders versus frail elders served by a particular SFMNP agency. It is unknown exactly how many elders can be categorized as frail or well.

potential barriers, but social networks with family are cited as compensating for any transportation barriers.

**Honestly, none. We've got a good location, the times [hours of operation] are good. Our seniors were raised eating this type of fresh food, they like it, they know how to use it. Some of our seniors don't drive, but their families will take them wherever they want to go. The only thing I can even think that might be an issue is mobility. Some of our seniors walk with a cane or a walker or are in a wheelchair. That makes it kind of hard to move around in general, but some surfaces...The farmers' market isn't covered and it's on gravel. The individual farmers have coverings but the whole market isn't. So, if it's been raining, it's going to be slippery. As if the gravel wasn't hard enough for them to walk on already. That's the only thing that might be.**

In both the preceding and following quotations, mobility is cited as a potential barrier to benefit utilization. It is also important to note the implicit barrier of the physical lay-out of the farmers' market. Many farmers' markets are set up in parking lots and do not have permanent spaces with even flooring and cover from sun and rain. In rural areas, these parking lots very well may not be paved and instead be gravel parking lots as indicated in these quotes. SFMNP officials pointed out that this sort of environment exacerbates any physical mobility issues SFMNP recipients might have.

**Why wouldn't they use...well, if they don't drive, that's a problem. And also sometimes it's physical. They don't feel like getting out. You know, just aches and pains as you get older. And some of them...well, quite a few of them, have trouble getting around. They aren't in wheelchairs or anything but they're not as steady as they used to be. Some of them have complained to me—not like I can do anything about it---but they've complained to me about the gravel at the farmers market. You know, they're just set up in a**

**parking lot and it's isn't paved. It's hard for them to walk on. It's hard to walk on even if you aren't elderly really. Then, if you've got a walker or a cane...And some of ours have had bad falls and have broken a hip and been laid up. So, the ones with...some of them are a little bit leery of falling.**

Transportation challenges were sometimes linked to challenges of limited economic resources. The high price of gasoline, the cost of going to several different locations to shop for groceries, and the "fixed" incomes were themes that occurred sometimes individually but often in pairs. The following quote is typical.

**Again, I think gas prices are a big problem. And then going somewhere else for their groceries. We always get told it's transportation, but that doesn't seem to be a big issue here. Other than gas prices.**

SFMNP participants clearly encountered some barriers to utilizing their benefits, but as the preceding examples demonstrate, the challenges were counterbalanced and often outweighed by skills, knowledge, and/or experiences that encouraged the use of their benefits. In general, the data indicated SFMNP participants were able to navigate and even enjoy the social space of the farmers' market. This contrasted rather sharply with the data on FMNP participants.

### **Primarily Barriers to Benefit Utilization**

The data on FMNP participants indicated their set of skills, knowledge, and/or experiences with food were predominately challenges to utilizing their benefits at the farmers' market. In contrast to SFMNP participants, FMNP participants were likely to have little to no experience with agriculture, farmers' markets, cooking, or local,



unprepared fruits and vegetables. While the following quote from a WIC coordinator represents one of the more extreme examples from the FMNP data, it serves to introduce the often serious barriers to FMNP benefit utilization.

**But, you know, I used to work as the home health nurse, years ago, and sometimes I would go into these young women's homes...and there wasn't a pan, there wasn't a pot, there wasn't a plate even sometimes. I don't know what they ate off of. And even now, our home nurses tell me the same thing. They go into some of the homes, and there's nothing to cook with.**

This quote indicates for those FMNP participants without cooking utensils unprepared fresh foods would be a highly unusual item to have in their kitchens. Moreover, knowledge and skills necessary to prepare foods from the farmers' market are likely absent in addition to the obvious lack of equipment to prepare the fresh foods.

A much more common theme in the data was that shopping at the farmers' market and for fresh fruits and vegetables was a novelty for FMNP participants. FMNP officials noted this novelty in most of the interviews. It is apparent in the following quote and also implies a lack of knowledge about how to navigate the social space of the farmers' market and how to select and prepare fresh foods.

**And it's a new experience for many of the participants. Anytime you have a new experience that can be a little bit intimidating and that still may be why some of the clients don't use them.... I mean you think about you've got a one year old and a two year old and you're trying to take them anywhere you know sometimes that in and of itself can be difficult. We try to counsel that it can be a fun family event and it can be. But, you know, if you're a single mom and you've got these two little kids and you're trying to keep track of them and you're trying to look at this produce....ok,**

**you get fresh green beans; they don't know how to prepare them. What do you do with fresh green beans? I know what to do with canned green beans but what do you do with fresh green beans? Or how do I know if this cantaloupe is a good cantaloupe or not a good cantaloupe?**

Unfamiliarity and even discomfort were common themes throughout the FMNP data. The following quote from a WIC coordinator illustrated the frequent lack of knowledge about seasonality, climate, and agricultural cycles in FMNP participants.

**Then, sometimes they get there and they don't have what they want. Not because the farmers' market is sold out but because they're looking for bananas or oranges. Or they're looking for tomatoes or they want watermelons and it's the end of May. Even though we give a little pamphlet every year that shows what grows in Kentucky and when you can expect it in the farmers market, some of our moms will still go looking for watermelons in May.**

With Kentucky's strong agricultural tradition, lack of cultural transmission was implicit in the preceding quotes. However, the lack of cultural transmission of knowledge, skills, and experience with fresh fruits and vegetables was often an explicit theme as evident in the following quotes from FMNP respondents.

**Knowing what to do with the fresh fruits and vegetables. Some of them will tell me "I'm going to get a mess of green beans, and I'm going to give them to my grandma to fix." Or they'll say "I'm going to give them to my grandma to can for me or freeze them for me." I think that's where the sampling and demonstrations at the farmers markets are so important. I'll fry up some green tomatoes and shish-kabobs and these girls think I'm Paula Deen.**

This quote from a WIC coordinator indicated the knowledge and skills to prepare fresh fruits and vegetables appears mystifying to FMNP participants. Yet, that knowledge and skill could be found within a generation or two of the FMNP participants but failed to be transmitted. This theme was also evident in the next quote from a WIC coordinator but it also invoked the structural changes in recent decades in society.

**When I was growing up my mom and dad raised a garden. They cooked. They knew how to prepare these vegetables and stuff. And as the years have gone on, see, it's more convenience foods. Fast foods is [sic] what most of these kids was raised on, and they don't know about the fresh fruits and vegetables because they wasn't taught it to start with. So what they're passing down is McDonald's and all this other stuff because they don't really know how to prepare this stuff. My daughter-in-law didn't. She's asked me how to cook corn because she was never taught, you know. But, most of them don't really care that they don't know [how to cook fresh vegetables]. They don't like fresh foods; they'd rather have McDonald's.**

Indeed, the contrast between the farmers' market and fast food was woven through much of the FMNP data, which was notably absent from the SFMNP data. The prevalence of fast food restaurants, frequent consumption of fast food meals, and preference for fast foods were implicitly and explicitly compared to the dearth of knowledge and familiarity with fresh foods and home-cooking skills. The following two quotes are examples of the juxtaposition of fast food with the preparation of fresh foods.

**I mean, we've got a lot of young moms who have probably grown up in a fast food nation and that home-cooking is**

**something that maybe they've not even been exposed to themselves or they may be very young and have not had time to develop those cooking skills.**

While the WIC coordinator's preceding quote indicated FMNP participants may not have been socialized in families that engaged in fresh food preparation and consumption, the following quote suggested that (like the earlier quote about grandmother's untransmitted knowledge and skills) FMNP participants' parents have the knowledge and skills. These skills and knowledge have not been transmitted. Even if cultural transmission had taken place, there is also the implicit notion that fresh food preparation is inconvenient and unduly time consuming from the perspective of young FMNP participants. Responding to a probe about eating habits, one WIC coordinator had the following reply.

**There's a lot of fast food of course. You can look at other statistics and see that. I just...I think they're just unsure just what to do. They just don't know how to eat those things unless someone else prepared them. You know you're going to eat that at mom's if you go but you know if I have to break beans and um do all these things and cook 'em all day long that's just....I hate saying that because that sounds.....**

Because convenience and inconvenience figure prominently as themes in the FMNP (and even in the SFMNP) data, the preceding and following quote are extremely illustrative. The next quote refers to the more recent changes in the WIC basket in which vouchers have been added each month to be used at grocery stores specifically to purchase fresh fruits and vegetables.

**Now that we have added the fresh fruits and vegetables to the WIC basket, we're seeing that they are buying fruit that's already cut up, washed, and ready to eat. Maybe the problem's not the fruits and vegetables so much as it is the preparation or perception of preparation.**

The above quote from another WIC coordinator suggested that preparation time (or even perception of preparation time involved) might also be important to food choices for FMNP participants. However, emphasis on convenience in food preparation is not just limited to low-income populations. Shifts in food consumption and preparation patterns have permeated American society broadly. The following quote speaks to those broader cultural and structural shifts that have occurred in U.S. society in the past several decades and serves to ward off the suggestion that inconvenience could be construed as "laziness".

**In this society, when you want something, you go to the store, and you get it. And they're used to doing that. They want their milk and they go to the store and they get it with these [WIC, my addition] coupons. And you've got other things in play. The food has to, it has to be time for that food to be ready and in the market. You have to go probably before noon or it will all be picked over. You have to go on certain days. So you have to travel. You know, a lot of people, the availability would be for that because a lot of people want to be able to cash their WIC vouchers when they come into town. It's very rural area and they travel in for their vouchers and they'd sure like to go [to the farmers' market, my addition]. They go on to the store and get their milk but "oh, my appointment was at 2 o'clock and this market is closed" or "oh, my appointment is on Thursday and the market was on a Wednesday" and then to make the trip back in to the market just might not be done.**

The final theme contained in the FMNP data also concerned a deficit of knowledge and perhaps experience, but it was more broadly related to basic nutrition rather than specifically fresh foods. It reappeared frequently enough to suggest that for a substantial minority, if not all, of FMNP participants' elementary knowledge of food ingredients was absent.

**I really think education is a big factor for these young women. They seem to have a lack of understanding; they seem to lack an understanding of why things are happening. Not just with the farmers' market program. We've started to move from closed ended questions----"Does your child drink more than 24 ounces of milk each day?" to open ended questions—"How much milk does your child drink each day?". And I can tell you I have been floored by some of the statements these mothers have made. One mom told me that her son didn't drink any milk at all. And when I went to explain that he needed the calcium, she said she wasn't worried because her son ate plenty of cheese because he ate Cheetos all day. Yeah, Cheetos. I'm not kidding. I kept trying to explain that Cheetos weren't healthy for her child to be eating, but then she told me "But it says it's made with real cheese right on the package". I don't think I ever got through to her. And then we had another one. This one infant at six months was over 30 pounds. 30 pounds at six months! A healthy 6 month old should be between 16 and 20 pounds normally. 30 pounds is about what a healthy 3 year old should weigh. And we had to tell the mother that the child should not be drinking a gallon of milk a day. She told us that they just fed him when he was hungry and that was it, but we had to tell her that if she didn't help this child lose weight that he was not going to be able to walk. His bones and muscles weren't going to be able to support the weight. Not to mention the stress on his heart as he got older.**

This quote, while not specifically mentioning the farmer's market or FMNP benefits, is rather revealing of the absence of foundational nutrition knowledge. It

suggests a substantial barrier to consuming fresh fruits and vegetables and utilizing FMNP benefits, which can only be used to purchase fresh fruits and vegetables. Taken into account with the general lack of knowledge, skills, and experience with farmers' markets, fresh foods, and cooking, FMNP participants have substantial challenges to overcome in order to utilize their FMNP benefits and comparatively few attributes that encourage benefit utilization, especially compared to SFMNP participants.

### **Application of Bourdieu's theory**

The data described above show several important distinctions between FMNP and SFMNP participants, most notably in the area of skills, knowledge and experience with food. These distinctive skills, knowledge, and experience with food become even more salient to explaining differences in FMNP and SFMNP redemption rates when viewed through the lens of Bourdieu's theoretical framework. However, the data also suggest distinctive framings of the farmers' market that need to be emphasized first. In the previous chapter, the data demonstrated considerable overlap in the ways the subfield of the farmers' market was framed, but the data examined here also revealed some important distinctions. The theme of "special" included for SFMNP participants the variant of "nostalgia", which was not evident in any of the FMNP data. In contrast, themes in the FMNP data revealed an explicit distinction between the subfield of the farmers' market and the subfield of fast food that was not mentioned in the SFMNP data.

Specifically, SFMNP participants favorably view the farmers' market as a subfield filled with nostalgia while FMNP participants contrast it unfavorably with the subfield of fast food.

### **A Special Subfield**

In some of the characterizations in the preceding chapter, the farmers' market tended to be viewed in a comparatively negative manner *vis-à-vis* the grocery store. Yet, this was often not the case, or simply not the entire perception, for SFMNP participants. Although the farmers' market subfield might be non-essential and perhaps more inconvenient compared to the grocery store, the subfield of the farmers' market was also a "special" subfield for many SFMNP participants. Related to the notion of luxury, the special aspect of the farmers' market was often as result of hysteresis. Hysteresis, if one will recall, is "a lag in adaption and counter-adaptive mismatch" (Bourdieu 2008[2005]: 214) or more simply lag from a change in field or subfield and lack of change in the habitus. Throughout the interviews, there is the suggestion that SFMNP participants valued the farmers' market because it reminded them of earlier periods of their life. Frequently attributed to specific types of foods eaten during their youth, having previous experience with farming or backyard gardening, and/or extensive knowledge and skill with cooking fresh foods, data indicate SFMNP participants acquired a habitus, capitals, and dispositions during their earliest socialization that have allowed them to utilize their benefits at the farmers' market at a substantially higher rate compared to FMNP participants. Although there can be negative effects, hysteresis has worked to the advantage of SFMNP participants in this



instance. Hysteresis has allowed SFMNP participants to leverage the homologies between earlier fields and the current subfield of the farmers' market.

### **Fast Food versus Slow Food**

Just as the data reveal information about SFMNP participants' socialization in earlier fields, the data also suggest information about FMNP socialization and the fields in which they were shaped. However, unlike SFMNP participants, FMNP participants do not appear to be able to leverage homologies between previous and current fields. In fact, the habitus, capitals, and dispositions acquired by the FMNP participants appear to present a substantial barrier and encourage the framing of the farmers' market in a generally negative way. For FMNP participants, the subfield of the farmers' market was contrasted unfavorably with the subfield of fast food and convenience restaurants. The data indicate FMNP participants exhibit low knowledge of fresh foods, cooking skills, and experience with gardening and agriculture. On the other hand, data indicate their earliest socialization occurred within subfields that encouraged familiarity with convenience and prepackaged foods and discouraged the transmission of cooking skills and techniques. The field of fast food was indicated as comprising part of those earliest subfields. Though not mentioned as frequently as that of the grocery store, the subfield of fast food was in many ways, for FMNP participants, more sharply contrasted with that of the subfield of the farmers' market. This is particularly salient when it is understood that this subfield of fast food was described in comparison to the subfield of the farmers' market only in FMNP interviews and the subfield of fast food restaurants did not appear in any of the SFMNP interviews.

### **Through the Lens of Bourdieu's Theory**

The explicit and implicit allusions to SFMNP participants growing up on farms, keeping backyard gardens, and possessing extensive knowledge and skills about fresh food preparation contrasted sharply with FMNP participants' explicit and implicit stock of skills, knowledge, and experiences that emphasized prepackaged and fast foods. Not only did this reflect the differences in subfield framing, but it also reflected the substantial differences in capitals, particularly *cultural capitals*, held by the two sets of participants.

While FMNP and SFMNP both exhibit variable and sometimes low redemption rates in Kentucky as well as nationally, FMNP exhibits consistently lower redemption rates than does SFMNP. In the previous chapter, the differences between the dual FMNP programs and SNAP and WIC were argued to be a function of the dual FMNP programs requiring the low-income populations to enter into subfields to which their habitus was not accustomed. In this chapter, I build upon this relationship between field and habitus with the emphasis on capital to explain the differences in FMNP and SFMNP redemption. Given Bourdieu's theory of habitus, capital, and field and the empirical evidence of higher redemption rates, it is easy to hypothesize SFMNP participants would possess higher levels of the appropriate capital compared to FMNP participants. Indeed, the data support this assertion: the type and amount of capitals possessed by FMNP and SFMNP participants strongly impact benefit utilization rates. The data indicate the SFMNP habitus is much more likely than the FMNP habitus to possess the species of capital needed to enter and successfully navigate the subfield of the farmers' market. Vis-à-vis the subfield of the farmers' market, the FMNP habitus

exhibited significantly higher, multiple, and concurrent deficits of requisite capitals, most notably species of cultural capital.

Habitus, if one will recall, is the sum of all attitudes, dispositions, and behaviors acquired by virtue of one's current and/or previous position within the field. One's habitus possesses (or does not possess), utilizes (or does not utilize), acquires (or does not acquire), and converts (or does not convert) capital, or resources, according to his or her position within the field. Successful navigation of a field or subfield requires the habitus to possess and utilize species of capital or capitals appropriate to the field or subfield. In this case, successful navigation is narrowly defined as redemption rates. The data indicated FMNP participants exhibited substantial and multiple deficits of capital compared to SFMNP participants, which substantially reduced their ability to successfully navigate the subfield of the farmers' market (i.e. redeem their FMNP benefits). Thus, SFMNP participants exhibit a much higher degree of congruency between their habitus and the subfield of the farmers' market compared to FMNP participants.

### **Participants' Capital**

Though not all FMNP officials interviewed cited this as a specific *barrier to redemption rates*, all FMNP officials noted persistent and often substantial lack of cultural capital with respect to fresh fruit and vegetables among the majority of program participants. This deficit of cultural capital was manifest in all primary forms: objectified, institutionalized, and embodied. *Objectified cultural capital* refers to tools,

props, and other functional and aesthetic material possessions. Objectified cultural capital can be used to and is often necessary both to signify and/or actually implement other forms of capital possessed. For example, to hang a Renoir in one's home is a symbol of economic capital, other forms of capital, and specific dispositions of taste. However, FMNP recipients are more likely to exhibit more mundane and functionally necessary deficits of objectified cultural capital related to their habitus and the field of food acquisition. Although most likely an extreme example of deficiency in cultural capital as noted earlier, the data indicated cooking utensils, pots, pans, and other essential objectified cultural capitals needed for food preparation were sometimes entirely absent from the homes of FMNP recipients.

*Institutionalized cultural capital* refers to professional certifications, diplomas, academic degrees, and official training that are prized within a particular field. It also refers to knowledge of rules, processes, and norms possessed intellectually but not necessarily possessed in a manner capable of implementing in *practice*. Institutionalized cultural capital is converted to *embodied cultural capital* by putting knowledge into *practice* and by embodying the "rules" and "norms" of that field so well that an agent can not only abide by those "rules" and "norms" consciously but can afford to let them slip into "unconsciousness" and into "second nature" and can improvise comfortably (Bourdieu 1977/2009: 8, 78-81) because one has acquired the *sense du jeu*, which is "that [which] causes us to do what we do at the right moment without needing to thematize what had to be done and still less the knowledge of the explicit rule that allows us to generate this comfortable practice" (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992:224).

Embodied cultural capital, of course, does not necessarily need to be acquired via institutionalized cultural capital. Embodied cultural capital may be acquired directly from interaction (social capital) with those agents already possessing the requisite embodied cultural capital within the field. Thus, embodied and institutionalized cultural capitals are intimately connected but not necessarily derivatives of each other.

The data presented in the earlier sections of this chapter indicated FMNP participants' rarely possessed the embodied cultural capital to easily enter the subfield of the farmers' market and often were unable to leverage existing institutionalized cultural capital either. Data point to embodied capitals that are disposed toward utilizing convenience foods and fast food restaurants rather than fresh fruits and vegetables. Embodied and institutionalized cultural capitals to be able to easily utilize, prepare, and consume fresh fruits and vegetables were not transmitted via the family (either parents or grandparents) despite evidence that those capitals were likely to be available within the previous generation. Additionally, the data show institutionalized cultural capital that does not recognize the importance, as stipulated by nutritionists and other scientists, of consuming fresh fruits and vegetables.

On the other hand, SFMNP data revealed SFMNP habitus were much more likely to possess the requisite species of capitals, particularly embodied cultural capital as indicated by their experiences in agriculture, gardening, and with cooking in general. Compared to FMNP officials, SFMNP agency officials were likely to report there were few or no challenges or problems for the SFMNP participants. (In a few of the cases, this stemmed from interpreting the question so as to mean challenges for administering

SFMNP.) However, noting few barriers was not illogical since SFMNP redemption rates are much higher overall. And, as noted in the examples from earlier in this chapter, SFMNP participants were much more likely to possess capitals that facilitated benefit utilization.

The most common challenge to SFMNP benefit utilization cited during the interviews was physical mobility. Despite possessing overall high levels of embodied cultural capital that could be transformed into *sens du jeu* (which was notably absent for more FMNP participants), physical mobility is arguably the most fundamental form of embodied cultural capital. It is through our body that we convey our knowledge, display our skills, and possess our tastes. Mobility challenges included physical impediments such as utilization of a walker, cane, or wheelchair. For those elders who did not utilize such aids, some still appeared to have minor mobility issues that resulted in unsteady gaits, periods of being homebound, or general physical malaise.

Transportation could be challenging for some, but most SFMNP participants could rely (as noted in the above examples) on social capital to get to the farmers' market. In addition, many counties had senior centers with vans, which is one example of how SFMNP agencies were often able to address some of the most pronounced deficits of capital among their participants. Transportation is a form of objectified cultural capital, institutionalized cultural capital, and embodied cultural capital. One must possess a car with gas to drive (objectified cultural capital but also sometimes an indication of economic capital), be a licensed driver (institutionalized), and have the physical ability to drive the car competently (embodied). Data indicated FMNP

participants also had some challenges with transportation, particularly in the form of objectified cultural capital (access to a car). Unlike SFMNP participants, data suggested FMNP participants may or may not be able to access their existing social capital to get to the farmers' market. FMNP participants could utilize their social capital to address certain capital deficits pertaining to transportation but not always in order to go to the farmers' market.

### **Discussion of Implications**

The requirement to enter the subfield of the farmers' market offered the basis for explaining variable benefit utilization in FMNP and SFMNP. Unlike SNAP and WIC, FMNP and SFMNP can only be used to purchase unprepared, local fresh fruits and vegetables. However, this requirement was not sufficient in itself to explain differences in FMNP compared to SFMNP. The requirement to enter the subfield of the farmers' market coupled with differing amounts of requisite cultural capital (needed to purchase, prepare, and consume the products) possessed by the populations resulted in variations in benefit utilization. For this to be true, SFMNP participants would need to possess significantly higher amounts of this cultural capital, and FMNP participants would need to possess comparatively lower amounts of this cultural capital. The data indeed show this to be the case, and this section discusses the implications of these differences for benefit utilization and beyond.

Throughout all of the data, there is the embedded theme that the farmers' market is not a subfield of food acquisition entered frequently by the food assistance participant habitus. Both FMNP and SFMNP participants sometimes forgot about their

coupons until those coupons had already expired because it was not a subfield of food acquisition that they regularly entered. This “forgetfulness” resulted from two divergent dispositions. For SFMNP participants, the data suggest saving the coupons for something special (in this instance, sweet corn) implies that the farmers’ market was a “luxury” or a special shopping space. It also indicates a favorable view of the subfield of the farmers’ market. This favorable view, as noted previously, was seen rarely among FMNP participants, but the FMNP interviews did indicate “forgetfulness” was sometimes a barrier for them using the coupons. Although they were not saving the coupons for something “special”, FMNP participants tended to forget because of the passage of time and infrequency of entering the subfield of the farmers’ market like many of the SFMNP participants. The infrequency of entering the farmers’ market subfield not only reflects the fact that participants are not regularly shopping at the farmers’ market, but it also reflects the policy of the SFMNP and FMNP. Both programs provide only enough benefits to enter the farmers’ market once or perhaps twice per year. While providing benefits to use at local farmers’ markets is laudable, the benefit amount is not enough to allow most recipients to develop a *sens du jeu* for the farmers’ market subfield and thus unlikely to produce any lasting behavioral changes with respect to shopping at the farmers’ market or consuming more fresh fruits and vegetables.

This was particularly the case for FMNP participants who, unlike SFMNP participants, lack the specific cultural capital to appreciate the older, traditional varieties of vegetables often sought out by the SFMNP participants. SFMNP participants



frequently had the dispositions and capitals to even enjoy going to the farmers' market. Indications of enjoying or appreciating the space of the farmers' market were notably absent from FMNP interviews, except for officials expressing how they had tried to sell going to the farmers' market as a social activity for FMNP families. SFMNP participants were able to leverage capitals and dispositions from earlier fields and socialization (hysteresis) to utilize their benefits, but FMNP participants' earlier socialization appears to provide only additional barriers and deficits of capitals.

The relationship between subfield of the farmers' market and the subfield of fast food provides one of the most important puzzle pieces to understanding FMNP dispositions and cultural capital and thus benefit utilization. It underscores the multiple and often serious deficits of capital in FMNP participants vis-à-vis the farmers' market. For the FMNP participants, the subfield of the farmers' market and the subfield of the fast food are more diametrically opposed in the larger field of food acquisition than even the grocery store and the farmers' market. While the grocery store may be the default for food acquisition among FMNP participants, the subfield of fast food arguably holds more favor and is at least equally familiar to FMNP participants. With such familiarity and participation in the subfield of the fast food, it is unsurprising FMNP participants possess capitals that leave them deficient in those capitals needed to operate in the subfield of the farmers' market. While SFMNP participants can often revert to capitals gained during an earlier period of socialization in an earlier field through hysteresis, FMNP participants cannot.

Multiple, concurrent, and sometimes severe deficits of cultural capital have broad implications for FMNP redemption and food consumption patterns. For example, lack of basic objectified cultural capital needed for food preparation (e.g. pots, pans, cooking utensils) is not only a barrier to fresh fruit and vegetable consumption but also suggests a disposition among FMNP participants that is at odds with the disposition needed to successfully navigate and make purchases from the subfield of the farmers' market. The absence of basic objectified cultural capital needed for food preparation suggests food is likely prepared in the microwave only, purchased already fully prepared from a restaurant or grocery store, or consists of prepackaged ready-to-eat foods. While foods purchased from the farmers' market certainly may be consumed raw (apples, carrots, watermelons, and the like), most foods (and the dispositions of the habitus) within the field of the farmers' market do not lend themselves towards "convenience". For example, "breaking beans" (i.e., cleaning of and removal of green bean "strings") consumes substantially more time to prepare (even if cooked in the microwave) than a frozen pizza. Sweet corn, which could also be prepared in a microwave, requires husking. Even watermelon consumed raw requires slicing, which is impossible to do without a knife, and may be "too much trouble" for a habitus with a disposition towards convenience. Thus, lack of basic objectified cultural capital is both barrier in itself and further indication of a disposition that acts as a barrier for WIC FMNP participants.

In some cases, the data demonstrated concurrent deficits of institutionalized capital and embodied cultural capital in FMNP recipients. In some cases, this lack of

cultural capital manifested as a broad lack of nutritional knowledge. Confusing snack foods such as Cheetos with healthy foods as defined by nutritionists demonstrates a very substantial deficit of institutional and embodied cultural capital. It demonstrates a deficit of embodied cultural capital, by being unable to appropriately provide for the nutritional needs of their children, and a deficit of institutionalized cultural capital, indicated by a lack of basic nutritional information. Numerous responses from other FMNP officials corroborated similar deficits of cultural capital, particularly embodied cultural capital, among FMNP participants and corresponding food choices made available to their children. This suggests that FMNP participants are socializing dispositions and transmitting capitals to their children which do not support the consumption of fresh fruits and vegetables. Instead, FMNP participants' children are likely to exhibit similar dispositions and capitals to their parents that favor convenience and prepackaged foods.

Preliminary data from the new WIC baskets lends support to the argument that deficits of cultural capital manifest as lack of knowledge of fresh produce preparation as well as favoring prepackaged foods are driving down redemption rates. FMNP coupons can only be used from fresh, unprepared, locally grown fruits and vegetables at farmers' markets, but the new WIC baskets, which were implemented in May 2009 in Kentucky, provide for the purchase of fresh fruits and vegetables in grocery stores. WIC recipients have much more discretion in what they purchase from the grocery store with their WIC benefits. Preliminary reports from Kentucky counties are rather interesting about the additions of the Cash Value Vouchers (CVVs). The CVVs are one of the most substantial

revisions to the WIC baskets because they can be used to purchase fresh fruits and vegetables.

Preliminary data from WIC coordinators suggest that when WIC recipients use their WIC benefits in the grocery store to purchase fresh fruits and vegetables, they select ready-to-eat, prepackaged fruits. Sliced apples, cantaloupe chunks, and mixed berry bowls were among the most commonly reported. Because of the increased cost and substantially lower quantity of fresh fruit in a mixed berry bowl compared to a bag of apples, maximizing WIC benefits is clearly not the objective. While firm conclusions cannot be drawn, lack of cultural capital in the form of preparation knowledge may be a partial explanation, but the role of convenience cannot be overlooked if the WIC FMNP habitus' disposition is taken into account. Bananas and oranges were the most commonly purchased unprepared fruits. Neither of which can be grown in Kentucky. This could be tied to deficits in "taste". While this preliminary data cannot be fully explained, it certainly is provocative when viewed in the context of the interview data examined here.

The addition of the CVVs to purchase fresh fruits and vegetables may not overcome the dispositions toward convenience, but it may encourage FMNP participants and their children to develop a "taste" for fresh fruits and vegetables. Currently, children of FMNP participants' are also not likely to develop a "taste" for fresh fruits and vegetables and thus continue to reflect their parents' dispositions toward food. The data frequently indicated the lack of cultural capital manifested as lack of "taste" for fresh fruits and vegetables for FMNP participants and a frequently

cited reason for not utilizing FMNP benefits. Many WIC officials noted FMNP participants tended to prefer fattier, saltier, and more heavily processed foods and purchased those with their own money as well as with other food instruments. They suggested there was a need to shift the focus from nutritional content to the taste of the food. Because FMNP participants seemed to consider fresh foods to be “bland” or “tasteless”, WIC officials argued an emphasis on taste was needed. Based on the indications from the data about FMNP participants’ dispositions and capitals, it should not be surprising they have not developed a “taste” for fresh fruits and vegetables.

The preliminary data on the CVVs appear to echo the data about FMNP participant’s lack of cultural capital regarding the seasonality of fresh fruits and vegetables and the constraints of the agricultural environment in Kentucky. FMNP participants frequently expected to find local bananas or watermelons in early May. Reared in a social context in which global food chains were the norm (unlike most SFMNP recipients), the FMNP recipients do not possess the embodied cultural capital to literally “think about” the impact of weather and geography on the production of food. Moreover, they have not sufficiently acquired the institutionalized cultural capital about seasonality which they might then be in a position to convert into embodied cultural capital (as have mainstream farmers’ market consumers). Or, if they have acquired the institutionalized cultural capital (i.e. they have the brochure with which they can use as reference), they are unable to convert it into embodied cultural capital. This inability to convert stems from lack of repeated entry into the farmers’ market subfield of food acquisition. Entry into the subfield is deterred due to FMNP participants multiple and

often significant deficits of capitals, particularly cultural capitals, and reflects FMNP policy that provides benefits for one visit per season. While none of these deficits are insurmountable, the interplay between multiple and concurrent deficits creates a web that can and does often present a substantial barrier for FMNP recipients to purchase fresh fruits and vegetables, enter the farmers' market subfield of food acquisition, and create high benefit utilization. This supports the argument that the FMNP habitus exhibits low congruency with the subfield of the farmers' market, which is in contrast to the higher congruency between the SFMNP habitus and the farmers' market subfield.

In fact, the lack of deficits of capital presented by the SFMNP recipients is striking. There is no mention in the data of SFMNP participants lacking the necessary cultural capital to appreciate and utilize the farmers' market. In fact, the interviews revealed the opposite; most of the seniors appear to have the requisite cultural capital and dispositions to enter and successfully navigate the subfield of the farmers' market. Even though they conceptualize the farmers' market as a distinct subfield, they possess the requisite species of capital to successfully navigate it. Moreover, SFMNP participants are able to socialize with each other and with farmers' market vendors and by all indications enjoy the *experience* of the farmers' market. They are able to put enough capitals into *practice* in the farmers' market so well that they not only can behave according to the expected norms but those norms are "second nature". Entering the farmers' market and acting in the space become comfortable because SFMNP participants have the *sens du jeu* for the farmers' market. The farmers' market becomes not just a place to redeem SFMNP coupons but a social space to enjoy. This

can only happen with there is a high degree of congruency between the habitus and field, which supports the utilization of SFMNP benefits.

It also bears noting (although this will be discussed more in the next chapter), the specific deficits of capital exhibited by SFMNP participants are frequently addressed and augmented by local SFMNP agencies or other organizations in the county. Specifically, because the deficits exhibited by the SFMNP participants are mobility and/or transportation, the existing infrastructure is capable of augmenting and addressing these deficits. Many counties have the capacity to and do provide transportation (albeit limited) to the farmers' market and many others have programs that address limited mobility. Because SFMNP capital barriers to using SFMNP vouchers are similar to barriers elders have in other aspects of their lives, program infrastructure already exists and can be readily leveraged to assist utilization of SFMNP benefits. This is unlike FMNP participants and FMNP agencies whose infrastructure, programs, and policies are only beginning to address the types of capital deficits exhibited by FMNP participants.

### **A Wide Gulf**

FMNP exhibits consistently lower redemption rates than does SFMNP. In the previous chapter, benefit utilization differences between the dual FMNP programs and SNAP and WIC were argued to be a function of the dual FMNP programs requiring the low-income populations to enter into subfields to which their habitus was not accustomed. This chapter built upon that argument by examining the wide gulf between the requisite species of capital possessed by FMNP recipients compared to

SFMNP recipients. This lack of capital vis-à-vis the farmers' market subfield, most significantly cultural capital, creates a substantial barrier for FMNP recipients to successfully and easily navigate the subfield of the farmers' market. These substantial deficits in capital exhibited by FMNP recipients, but not by SFMNP recipients, further underscore the incongruencies between the WIC habitus and the subfield of the farmers' market. These deficits of capital and incongruencies between the subfield and habitus (at least partially) explain the differences in FMNP and SFMNP redemption in Kentucky. However, as suggested by the preceding discussion, there are fortunately also interventions and means of augmenting and assisting the conversion of the capitals into their necessary forms. This will be discussed in more depth in the following chapter that explores the differences between counties in the same program.



## **Chapter Six: Benefit Variability between Counties in the Same FMNP Program**

As noted in the introduction chapter, Kentucky counties, like counties in other states, exhibit variability in benefit utilization within the same Farmers' Market Nutrition Program (either FMNP properly or SFMNP). In other words, counties within FMNP, which serves participants in the Special Supplemental Program for Women, Infants, and Children (WIC), present differing rates of coupon redemption compared to other counties' redemption rates of FMNP coupons. The same is true for the Senior Farmers' Market Nutrition Program (SFMNP); different counties participating in SFMNP exhibit different benefit utilization rates. Although SFMNP rates are overall higher than FMNP, participating counties present variable rates of coupon redemption. This chapter examines the between county differences within the same program to ascertain another level of factors impacting variable benefit utilization. The data were analyzed utilizing hierarchical regression analysis and structural equation modeling. Although neither of the hypothesized full models for FMNP or SFMNP could be accepted due to indications of poor model fit, regression analysis revealed several individual predictors that were significant as well as two statistically significant models for each program. Similar to the SEM analysis, neither of the full models for FMNP or SFMNP were statistically significant. However, while the hypothesized full models were not satisfactory for explaining the overdetermined nature of FMNP and SFMNP benefit variability, individual variables demonstrated significant impact on benefit variability.

The findings expand upon and corroborate the findings from the previous chapters, and further support the importance of cultural capital among recipients.

### Linear and Hierarchical Regression Analysis

Linear and hierarchical regression analysis were performed after data reduction was conducted (which was discussed in chapter 3) and prior to SEM analysis. Variables were entered in blocks using the enter method; thus, all variables in a model were entered simultaneously. The order in which they were entered was determined by the hypothesized FMNP model and by the hypothesized SFMNP model.

**Table 6.1, Summary of Variables Entered for FMNP Hierarchical Regression Analysis**

<b>Model</b>	<b>Latent concept(s) added</b>	<b>Variables added</b>	<b>Total number of IVs in model</b>
Model 1*	Socioeconomic characteristics (SESDemo)	ARC designation (ARC), Appalachian status (App), County poverty rate (PovRat)	3
Model 2**	Racial and ethnic demographic characteristics (Race/Ethnicity)	Caucasian/white American (White), Asian American (AsianAm), Black/African American (AfriAm), Hispanic/Latino (His)	7
Model 3	Food Environment (FoodEnviron)	Number of WIC grocery stores (WICgroPer), Number of SNAP grocery stores (SNAPgroPer), Number of grocery stores (GrocPer)	10

**Table 6.1, Summary of Variables Entered for FMNP Hierarchical Regression Analysis (continued)**

Model 4	Transportation Environment (TransEnviron)	Interstate system present in county (Inter), Households with no car (HousNoCar), Public transportation system (PubTrans)	13
Model 5	Market Location (MKTLoc)	Number of farmers' markets (NoFM), farmers' market retail environment (FMRet), farmers' market placement (FMPlac)	16
Model 6	Market Availability (MKTAvail)	Number of days farmers' market open (NoDays), Number of hours farmers' market open (NoHrs)	18
Model 7	Type of Agency (AgencyType)	Collaboration with other community organizations (Collab), agency provided recipes (AgRecipe), number of services (NoSer)	21
Model 8	Agency Social Capital and Networks (AgSocCap)	Participants call agency (RecCall), word of mouth (Mouth), number of announcements (NoAnn)	24

Dependent variable: Redep08

\*statistically significant at the .05 level

\*\*statistically significant at the .01 level

Individually, the best predictors of benefit utilization (Redep08) for FMNP were Appalachian Regional Commission designation (ARC), Appalachian status (App), the county poverty rate (PovRat), the number of grocery stores approved to take WIC in a county (WICgroPer), the number of grocery stores approved to take SNAP in a county (SNAPgroPer), whether recipes for preparing fresh fruits and vegetables were distributed by the agency (AgRecipe), and the number of announcements the agency made regarding FMNP (NoAnn). Appalachian Regional Commission Designation (ARC), Appalachian status (App), the county poverty rate (PovRat), the number of grocery stores approved to take WIC in a county (WICgroPer), and the number of grocery stores approved to take SNAP in a county (SNAPgroPer), were all significant at the .01 level while recipes for preparing fresh fruits and vegetables distributed by the agency (AgRecipe) and the number of announcements the agency made regarding FMNP (NoAnn) were both significant at the .05 level. All were run with the dependent variable as the county FMNP redemption rate for 2008 (Redep08) and had a positive relationship with the dependent variable.

**Table 6.2 FMNP Variables' Description and Measurement**

<b>Variable Name (Description)</b>	<b>Measured</b>
Appalachian Regional Commission Designation (ARC)**	Attainment, competitive, transitional, at-risk, distressed
Appalachian status (Appalachian)**	Yes; no
County poverty rate (PovRate)**	Percentage of households earning less than the federal poverty line
Caucasion/ white (White)	Percentage of county identified as such according to US Census 2000
Asian American (AsianAm)	Percentage of county identified as such according to US Census 2000

**Table 6.2 FMNP Variables' Description and Measurement (continued)**

Black/African Americans (AfrAm)	Percentage of county identified as such according to US Census 2000
Hispanic/Latino (His)	Percentage of county identified as such according to US Census 2000
Food stores in county accepting WIC (WICgroPer)**	Number of retail food outlets accepting WIC benefits in the county per 1,000 persons
Food stores in county accepting SNAP benefits (SNAPgroPer)**	Number of retail food outlets accepting SNAP benefits in the county per 1,000 persons
Food stores in county (GrocPer)	Number of retail food outlets in the county per 1,000 persons
Interstate (Inter)	Yes; no (interstate highway running through boundary of county)
Houses without a car (HousNoCar)	Percentage of households in county that are further than 1 mile from grocery store without a car
Public transportation network/infrastructure (PubTran)	None; yes, limited; yes, extensive
Number of farmers' markets (NoFM)	Total number of FMNP/SFMNP certified farmers' markets in county
Farmers' market retail environment (FMRet)	Stand-alone market; located with other retail shops
Farmers' market placement (FMPlac)	Rural; suburban/medium density business; central city/main street; edge city; main farmers' market if more than one)
Number of days farmers' market is open (NoDays)	Total number of days with an open farmers' market per week
Number of hours farmers' market is open (NoHrs)	Total number of hours farmers' market is open per week; all locations
Collaboration with other local agencies/orgs (Collab)	None, weak collaboration with 1 org, strong collaboration with 1 org, weak collaboration w/ multiple orgs, strong collaboration w/multiple orgs
Agency provided recipes (AgRecipe)*	Recipe cards, booklets, etc provided by agency and given to participants; Yes; no
Number of services (NoSer)	Total number of services pertaining to food and/or nutrition provided by agency to participants
Participants call (RecCall)	Program participants call agency to find out if coupons are available; Yes; no

**Table 6.2 FMNP Variables' Description and Measurement (continued)**

Word of mouth (Mouth)	Participants find out coupon availability from other participants Yes; no
Number of announcements (NoAnn)*	Total number of announcements/reminders about the program

Dependent variable: Redep08

\*statistically significant at the .05 level

\*\*statistically significant at the .01 level

**Table 6.3 Summary of Variables Entered for SFMNP Hierarchical Regression Analysis**

<b>Model</b>	<b>Latent Concept(s) added</b>	<b>Variables added</b>	<b>Total number of IVs in model</b>
Model 1**	County Demographics (Demographics)	ARC designation (ARC), Appalachian status (App), County poverty rate (PovRate)	3
Model 2	Food Environment (FoodEnviron)	Number of WIC grocery stores (WICgroPer), Number of SNAP grocery stores (SNAPgroPer), Number of grocery stores (GrocPer)	6
Model 3	Transportation Environment (TransEnviron)	Interstate system present in county (Inter), Households without car (HousNoCar)	8
Model 4*	Market Availability (MKTAvail)	Farmers' market location (FMLoc), Number of farmers' markets (NoFM), Number of days farmers' market is open (NoDays), farmers' market placement (FMPlac)	12
Model 5	Market Accessibility (MKTAcess)	Miles between coupon agency and farmers' market (MiFM), public transportation system PubTran	14

**Table 6.3 Summary of Variables Entered for SFMNP Hierarchical Regression Analysis (continued)**

Model 6	Type of Agency (AgencyType)	Local agency-farmers' market relations (AgFM), distribution sites (SiteDis), Call community organizations (ComDPer), collaboraton with other community organizations (Collab), number of distribution locations (NoDisLoc)	19
Model 7	Agency Focus (AgFocus)	Newspaper advertisements (NewsA), radio announcements (Radio), coupons primary reason for visit (CoupOn), post flyers around community (PostTown), number of announcements (NoAnn)	24

Dependent variable: Redep08

\*statistically significant at the .05 level

\*\*statistically significant at the .01 level

For SFMNP, the best individual predictors of benefit utilization (Redep08) were Appalachian Regional Commission designation (ARC), Appalachian status (App), the county poverty rate (PovRat), the number of SNAP-approved grocery stores in the county (SNAPgroPer), the number of grocery stores in the county (GroPer), percentage of houses without a car and further than one mile from the grocery store (HousNoCar), farmers' market placement (FMPlac), and agency collaboration (Collab). Appalachian Regional Commission designation (ARC), county poverty rate (PovRat), the number of

SNAP-approved grocery stores (SNAPgroPer), the number of houses without cars (HousNoCar), and farmers' market placement (FMPlac) were all significant at the .01 level. Appalachian status (App), the number of grocery stores (GroPer), and agency collaboration (Collab) were all significant at the .05 level. All except farmers' market placement (FMPlac) were positively correlated with benefit utilization (Redep08). Farmers' market placement (FMPlac) had an inverse relationship with benefit utilization and was a categorical measure of retail location/density. In other words, counties with farmers markets located in rural locations or in county seats/small towns exhibited higher SFMNP redemption rates than did counties whose farmers markets were located in edge cities or dense shopping districts. With the remaining variables, systematic changes were observed in the same direction (simultaneous increases or decreases in both independent variables).

**Table 6.4 SFMNP Variables' Description and Measurement**

<b>Variable Name (Description)</b>	<b>Measured</b>
Appalachian Regional Commission Designation (ARC)**	Attainment, competitive, transitional, at-risk, distressed
Appalachian status (Appalachian)**	Yes; no (as defined by Appalachian Regional Commission)
County poverty rate (PovRate)**	Percentage of households earning less than the federal poverty line
Food stores in county accepting WIC (WICgroPer)**	Number of retail food outlets accepting WIC benefits in the county per 1,000 persons
Food stores in county accepting SNAP benefits (SNAPgroPer)**	Number of retail food outlets accepting SNAP benefits in the county per 1,000 persons
Food stores in county (GrocPer)	Number of retail food outlets in the county per 1,000 persons



**Table 6.4 SFMNP Variables' Description and Measurement (continued)**

Interstate (Inter)	Yes; no (interstate highway running through boundary of county)
Houses without a car (HousNoCar)	Percentage of households in county that are further than 1 mile from grocery store without a car
Farmers' market location/type (FMLoc)	Open air w/no permanent covering; open air w/permanent covering; enclosed; main market if more than one
Number of farmers' markets (NoFM)	Total number of FMNP/SFMNP certified farmers' markets in county
Number of days farmers' market is open (NoDays)	Total number of days with an open farmers' market per week
Farmers' market placement (FMPlac)**	Rural; suburban/medium density business; central city/main street; edge city; main farmers' market if more than one
Miles from farmers' market to distribution site (MiFM)	Miles rounded to the tenth place; calculated according to Google Earth
Public transportation infrastructure (PubTran)	None; yes, limited; yes, extensive
Agency contact with farmers' market (AgFM)	no contact, some contact, strong contact/collaboration
Site of coupon distribution (SiteDis)	Agency only, non-agency sites, agency and non-agency sites.
Call community development agencies (ComDPer)	Call other community development agencies to announce coupons availability; Yes, no
Collaboration with other local agencies/orgs (Collab)*	None, weak collaboration with 1 org, strong collaboration with 1 org, weak collaboration w/ multiple orgs, strong collaboration w/multiple orgs
Number of distribution locations (NoDisLoc)	Total number of coupon distribution locations in the county
Newspaper announcements (NewsA)	Announce coupon distribution in local newspapers; Yes, no
Radio announcements (Radio)	Announce coupon distribution on local radio stations; Yes, no
Coupons only (CoupOn)	Participants come to pick up coupons specifically; Yes; no
Post announcement around town (PostTown)	Announce coupon distribution in other locations in community/county; Yes; no

**Table 6.4 SFMNP Variables' Description and Measurement (continued)**

Number of announcements (NoAnn)	Total number of types of announcements of any variety utilized by the agency to publicize the availability and distribution of coupons
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Dependent variable: Redep08

\*statistically significant at the .05 level

\*\*statistically significant at the .01 level

**Table 6.5. Most Robust Predictors of FMNP Redemption Rates**

Predictors of Redep08	Significance Level
ARC designation (ARC), Appalachian status (App), Poverty rate (PovRat), WIC grocery stores (WICgroPer), SNAP grocery stores (SNAPgroPer)	.01
Recipes provides by agency (AgRecipe), Number of announcement (NoAnn)	.05

**Table 6.6 Most Robust Predictors of SFMNP Redemption Rates**

Predictors of Redep08	Significance Level
ARC designation (ARC), Poverty rate (PovRat), SNAP grocery stores (SNAPpgroPer), Households with no car (HousNoCar), Farmers' market placement (FMPlac)	.01
Appalachian status (App), Grocery stores (GroPer), Agency collaboration (Collab)	.05

For FMNP, model 1 (at the .05 level) and model 2 (at the .01 level) were statistically significant (see table 6.1 above); the remaining models were not. Within each of the models, only model 2 produced an instance of an individual indicator with statistical significance; Appalachian Regional Commission designation (ARC) was significant at the .05 level. While one not familiar with regression may be surprised to find so few individual predictors within each model when there were several individually

significant predictors of Redep08, this is not an uncommon occurrence. Recall chapter 3 which explained that regression analysis (regardless of the type) often fails to establish significance even when there is a statistically significant relationship if there is a high degree of multicollinearity. It is not unusual have significant individual predictors and significant total models but no (or few) significant individual predictors within each model. This is because the significance tests test unique variability. A predictive slope in multiple regression estimates the predictive effect of changing one independent variable while holding all the others constant. In cases where there is a high degree of multicollinearity (i.e. when the predictors vary together), the F test is significant but none of the independent t tests are significant within a particular model. Highly correlated predictors are surrogates for one another. Analysis revealed multicollinearity between individual variables; however, none of them approached the .9 level (Pearson's) deemed to be problematic (Ott and Longnecker 2008). Nonetheless, a lack of significance in individual variables within each model is understandable since theoretical models predict and statistical tools indicate multicollinearity among many of these variables.

For SFMNP, model 1(at the .01 level) and model 4 (at the .05 level) were statistically significant (see table 6.3 above); models 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, and 8 were not statistically significant. Within the model one, county poverty rate (PovRat) was significant at the .01 level. Within model 2, none of the indicators were significant. Within model 3, county poverty rate (PovRate) was again statistically significant at the .05 level. Within model 4, interstate presence (Inter) and farmers' market placement

(FMPlac) were statistically significant at the .01 level and the number of days the farmers' market was open (NoDays) was significant at the .05 level. Within model 5, interstate presence (Inter), farmers' market placement (FMPlac), and number of days the farmers' market was open (NoDays) were again significant but all were significant the .01 level. Within model 6, interstate presence (Inter) and farmers' market placement (FMPlac) were again statistically significant at the .01 level and number of days the farmers' market was open (NoDays) was significant at the .05 level. Within model 7, farmers' market placement (FMPlac) was statistically significant at the .01 level and interstate presence (Inter) and number of days the farmers' market was open (NoDays) were significant at the .05 level. It is suspected that many of the same issues of multicollinearity were operating in the SFMNP dataset. However, it is interesting to note that number of days the farmers' market was open (NoDays), interstate presence (Inter), and farmers' market placement (FMPlac) had the lowest correlations with other variables in the SFMNP dataset (and also compared with the correlations in the FMNP dataset).

### **SEM Analysis**

The hypothesized models for FMNP and SFMNP were tested via structural equation modeling using AMOS (see figure 6.1 and 6.2, respectively). Although there was some initial concern about whether the models would be identified (i.e. capable of being solved) because at least one latent variable in each model had only two indicators, this turned out to be an unfounded concern. Both models were over-identified and

converged in fewer than 20 iterations using maximum likelihood estimation and bootstrapping. However, chi square was significant for both models. In most statistical analyses, a significant chi square statistic is desirable. In SEM, chi square is testing the null hypothesis that the data fit the model well; in other words, an insignificant chi square is an indication of a good fit. There is substantial evidence to suggest that chi square is not the best measure of model fit, especially for models with relatively small numbers of cases. Chi square is also impacted by collinearity (correlations) between indicators. Since the population for both of these models was fairly small and because of the known correlations, other measures of model fit were also considered.

The most appropriate test of fit for this model was RMSEA statistic and PCLOSE (which measures the significance of RMSEA). RMSEA values above .10 indicate an inadequate fit, values below .05 a very good fit. Estimates below .01 indicate an outstanding fit, and are seldom obtained. Thus, PCLOSE values do not indicate significance per se, though they are often interpreted or reported this way. In other words, values of .05 or lower are “significant” but more accurately an indication of good fit. RMSEA for the hypothesized FMNP was .396 and the PCLOSE value was .000. RMSEA for the hypothesized SFMNP model was .295 and the PCLOSE value was .000. Thus, poor model fit was indicated in both analyses, and neither model could even be provisionally accepted. Therefore, coefficients and other outputs for the models are not discussed.

There are two possibilities that bear consideration. First, the model exhibited poor fit because it was truly an incorrect model. This is certainly a probable outcome,

and it would not be the first model or set of hypotheses in a dissertation that proved to be incorrect. However, the second possibility is equally likely. The model had good fit, but the small number of cases compared to the relatively large number of parameters to be estimated failed to reveal this. In both models, there were as many parameters to be estimated as there were cases under analysis. Even with bootstrapping, this simply may have been a limitation that could not be overcome. Therefore, although I cannot accept this model, I do not recommend completely discarding it for future research. Because the regression analysis did indicate several significant variables, future research may wish to test or modify this model by expanding the parameters to encompass a larger population. One method of accomplishing this might be to enroll FMNP/SFMNP counties from another state with similar characteristics. This could be used in conjunction with further efforts to reduce the number of parameters to be estimated in the hypothesized model. Nonetheless, considering the state of understanding on FMNP/SFMNP redemption prior to this, even a failed set of models provides a better starting point for further research.

Figure 6.1 Hypothesized FMNP Model of Benefit Utilization

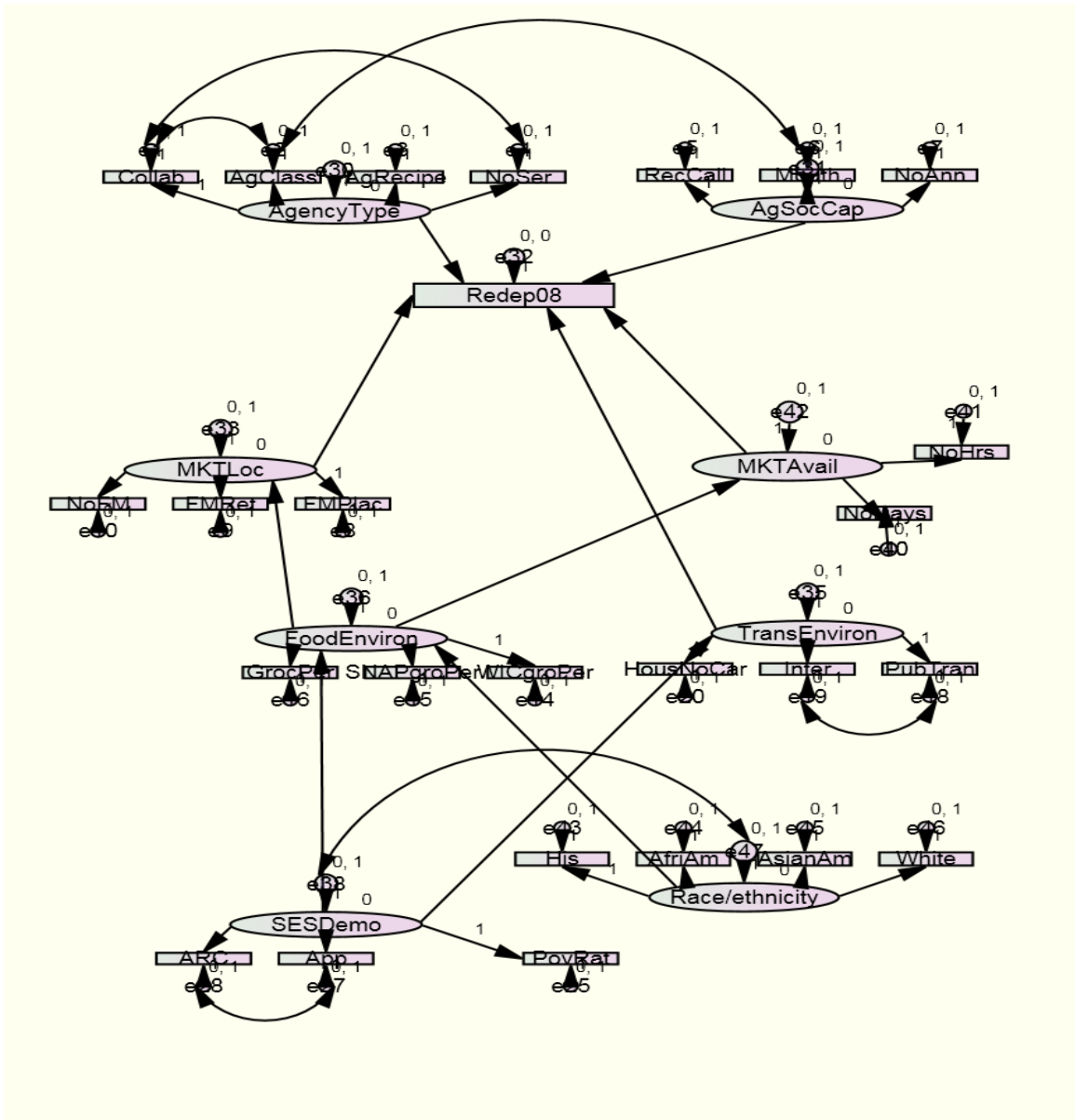
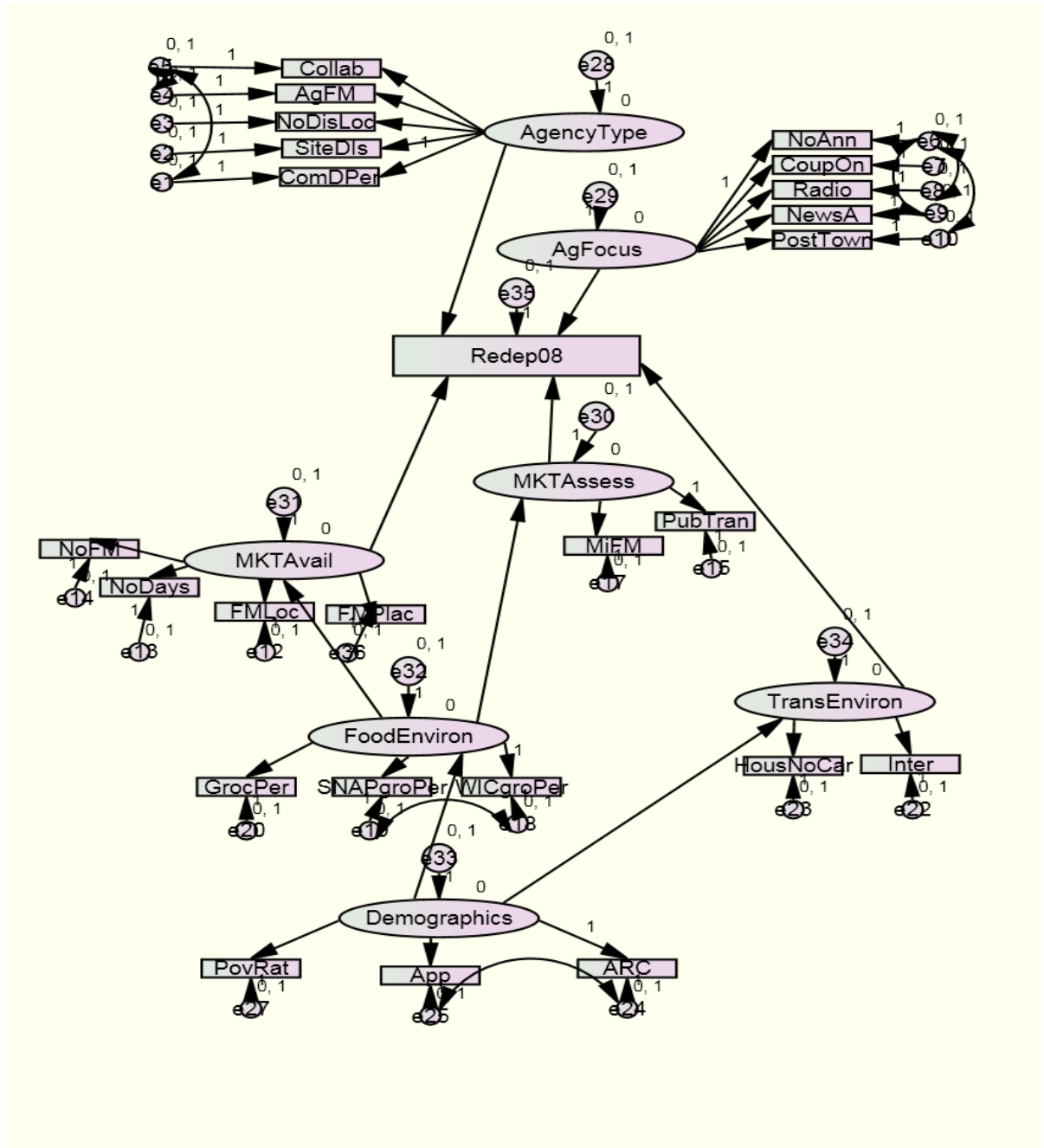


Figure 6.2 Hypothesized SFMNP Model of Benefit Utilization





### **Discussion of Regression Findings**

One of the most substantial relationships between county level characteristics and benefit utilization was that of Appalachian status and poverty rate. The positive and significant relationship between county redemption rate in 2008 (Redep08) with Appalachian Regional Commission designation (ARC), Appalachian status (App), and county poverty rate (PovRat) indicate benefit utilization was higher in counties with persistent poverty (App), higher rates of poverty (PovRat), and greater depths of poverty (ARC). This relationship held for both SFMNP and FMNP. For SFMNP, the number of households without cars (HousNoCar) was positively and significantly correlated with Redep08. While the number of households without cars (HousNoCar) should be viewed as an indicator of the degree of poverty, it could also possibly be viewed as indication of the potential difficulties of transportation and mobility. However, one must keep in mind these data were all collected at the county level and thus do not tell us anything about the individual FMNP or SFMNP participants. County level data cannot speak to any individual level traits of the recipients; thus, data do not reveal whether the individual recipients who used (or did not use) their coupons were more or less economically disadvantaged than those did not (or did use) their coupon. In other words, these findings cannot speak to the impact economic necessity has on individual level behaviors to use or not FMNP/SFMNP coupons. Moreover, the income thresholds for enrollment in the SFMNP and FMNP remain the same regardless of the county of residence. This means that SFMNP and FMNP populations should be in similar individual situations economically.

What the county level data do indicate is that the overall field of socioeconomic demographics impacts benefit utilization. Local fields with higher rates of poverty, more persistent poverty, and greater depths of poverty also have higher rates of benefit utilization in both SFMNP and FMNP. Interpreted in conjunction with the significant and positive relationship between both FMNP and SFMNP benefit utilization (Redep08) and the number of SNAP-authorized grocery stores (SNAPgroPer) and the additional significant and positive correlation between FMNP benefit utilization and the number of WIC authorized grocery stores (WICgroPer)<sup>28</sup>, this suggests FMNP and SFMNP coupons in these local fields may have somewhat different value as food instruments. It is logical for areas with higher rates of poverty to also have higher rates of food retail stores that accept food assistance benefits because those areas generally have a higher percentage of the population receiving assistance benefits. Thus, in fields where food assistance benefits are more common, they also logically play a greater role in constituting the field because they are used by more agents. Food assistance benefits may not exactly be a prized form of economic capital in these fields, but they do not represent a stigmatized capital in such fields. If a particular field is comprised of higher levels, greater depths, and more persistent poverty, then a larger percentage of that field and its various social spaces will be constructed through the actions of low-income populations. In other words, a poor county is a county in which more of the fields are

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<sup>28</sup> That the number of WIC authorized stores was not significantly correlated with SFMNP redemption rates should not be surprising. SFMNP recipients would not meet the eligibility criteria for receiving WIC benefits. Therefore, WIC approved stores would likely have a negligible impact on their food acquisition field. It is, however, possible that some SFMNP recipients might be impacted by WIC benefits. If SFMNP participants were primary caregivers/guardians for their young grandchildren (under the age of five years), then their grandchildren might be eligible for and receive WIC benefits.

created by (at least partially) and for poor people. There will be a greater number of social spaces in which they feel comfortable, which likely includes the subfield of the farmers' market.

The habitus in such a field possibly may also acquire a disposition that more readily utilizes food instrument benefits because of the social capital (i.e. friends, family, acquaintances have used or currently use food assistance benefits) that reinforces the embodied cultural capital (i.e. knowledge of how to use food assistance benefits, perhaps demonstrated by a friend or family member). Much of the data from the interviews indicated FMNP and SFMNP recipients knew each other outside of the agency location and indeed word of mouth was one of the primary means of communicating when and if FMNP/SFMNP benefits were available. While word of mouth was not statistically significant as a variable (possibly due lack of measurement sensitivity), counties with evidence of high levels of social capital in the community also exhibited higher than average redemption rates.

In Kentucky, counties with higher levels of, greater depths of, and more persistent poverty may also experience more hysteresis in the food acquisition field. While this was not systematically investigated in the interviews, there is evidence from the interview data that some rural counties may have a nearly unbroken tradition of obtaining food from what would today be considered alternative food networks. Especially in Appalachia, there is a strong tradition of subsistence farming and uninstitutionalized (non-rationalized) food networks that include unregulated farmstands, bartering food, selling backyard produce, and providing gifts of homegrown

food. In my own home county in Appalachian West Virginia, it was common prior to and throughout my parents' lifetime and also continues to remain prevalent today to see signs in front yards indicating eggs or tomatoes for sale and trucks parked alongside rural roads with peaches for sale. Driving to conduct interviews or to observe officially designated farmers' markets, I witnessed the same sort of phenomena with similar frequency in Appalachian counties. Although I did observe this in rural counties that were not Appalachian, it was much more common in Appalachia. It is possible that many of these fields did not experience enough "progress" to have to have farmers' markets reintroduced as fields created and constructed for upper middle and upper class consumers. Thus, evidence suggests farmers' markets, which in the broader field of food acquisition are fields dominated by those with high levels of cultural and economic capital vis-à-vis the field of power, may be locally constituted fields for those agents without high levels of cultural and economic capital relative to the field of power.

Conversely, a field that has lower levels of poverty will have substantially more fields created and maintained by and for middle class and upper class habitus, those with comparatively higher levels of cultural and economic capital vis-à-vis the field of power. These fields seem to correspond more closely to the dominant trajectory for the current incarnation of farmers' markets. In other words, in these fields, farmers' markets are not subfields that are congruent with the habitus of low-income shoppers, which was evident throughout much of the interview data. Moreover, food assistance instruments, especially physical coupons and not debit-card food instruments, are more likely to be a stigmatized form of capital.

Even in a field that historically has an unbroken tradition of farmstands and non-rationalized food consumption venues may find its upwardly mobile social trajectory to be impacting the congruency between low-income habitus and the subfield of the farmers' market. In Appalachian counties with an ARC designation of transitional (meaning they had substantial ties to the mainstream economy and had significantly lower levels of poverty), benefit utilization was significantly lower than in distressed Appalachian counties. Purchasing foods from farm stands and other alternative food venues may be indicative of low-income habitus, from which these agents are trying to distance themselves. Especially FMNP participants seemed to sometimes view foods from the farmers' market negatively as food for low-income individuals. Thus, on the one hand, there is a tradition of alternative food venues associated with a history of poverty in these transitioning fields. On the other, because these fields are transitioning and have an upwardly mobile social trajectory, it is likely there are an increased number of individuals who are no longer low-income and able to wield more power within the local field. The fields themselves are likely in a state of contestation and struggle as to how to define the field (broadly speaking, poor or non-poor). In the struggle to define the field as "non-poor", it is possible and supported by the interview data that farmers' markets are not viewed as indicators of "good taste" as they among the cultural elites. Rather, farmers' markets may be viewed as indicators of poverty and the habitus they are trying to distance themselves from. Shopping at a farmers' market in these fields may be indicators of a stigmatized set of dispositions. It is also possible food assistance benefits are a stigmatized form of economic capital in a transitional county.

A stigma is a discrediting trait, behavior, or symbol that makes an actor “a less desirable kind” of person (Goffman 1963:3). Most importantly for our purposes, a stigma is not just any undesirable or negative trait. It is “only those which are incongruous with our stereotype of what a given type of individual should be” (Goffman 1963:3). From the interview data, there is evidence of often pervasive and numerous incongruencies between the capitals and dispositions needed to enter and successfully navigate the subfield of the farmers’ market and the actual capitals and dispositions possessed by FMNP participants. This incongruity between the FMNP participants and the subfield of the farmers’ market sets the stage for FMNP participants who enter the farmers’ market subfield to be stigmatized. FMNP participants do not possess the “correct” or adequate capitals needed for the subfield. It is also probably that they often lack the virtuosity (embodied capital or *sens du jeu*) to *pass*, or navigate the subfield well enough to remain undetected as “not belonging” to the field.

Interview data suggested that a distinct subset of FMNP participants were aware consciously or semi-consciously of the incongruencies between the subfield of the farmers’ market and their own habitus, capitals, and dispositions. The uneasiness and uncertainty exhibited by FMNP participants belie more than just a lack of a specific cultural capital needed for successful navigation of the subfield. It also suggests an anxiety and an awareness of not possessing the “right” capitals for the subfield of the farmers’ market. In other words, there is an awareness of possessing the “wrong” capitals that makes entering the subfield of the farmers’ market a particularly hazardous proposition. Entering a subfield with the “wrong”, insufficient, or a lack of dexterity

with the needed capitals carries with it the potential to be exposed as “not belonging there” and thus be stigmatized.

Although Bourdieu does not make mention of stigmatized forms of capital, it is a logical extension of his theoretical paradigm. Bourdieu’s intention was to integrate structural and agentic explanations. Over the span of his life, he outlined a versatile, practical, and robust theoretical framework for understanding social phenomenon. However, his work concentrated more heavily on structural forces and sometimes left micro-level processes implicit or under-developed. Perhaps Bourdieu recognized that his work was not complete or simply realized that theory is ultimately a “thinking tool” that

will have reached its objective, then, if it serves as an instrument of work that readers adapt for purposes of their own analyses. Which means that they should not be afraid, as Foucault (1980:53-54) intimated of Nietzsche’s thought, “to use it, to deform it, to make it groan and protest”. (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: xiv).

Thus incorporating the use of stigma, which stems from the work of Erving Goffman, may not adhere to a dogmatic interpretation of Bourdieu’s work, but it is certainly aligned with the spirit in which Bourdieu intended his theory to be used.

It is equally possible that Appalachian FMNP and SFMNP participants have higher amounts of cultural capital in the form of skills, knowledge, and experience with fresh fruits and vegetables compared to non-Appalachian FMNP and SFMNP participants. In general, Kentucky has a strong agricultural tradition, but Appalachian Kentucky has been dominated economically not by agriculture but by coalmining and related extractive industries. However, Appalachians have historically engaged in backyard gardening as a

way to supplement their incomes and add variety to their diets (Lewis 1993). This tradition has declined, but vestiges do survive and continue to flourish (Veteto 2008). Indeed, my data indicated a strong agricultural and backyard gardening tradition in many of the Kentucky counties, but I could not discern a difference between Appalachian and non-Appalachian counties. This could be due to no meaningful difference, lack of question refinement, or an equivalency made by respondents between backyard gardening and commercial family farms. Notably most of the interview data indicated that while the skills and experience were available within a generation, these skills and experience were not passed along to FMNP participants in the same way that SFMNP participants acquired them. However, in several Appalachian interviews, the data indicated FMNP participants were utilizing their benefits with the intent of taking them to their mothers or grandmothers to prepare for them. It is possible through this process that FMNP participants could acquire the necessary cultural capital to prepare these fresh fruits and vegetables themselves.

The transmission of cultural capital (skills, knowledge, and experience) through social capital (mother-daughter or grandmother-granddaughter social networks) suggests another possibility for the positive impact of the Appalachian field on benefit utilization. Food related behaviors have typically been conserved by women and passed along through intergenerational female social networks. Women's increasing economic employment outside the home has diminished their ability to act as cultural conservators, subsequently driving up demand for convenience foods and decreasing the transmission of cultural capital needed for fresh fruit and vegetable preparation.



Although their labor force participation rates have steadily increased, women's employment rates in Appalachia have lagged behind women's labor force participation in other regions (Baumann 2006; McLaughlin, Lichter, and Matthews 1999) and thus could have allowed for higher levels of cultural capital to be transmitted. Linear regression confirmed a statistically significant inverse relationship between women's labor force participant rate in a county and FMNP redemption rates. This suggests that women's roles in maintaining and/or creating new cultural capitals play an important role. Because the interest was in cultural transmission, women's labor force participation rates were used to approximate employment rates for the mothers of FMNP participants rather than the labor force participation rates of FMNP participants. However, women's labor force participation rates for SFMNP participants were not statistically significant. This could be due to SFMNP participants including both male and female participants, due to the lack of cultural shifts emphasizing convenience during the earlier era, and/or to overall lower levels of female workforce participation in Kentucky. Nonetheless, the lack of significance for SFMNP redemption rates and women's labor force participation rates supports the assertion that intergenerational transmission of cultural capital pertaining to fresh fruit and vegetables (as already suggested in the interview data) was accomplished in the elder generation. This is in contrast to the significant and negative relationship between FMNP redemption rates and county labor force participation rates for their FMNP recipients' mothers' generation. Although more research is needed, this supports the assertion (that was also suggested in the interview data) that intergenerational transmission of cultural

capital pertaining to fresh fruits and vegetables by and large was not accomplished because of broad changes in the field.

### **The Importance of Cultural Capital for FMNP Participants**

The remaining two variables of significance on FMNP redemption rates are recipe receipt (AgRecipe) and number of announcements about FMNP coupons made by the distributing agency (NoAnn). AgRecipe measured whether or not WIC recipients were directly given recipes for the purposes of preparing for fresh fruits and vegetables from the farmers market. Those counties in which recipes, either in the form of booklets or recipe cards, were directly given to FMNP participants had significantly higher redemption rates than those counties which did not provide recipes directly to participants. This builds upon the findings from the interviews that cultural capital (i.e. knowledge of fresh fruits and vegetables) impacts benefit utilization. A very common theme in the FMNP data were that shopping for fresh fruits and vegetables was a novelty for FMNP participants. This unfamiliarity was founded on several deficits of capital and included a lack of knowledge about how to select and prepare fresh foods. If specific deficits of cultural capital pertaining to fresh fruit and vegetable preparation are indeed barriers to fresh fruit and vegetable consumption, then efforts to augment these deficits should have some measurable effect, which the regression analysis suggests is the case. Recipes appear to address some of these deficits of cultural capital pertaining to the use and preparation of fresh fruits and vegetables. Moreover, the recipes convey information in a direct and practical way. Recipes likely have a positive impact on

redemption rates because FMNP recipients can use the recipe cards or booklets as references to augment their institutionalized cultural capital and perhaps even begin to build embodied cultural capital through repeated use of the recipe instructions. It is likely that demonstrations and samplings would have an even greater effect and indeed the FMNP counties that included these did have higher than average redemption rates. However, there simply were not enough cases that included sampling and cooking demonstrations to include that as a variable.

The other positive and significant relationship was between the number of announcements made by the agency to FMNP recipients (NoAnn) and the county redemption rate (Redem08). NoAnn measured the total number of announcements or reminders given FMNP participants about FMNP coupons and/or the farmers' market during the course of the season. The higher the total number of announcements or reminders to use the FMNP coupons that participants in a county were given the higher the county rate of redemption. Typically, these announcements took the form of posting the announcement in the health department, telling the FMNP participants that "FMNP is coming" at the preceding visit during individualized counseling, placing an informational sheet in their folders with the FMNP coupons, and reminding FMNP participants at their follow-up visit to use their coupons. Some counties also occasionally posted announcements in the local newspaper.

The positive and significant relationship between the number of announcements and redemption rates corroborates findings from the interview data. Interview data suggested that FMNP recipients were often not normally shopping at the farmers

market and often did not possess the embodied cultural capital to “naturally” think about going to the farmers market. A central theme was that shopping at the farmers’ market and for fresh fruits and vegetables was a novelty for FMNP participants. This led to them frequently forgetting or simply neglecting to use the coupons. These reminders may serve to supplement the lack of embodied cultural capital and assist FMNP participants to develop a habitus that *thinks about* the farmers’ market. According to Bourdieu’s theoretical framework, embodied capital can only be built through repetition. Counties that are repeatedly conveying information about FMNP and the farmers’ market are more likely to be assisting participants to begin developing embodied capital. Repetition increases the likelihood FMNP participants will acquire institutionalized cultural capital and potentially convert it into embodied cultural capital, first through adaptations in *thought* (thinking about the farmers’ market, FMNP coupons, and/or fresh fruits and vegetables) and then hopefully through adaptations in their *dispositions* (e.g. using FMNP coupons, going to the farmers’ market, consuming more fresh fruits and vegetables).

Interview data also implied a lack of knowledge about how to navigate the social space of the farmers’ market. It is possible that the repetitive announcements not only reinforce the importance of the farmers’ market and augment embodied cultural capital in the form of *thinking* about the farmers’ market but also contain information about how to navigate the space of the farmers’ market, which may be crucial to converting institutionalized capital into embodied capital. WIC officials, especially when they use individual counseling sessions to remind FMNP participants, may be acting as cultural

conservators to transmit not only institutional cultural capital about nutrition but about the embodied capitals and dispositions needed for successfully entering the farmers' market subfield. Putting institutionalized capital into *practice* is one way to acquire embodied capital. However, embodied cultural capital may be acquired directly from interaction (social capital) with those agents already possessing the requisite embodied cultural capital within the field. Many of the WIC officials do indeed possess embodied cultural capital required by the subfield of the farmers' market and could potentially be transmitting some of that to FMNP participants in counties with repeated announcements about FMNP and the farmers' market.

#### **The Importance of Hysteresis for SFMNP Participants**

SFMNP redemption rates were positively and significantly correlated with the number of grocery stores (GroPer) and negatively and significantly correlated with farmers' market placement (FMPlac). Increased numbers of grocery stores per capita significantly correlated with increased SFMNP redemption rates in a county appears puzzling at first blush. This is especially true in light of the evidence that strongly suggests grocery stores and farmers markets are two different subfields of food acquisition. However, an increased number of grocery stores per capita is an indication of less *concentration* within a field. This suggests there are likely more local or small chain grocery stores in the field. For SFMNP participants, these local or small chain grocery stores may be closer to the subfield of the farmers' market than a large

hypermarket. Local grocery stores and small chains may have some of the same sort of history as farmers' markets in poor rural communities.

This is becomes particularly interesting when one considers that local grocery stores and/or smaller chain grocery stores are more likely to be located in small town centers or in rural areas compared to concentrated retail environments in edge cities. It becomes very suggestive when viewed in light of the negative and significant relationship between redemption rates (Redep08) and farmers' market placement (FMPlac). Counties in which farmers' markets were located in lower density retail areas had higher benefit utilization among SFMNP than did counties with farmers' markets located in high density shopping areas. In other words, counties with farmers markets located in rural locations or in small town centers exhibited higher SFMNP redemption rates than did counties whose farmers markets were located in dense shopping districts outside of the central city or downtown. Although technically too small to be characterized as *edge cities*, these dense shopping districts along major highways or at interstate exits/entrances exhibit most of the characteristics of edge cities. These dense shopping districts, which could be thought of as *edge towns*, have high concentrations of retail stores, entertainment venues, restaurants, and businesses along major highways and/or interstate exits that are outside of the central city or downtown. Retailers are typically comprised of "big box" stores, and grocery stores are typically hypermarkets. Hypermarkets are the result of increasing concentration in the food retail sector and have arisen in conjunction with the rise of processed and convenience foods. The widest variety of food products, including numerous niche and specialty

items, is found in hypermarkets and exemplifies the contemporary food shopping experience. In contrast, SFMNP participants were socialized in a field with much less concentration and a variety of local and small chain grocery stores. These stores typically stock a smaller number of items, primarily staples and a limited number of specialty foods. Local and small chain grocery stores are typically not located there but are found primarily in rural areas, the town center, or city downtown. SFMNP participants may consider farmers markets and local/small chain grocery stores to be part of a similar field or simply two more closely related fields because of the particular history in certain fields/counties. For example, my parents (who are in their early 70s and of a similar generation as SFMNP participants) in rural West Virginia typically drive to the same small grocery store they have gone to since I was a small baby. This is despite the large hypermarket that was built about 10 years ago in an edge city less than 10 minutes further away. Often on the way home from the small grocery, they will take a detour to a small farmstand that has different vendors at different times of the season but has been a fixture alongside the road for decades. The grocery store almost certainly remains the default field for food acquisition in these counties. Nonetheless, SFMNP participants may have retained a set of dispositions that lead them to shop at smaller chain grocery stores and supplement their food purchases with products from farmstands or farmers' markets.

### **Collaboration Increases Redemption Rates**

SFMNP agencies with a higher number of and/or stronger collaborations with other organizations or agencies in the county (Collab) exhibited higher county redemption rates (Redep08). In most cases, these collaborations were between county extension agencies, senior centers, local churches, assisted living apartments, and/or farmers' markets. This is consistent with two of the three studies that analyzed benefit utilization (i.e. redemption rates). Conrey, Frongillo, Dollahite, and Griffin (2003) and Dollahite, Nelson, Frongillo, and Griffin (2005) both found that increased coordination and collaboration between agencies also increased benefit utilization. Although they took a community development approach that was designed to increase community capacity-building and specifically cultivated these collaborations, our findings closely correspond.

Collaboration between county agencies likely impacts SFMNP redemption in multiple ways by facilitating conversion of existing capitals and easing the difficulties of navigating the field. SFMNP agencies may be able to leverage the resources of other agencies to successfully augment and address deficits of capital, especially in terms of mobility and transportation. In an urban county with one of the highest SFMNP redemption rates in the state, the SFMNP agency collaborated with local churches and a state NGO, Community Farm Alliance, to distribute coupons to participants in their neighborhoods and locate farmers' markets in low-income neighborhoods. This addressed transportation challenges, which is a form of objectified cultural capital (a car in working order), institutionalized cultural capital (possessing a valid license), and embodied cultural capital (physical ability to drive). It also addressed how the subfield



of the farmers' market was constituted. Although SFMNP participants are more likely to be able to leverage homologies between previous fields and current fields to successfully navigate the subfield of the farmers' market than are FMNP participants, constructing a farmers' market in low-income neighborhoods means SFMNP participants are more likely to be producers of this subfield and thus more likely to be able to successfully navigate the subfield. Other counties, especially rural counties in which substantial geographic distances must be traversed, had higher than average redemption rates when there was collaboration between the SFMNP agency and another agency that provided transportation to the farmers' market. Thus, agencies without the ability to provide transportation for SFMNP participants themselves were often able through collaboration to arrange for transportation to be provided and thus overcome one of the most significant challenges for SFMNP benefit utilization.<sup>29</sup>

It is important to note that collaboration was insignificant for FMNP. I argue this insignificance is not because collaboration had little effect on FMNP but because there was little variability between counties. The majority of FMNP counties exhibited evidence of no collaboration or extremely weak coordination. All counties with evidence of strong collaboration had higher than average redemption rates. FMNP counties with collaborations particularly between the health department (the FMNP agency) and the county extension and/or farmers' market had the highest benefit utilization.

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<sup>29</sup> This is also possibly why transportation was not significantly correlated with redemption. The majority of SFMNP agencies were able to either provide transportation directly or through collaboration with another organization.

**Adding More Pieces to the Puzzle**

This chapter examined some of the broader aspects of the field in which SFMNP and FMNP participants navigate and in which the subfield of the farmers' market is located to better understand benefit utilization. While the SEM analysis could not be utilized for explanatory purposes, the regression analysis added another dimension to benefit utilization yet corroborated the findings from the previous two qualitative chapters. Cultural capital remained important while the specificities of the field were reinforced as significant to benefit utilization. The next chapter discusses these findings along with those from the previous two chapters in the context of practical recommendations for increasing benefit utilization.

## **Chapter 7: Recommendations, Limitations, and Conclusions**

Benefit utilization in the Farmers' Market Nutrition Program (FMNP) and Senior Farmers' Market Nutrition Program is a complex social activity. Through the use of interview and secondary data, this exploratory study examined aspects of the field and habitus that impacted benefit utilization. This chapter reviews these findings, but the major focus is on policy recommendations that can be used to increase benefit utilization in the Senior Farmers' Market Nutrition Program (SFMNP) and Farmers' Market Nutrition Program (FMNP) in Kentucky. These policy recommendations could also potentially be extrapolated to further develop efforts to improve the nutrition statuses of low-income populations in general. Limitations of this current study will then be discussed, followed by recommendations for follow-up and further study.

### **Findings from the Interview and Secondary Data Analysis**

Through the application of Bourdieu's theory to data collected via interviews and through secondary sources, several important factors impacting variable benefit utilization in the Senior Farmers' Market Nutrition Program (SFMNP) and the Farmers' Market Nutrition Program (FMNP) in Kentucky have emerged. First, SFMNP and FMNP's variable redemption rates, compared to other food assistance programs, were explained in part by the differences in the subfields of the grocery store compared to the farmers' market. The most salient contextual finding from the data was the stark distinction made between the subfield of the farmers' market and the subfield of the grocery store. The grocery store represented the default or essential subfield for food

acquisition while the farmers' market was a non-essential subfield for food acquisition. This not only provided the foundation for explaining variable benefit utilization in SFMNP and FMNP vis-à-vis the exhaustive rates in other food assistance programs, but it also provided the cornerstone for understanding the differences between SFMNP and FMNP benefit utilization.

Although rates do vary between counties, SFMNP participants utilize their benefits at a consistently higher rate than FMNP participants. The data revealed that while the subfield of the farmers' market was typically a non-essential subfield for food acquisition for both SFMNP and FMNP participants, it was often a "special" subfield imbued with nostalgia for SFMNP participants. The subfield farmers' market was contrasted primarily unfavorably with the grocery store subfield and with the fast food subfield for FMNP participants. This was primarily due to SFMNP participants' habitus exhibiting substantially higher levels of congruency with the subfield of the farmers' market compared to FMNP participants' habitus. FMNP participants exhibited substantial and multiple deficits of corresponding capital, particularly cultural, compared to SFMNP participants, which resulted in the low degree of congruency between their habitus and the farmers' market subfield. It also substantially reduced their ability to successfully navigate the subfield of the farmers' market (i.e. redeem their FMNP benefits).

This leads to the second finding: FMNP participants tended to have lower amounts of the needed forms of cultural capital, embodied and otherwise, to ensure the needed congruency between their habitus and the subfield of the farmers market of

food acquisition. SFMNP participants, because they frequently experience hysteresis, typically exhibit more congruence between their habitus and the subfield of the farmers market. FMNP participants' rarely possessed the embodied cultural capital needed to navigate subfield of the farmers' market and typically were unable to leverage existing institutionalized cultural capital. Embodied capitals for FMNP participants' were disposed toward utilizing convenience foods and fast food restaurants rather than fresh fruits and vegetables. Despite evidence these capitals were available within the previous generation, embodied and institutionalized cultural capital to be able to easily utilize, prepare, and consume fresh fruits and vegetables were not transmitted via the family. This sometimes also led to deficits of objectified cultural capital (i.e. lack of cooking implements in the home). Additionally, deficits of institutionalized cultural capital led FMNP participants to misunderstand the importance, as stipulated by nutritionists and other scientists, of consuming fresh fruits and vegetables.

SFMNP participants were much more likely to possess the requisite species of capitals, particularly embodied cultural capital as indicated by their experiences in agriculture, gardening, and with cooking in general, that facilitated benefit utilization. SFMNP participants were able to leverage capitals and dispositions from earlier fields and socialization (hysteresis) to utilize their benefits, but FMNP participants' earlier socialization appeared to provide only additional barriers and deficits of capitals. The most common challenge to SFMNP benefit utilization was physical mobility, arguably the most fundamental form of embodied cultural capital. Most SFMNP participants were well elders with minor mobility issues, but some did utilize walkers, canes, and/or

wheelchairs. Transportation could be a challenge, but most SFMNP participants could rely on social capital or the SFMNP agency to get to the farmers' market.

The third finding was that the broader local field of power in which the farmers' markets have developed impacted SFMNP and FMNP benefit utilization. For both SFMNP and FMNP, county redemption rate in 2008 (Redep08) was positively correlated with Appalachian Regional Commission designation (ARC), Appalachian status (App), and county poverty rate (PovRat). Along with the number of households without cars (HousNoCar) for SFMNP, these correlations indicate benefit utilization is higher in counties with persistent poverty (App), higher rates of poverty (PovRat), and greater depths of poverty (ARC for both FMNP and SFMNP and HousNoCar for SFMNP). With the significant and positive relationship for both SFMNP and FMNP with the number of SNAP-authorized grocery stores (SNAPgroPer) and the additional positive correlation for FMNP with the number of WIC authorized grocery stores (WICgroPer), FMNP and SFMNP coupons in these local fields likely have somewhat different value. In fields where they are used more frequently, food instruments play a greater role in constituting the field. A county with more poverty is a county where more fields are created by and for low-income populations, which likely includes the subfield of the farmers' market.

This leads to a corollary to the third finding: the amount of hysteresis in a field appears to impact redemption rates. Especially in Appalachia, there is a strong tradition of subsistence farming and non-rationalized food networks that include unregulated farmstands, bartering foodstuffs, selling backyard produce, and providing gifts of

homegrown food. Evidence suggested many of these fields did not experience the reintroduction of farmers' markets. These farmers' markets, which in the broader field of food acquisition are dominated by those with high levels of cultural and economic capital vis-à-vis the field of power, appear to be locally constituted subfields for those agents without high levels of cultural and economic capital relative to the field of power. This leads to higher redemption rates in both FMNP and SFMNP.

Furthermore, Appalachian FMNP and SFMNP participants appear to have higher amounts of cultural capital in the form of skills, knowledge, and experience with fresh fruits and vegetables compared to non-Appalachian FMNP and SFMNP participants. Appalachians have historically engaged in backyard gardening as a way to supplement their incomes and add variety to their diets. Though this tradition has declined, there are indications that it has continued. In Appalachian counties, FMNP participants were taking the vegetables and fruits purchased with their benefits to their mothers or grandmothers to prepare for them. The transmission of cultural capital through social capital may also be stronger in the Appalachian field. Food related behaviors have typically been conserved by women and passed along through intergenerational female social networks but increasing economic employment outside the home has diminished their ability to act as cultural conservators. Linear regression confirmed a statistically significant inverse relationship between women's labor force participant rate in a county and FMNP redemption rates, but women's labor force participation rates for SFMNP participants were not statistically significant. The lack of significance for SFMNP redemption rates and women's labor force participation rates supports the assertion

that intergenerational transmission of cultural capital pertaining to fresh fruit and vegetables (as already suggested in the interview data) was accomplished in the elder generation. The significant and negative relationship between FMNP redemption rates and county labor force participation rates for FMNP recipients' mothers' generation suggested intergenerational transmission of cultural capital was not accomplished because of broad changes in the field.

SFMNP redemption rates were correlated with two aspects of the field of food acquisition: the number of grocery stores (GroPer) and farmers' market placement (FMPlac). Increased numbers of grocery stores per capita were significantly correlated with increased SFMNP redemption rates. Because an increased number of grocery stores per capita is an indication of less *concentration* within a field, this suggests there are likely more local or small chain grocery stores in the field. Local grocery stores and/or smaller chain grocery stores are more likely to be located in small town centers or in rural areas compared to concentrated retail environments in edge cities. There was a negative correlation between redemption rates (Redep08) and farmers' market placement (FMPlac). This meant counties with farmers markets located in rural locations or in small town centers exhibited higher SFMNP redemption rates than did counties whose farmers markets were located in dense shopping districts outside of the central city or downtown. SFMNP participants were socialized in a field with less concentration and a variety of local and small chain grocery stores. These stores typically stock a smaller number of items, primarily staples and a limited number of specialty foods. Local and small chain grocery stores are typically not located there but



are found primarily in rural areas, the town center, or city downtown. SFMNP participants may consider farmers' markets and local/small chain grocery stores to be part of a similar field or simply two more closely related fields because of the particular history in certain fields/counties. The grocery store almost certainly remains the default field for food acquisition in these counties. Nonetheless, SFMNP participants may have retained a set of dispositions that lead them to shop at smaller chain grocery stores and supplement their food purchases with products from farmstands or farmers' markets.

Finally, certain policies already in practice by the local distributing agencies impact redemption rates. Two FMNP agency policies and procedures were found to be positively correlated with benefit utilization: recipe receipt (AgRecipe) and number of announcements about FMNP coupons made by the distributing agency (NoAnn). Those counties in which recipes, either in the form of booklets or recipe cards, were directly given to FMNP participants had significantly higher redemption rates than did counties who did not provide recipes directly to participants. Recipes appear to address certain deficits of cultural capital, particularly the use and preparation of fresh fruits and vegetables, and convey information in a direct and practical way. NoAnn measured the total number of announcements or reminders given FMNP participants about FMNP coupons and/or the farmers' market during the course of the season. The higher the total number of announcements or reminders to use the FMNP coupons that participants in a county were given the higher the county rate of redemption. This meant posting the announcement in the health department, verbally communicating

information during individualized counseling, placing information in their folders with the FMNP coupons, and reminding FMNP participants to use their coupons. Because FMNP recipients do not normally shop at the farmers' market nor possess the embodied cultural capital to "naturally" think about going to the farmers' market, these reminders serve to supplement the lack of embodied cultural capital and assist FMNP participants to develop a habitus that *thinks about* the farmers' market. Repetition increases the likelihood FMNP participants will acquire institutionalized cultural capital and potentially convert it into embodied cultural capital. Furthermore, WIC officials, especially during individual counseling sessions, may be transmitting not only institutional cultural capital about nutrition but also embodied capitals and dispositions needed for successfully entering the farmers' market subfield.

SFMNP agencies with a higher number of and/or stronger collaborations with other organizations or agencies in the county (Collab) exhibited higher county redemption rates (Redep08). In most cases, these collaborations were between county extension agencies, senior centers, local churches, assisted living apartments, and/or farmers' markets. Collaboration between county agencies likely impacts SFMNP redemption in multiple ways by facilitating conversion of existing capitals and easing the difficulties of navigating the field. SFMNP agencies may be able to leverage the resources of other agencies to successfully augment and address deficits of capital, especially in terms of mobility and transportation. Thus, agencies without the ability to provide transportation for SFMNP participants themselves were often able through collaboration to arrange for transportation to be provided and thus overcome one of

the most significant challenges for SFMNP benefit utilization. Collaboration also leveraged the social capital of other organizations to announce and remind SFMNP participants of the farmers' market and SFMNP coupons. While collaboration was insignificant for FMNP, this was likely due to little variability between counties. Most FMNP counties had no collaboration or extremely weak coordination with other agencies. However, those FMNP counties that did have evidence of strong collaboration had higher than average redemption rates.

These findings suggest a variety of ways FMNP and SFMNP benefit utilization can be increased. More broadly, these findings suggest potential ways fresh fruit and vegetable consumption might be increased among low-income populations as well as increase farmers' market usage. The recommendations are discussed in the following section.

**Policy Recommendations: Three Broad and Three Specific**

One of the main objectives of this particular dissertation was to generate practical recommendations to improve fresh fruit and vegetable consumption among low income populations and specifically to improve benefit utilization in Kentucky among SFMNP and FMNP participants. Analysis of data has produced findings that have resulted in three broad and three specific recommendations. First, opportunities for SFMNP and FMNP participants to enter the subfield of the farmers' market and/or consume fresh fruits and vegetables should be increased. Second, social capital and local histories should be leveraged to increase other forms of capital in which participants are deficient. Third, efforts to increase cultural transmission of fresh fruit

and vegetable preparation and consumption should be implemented throughout broader segments of society. More specifically, local distributing agencies, particularly FMNP agencies, should implement and increase recipe distribution to participants. Also, local agencies should increase the number of and types of announcements or reminders about FMNP/SFMNP coupons. Finally, local agency collaborations need to be cultivated.

While all of these recommendations would impact FMNP and SFMNP redemption rates, the recommendations are of two types beyond being specific or broad. The specific recommendations target increasing FMNP and SFMNP redemption rates and are more likely to generate an impact quickly. The broad recommendations target increasing fresh fruit and vegetable consumption beyond FMNP and SFMNP and thus parallel the objectives of these two food assistance programs. Because these recommendations are geared towards changing a set of related behaviors (food acquisition, broadly defined) rather than one specific social behavior (benefit utilization), results will take longer to come to fruition but will be more durable and far-reaching. Therefore, if the priority is to increase benefit utilization, then efforts should be made to implement the three specific recommendations. If the priority is to increase fresh fruit and vegetable consumption over a longer period of time, then efforts should be made to implement the three broader recommendations.

### **Three Specific Recommendations**

The following section discusses the three specific recommendations geared towards the immediate goal of increasing FMNP and SFMNP benefit utilization. These three recommendations include distributing recipes, increasing announcements, and

establishing more numerous and stronger collaborations between local agencies. Each recommendation in this section requires minimal additional resources but should promote increased benefit utilization rather quickly after implementation.

### **Distribute Recipes**

More immediate increase in FMNP benefit utilization would result from providing recipe cards and booklets to participants. Because FMNP recipients frequently lacked the knowledge and skill to prepare meals using fresh fruits and vegetables, recipe booklets and cards provide a direct, explicit institutionalized cultural capital that with repetition of use could be converted into embodied cultural capital. FMNP counties that distributed recipes that utilized foods from the farmers' market had higher rates of benefit utilization. Recipes were directly given to FMNP participants at their recertification appointments, and this is the recommended distribution route. This assures receipt of the recipes for all participants and provides an opportunity for FMNP personnel to reinforce the importance of the program and increased fresh fruit and vegetable consumption.

Most of these counties obtained their recipes from the county extension.<sup>30</sup> This would be a highly recommended source for other counties as well. Because of their familiarity with fresh fruits and vegetables and cooking, SFMNP redemption is unlikely to benefit from increased distribution of recipes. It is also unlikely to have been insignificant due to lack of variability. Some SFMNP agencies provided recipes while

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<sup>30</sup> As will be discussed later on, this sort of collaboration was rare among FMNP agencies but was shown to significantly increase benefit utilization for SFMNP.

others did not.<sup>31</sup> SFMNP participants might, however, be an untapped source for recipes using fresh fruits and vegetables from the farmers' market. Many of the SFMNP agencies were county extension agencies or senior centers and compiling a series of recipe cards or booklets by the SFMNP participants for FMNP participants could be a relatively straightforward task that would not require additional resources.

It is likely that demonstrations and samplings would have an even greater effect on redemption rates. Indeed the FMNP counties that included samplings and demonstrations did have higher than average redemption rates. However, there simply were not enough cases that included sampling and demonstration to include that as a variable. These were also counties that had other factors operating that were associated with increased benefit utilization. Considering the challenges posed by the individualized nature of FMNP distribution and the reluctance of FMNP participants to attend classes, implementing widespread demonstrations might be impractical. Self-serve sampling at the health department might be a more feasible alternative to cultivate a "taste" for farmers' market foods, but it would require commitment on the part of either WIC or farmers' market vendors to consistently prepare and provide the food for sampling.

### **Increase Announcements**

Increasing the number of announcements made by agency officials to FMNP recipients is another immediate way to boost benefit utilization. Because SFMNP agencies were all likely to give multiple and frequent reminders to SFMNP participants,

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<sup>31</sup> In several instances, seniors were reported to exchange recipes with each other.

there was very little variability but this could have impacted significance. Therefore, increased announcements for SFMNP participants are also recommended, especially since “forgetfulness” was one of the most cited barriers to benefit utilization for SFMNP participants. Posting the announcement in a prominent location at the agency, verbally telling participants in advance of the program’s commencement, physically handing participants a small flyer or physical reminder, and verbally reminding participants after receipt of their benefits should be the basis for marketing FMNP and SFMNP to participants. These announcements should occur over an extended period of time and in diverse forms. They also require very little in the form of time or financial resources but are heavily reliant on agency diligence and follow-up.

The repetitive announcements not only reinforce the importance of the farmers’ market and augment embodied cultural capital in the form of *thinking* about the farmers’ market but also contain information about how to navigate the space of the farmers’ market, which may be crucial to converting institutionalized capital into embodied capital. Agency officials may be using their social capital to act as cultural conservators to transmit both institutional cultural capital and embodied capitals and dispositions needed for successfully entering the farmers’ market subfield. This could be a serendipitous latent effect of multiple announcements.

#### **Cultivate Interagency Collaboration**

Interagency collaboration should be pursued as a way to increase benefit utilization. It is recommended for both FMNP and SFMNP agencies even though it was statistically significant for only SFMNP. Most FMNP agencies had no collaboration with

other organizations or agencies and thus there was a lack of variability. FMNP counties that did have evidence of strong collaboration all had higher than average benefit utilization rates. It is possible that the agency infrastructure needed to adequately address the deficits of capital for FMNP participants is not yet in place in the same way agency infrastructure is in place to address SFMNP capital deficits. SFMNP participants are challenged by many of the same challenges that any elder might face on a day to day basis: mobility, transportation, and “forgetfulness”. Community development organizations have considerable experience with facilitating elders’ challenges but may not have adequate experience with low-income women with children to effectively address their changing deficits. This should be borne in mind when establishing interagency collaborations. Because bonding social capital is likely to be more readily available for elders, SFMNP interagency collaborations may be more apparent than which agencies or organizations should be tapped for collaboration with FMNP agencies.

Cultivating interagency collaboration should begin with agencies and organizations with existing expertise and success with low-income elders, women and children. Since each local field will have difference histories and power dynamics, an exhaustive list of potential collaborations is not possible to generate. County extension, local farmers’ markets, and local churches were interagency collaborators with the few FMNP counties that had evidence of collaboration. These were the most common for SFMNP as well. However, collaborations for SFMNP agencies also frequently extended



to local non-governmental organizations, senior centers, assisted living housing, and even other municipal agencies (such as the transit authority).

The interagency collaboration most highly recommended is between SFMNP and FMNP agencies within a county. Local SFMNP and FMNP agencies had contact with surprising rarity. In nearly all cases, when directly asked, local agency officials from both SFMNP and FMNP explained that they served two different populations and expressed surprise that I would ask about contact, much less collaboration. Yet, this is a case where bridging social capital needs to be leveraged. As noted previously, SFMNP participants are a potentially powerful source of cultural capital for recipes using fresh fruits and vegetables from the farmers' market. Interviews indicated many SFMNP participants shared recipes with each other. These recipes could easily be shared with FMNP recipients in the form of cookbooks or simply recipe cards created by SFMNP participants.

SFMNP and FMNP participants could also augment each other's capital. One of the primary objectives of senior centers was to increase socialization among their elders. Intergenerational contact would augment this objective by increasing social capital for SFMNP participants while leveraging SFMNP participants' embodied cultural capital to increase FMNP participants' own cultural capital. Potentially assisting SFMNP participants to remember to use their own benefits, intergenerational pairing would assist FMNP participants develop embodied cultural capital in the areas of fresh fruit and vegetable selection, preparation and consumption. Pairing of FMNP participants with SFMNP participants to specifically go shopping at the farmers' market and/or the

grocery store and assist with preparation of the foods purchased would be useful because SFMNP participants would be able to directly transmit their embodied cultural capital via social capital, which Bourdieu argued was far more effective than transmitting it through institutionalized cultural capital.

The specific implementation of such intergenerational pairing programs could take several forms. One possibility would be to have SFMNP participants provide cooking demonstrations and samplings at regularly scheduled intervals for FMNP participants. These could take place at local extension agencies or senior centers, both of which typically have kitchen facilities. These group demonstrations could take on either a classroom dimension or a food fair atmosphere, but they nevertheless represent a more formalized approach to intergenerational pairings. In the same vein, organized excursions for FMNP and SFMNP participants to the farmers' market could be coordinated several times per season.

A more individualized and personal approach would be to pair a specific elder with a specific young woman and her children. Cooking, sampling, and shopping would occur at the participants' leisure and within more intimate settings. Specific deficits of cultural capital, such as how to select and prepare an eggplant or kale, could be addressed in situ. FMNP participants could learn to utilize their own kitchens and begin to develop a taste for foods they selected and prepared. SFMNP participants could cultivate and renew their own sense of purpose by acting as mentors for these young women and their children. While not without potential drawbacks, this would more readily encourage social bonds to form than the more formalized approach, and it might

also have the latent effect of increasing other capitals for participants. These effects would be likely to spill over into the local agencies and broader community.

Beyond increased social and cultural capital for program participants, shared resources and increased community capacity are among the many potential benefits for local organizations. Expertise could be shared between agencies, maximizing effectiveness and reducing duplication of workload. Increased coordination and collaboration would promote a broader and deeper understanding of the local field, various subfields, and the habitus of those served. This could lead to creative and effective solutions to local barriers to benefit utilization through use of multiple sources of expertise. Without requiring additional resources, interagency collaboration would also facilitate the implementation of previous recommendations to increase benefit utilization. Increased collaboration offers an opportunity for local agencies to learn from each other's best practices and even failures to better serve SFMNP and FMNP populations and the local community. Dissemination of effective strategies will enhance benefit utilization in the immediate future and will encourage broader shifts in the nutritional statuses of the local community. With increased interagency collaboration, more organizations in a local field are promoting the same message (whether it is simply to remind SFMNP and FMNP participants to use their benefits at the farmers' market or a broader public health initiative promoting fresh fruits and vegetables) and are more likely to be able overcome the durability of the habitus.

### **Three Broad Recommendations**

The following sections discuss the broad recommendations geared towards longer term changes in food acquisition, particularly as it relates to fresh fruit and vegetable consumption. They augment and parallel the objectives of FMNP and SFMNP, but immediate increases in benefit utilization are unlikely to be seen when compared to the previous three specific recommendations. These three broad recommendations require a larger commitment of resources to enact, but the results are targeted towards more durable increases in fresh fruit and vegetable consumption.

### **Increase Opportunities to use the Farmers' Market**

For FMNP and SFMNP participants to acquire embodied cultural capital and incorporate it as part of their disposition, they must be able to put their institutionalized cultural capital into *practice*. This requires repeated entry into the field of the farmers' market to overcome the durability of the habitus and allow them to become producers of the field and be (re)produced (because as adults it is resocialization) by the field.

And another effect of the scholastic illusion is seen when people describe resistance to domination in the language of consciousness – as does the whole Marxist tradition and also the feminist theorists who, giving way to habits of thought, expect political liberation to come from the 'raising of consciousness' – ignoring the extraordinary inertia which results from the inscription of social structures in bodies, for lack of a dispositional theory of practices. While making things explicit can help, only a thoroughgoing process of countertraining, involving repeated exercises, can, like an athlete's training, durably transform habitus. (Bourdieu 2000: 172).

It is not enough to transmit intellectual knowledge of nutrition and farmers' markets if a long-lasting and substantial change in food-related behaviors is desired. One way to promote this conversion and thus the utilization of benefits (and long-term usage of

farmers' markets and increase fresh fruits and vegetables) is to provide repeated means of entering the field. There are several cases of counties (usually SFMNP but one instance of FMNP) with high redemption rates that transport recipients as a group into the farmers' market field of acquisition *on a regular basis*. This repeated exposure, even if participants are not actually purchasing anything, increases their familiarity with the market experience and the dispositions and capitals needed for ease of navigation of the subfield.

Other food assistance programs could also be utilized to increase opportunities to enter the farmers' market subfield. Given what we know about the conversion of institutionalized capital into embodied capital, it is likely that WIC, with its recent addition of fresh fruits and vegetables to the WIC basket, may particularly assist FMNP recipients to develop a taste for fresh fruits and vegetables, thus assisting in the conversion of capital(s), altering their dispositions, and increasing the congruency between the low income habitus and the field of the farmers' market. The Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP), however, could potentially have far greater effect.

SNAP is the largest food assistance program in the United States and could be used to boost both FMNP and SFMNP redemption over the long term as well as increase use of farmers' markets and consumption of fresh fruits and vegetables. SNAP benefits are allocated each month and year-round. Currently, although many farmers' markets are not yet EBT-ready, there is a push from the USDA to use SNAP at farmers' markets. This could provide substantial opportunities for repeated entry into the farmers' market

to convert their capital, acquire the necessary dispositions, and become producers of the field. Current SNAP usage at farmers' markets represents approximately .01% of all SNAP redemption so there is considerable room for expansion. Considering the breadth of the program, this could be a substantial tool for transforming low-income participants eating habits and expanding use of farmers' markets.

SNAP could be particularly effective if a certain percentage of benefits were converted into SNAP FMNP benefits during the farmers' market season. This would not require additional funding because it would utilize funding already allocated for SNAP. However, converting a small percentage of the benefits a household received into benefits that could only be used for purchasing fresh fruits and vegetables at farmers' markets would open up tremendous possibilities for improving nutritional statuses. First, it would greatly increase the opportunities for repeated exposure to the farmers' market and to fresh fruits and vegetables. This would increase the likelihood of cultivating dispositions and reshaping the habitus in ways that consume higher amounts of fresh fruits and vegetables. Second, it would reach a much larger percentage of the low-income population. This would mean more low-income individuals and households could improve their nutritional statuses as well as potentially increase the likelihood of socializing their children to have dispositions and habitus that consume higher amounts of fresh fruits and vegetables. Just as important, it could change the subfield of the farmers' market. More low-income consumers shopping at the farmers' market would mean more of the subfield was constituted by and for them. Not only would the repetition of exposure increase their *sens du jeu* for the farmers' market, but the

farmers' market would likely shift towards the capitals they already possess. This could reinforce the likelihood of cultural transmission of these dispositions to their children, who might develop a habitus with a preference for fresh fruits and vegetables. Expanding the number of shoppers at farmers' markets would also benefit local smallholder farmers and vendors at farmers' markets by expanding their consumer base and providing them with a reliable and stable source of revenue.

There are several drawbacks. First, the majority of farmers' markets are not EBT-ready although the number is increasing and the USDA has increased its commitment to expanding access. Second, it is likely that SNAP FMNP would exhibit variable benefit utilization while low-income populations acquired the necessary capitals needed to fully utilize the benefits of the program. Third, SNAP FMNP could make both SFMNP and FMNP obsolete. SNAP serves many more low-income individuals and households than either SFMNP or FMNP, but there is considerable overlap in the program populations. This raises the question of whether it is more important to expand and improve SFMNP and FMNP specifically or to improve access to fresh fruits and vegetables and to farmers' markets for low-income populations. Finally, reconstituting the farmers' market to be constituted more by and for low-income participants could result in more affluent consumers abandoning the farmers' market as a marker of distinction in search of other subfields of food acquisition. This would result in the loss of revenue for farmers' markets, but it would likely be more than offset by the increased number of SNAP FMNP consumers shopping at the farmers' market.

Another potential way of promoting repeated entry into the subfield of the farmers' market is for farmers' market vendors to offer incentives SFMNP and FMNP participants. In one county in Kentucky with one of the highest redemption rates in the state, farmers' market vendors created special baskets for SFMNP participants that were priced in the same 2 dollar increments as their benefits. Because vendors are not permitted to "make change", the benefits used have to equal the total price of the vegetables and fruits purchased. Otherwise, participants lose some of the value of their benefits. These baskets also provided a better value for SFMNP participants than buying the vegetables individually. Though this will be discussed in the following section, these farmers' markets also were located in low-income neighborhoods and thus leveraged the specific local histories of the fields to increase utilization.

Farmers' markets could also utilize script to augment benefits and encourage repeat entry into the farmers' market subfield. For every benefit "dollar" spent at the farmers' market, participants could receive another "dollar" in script to be used at that farmers' market. This would increase their economic capital to purchase fresh fruits and vegetables and encourage the development of cultural capital. One example of this script system is the Fresh Bucks program in Rhode Island. For each SNAP or WIC purchase, participants are given a one dollar script coin to use at the farmers' market. The script coins are subject to the same regulations as SNAP and WIC transactions. Philanthropic and community organizations provide the majority of the financial support to fund the script system. While this system relies on farmers' markets that are EBT-



ready, Kentucky farmers' markets could implement a voucher system while they are still growing their EBT infrastructure.

### **Leverage Social Capital and Local Histories**

In Appalachian counties, some FMNP participants were taking the vegetables and fruits purchased with their benefits to their mothers or grandmothers to prepare for them. Through leveraging their social capital in this way, FMNP participants could acquire the necessary cultural capital to prepare these fresh fruits and vegetables themselves. Even in non-Appalachian counties, there was evidence that in some instances family members within a generation had the skills to prepare and utilize fresh fruits and vegetables. While encouraging interfamilial social capital might be ideal, a more practical use of social capital would be to establish connections between SFMNP participants and FMNP participants. SFMNP participants typically exhibit high levels of the necessary capitals needed by FMNP participants. Establishing intergenerational social networks would benefit both groups. FMNP participants could gain the necessary skills, knowledge, and experience to improve their nutritional statuses, and SFMNP participants could benefit through sharing their cultural capital. Moreover, it would encourage the recommended interagency collaboration.

Social capital and interaction in the field shape and are shaped by the positions of the actors and specific histories of the field. Fields with higher levels, greater depths, and more persistent poverty will have a larger percentage of that field and its various social spaces constructed through the actions of low-income populations. Even in fields dominated by affluent populations, there will be subfields which are constituted

by and for those with lower amounts of capital vis-à-vis the field of power. If improving SFMNP and FMNP benefit utilization and increasing farmers' market participation by low-income populations is the goal, then those power dynamics within a local field should be taken into account when considering where to locate a farmers' market. Where do SFMNP and FMNP participants live? Where do low-income participants shop? What subfields do they operate in and feel most comfortable? These are questions that should be examined for each local field.

To be clear, geographic space and distance do not appear to be the issue. It is social space that is the linchpin. Transportation was not significant for either SFMNP or FMNP nor was the distance between SFMNP/FMNP agency and the farmers' market. This does not mean that transportation is not a challenge per se. However, the interview data suggested participants could leverage social capital to get where they needed and often wanted to go. SFMNP participants, even when the local agency did not provide transportation, could rely on family or friends reliably. FMNP participants appeared to have a more difficult time but were typically able to "catch rides" to places others in their social networks were already going. Walmart was mentioned as a frequent destination of FMNP participants and indeed counties with farmers' markets located adjacent to Walmarts and other big box retailers had higher than average redemption rates. However, this practical application of the general principle did not hold true for SFMNP participants. SFMNP counties had higher redemption rates when farmers' markets were located near main streets or central city downtowns. One county, which had SFMNP redemption rates among the highest in state, had located

farmers' markets in low-income neighborhoods, which could in principle be applied to FMNP participants. This divergence between SFMNP and FMNP participants is yet another reminder to be cautious in treating low-income populations as one homogeneous group. Nonetheless, counties should take advantage of the fact that fields overlap, intersect, nest, and encompass other fields and are locally constituted with specific histories. This means that a "one size fits all" approach cannot and will not work but requires leveraging local knowledge. Fortunately, this knowledge should be readily available within local community development agencies including local extension agencies, health departments, community action centers, senior centers, local business associations and county chambers of commerce.

#### **Address Issues of Cultural Transmission**

While leveraging social capital can assist with increasing cultural capital, it does not completely address the underlying issues of cultural transmission relating to consumption and preparation of fresh fruits and vegetables. Cooking skills, experience with seasonal and fresh foods, and indeed even a "taste" for fresh fruits and vegetables is primarily relegated to elder generations and cultural elites. FMNP participants exhibited multiple, concurrent, and often serious deficits of these sorts of cultural capitals. Just as important, a significant number of them appeared to have deficits of institutional cultural capital pertaining to basic nutrition. FMNP participants all have children that they are socializing into specific positions and dispositions. FMNP participants are not unique among low-income populations nor even the general public with their lack of cultural capital pertaining to food-related behaviors regarded by

nutritionists as healthy. Therefore, widespread efforts throughout the broader fields intersecting the field of food acquisition need to be made to durably alter habitus and dispositions that prefer high-calorie, nutrient-poor and highly processed foods.

I recommend reinstating an updated program of home economics into the American school system. Divesting itself of gender stereotypes and 1950s ideals, a household management class for the 21<sup>st</sup> century would focus on transmitting the cultural capital needed to adequately and consistently make healthy food choices for both adolescent males and females. This household management program should include relevant nutrition information such as caloric requirements and basic food composition (protein, fiber, etc) as well as the effects of dietary composition on the body. Furthermore, students should be taught how to interpret food labels and basic information about the food and agricultural industry (i.e. seasonality, processing information, distribution). Most importantly, students should be taught how to cook as both a basic art and science. Creating quick, nutritious meals with common cooking utensils and fresh food ingredients should be stressed to eradicate the misconception (perhaps perpetuated by Food Network as much as by the processed food and fast food industries' marketing) that home-cooking must be time-consuming and laborious. Students should be engaged in applying these skills in the classroom, farmers' market, grocery store, and schoolyard garden. By cooking actual meals on stoves and in ovens with food they have chosen at the farmers' market or grocery store or have themselves grown, institutionalized cultural capital will be more likely to be transformed into embodied capital.

Perhaps this recommendation seems too expensive considering budgetary concerns. No doubt there would need to be additional resources allocated for such a program. Considering the skyrocketing costs associated with obesity and other dietary-related diseases and the increasing incidence among younger populations, implementing a modern household management program would almost certainly be a cost-saving move especially within the long-term. Particularly if the foundations of the program were introduced in early elementary grades, it would promote widespread and enduring changes in the broader field of food acquisition through the cultivation of a habitus disposed towards fresher foods. It would require continuing investment and commitment on the part of politicians, educators, and broader society to be effective, but the effects would be far-reaching and durable. If we are truly concerned with dietary-related diseases and obesity among adults and children, then a fundamental change in our knowledge, skill set, and behaviors towards food must occur. Otherwise, we must accept that we are treating only symptoms and have not yet begun to address the fundamental illness in our field of food acquisition.

**In the Meantime...**

Recognizing that implementation of a widespread and comprehensive home management program in public schools will take time to generate sufficient support to implement, there are several existing programs that could be utilized as predecessors of a comprehensive home management curriculum in the public schools and then as adjuncts to the comprehensive education once implemented. Three programs have

been identified including 4-H, EFNEP, and HANDS programs. All of these programs have an educational component with an emphasis on healthy behaviors, many of which are food-related. Although these programs would not reach as many families and children as a comprehensive public school home management curriculum, they would reach a substantial number of families in Kentucky. The drawback to all of these programs, compared to a public school home management curriculum, is that participation is via self-selection.

#### *4-H*

Operating in urban and rural communities, 4-H could be effectively leveraged to promote increased cultural capital in the field of food acquisition due to their large membership of school-aged children, and their focus on experiential learning. Already conducting projects on global food security and obesity, initiating a formal program for home management would entail minimal retooling and resource allocation. Through hands-on projects conducted throughout their school years, 4-H members would be in a position to gain extensive embodied cultural capital pertaining to food acquisition. This would go a long way to promoting a habitus disposed towards fresh fruits and vegetables among those involved in 4-H's extensive educational networks. Because 4-H is not limited to low-income children, these changes in the habitus would be widespread throughout the field of power.

#### *EFNEP*

The Expanded Food and Nutrition Education Program (EFNEP) is geared towards assisting low-income families with acquiring the skills and behaviors needed to

effectively prepare and consume nutritionally healthy diets. While the emphasis is not specifically on fresh fruits and vegetables, it does not take much to reorient the EFNEP message and teaching protocols. EFNEP could be exceptionally effective for those families that exhibit the most deficits of cultural capital, including embodied cultural capital. Agents work with families in their own homes to utilize the resources they have available to them (e.g. using empty cans for measuring if measuring cups are not in the home). This tailored approach could be more effective at promoting fresh fruit and vegetable consumption than a cookbook approach. Families with only microwaves at their disposal could learn to prepare all of their fresh foods via that cooking method rather than being confronted with a recipe that requires stovetop cooking methods.

#### *HANDS*

Significantly smaller in scope than either 4-H or EFNEP, Health Access Nurturing Development Services (HANDS) program is an intensive home based teaching program for expectant and new first-time parents. Because it is not income-based, there is the possibility of reaching a broader segment of the population. However, since it is administered through the local department of health, it is likely the majority of the program participants would be drawn from the lower income segments of the population. The main advantage of incorporating fresh fruit and vegetable education through the HANDS program is that the acquisition of dispositions and capitals needed for fresh fruit and vegetable consumption would begin at birth. As Bourdieu has argued, food-related behaviors and taste are some of the most durable throughout one's life. Cultivating a taste for fresh foods from birth would likely have far-reaching positive

consequences. Unfortunately, the HANDS program, unlike 4-H or EFNEP, does not have as part of its official mission nutrition improvement. However, two of its official objectives are healthy pregnancies and births and healthy child growth and development. Good nutrition and healthy diets are arguably integral to both of these objectives. Moreover, incorporating education about fresh fruits and vegetables should be relatively easy to integrate to the nutrition education already implemented.

### **Limitations of Study**

As an exploratory study, this dissertation has several limitations that should not be ignored. First, it is unclear whether the findings can be generalized to other states. It is likely that the general principles can be extrapolated, but the specific variables may or may not hold in other states due to local county field dynamics and histories. However, this should be expected per Bourdieu's theoretical framework.

Another limitation is data was not directly collected from SFMNP and FMNP participants. Therefore, self-reported data about their subjective experience is missing from this analysis. However, this limitation is offset by the advantages gained from interviewing county level officials and using county level secondary data. Interviewing providers and using county level secondary data allowed me to take a meso-structural level, which I argue was the most appropriate entry point for an exploratory study. Local county officials are uniquely positioned to have information about the population, the policy and procedures followed by FMNP and SFMNP agencies, and the local county/field dynamics. It allowed me to incorporate the entire state rather than perhaps just one clinic or senior center, and for an exploratory study, I argue this was an



advantage. Moreover because this dissertation aimed to have a practical application, county officials were and are in a position to make a difference. Establishing social capital with local and state officials increases the likelihood these recommendations will be implemented. From a pragmatic standpoint, professional providers tend to be more sympathetic to a researcher and they were much more willing participate in the research than food insecure individuals would have been. Given that dissertations need data to analyze in order to be written and be defensible, procuring data was a primary concern. By taking a broader approach, however, I did lose some of the finer details that I might have gained if I had spoken to food insecure individuals.

#### **Recommendations for Further Research**

Further research should attempt to follow up and overcome the limitations of this current dissertation. One possible way to improve and extend this research would be to directly interview or survey FMNP and Senior FMNP participants. This will assist with the development of a better model for explaining SFMNP and FMNP participation and perhaps more importantly contribute later on to a model of farmers' market participation. Using these findings as a springboard, a solid set of survey and/or interview questions could be obtained. For example, FMNP questions could probe the reasons behind not having cooking implements in their homes as well as probing the sources of their anxiety at the farmers' market. Interviews and surveys with SFMNP participants might focus more on how they overcome their barriers and challenges to utilize their benefits.

Further research could also be designed to implement and assess the effects of the recommendations of this research. Using a quasi-experimental design, benefit utilization in a county could be assessed prior to implementing and cultivating interagency collaboration, for example, and then assessed after implementation to determine what effect and how much of an effect the policy change had on benefit utilization. This is highly recommended since one of the primary objectives of this research was to generate practical policy recommendations.

Should a deeper analysis be desired, follow up studies could consider focusing on only SFMNP or FMNP. This would allow the researcher to explore the fields surrounding the program in more detail and allow for more nuances in individual county fields to emerge. Taking it even further to a micro-level (i.e. focusing on two or three counties within one program) would allow even greater analysis of the dynamics of the local field and might provide more insight into how social capital and local histories specifically constitute benefit utilization and food-related behaviors. Participant observation at farmers' markets with FMNP and/or SFMNP participants could reveal information about the dynamics of navigating the subfield of the farmers' market and provide insights into how to assist the conversion of capitals into the needed forms.

Another possibility would be to shift the focus from SFMNP and FMNP participants to farmers' market vendors. This would complement the current research by incorporating the other side of the program. Both SFMNP and FMNP are designed to not only increase fresh fruit and vegetable consumption among low-income populations but also to support and increase stability for farmers' markets. This could be done as

part of a research design that included FMNP and/or SFMNP participants or as stand-alone research on the farmers' market vendors and producers. Gaining an understanding of how FMNP and SFMNP benefit or do not benefit farmers' market producers could be yet another way to improve benefit utilization and ensure the programs are meeting the needs of all participants (both consumer and producer).

To take the research in another direction, one might expand research to include cases from additional states would permit the expansion of the total population and perhaps encourage the development of a comprehensive model of redemption that could be provisionally accepted. The inclusion of other states would also be a means to assess whether the specific findings from this dissertation could be applied to other states and counties.

Incorporating other states with Appalachian regions would permit a better understanding of the dynamics of food acquisition compared to non-Appalachian regions. This would allow a more thorough investigation of which cultural and/or structural facets increase utilization of FMNP and SFMNP benefits as well as the mechanisms by which they operate. Furthermore, it could expand our understanding of how food acquisition, specifically fresh fruit and vegetable consumption, differs in Appalachia from other regions.

More importantly, Appalachia might provide a template that could be leveraged for implementing comprehensive interventions to boost fruit and vegetable consumption. Appalachia has long managed to juxtaposition contradictory cultural and structural systems (Batteau 1983; Obermiller, S. Scott 1995; Wagner, and Tucker 2000;

R. Scott 2007). Due to traditional definitions of development and progress, this has largely been framed as cultural backwardness. However, with fundamental assumptions about continual economic and industrial expansion being shaken, researchers and others might look at the very real and potential benefits of hysteresis.

I do not intend this as a call for research that romanticizes rural life, poverty, or “the past”. Instead, my findings suggest the need to further expand the project to re-examine and re-conceptualize Appalachia and more broadly how we approach hysteresis. Activists and scholars have both begun to examine the benefits that might be gained from a more nuanced analysis of Appalachia. Activist-educators such as Appalshop have spent countless hours interviewing, recording and filming traditions in Appalachia as a way to preserve the heritage, cultivate interest, and dispel stereotypes. Recent works have shown Appalachia to be a region of innovation despite maintaining traditional values (Biggers 2006) and citizens engaged in shaping their environments instead of passive recipients of federal programs (Perry 2011). Other research explores topics closer in spirit to my own work. Hufford (2004) explored the contradictory policies that fine those who dig the ginseng roots during the off-season but allow hundreds of acres of ginseng to be destroyed through strip mining permits. Arguing that the ginseng regions of Appalachia are cultural artifacts, Hufford posited that these policies effectively encroach upon “a grassroots epistemology of knowing ginseng” (2004:267) that permeates local identities. Along with her work on morels (2006), Hufford presents evidence that locally grown foodstuffs are intricately intertwined with Appalachian identities and behaviors. Though I cannot speak to it with the same level of

detail and certainty, my findings also suggest this. A better understanding of Appalachian foodways and field of food acquisition might be profitable not only to increase our understanding of Appalachia but also to suggest how other regions might increase fresh fruit and vegetable consumption by emulating Appalachian cultural and structural patterns.

### **One Final Note**

This dissertation has emphasized the role of structure and agency interacting, and it is imperative that it is not misinterpreted as being aligned with culture of poverty explanations. Further research should avoid utilizing culture of poverty as a means of trying to explain FMNP and SFMNP redemption and/or low-income populations' dietary behaviors. Because culture of poverty explanations tend to treat all impoverished groups as if they shared in the same identical "culture of poverty", I assert it would not be useful because findings from this dissertation demonstrate significant distinctions between various low-income groups that receive FMNP/SFMNP within Kentucky. My findings clearly demonstrate differences in capitals between groups of different ages (elder recipients versus younger WIC recipients) and between those who are Appalachian and those who are not Appalachian. In some groups (non-Appalachian and WIC recipients), their capitals act as barriers to keep them from successfully utilizing their coupons. In other groups (Appalachians and elder recipients), their capitals act to promote their successful utilization of their benefits.

Additionally, culture of poverty frameworks tend to overemphasize the role of culture, even denying the role of structural forces, in the creation of and maintenance of their poverty. This approach blames the victim by positing that low-income populations act as they do solely due to their own choice, and these *choices* are what distinguish them from other groups. It is undeniable that culture plays a role in shaping behaviors; however, I argue in this dissertation that structural situations gives rise to cultural patterns that reinforce/reproduce those positions within that structure. The habitus and its dispositions result from one's position within the larger structure. While the habitus and dispositions are not unchanging, they are extremely durable and tend to change only as the structures encountered change. In other words, agents do make their choices but only within the constraints of what is available, possible, and probable for one in their position. Without analyzing structure and culture in conjunction, I argue social science is unlikely to generate meaningful explanations and promote lasting improvements in the diets of low-income Americans.

Finally, one should not misinterpret statements about deficiencies of capital as an indication of a deficient culture or as somehow substandard. To say that an agent has *deficiencies* of capital is to indicate they do not possess capitals valued in a *specific field* or *subfield*. FMNP/SFMNP participants certainly do possess capitals and perhaps even high amounts of it in certain fields of food acquisition but not for ease of navigation in the subfield of the farmers' market. FMNP and SFMNP participants are almost certain to hold forms of capital in fields that typical farmers' market consumers do not. However, FMNP/SFMNP participants are required to enter a field in which they

are neither producers nor products. This produces the appearance of a deficiency of capital. If middle class or upper class agents were to be required to enter a subfield produced by and for low-income agents, then they would be unlikely to have sufficient capital in the specific forms needed to easily and seamlessly operate in the field. In other words, they would not have *sens du jeu* (a feel for the game) in that particular field. One could then say that they were deficient in the needed capitals to operate in this low-income subfield. However, because middle class and upper class agents possess more capitals in the broader field of power vis-s-vis low-income participants, middle and upper class agents are unlikely to be labeled “deficient”. More than likely, it is the “culture” of the low-income subfield that would be labeled “deficient”.<sup>32</sup>

As social scientists constructing an objective model of these social relations, we are, nonetheless, left to describe social phenomena with a language that is value-laden. Language, as both the result and agent of socialization, has to be used carefully and explicitly in scholarly explanations to avoid misunderstandings. Because it is through the use of language that we think (Deacon 1998), I reiterate my argument for the use of theoretical constructs to guide social research to assist us in breaking away from what our socialized selves “think”. Even though we may need to keep clarifying those concepts and frameworks for ourselves and our readers (as in the case with *deficiencies*) to avoid misunderstanding, I argue that the most profitable way to further research on

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<sup>32</sup> While taking a relational approach, one should take care to avoid taking this to extremes. Scientific inquiry has provided substantial evidence that certain foods promote health while others promote disease. It is indicative perhaps one of the greatest challenges for social scientists: to integrate what appear to be opposites, subjectivism with objectivism and agency with structure.

FMNP, SFMNP, food acquisition, and indeed any social phenomena is to view it through an explicit theoretical framework.

### **Conclusions**

With the exception of the adoption of a modern home management program in the school system, these recommendations could be implemented through the use of existing resources. Reallocation of time, skill, and priorities are certainly required but are necessary components of any program of innovation and improvement. Distributing recipes, increasing announcements, and cultivating interagency collaboration could be implemented immediately. Taking advantage of local histories and power dynamics will require more planning and investment of time as will creating ways to increase opportunities to repeatedly enter the subfield of the farmers' market and consume larger quantities of fresh fruits and vegetables. Nonetheless, these represent practical solutions to increasing SFMNP and FMNP benefit utilization both in the short-term and long term.

Modern agrifood systems have generated an abundance of food for us but have also ushered us into an era replete with diseases and disorders resulting from that abundance. The current structure of the food system emphasizes heavily processed, high-calorie and low-nutrient-dense foods and has shaped a habitus durably disposed towards these types of foods. Our habitus and field of food acquisition shifted radically in a comparatively short time from a historical perspective but required at least half a century to complete the revolution throughout all segments of society. One can expect



a counter-revolution to take as long to complete. My hope is that commitment to research and search for practical interventions continues to expand to solve one of the fundamental social problems facing not only Kentucky but the entire country and much of the industrialized world.

## Appendix 1.A: FMNP Redemption Rates, 2004-2008

<u>COUNTY</u>	<u>2004 FMNP</u>	<u>2005 FMNP</u>	<u>2006 MNP</u>	<u>2007 FMNP</u>	<u>2008 FMNP</u>
Allen	40.43%	34.24%	37.70%	42.89%	43.33%
Anderson	50.82%	55.49%	53.64%	28.73%	50.87%
Barren	37.36%	36.08%	39.20%	37.63%	46.51%
Bath	62.01%	59.01%	54.23%	50.55%	54.85%
Boone	36.84%	NA	NA	NA	NA
Bourbon	NA	36.93%	39.38%	45.02%	37.20%
Boyd	37.17%	38.64%	39.14%	32.70%	40.04%
Bracken	33.22%	41.93%	30.40%	38.85%	39.13%
Breckinridge	29.54%	29.74%	38.46%	32.28%	37.84%
Campbell	28.55%	27.86%	29.53%	32.87%	41.29%
Carroll	20.68%	34.23%	38.11%	28.57%	41.82%
Carter	47.40%	38.42%	45.81%	45.85%	51.65%
Crittenden	190.76%	15.29%	73.14%	NA	NA
Daviess	32.23%	36.88%	42.80%	NA	46.62%
Edmonson	6.30%	28.81%	38.87%	32.70%	39.71%
Elliott	45.99%	64.04%	55.15%	50.99%	47.93%
Fayette	41.69%	50.85%	48.58%	49.94%	52.47%
Franklin	52.51%	49.05%	56.55%	50.03%	58.97%
Grant	35.68%	31.54%	36.15%	26.29%	32.19%
Harrison	18.47%	38.32%	40.33%	51.63%	42.08%
Henry	36.38%	37.80%	44.75%	36.28%	44.20%
Hopkins	45.83%	46.11%	48.93%	52.06%	52.67%
Jackson	44.53%	54.74%	58.35%	55.75%	59.30%
Lawrence	52.04%	36.28%	47.12%	40.59%	50.29%
Lee	46.67%	44.91%	53.88%	60.36%	56.50%
Lewis	58.80%	56.10%	61.59%	60.43%	68.76%
Logan	45.31%	48.84%	43.27%	47.03%	60.21%

## Appendix 1.A: FMNP Redemption Rates, 2004-2008

Marion	12.13%	56.34%	40.53%	55.88%	57.27%
Martin	40.32%	37.44%	41.56%	39.19%	31.65%
Mason	51.93%	49.10%	46.31%	53.14%	51.70%
Menifee	30.56%	48.20%	45.02%	48.57%	53.02%
Mercer	NA	22.71%	34.61%	18.28%	28.80%
Montgomery	65.77%	59.77%	54.72%	56.90%	57.71%
Morgan	66.94%	57.37%	62.37%	64.29%	63.14%
Nelson	60.43%	43.33%	39.94%	42.17%	47.57%
Owen	NA	34.58%	39.30%	32.39%	44.53%
Pendleton	32.73%	29.51%	36.96%	39.98%	44.53%
Powell	57.15%	56.60%	60.06%	69.10%	74.68%
Rockcastle	53.88%	58.48%	45.99%	56.99%	53.00%
Rowan	31.72%	46.07%	46.92%	42.76%	47.00%
Russell	61.70%	59.50%	59.13%	61.93%	57.00%
Scott	39.13%	40.97%	42.07%	45.51%	50.05%
Taylor	41.23%	29.01%	49.29%	41.20%	40.60%
Trigg	38.03%	40.38%	47.82%	45.68%	52.27%
Wolfe	42.36%	50.38%	55.72%	57.10%	66.05%
Woodford	41.21%	39.52%	52.92%	39.48%	46.82%

## Appendix 1.B: SFMNP Redemption Rates, 2004-2008

<i>County</i>	<i>2004 SFMNP</i>	<i>2005 SFMNP</i>	<i>2006 SFMNP</i>	<i>2007 SFMNP</i>	<i>2008 SFMNP</i>
Adair	69.34%	92.78%	86.20%	81.40%	95%
Allen	75.27%	80.72%	71.00%	96.80%	87%
Anderson	39.13%	61.82%	54.80%	53.20%	50%
Bourbon	NA	39.74%	64.60%	13.80%	47%
Barren	108.87%	108.57%	79.40%	86.00%	83%
Bath	84.49%	90.24%	87.80%	44.70%	83%
Boone	42.39%	NA	NA	NA	NA
Boyd	97.26%	85.71%	86.70%	30.90%	67%
Carroll	52.51%	64.10%	64.02%	69.70%	75%
Carter	72.99%	88.06%	85.40%	89.70%	92%
Edmonson	28.07%	40.78%	59.60%	64.50%	78%
Elliott	75.43%	104.37%	96.20%	88.80%	76%
Floyd	12.17%	NA	NA	NA	NA
Franklin	73.25%	84.75%	80.40%	21.60%	48%
Garrard	36.59%	45.56%	NA	NA	NA
Grant	52.64%	61.04%	65.00%	55.10%	57%
Henry	81.47%	97.20%	80.60%	90.00%	92%
Hopkins	70.17%	90.27%	91.30%	20.30%	90%
Jackson	82.23%	90.15%	89.40%	92.10%	89%
Jefferson	59.57%	80.60%	70.35%	73.30%	78%
Jessamine	74.53%	75.08%	73.20%	71.00%	51%
Laurel	48.55%	NA	NA	NA	NA
Lawrence	78.19%	85.21%	88.70%	52.80%	54%
Lewis	76.52%	89.66%	87.10%	88.00%	92%
Lincoln	62.65%	77.99%	41.70%	73.90%	78%

**Appendix 1.B: SFMNP Redemption Rates, 2004-2008, continued**

<b>Logan</b>	80.42%	92.50%	83.40%	83.50%	88%
<b>Marion</b>	23.35%	62.50%	60.50%	80.20%	82%
<b>Martin</b>	80.42%	89.69%	82.90%	27%	86%
<b>Mason</b>	74.52%	94.48%	69.00%	87.60%	89%
<b>Menifee</b>	64.29%	87.25%	93.70%	64.70%	92%
<b>Mercer</b>	NA	0.00%	70.60%	5.70%	30%
<b>Monroe</b>	73.10%	88.27%	95.00%	68.20%	61%
<b>Montgomery</b>	120.17%	113.00%	86.70%	89.80%	87%
<b>Morgan</b>	82.02%	88.53%	95.80%	93.70%	91%
<b>Nelson</b>	76.96%	69.49%	77.60%	57.10%	57%
<b>Owen</b>	NA	40.83%	62.10%	64.60%	71%
<b>Pendleton</b>	22.39%	60.50%	61.00%	55.00%	76%
<b>Powell</b>	62.95%	92.50%	50.20%	94.10%	96%
<b>Pulaski</b>	88.41%	73.68%	72.00%	72.40%	80%
<b>Rockcastle</b>	82.00%	93.98%	93.00%	92.70%	92%
<b>Rowan</b>	93.05%	86.15%	86.40%	73.50%	86%
<b>Russell</b>	73.19%	85.83%	18.20%	89.90%	93%
<b>Scott</b>	53.93%	76.63%	70.80%	74.30%	77%
<b>Taylor</b>	77.78%	82.22%	77.30%	77.80%	84%
<b>Woodford</b>	63.80%	81.02%	84.00%	15.80%	48%

### **Appendix 3.A: First Stage Interview Schedule of Questions**

*Based on individual responses, follow-up questions and probes were used to facilitate expanded answers and to clarify responses.*

1. Tell me about your position. What responsibilities do you have regarding the implementation of FMNP in your county?
  - a. How long have you been in this position?
2. Tell me about your agency.
  - a. How is it organized and structured?
  - b. What are the major objectives and the services that it provides?
3. How does FMNP fit with your agency's overall mission?
4. Can you describe the FMNP population that your agency serves?
  - a. What other services does your agency offer that are available to or specifically target the people who would be eligible for FMNP coupons?
5. How long has your county had FMNP?
6. How many staff members do you have that work exclusively on FMNP? How many devote part of their time to FMNP and part to other programs? Do you use/recruit volunteers? If so, how many do you usually have?
7. (FOR COUNTIES W/BOTH FMNPs). Is there any collaboration between your FMNP program and the Senior/WIC FMNP program in this county?
  - a. Have you provided any resources, personnel, or advice for them, or have they provided any for you?
8. How many individuals are eligible for FMNP in your county?
9. Are there more eligible people than there is allocated money for FMNP?
10. How do you decide who gets the coupons from the pool of eligible recipients?
  - a. How many FMNP recipients do you have this year?
  - b. How does this compare to previous years?
11. How do recipients get their coupons?
  - a. Pick them up here? Via mail?
  - b. Do you distribute all of the coupons allotted to you?
12. How do recipients know it's time to pick up their coupons?
  - a. Reminders via mail or in person? Radio spots? Newspaper ads?
13. How much does each participant receive in coupons?
  - a. Has that varied much from year to year?
14. Is there a maximum amount that a family can receive?
15. How many farmers markets accept FMNP coupons in your county?
  - a. Are all of these major farmers markets or are some of these smaller farm-stands?
  - b. Do you have a list available to your agency?
  - c. Is this list available to recipients?
16. Why do you think so many of the participants don't use their coupons?
17. What would you say is the biggest obstacle?

18. How are those that use their coupons different from those who do not use their coupons?
  - a. Can you discern who uses their coupons compared to those who do not use their coupons?
19. Are there any organizations or other agencies that you believe compete for your recipients' time and money? In other words, cause them to be less likely to use their coupons?
20. What sort of nutrition information or education is available to the recipients?
  - a. For example, are recipes provided, classes, one-on-one counseling?
  - b. Are these voluntary or required? What incentives do participants have for attending workshops/classes?
  - c. Are these available through your agency or through another program/agency?
21. Are there any special services that your agency offers to FMNP recipients? Transportation, assistance with meal prep, assistance at the farmers market?
  - a. When are these services available? Specific days or hours?
  - b. Are there other agencies that provide these sorts of services? Do you coordinate with these programs or refer recipients?
22. Are you aware of any organization, agency, or services that might help or hinder FMNP recipients from using their coupons?
  - a. Such as an in-home meal prep service that might encourage elderly to prepare more fresh vegetables or a kids' corner at the farmers market for WIC recipients?
23. How much funding did you receive this year?
  - a. How does this compare to previous years? Have these fluctuations impacted how you've implemented FMNP?
24. If there were no obstacles or constraints, what services would you offer that you believe would have the most positive impact on FMNP?
  - a. What would you like to see offered?

### Appendix 3.B: Second stage Interview Schedule of Questions

*These questions were used as a loose guide to promote a more conversational style of interviewing. Extensive follow-up questions and probes were used to facilitate expanded answers and to clarify responses.*

#### FMNP/SFMNP administrators

1. Can you tell me a little bit about FMNP in your county?
2. What position or title do you currently hold in the organization?
  - a. How long have you been in this position?
3. How long has your county had FMNP?
  - a. How long has your organization administered FMNP?
  - b. How many people work on FMNP in your county or are involved in the administration or distribution?
  - c. Are any of these volunteers?
4. Do you typically give out all of the FMNP coupons each season?
  - a. Approximately how many people are eligible for FMNP in your county?
  - b. Are you able to serve all of them? If not, to how many are you able to provide benefits?
  - c. Can you describe the process by which coupon recipients get their FMNP coupons?
  - d. Do they pick them up here (at local agency)? Other sites?
  - e. How do you determine who gets the coupons from those who are eligible?
5. Are there any agencies or organizations that directly provide services that assist the program participants to use their coupons?
  - a. Are transportation services provided? If so, by whom? Are nutrition and cooking education services (classes, recipes, etc) provided? If so, by whom?
6. What is your relationship with these agencies/organizations?  
(MAY BE SKIPPED IF NO INDICATION OF COLLABORATION WITH ANOTHER AGENCY OR ORGANIZATION>)
7. Do you refer your program participants to any organizations that might be helpful in using the coupons?
8. Do you have any contact with the farmers' market vendors?
  - i. Have they made any accommodations to facilitate use of FMNP coupons?
  - ii. Later hours? Changed days of the week?
9. Are there any programs, organizations, or agencies that make it more unlikely that coupon recipients would use their FMNP coupons?
  - a. If so, which ones?
  - b. Why do you believe this is the case?
10. What do you believe are the biggest barriers to program participants using their coupons? What was your redemption rate for 2008?



- a. Why do you think your redemption rate is as high or as low as it is?
  - b. Has your redemption rate been trending upward, downward, or remaining about the same?
11. How many vendors does your farmers market have each season?
- a. Has this number grown, stayed about the same, or gone down over the past few years?
12. How many of these vendors accept FMNP?
- a. Has this number grown, stayed about the same, or gone down over the past few years?
13. What would you say the vendors' general attitude toward FMNP is? Would you say it is extremely positive, moderately positive, neutral, moderately negative, or extremely negative?
14. How long has the farmers' market been in its current location?
15. Do you have anything to add about FMNP that you believe would be helpful for me to understand it in your county?

**Appendix 3.C: List of SFMNP and FMNP cases**

<b>SFMNP Cases</b>	<b>FMNP Cases</b>
AdairSR	AllenWC
AllenSR	AndersonWC
AndersonSR	BarrenWC
BarrenSR	BathWC
BathSR	BourbonWC
BourbonSR	BoydWC
BoydSR	BrackenWC
CarrollSR	BreckinridgeWC
CarterSR	CampbellWC
EdmonsonSR	CarrollWC
ElliottSR	CarterWC
FranklinSR	EdmonsonWC
GrantSR	ElliottWC
HenrySR	FayetteWC
HopkinsSR	FranklinWC
JacksonSR	GrantWC
JeffersonSR	HarrisonWC
JessamineSR	HenryWC
LawrenceSR	HopkinsWC
LewisSR	JacksonWC
LincolnSR	LawrenceWC
LoganSR	LeeWC
MarionSR	LewisWC
MartinSR	LoganWC
MasonSR	MarionWC
MenifeeSR	MartinWC
MercerSR	MasonWC
MonroeSR	MenifeeWC
MontgomerySR	MercerWC
MorganSR	MontgomeryWC
NelsonSR	MorganWC
OwenSR	NelsonWC
PendletonSR	OwenWC
PowellSR	PendeltonWC
PulaskiSR	PowellWC

**Appendix 3.C: List of SFMNP and FMNP cases, continued**

RockcastleSR	RockcastleWC
RowanSR	RowanWC
RussellSR	RussellWC
ScottSR	ScottWC
TaylorSR	TaylorWC
WoodfordSR	TriggWC
	WolfeWC
	WoodfordWC

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