THESIS

FARMERS MARKETS AS FACILITATORS OF ECO-HABITUS

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ABSTRACT

FARMERS MARKETS AS FACILITATORS OF ECO-HABITUS

In this study, I seek to resituate eco-habitus into Pierre Bourdieu's understanding of the field to show how farmers markets can structure themselves as facilitators of spaces where all individuals, specifically those with low economic and cultural capital, can enact their eco-habitus. To ask how farmers markets can achieve this, I explore what predictors lead to a market accepting the United States Department of Agriculture's, Food and Nutrition Services, Nutrition Programs (NP), as forms of payment, the presence of nutrition and health programs, and food donation and conservation programs. I also provide a breakdown of the types of programming markets provide. To examine, this I conducted an original national survey of farmers market managers (N=473). I combined this with data from the *American Community, County Presidential Election Returns,* and the US Census. Logistic regression results indicate more liberal counties have a higher probability of accepting NP and having food donation programs, while more urban counties have a higher probability of having nutrition programming. Markets in more affluent counties are less likely to accept NP, while urban counties with higher percentages of people of color, and low-income individuals, suggest these individuals still possess eco-habitus but might be pulling from non-dominate ethical repertories commonly associated with eco-habitus. This study offers a critique of farmers market and who has access to them, contributes to the growing literature on eco-habitus, and attempts to resituate eco-habitus into Bourdieu's understanding of field. It also provides a national survey of farmers market managers.

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DEDICATION

To my nieces and nephews,

For being my reminders to keep going.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

The Shift to Green Products, Ethical Consumption, and Farmers Markets

Climate change and the associated ecological threats are growing in frequency, size, and severity. After scientific findings about climate change were highly publicized in the early 2000s there has been a resurgence in green products and their associated branding, with ethical and green consumption emerging as potential solutions individuals can employ to try and reduce their individual and household impact on the environment (Elliot 2013). In response to this shift in consumption patterns corporations and governments have produced and promoted sustainably produced, grown, and/or harvested products and food as a perceived way to mitigate climate change and associated ecocatastrophe.

Ethical consumption refers to the discourse and set of consumer practices shaped by the desire to express or support political and/or ethical perspectives, such as environmental protection, animal rights, humanitarian impact, and consequences that may come with the purchase of products and/or foods. Simply, it is seen as an orientation toward being able to create change through consumption (Kennedy, Baumann and Johnston 2019). Green consumption is defined as consumption that is promoted as relatively environmentally friendly, done by consumers who are concerned with the environmental impact and consequences of the food and non-food products they consume to reduce or minimize perceived negative environmental impact (Peattie 2010).

With the resurgence in green and ethical consumption and their associated 'green' products, farmers markets[1] are rising. This rise can be attributed to numerous factors including

[1] The United States Department of Agriculture defines a farmers market as "a common area where several farmers gather on a recurring basis to sell a variety of fresh fruits, vegetables, and other farm products directly to consumers"

customers' concerns about the safety and nutrition of the food they are consuming, in tandem with environmental impacts, and community and social benefits leading to customers seeking out shorter value or supply chains, with an emphasis on smaller-scale farms to access fruits and vegetables (Garner 2022). All food has an ethical implication, but some, 'organic,' 'local,' 'GMO-free' etc., are weighted higher and can signify support for an alternative food system, with farmers markets being viewed as ethically superior, local, and more sustainable than the traditional grocery store (Carolan 2022; Campbell 2009; Carson et al. 2015; Garner 2018; Garner 2022; Paddock 2016; Seyfang 2007; Sommer 1989). This focus on more ethical and green alternative sources can be viewed as the emergence of *eco-habitus*, an expansion of Pierre Bourdieu's habitus, characterized as possessing an ecological disposition towards the world (Bourdieu 1989; Bourdieu [1984] 2010).

Habitus and Eco-Habitus

In this paper, I first conceptualize and operationalize Pierre Bourdieu's habitus and the current ecological expansion, eco-habitus, before proceeding to conceptualize and operationalize eco-habitus using various forms of capitals. One of the goals of the study is to resituate eco-habitus into what Bourdieu refers to as the field or a system of relations and unpack social and geographic space to frame why farmers markets are the ideal space to achieve this (Bourdieu 1989; Bourdieu [1984] 2010). Additionally, I seek to challenge the notion in eco-habitus literature that only individuals with high cultural capital[2] have the disposition and economic

(United States Department of Agriculture (USDA) Economic Research Services 2014). The farmers market coalition defines them as "public and recurring assembly of farmers or their representatives selling the food that they produced directly to consumers (Farmers Market Coalition 2024).

[2] While education is most associated with human capital, within the eco-habitus literature, it is associated with cultural capital. Following this trend I maintain education as cultural capital.

means to enact their eco-habitus (Kamphius et al. 2015; Kennedy, Baumann and Johnston 2019; Kennedy and Givens 2019), as it has been theorized by others (Beagan, Chapman, and Power 2016; Carfagna et al. 2014; Stamer 2018), individuals with low cultural capital also have this disposition but might not have the economic means to engage it. Research suggest that having a positive attitude, placing moderate to high importance, on alternative food movements, including organic, local, and sustainable foods are associated with higher dietary quality among young adults (Pelletier 2013). Furthermore, there is sometimes a disconnect between cultural capital and income, as sometimes those with high cultural capital, college professors with doctorates, and teachers with master's degrees do not always have high economic capital, complicating the notion cultural and economic capital are linked and primary indicators of eco-habitus.

Here I argue farmers markets can be structured as spaces that facilitate the enaction of eco-habitus for all individuals, regardless of economic means. I examine this through farmers market acceptance of the United States Department of Agriculture's (USDA) Food and Nutrition Services (FNS) Nutrition Programs (NP) as forms of payment, which helps increase low-income individuals' economic spending power for food.[3] I also examine nutrition and health education programs and food conservation programming[4,5], provided by some markets, which help to increase individuals' knowledge surrounding healthy eating, food preparation, and how to prevent food waste, among other topics. Through this, I explore the historical dream of the farmers market, who currently has access to them, their eco-habitus future, and how farmers

[3] This is assuming individuals have the access to a means to get to these farmers markets and have the knowledge these markets exist in their area. Access, economic and physical, and knowledge are outside the scope of this research but crucial to food security, nonetheless.

[4] See Table 3 for details on the specific programs for nutrition and health, and food donations, and conservation.

[5] There are a few instances in this paper where food waste reduction, composting and recycling are discussed separately from conservation, but are generally included under the umbrella of conservation.

markets and access to them vary by the characteristics of the geographical location they reside in, including differences in urbanness, politics, economics, and racial composition.

The Ability to Enact Eco-Habitus through Farmers Market Nutrition Programs and Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program

As I will outline in more detail later, one of the original dreams of farmers markets operating in the late 70s and early 80s, was to help low-income individuals and families have access to fresh fruits and vegetables, with early advocates suggesting markets should be authorized to accept food stamps [6] and operate only on days when welfare checks were issued (Winne 2008). This dream became semi-realized when the Farmers Market Coupon Demonstration Project began and was expanded to include the entire United States with three of the USDA's FNS NPs. Yet, though farmers markets were designed and currently have programs to help low-income communities, they often end up serving White middle-class individuals who already have access to fresh, locally produced foods (Coulson and Milbourne 2020).

The programs I looked at for this study were the Special Supplemental Food Program for Women Infants and Children (WIC-FMNP)[7], the Seniors Farmers Market Nutrition Program (SFMNP)[8], and the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP)[9,10]. WIC-FMNP allows

[6] Throughout this work I use food stamps, welfare checks, and Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP) in relation to the time they are being referenced. Food stamps was the term used prior to 2008 when the program was renamed to SNAP.

[7] Different states can name these programs differently (e.g. in Michigan - WIC Program FRESH).

[8] Different states can name these programs differently (e.g. in Michigan - Senior Project FRESH/Market FRESH).

[9] Different states can name these programs differently (e.g. in Wisconsin – FoodShare).

[10] In addition to these, there is the Gus Schumacher Nutrition Incentive Program (GUSNIP), and various fruit and vegetable Prescription programs, which are not examined in this study. GUSNIP was not asked about in my survey,

WIC recipients to receive at least ten dollars and a maximum of 30 dollars per year, to spend at farmers markets in addition to their monthly WIC amounts/benefits. SFMNP participants receive at least twenty dollars, but no more than 50 dollars per year, following the same guidelines as WIC-FMNP, with the addition of Community Supported Agriculture (CSAs) (USDA 2023b). Both programs also require State agencies to provide nutritional programs for recipients. Farmers markets can also be authorized to accept SNAP, with varying redemption amounts across markets, which can also include matching programs, often referred to as Double Up Food Bucks, which matches NP redemptions, dollar for dollar, up to a preestablish amount.[11]

Data and Methods

To examine this, I conducted an original national survey of farmers market managers about their market structure including rules, regulations, size, and food/products sold resulting in 504 completed surveys. After dropping missing data, I ended up with 473 markets for analysis on acceptance of NP and 469 for nutrition and health programs, and food donation and conservation programs. I combined this data with the American Community Survey's five-year percent summaries from 2017-2021 (United States Census Bureau (USCB) 2023) for county education, income, inequality, and racial demographics. I also used MIT Election Data and Science Lab's County Presidential Election Returns 2000-2020 (MIT Election Data and Science Lab 2018), to

as I aim to focus on longstanding programs. Prescription programs were asked about with 35 markets accepting but all but one of them also accepted one of the three discussed in this study.

[11] For Example: $20 from SNAP becomes $40 to spend at the farmers market, with the farmers market providing the additional $20. These funds can come from a variety of sources including Federal, State, private or market funds.

look at county-level liberal political leaning, and the United States Census Bureau's (USCB) 2020 Census data on Population Density to account for whether a county is rural or urban.[12]

I analyzed this data by first looking at the raw counts of NP acceptance, and the presences of different types of nutrition and health programming along with food donation, and conservation programming. Then I used logistic regression to examine three outcomes, whether or not a farmers market (1) accepted NP as a form of payment, (2) had nutrition and health programming, and (3) had food donations and conservation programming. I controlled for market size using the number of vendors, and the length of the market season, in number of months. I used county population density and percent of a county voting liberal as primary predictors, before looking at education, economic, including median income, percentage of the population living in poverty and inequality (Gini), and racial percentage predictors.

Results

Results from logistic regressions indicate farmers markets in county's with liberal politically leaning had a higher probability of accepting NP, while an increase in the median income and an increase in the percent of the population that is black, for the county's where farmers markets were located, was associated with a decrease in that probability of accepting NP. Farmers markets in counties with a greater population density initially had a higher probability of accepting NP compared to those with lower population density. However, the estimated effect between county-level population density and odds of accepting NP became negative when controlling for political leaning. When evaluating the probability of a farmers market having

[12] Urban is defined by the United States Census Bureau as a territory that has at least 2,000 housing units or has a population of at least 5,000 (USCB 2023b).

nutrition and health programming an increase in population density and the poverty rate have a positive effect, while an increase in the population having at least a bachelor's degree and an increase in the median income has a negative effect. When evaluating the probability of a farmers market having food donations and conservation programs, an increase in population density initially appeared to increase the probability of having programming but lost this effect when controlling for other predictors. More liberal counties have a positive effect except when controlling for education and inequality (Gini).

When examining both population density and political leaning in my logistic regression models, their combined effect might have been capturing the political divide between rural and urban areas. With Democrats being more supportive than Republicans of government aid, I find more liberal counties have a higher probability of accepting NP and having food donation programs (Goenka and Thomas 2022; Pew Research Center 2018). Suggesting markets in more liberal areas are making it easier for low-income individuals to enact their eco-habitus by providing economic assistance and are also engaging in sustainable measures, related to eco-habitus. When combing education with economic factors, I find, as expected, that as poverty increases, income, and education levels decrease, increasing the number of individuals eligible for NP, but decreasing the probability a market will accept NP, suggesting markets in more affluent counties already have a sufficient customer base to justify not accepting NP. When looking at race, an increase in a county's black population is associated with a decrease in income and a decrease in the probability markets will accept NP. This is expected as race and income are linked, but since political leaning is still significant, these results suggest, that people of color, and low-income individuals still possess an eco-habitus but might be pulling from different ethical repertories, different from the Whiteness of farmers markets (Farmer et al. 2014;

Johnston, Szabo, and Rodney 2011; Macartney, Bishaw and Fontenot 2013; Thomas and Moye 2015).

Limitations, Future Research and Policy Implications

Limitations of this research include a small sample size and the lack of information of the demographics of market managers. Future research should include how market manager demographics and market governance or rules and regulations, affect the three outcomes, and how NP can be improved. Policy implications for farmers markets include audits to compare market customer demographics to community demographics, to improve access. Additionally, the USDA could cover 100% administration cost associated with NP to help make NP more accessible to markets and their customers.

Contribution

This study contributes to the growing literature on conceptualizing and operationalizing eco-habitus and attempts to resituate it into Bourdieu's understanding of field. It also shows how farmers markets can increase individuals' ability to enact their eco-habitus by examining farmers markets, their acceptance of NP, and having nutrition and health programs along with food donation and conservation programs. This study also provides a national survey of farmers market managers examining how they can structure their markets to facilitate spaces where all individuals can enact their eco-habitus, resituating habitus back into a Bourdieusian social and geographical field, rather than examining eco-habitus through consumer actions.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Habitus

Habitus is defined by Pierre Bourdieu (1977:86), as "[a] subjective but not individual system of internalized structure, schemes of perception, conception, and action common to all members of the same group or class". It is the "schemes of production of practices and a system of perception and appreciation of practices" (Bourdieu 1986:19). Often it is, defined as an overall "structured structure" which at the same time is "a structuring" structure (Bourdieu 1984:170), it constructs or creates consumer's practices and tastes, one's "manifested preferences" while at the same time a consumer's taste constructs or creates the structure (Bourdieu [1984] 2010:49). Both are created in and through the other, through a dialectical relationship and each cannot exist independently.

Social class and class distinction are for the most part arbitrary, but individuals come to internalize the structure of the world and come to view their taste as normal and natural to them, rather than a product of their specific formation of capital, which arises from their and their families historical situations (Bourdieu 1986: [1984]2010). Habitus, produces an individual's practices and taste, all while an individual's objective position becomes embodied and their taste comes to be viewed as natural or inherit to them, rather than being a product of interplay between themselves and the social structure. In other words, taste is produced by social structure, and is in line with the taste of others who relate to each other based on shared capitals making habitus a structuring structure.

Through the expression of their taste, an individual expresses their social position, giving them a 'sense of place,' a shared identity, achieved through the negation of the other as "social identity is defined and asserted through difference" (Bourdieu [1984] 2010:167). This is

dialectically tied to their class position and determined by their formation of various forms of economic cultural, social, and even symbolic capital (Bourdieu [1984] 2010). In a sense, if two individuals start up a conversation about how they only buy their meat from this specific vendor at this farmers market, then they share the same habitus. Whether they are conscious of it or not they have created an 'us', those who buy meat here, versus 'them'—those who buy meat elsewhere, such as the grocery store—relationship (Bourdieu [1984] 2010). Through taste, habitus is indicated to another, indicating if their habitues are compatible. They share an identity through the negation of another identity, and this taste/habitus is dialectically tied to their class position, determined by their formation of various capitals.

Of importance, within a shared habitus, individuals do not exist independently from other people, their context, or their history, and they cannot be viewed as wholly being determined by these factors. (Kasper 2009; Kennedy and Givens 2019; Kirby 2017; Stamer 2018). Furthermore, combinations of capitals in an individual's past, present, and future do not wholly define or determine their habitus, leading to a habitus that can vary in intensity over time and in different fields (Bourdieu [1984] 2010).

Eco-Habitus

Ecological habitus or Eco-habitus expands habitus to focus on how individuals orient or navigate their internalized ecological dispositions and ecological concerns toward the world. It focuses on how ethics and/or taste do not come from the knowledge of information or rule, nor individual reason or structural coercion, rather ethics are mediated by the interdependence of institutions, individuals, and communities that rely on each other to survive (Kasper 2009; Carolan 2022). Eco-habitus is "the embodiment of a durable yet changeable system of

ecologically relevant dispositions, practices, perceptions, and material conditions perceptible as a lifestyle that is shaped by and helps shape socioecological contexts" (Kasper 2009:318). It is focused on a social valorization of consumption where individuals are orientated towards "environmental protection and social justice [] with an incorporation of an ethically oriented, green consumption," (Kennedy, Baumann and Johnston 2019:382 & 386), that is often associated with high cultural capital or high-status taste (Baumann, Kennedy and Johnston 2022; Carfagna et al. 2014; Kennedy, Baumann and Johnston 2019). In summation, it refers "to the idea that there is distinct cultural capital associated with ecologically oriented consumption" (Kennedy, Baumann and Johnston 2019:386). Meaning individuals differentiate themselves from others socially through their "ecologically sensitive choices, dispositions, and knowledge," and this differentiation can either be practical or unconscious (Kennedy, Baumann and Johnston 2019:386).

Within the literature, the definition of eco-habitus is contested and still being contested. One of the main debates is whether there is one solid definition of eco-habitus, with Fritz et al. (2021) asserting there are multiple eco-habitus, measured by different value scales/dispositions regarding trust in politics/governments, individual environmentalism, and amounts of capital, practically economic and cultural. In comparison, Kennedy and Givens (2019) provide us with four eco-habitus on a scale of eco-habitus to eco-powerlessness. Importantly, for this research, Kirby (2017) suggests definitions of eco-habitus provided by Carfagna et al. (2014), Kasper (2009), and those listed above are flawed, as these definitions have only been able to capture a specific environmental habitus within social movements that are defining eco-habitus differently due to the different political contexts, they are operating in. Defining in this way is problematic as these definitions are products of a specific historical and spatial moment, which are difficult to

scale up to the complex level of wider society.[13] Kirby (2017) suggests returning to Bourdieu's idea of 'field,' to help better construct definitions related to different spaces, and I take up this task with farmers markets, which provide the space to examine the interdependence of institutions, individuals, and communities due to their unique opportunity to examine Bourdieu's important of geographics space in the social space. This idea of field is discussed in more detail later.

Eco-Habitus and Capitals

Cultural capital, economic, and social capital.

As mentioned above an individual's habitus is influenced by the formation of various amounts of cultural, economic, social, and even symbolic capital available to them through their education, family history, and socialization by cultural institutions (Bourdieu [1984] 2010; Elliot 2013). Cultural capital is the most prevalent form of capital in (eco)-habitus literature, often associated with socioeconomic status/position. It is a non-material resource associated with the lifelong accumulation of knowledge and skills, and in an eco-habitus sense, knowledge, skills, and preferences/tastes orientated toward nature and environmental concern, (Kamphius et al. 2015; Kirby 2017). More specifically, it is the shared, usually high-status cultural signals, including preferences, formal knowledge, and behavior, among others used for social and cultural exclusion (Kennedy and Givens 2019). It is usually measured by formal education, and occupational prestige, but as noted by Hale et al. (2023) how it is understood and defined varies

[13] Kirby (2017) ultimately suggests 'green habitus' be used to describe ecologically relevant habitus at the societal level, but I will continue to use eco-habitus as it is the already the established term in the literature.

by discipline and researchers' assumptions and norms, resulting in the absence of an explicit definition and what data and proxy variables to use.

In most of the literature, economic capital is measured by all sources of income, the associated power that comes with it, and the ability to mobilize resources, linking it to cultural capital as it increases access to education and social networks. It is usually measured by combining all sources of income and the associated power that comes with it (Kamphius et al. 2015; Stamer 2018). Social capital is the power that can be gained through social relationships and networks, within a defined group creating the "us" vs "them" dichotomy described above, acquired through formal and informal social networks (Holt 2008, Kirby 2017). Much like economic and cultural capital, cultural and social capital are linked, as an individual's cultural embeddedness can help to expose them to other individuals who share the same or similar values, expanding their social networks which helps in the facilitation of acquiring more cultural capital (Holt 2008, Kamphius et al. 2015).

Complicating capitals within eco-habitus.

Following Bourdieu ([1984] 2010), different forms of capital carry more weight than others depending on field. For eco-habitus, the overall finding suggests cultural capital carries the most weight, but this might not be the case. The literature suggests those with higher cultural capital (HCC) are often seen as being able to engage in more ethical consumption because it is assumed they have the economic means to do so and have high stores of cultural capital (Kamphius et al. 2015; Kennedy, Baumann and Johnston 2019; Kennedy and Givens 2019). Carfagna et al. (2014) argue this is not always the case as many individuals who have HCC, such as college professors with Doctoral degrees can sometimes have limited incomes. Along with Guthman (2003), they suggest those with HCC might not be minimizing their ecological

footprints or have a smaller one compared to those with low cultural capital who tend to purchase less, as they might not have a heightened reflexivity about social and environmental issues even though they have more resources. Rather, they claim those with an eco-habitus, employ an ecological consciousness, where they "think about [] how their actions affect the environment and attempt to reduce their footprints" and how those cultural goods and practices signal commitments to achieving sustainability (Carfagna et al. 2014:160-1). We also know both low and high-status groups participate in some of the same consumption patterns, although maybe to a lesser degree (Carolan 2021; Johnston, Szabo and Rodney 2011; Keeling-Bond et al. 2009; Pelletier 2013; Zepeda and Li 2006).

Pertaining to economic capital, Stamer (2018) claims individuals with fewer economic resources do not have different moral values and standards than those with higher amounts of economic resources. Those with lower income participate in various forms of ethical and green consumption, attributed to the wide availability of organic and humanely raised/grown foods into the traditional supply chain (e.g. grocery stores and hypermarkets) and the rise of farmers markets (Beagan et al. 2016; Carolan 2021; Wan et al. 2014). Additionally, as Carolan (2021) shows there is contestation among various factors as to whether they contribute to someone buying organic.

These analyses suggest cultural capital might not determine eco-habitus, as those with LCC might wish to consume more ethical products but their purchase is contingent on cost and attainability (Carfagna et al. 2014). Further, high economic capital might not be associated with attitudes towards more ethical food choices. Carfagna et al. (2014) and Kennedy and Givens (2019) found evidence ethical consumption was part of how consumers signaled high status and taste, with Elliott (2013) suggesting consumption is only partially tied to signaling and not

necessarily connected to deliberately buying more expensive items, raising the question of whether cultural capital was being reoriented toward environmental ethics.

In contrast to this Baumann, Kennedy and Johnston (2022), suggest that high-status taste can be rooted in aesthetic and moral considerations, and can change over time and place. They give the example of *foie gras*, which used to be seen as a refined high-status food but has recently been seen as a non-moral food. In addition, more ethically and sustainably grown/raised foods such as free-range chicken are now seen as high-status. This suggests that foods and practices are culturally seen as aesthetic, and that what foods are considered moral/ethical are always in flux. They can be bound to a specific time, space, and culture as what is defined as ethical/moral [eating] is not defined by a universal sense of 'good versus bad' but by what particular issues have gained public attention at that particular moment in one particular place (Baumann, Kennedy and Johnston 2022; Johnston, Szabo, and Rodney 2011). Ethical eating is a cultural discourse, and thus cannot be universal. Furthermore, Stamer (2018) suggest the use of multiple class concepts, taking into consideration how not everyone in the same class, will have access to the same resources or have the same ideas or values.

Differences in Eco-Habitus.

As discussed above, individuals with low cultural capital and/or low income also have ecological dispositions towards the world, and eco-habitus, but might not have the economic means to do so (Beagan, Chapman and Power; 2016; Carfagna et al. 2014; Stamer 2018). As Johnston, Szabo, and Rodney (2011) state differences in ethno-cultural and economic backgrounds and situations lead to groups and individuals pulling from different ethical eating/practices discourses/repertories. Those who are White and have high income will probably pull from the dominant ethical eating repertoire, which is often presented as a classless universal,

such as local food has a lower carbon footprint, and will enact this by buying locally produced foods and avoiding heavily packaged foods. In contrast, those with low income and from racialized communities care about and are aware of dominant ethical eating practices, even if they might just pull less from them (Farmer et al. 2014; Johnston, Szabo, and Rodney 2011). They still maintain moral values and their actions should not be considered less moral or even amoral because they do not match the dominant, White middle-class, discourse. Additionally, those who have greater access and privilege to 'ethical' foods and products should not be viewed as being more moral.

Johnston, Szabo and Rodney (2011), suggest instead of viewing ethical eating through the dominant ethical eating repertoire, we should view it through cultural repertories. This helps us to see how ethical eating is multifaceted, containing a variety of understandings, where actors pull from different areas of culture and communities to make sense of their decisions or justify their (in)action, all of which differ geographically, but are still rooted in an individual's moral character (Yosso 2005). Individuals who engage with the dominant repertoires are usually middle class, and White. Individuals from low-income and racialized groups adapt dominant repertoires to fit their income and use different cultural frameworks to address ethical issues. Even when access to local food is limited due to financial constraints, individuals may focus on other ethical and green practices, such as (food) waste reduction and recycling (Johnston, Szabo, and Rodney 2011).

Eco-Habitus and Field

For Bourdieu space or field is a "system of relations," among the objective positions within it, where relationships exist whether individuals are conscious of it (Bourdieu 1989;

Bourdieu [1984] 2010). Individuals with various levels of overall capital find themselves in various locations of space due to their positions of power. In a sense, they compete with one another for more capital. Individuals with common interests, backgrounds, capital within a specific field, and habitus find themselves closer together in social spaces than those they have less common with (Bourdieu 1989; Bourdieu [1984] 2010). Those who share the same social space, gravitate towards each other in in geographic spaces, while those who share different social spaces rarely find themselves in the same geographic space. However, geographic spaces also provide those who are very distant in social spaces the opportunity to encounter and interact with one another (Bourdieu 1989). Here farmers markets provide the geographic space where those of various social spaces come together and interact in the same space. It provides a place where customers come to purchase goods but also provides opportunities to provide individuals with knowledge to help increase their capital/knowledge, surrounding food, nutrition, and health which can help to close the social space between those with different amounts of total capital. Taking this understanding of field a set further, farmers markets can be considered a field of restricted production, as they are self-governing and define who can produce cultural goods, the farmers/producers, and who can consume those goods, customers at the market. (Bourdieu 1984; Larimore 2018). Further, farmers markets are a place of cultural competition as they are typically a middle-class White space, which excludes working-class people of color both economically and culturally (Alkon and McCullen 2011; Bourdieu 1984:1985; Hinrichs 2000; Johnston et al. 2011).

FARMERS MARKETS AS FACILITATORS OF ECO-HABITUS

Differences in Urban and Rural Farmers Markets

Given that cultural repertories of ethical eating differ geographically, it is of no surprise that the construction of farmers markets does as well (Johnston, Szabo and Rodney 2011). One difference seen between urban and rural farmers markets is gender and racial differences in farmers market managers which is crucial to understand as "farmers market managers play vital roles in the social construction of discourses about food, consumption, and spaces that sell locally grown and organic food" (Taylor et al. 2022:3). They make decisions about market policies, programming, community engagement and outreach among other things, and how the space manifest, racial, class, and gender dynamics. In one study, Taylor et al. (2022) analyzed market managers of farmers markets in Michigan. They found managers were typically middle-aged White women, but rural markets were more likely to have men as managers. People of color managed more markets in urban areas, and had more customers on average, while White managers had more vendors[14].

In terms of geography, rural markets had a higher parentage of White vendors and customers. While markets in urbanized areas were more likely to accept SNAP, engage in food donation programs, and sell produce at a reduced price (Taylor et al. 2022). Additionally, Schupp (2017; 2019) points out that California, New York, the Midwest, and urban areas with low levels of commuting, have a higher number of farmers markets than southern states, rural areas, and areas with high levels of commuting.

[14]While outside of the scope of this research Taylor et al. (2022), provide detailed statistics looking at the intersections of manager race and location along the rural-urban continuum.

The community farmers markets are embedded in can also affect which aspects of food access and ethical and green consumption they focus on. In the more affluent North Berkley farmers market Alkon (2012) illustrates how this market focuses on the intersection of environmental sustainability and social justice. Here farmers are seen as stewards of the land, selling only organic produce, and holding up the idea that shopping here means 'you know where your food comes from.' Contradictory the market's high prices can counteract its social justice focus as they prevent low-income individuals and people of color, who are often lower-income than their White counterparts from having access to fresh fruits and vegetables. In contrast, the West Oakland farmers market still focuses on environmental sustainability but seeks to improve access to healthy foods, emphasizing African American farmers and the larger community. This is achieved by celebrating Juneteenth and focusing on culturally relevant foods during cooking. This celebration and performance of Blackness encourages black customers to express their black identities and for non-black customers to lift and celebrate the black community. This is in stark contrast to the North Berkley market and its focus on "yuppie chow," and the Whiteness of most farmers markets, discussed below (Guthman 2003).

The Historical Dream of the Farmers Market

According to Brown (2001), the most rapid growth in farmers markets was in the late 1970s after the passing of the Farmer-To-Consumer Direct Marketing Act of 1976 was passed to help reestablish farmers markets. In the same year, New York's Greenmarket was founded to provide a wide variety of fresh, healthy foods to urban populations and give them a power of choice (Hamilton 2002). In 1979, Hartford Connecticut, as part of their city Food Plan, wanted to reestablish their farmers market. Their goal was to connect local farmers to urban consumers,

with a focus on lower-income families, with the hope of benefiting both financially. All three had the shared goal of creating higher-return retail outlets for farmers by cutting out the middleman, commercial wholesaling operations which had been undercutting local farmers for years, while providing more affordable produce for those in urban areas and improving farmer-to-consumer interactions and understanding (Hamilton 2022; Schupp 2016; Sommer 1989; Winne 2008). In these early formulations of markets, meeting the needs of low-income urban residents was just as important as meeting the needs of farmers. Farmers were happy to sell wherever customers were buying and could often sell a greater diversity of products compared to wholesale (Carson et al. 2015; Winne 2008).

Early advocates, at the Hartford market, who were looking to use farmers markets to help lower-income families, suggested new markets should only be in operation on the days welfare checks were issued, and that they also be certified to accept food stamps (Winne 2008). This early goal of helping those who were lower-income was semi-realized in the creation of the Farmers Market Nutrition Programs (FMNP) of the late 80s and early 90s which persist in the present day under the name Special Supplemental Nutrition Program for Women, Infants and Children (WIC) program, known as FMNP-WIC.

The Dream on Pause: The Current Farmers Market

A place of middle-classness.

The original dream of the farmers market was to help low-income customers purchase fresh fruits and vegetables from local farmers who were looking to make higher margins on their products, but they tend to end up serving groups who already have access to fresh, locally/regionally grown foods, attracting affluent, liberal, educated, White, female/feminine

customers. Simply put, while farmers markets offer a place where the everyday practices and discourses of the alternative food movement can be examined, they are often rooted in White practices and discourses (Alkon and McCullen 2011; Byker et al. 2012; Coulson and Milbourne 2020; Freedman 2017; Guthman 2011; Pinna 2020; Slocum 2006;2007; Taylor et al. 2022).

A place of Whiteness.

Farmers markets are white not only in the bodies that shop there, which gives the market the appearance of a racialized White space but also in the cultural practices taking place there. Whiteness too is a racial and cultural category, with a set of cultural practices not seen or named as 'white' but as "American' and 'normal' (Frakenberg 1993; Slocum 2008). Individuals and communities who fall outside of this White standard are judged in comparison to this 'norm' (Yosso 2005). White customers who adhere to dominant ethical eating repertoires discussed above contributes to this construction of Whiteness, often neglecting to acknowledge their racial and class privileges, and creating a place where low-income people and people of color can be seen as unaware, ignorant, and apathetic towards their food choices and sources (Alkon and McCullen 2011; Johnston, Szabo and Rodnesy 2011; Larimore 2018; Yosso 2005).

Customers at farmers markets might not always reflect the demographics of the community they are in, contributing to customers from different ethnic, racial, and cultural backgrounds, than the main customer base, to feel out of place and unwanted (Alkon and McCullen 2011; Byker et al. 2012; Larimore 2018; Taylor et al. 2022). This 'out of place feeling' is also exacerbated when there is a lack of culturally relevant foods. When markets are mainly inhabited by White, affluent people, who only purchase fruits, vegetables, and spices in line with European diets, this reinforces farmers decisions to only grow those foods, creating a space where foods eaten by minority populations are limited or nonexistent (Carolan 2021; Slocum

2008). When Whiteness is the reference, the 'norm' for what local consumption and alternative food movements look like, the movement is defined and constrained by it, often justifying and/or obscuring the structural barrier that prevents low-income and people of color from participating. To acknowledge the Whiteness of the alternative food movement and farmers markets generally, markets can offer opportunities for customers to learn about food insecurity, food justice, and how Whiteness and classism affect agricultural food systems from convectional to alternative forms. (Alkon and McCullen 2011).

A place of romanticization.

When people think of a farmers market, they often think of the White farmer who runs a small family-owned farm. This romantic idea surrounding small White farmers hides the fact most of the labor is not done by these White farmers or their family members, rather it is done by Latino/a/c and other workers of color (Alkon and McCullen 2011; Taylor et al. 2021). This also hides farmworkers' subpar labor and living conditions, which include low pay, pesticide exposure, long work hours, and cramped living quarters with leaks and/or sewage problems (Mares 2019). In addition, there is the contradictory fact that farmworkers often have trouble acquiring food, due to a lack of resources, and time, or because this invisible population is often hypervisible to law enforcement and immigration, making a trip to a grocery store risky (Mares 2019). Ultimately, this romanization of White farmers, which contributes to the invisibility of farmworkers prevents both conventional food systems and alternative food "movements from envisioning or advocating for more equitable farm labor relations" (Alkon and McCullen 2011:947; Mares 2019).

The Reemergence of the Dream: Enaction of Eco-Habitus, Farmers Market Nutrition Programs, Nutrient and Health Programs and Food Donations and Conservation Programming

This research combines eco-habitus and farmers markets to look at how farmers markets can structure themselves as facilitators of spaces where all individuals can enact their eco-habitus. This pertains to constructing markets in a way where any customer can participate in purchasing products, regardless of socioeconomic status. Construction of the market in this way refers to farmers markets accepting NP, WIC-FMNP, SFMNP, and SNAP as forms of payment and if they coordinate programming/events corresponding to nutrition and health through FMNP, and Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program Education (SNAP-Ed) and other entities and additional programming surrounding food donation and conservation.

The inclusion of looking at these programs breaks with Bourdieu's assumption that an individual's placement in the field is due to the total volume of their capital, especially if the field allows for those of all capital volumes to participate and in some instances increase their volume of specific capitals (Bourdieu 1986). In these market constructions, anyone regardless of economic capital, among others, can be a part of the field, participate in the practices associated with it, and could increase capital(s).

Special Supplemental Nutrition Program for Women, Infants, and Children.

Starting as a nine-state, state-funded program and expanding to a ten-state Federally and State funded program in 1989, the Farmers Market Coupon Demonstration Project was enacted as part of the Hunger Prevention Act of 1988 to link low-income consumers to local farmers for their mutual benefit (Galfond, Thompson and Wise 1991). The program provided coupons redeemable at farmers markets for fresh fruits and vegetables to recipients of the Special Supplemental Food Program for Women Infants and Children (WIC)—which now operates under

the name the Special Supplemental Nutrition Program for Women Infants and Children— in addition to their monthly WIC benefits as during this time, fruits and vegetables were not included in WIC food packages. In short, WIC provides supplemental food, health care referrals, and nutrition education to low-income pregnant, breastfeeding, and non-breastfeeding postpartum women/birthing people, and infants and children up to age 5 who are found to be at risk nutritionally (United States Department of Agriculture [USDA] 2021). In the 1990's recipients received at least 10 dollars and a maximum of 20 dollars per year, distributing 3.5 million dollars in coupons to more than 250,000 WIC recipients, approximately 23 percent of the 1.2 million recipients of WIC in those ten states[15] in 1989 (Galfond, Thompson, and Wise 1991).

In 1992 through the Farmers Market Nutrition Act Congress established a non-entitlement Federally funded program for all states under the name Special Supplemental Nutrition Program for Women, Infants, and Children (WIC-FMNP) (Dollahite et al. 2005). As of 2024, WIC operates in 89 State agencies[16], U.S. Territories, and Federally recognized Indian Tribal Organizations (ITOs)[17], with WIC-FMNP, operating in 51 as of the 2022 fiscal year (USDA 2021, 2024f). In 2022 approximately 1.3 million WIC recipients received WIC-FMNP or about 21 percent of the average 6.2 million WIC recipients (USDA 2021; 2024h). The program uses 26 million dollars in Federal funds and has authorized 14,582 farmers, 2,623 farmers markets, and 2,392 roadside stands to accept FMNP checks or coupons (USDA 2021). Participants receive at least ten dollars, but no more than thirty dollars per year in addition to

[15] The ten states were: Connecticut, Iowa, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, New York, Pennsylvania, Texas, Vermont and Washington.

[16] Of note, not every State runs WIC-FMNP, or SFMNP programs Statewide.

[17] For a full list see Appendix 1.

their monthly WIC amounts, to purchase fresh, unprepared, and 'locally grown'[18] fruits, vegetables, and herbs from farmers and farmer markets.[19] (Dollahite et al. 2005, USDA 2021). As of 2022 the average amount given to all recipients was 26 dollars (USDA 2024i).

Seniors Farmers Market Nutrition Program.

In addition to WIC-FMNP, in 2018, the Seniors Farmers Market Nutrition Program (SFMNP) was added. During the 2022 fiscal year, 757,751 people received benefits in 57 State agencies, U.S. Territories, and ITOs[20]. The 2018 Farm Bill provided 19.42 million dollars to run the program through 2023 and authorized 15,089 farmers, 3,877 farmers markets, 2,212 roadside stands, and 20 CSAs to accept SFMNP. Participants receive at least twenty dollars, but no more than fifty dollars per year, following the same guidelines as WIC-FMNP, with the addition of CSAs (USDA 2023b). As of 2022 the average amount given to all recipients was 39 dollars (USDA 2024c). For WIC-FMNP the United States Congress appropriates funds annually, with Federal funds covering 100 percent of food cost and 70 percent of the administration cost of the program (USDA 2021). For SFMNP the Farm Bill provides 90 percent of food cost and 10 percent of administration cost (USDA 2023b). Both programs also require state agencies to provide nutritional programs for recipients and will be explained in detail later.

Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program.

In addition to accepting FMNP markets or individual vendors, if the market as an entity does not participate, can also become authorized to accept the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance

[18] Locally Grown in this context is defined by the USDA as produce grown only within State borders but may also include areas in neighboring States adjacent to its boarders (USDA 2021).

[19] If the amounts given out were to have increased with inflation 20 dollars would equal roughly 47 in 2024 dollars.

[20] For a full list see Appendix 2.

Program (SNAP). The goal of SNAP is to reduce poverty and food insecurity by providing low-income families with additional funds to supplement their grocery budgets so they can afford nutritious foods, to improve health and well-being, while stimulating economic growth (USDA 2024g). During 2022 approximately 41.2 million total people received SNAP benefits (USDA 2024d).

To become an authorized SNAP market, markets and vendors must meet one of two food stocking rules outlined by the USDA's Food and Nutrition Service. The first rule is the 50% Rule where more than half of a market's or vendor's gross retail sales must come from eligible staple foods: meat, poultry, fish, bread/cereal, fruits, vegetables, and dairy products. The second is the Staple Food Groups Rules, where markets and vendors must continually, defined as always being offered during hours of operation, sell at least seven varieties of foods within each of the four 'staple food groups,' which are as follows: 1) Meat, poultry or fish 2) Bread or Cereal 3) Fruits or Vegetables 4) Dairy products (Center for Agriculture and Food Systems 2024a). At the end of 2022, there were 3145 farmers markets authorized to accept SNAP, in all 50 states plus the District of Columbia (USDA 2024a). During the 2022 fiscal year, 43 million dollars was redeemed at Farmers Markets, and 29 million was redeemed to farmers, contributing to .05 percent of total SNAP redemptions of 138 billion dollars (USDA 2024e).

WIC, SFMNP, and SNAP, and economic capital.

At markets authorized to accept FMNP, farmers receive the full-face value of the checks or coupons. As discussed above FMNP-WIC participants receive at least ten dollars, but no more than thirty dollars per year to purchase fresh, unprepared, and 'locally grown' fruits, vegetables, and herbs from farmers and farmer markets (Dollahite et al. 2005, USDA 2021). SFMNP Participants receive at least twenty dollars, but no more than fifty dollars per year, following the

same guidelines as WIC FMNP, with the addition of being able to use it at CSAs (USDA 2023b). In addition to FMNP, markets can apply through the USDA to accept SNAP as a form of payment, and often they offer bonus incentives including matching SNAP amounts, often referred to as Double-Up, up to a certain threshold which varies by market, with the funds to do so being provided by different entities including private foundations, non-profit organizations, or local government entities (Center for Agriculture and Food Systems 2024b; Freedman 2017). In short, matching funds increases the purchasing power of SNAP allowing individuals to afford more fresh fruits and vegetables.

Farmers Market Nutrition Programs nutrition and health programming and cultural capital.

Both FMNP programs provide nutritional programming for recipients through State agencies, usually local WIC agencies, but can also be provided by other partners, including farmers and farmers market associations. Farmers Markets may also have additional programming funded through SNAP-Ed. This education is aimed at improving and expanding participants' diets through the addition of fruits and vegetables, and helping them develop skills on how to select, store, and prepare them (Dannefer et al. 2015, Dollahite et al. 2005; Racine, Vaughn and Laditka 2010; USDA 2021).

Research suggests individuals who meet the SNAP thresholds consume significantly fewer cups of fruits and vegetables than higher-income individuals (Dannefer et al. 2015). SNAP-Ed and other nutritional programming seek to increase the consumption of fruits and vegetables—by following advice from public health leaders to combine environmental changes with efforts that can be made at the individual level—through their policy, systems and environmental (PSE) charge. At the individual level, this includes education on nutrition, meal

planning classes, and cooking demonstrations. Of note, is some of these cooking demonstrations, even when they are run by White volunteers, use culturally relevant ingredients to the population they are serving and either use or suggest substitution to make cooking more affordable, seasonally relevant, and tailored to what is available at the market, including how to use produce individuals may have never seen or eaten before. These individual level measures were shown to increase confidence in participants' cooking skills (Dannefer et al. 2015). FMNP and SNAP acceptance were also shown to help increase fruit and vegetable consumption among participants by at least one serving a day (Dannefer et al. 2015; Dollahite et al. 2005; Freedman 2017; Racine, Vaughn and Laditka 2010). At the environmental level, public health leaders suggest increasing the affordability of produce by providing coupons and vouchers, which some farmers markets achieve through FMNP and SNAP acceptance, or by providing them to those who attend programming if FMNP and SNAP are not present (Dannefer et al. 2015).

Food donations/conservation programming and cultural capital.

Some farmers markets also engage in food donation and conservation programming. These programs focus on donating food to local food banks, community kitchens, and food recovery programs, either in tandem with gleaning[21] programs or not. Food conservation includes classes and demonstrations on canning and other types of food processing, composting and compost collecting, gardening/horticultural instruction/classes, and recycling programs. Food conservation programs can help individuals gain knowledge on how to keep their produce from going bad before they are able to consume it, helping to reduce waste of food and by

[21] Gleaning refers to "the act of collecting excess fresh foods from farms, gardens, farmers markets, grocers, restaurants, state/county fairs, or any other sources in order to provide it to those in need" (USDA, 2024b). Some of these gleaning programs are supported through SNAP-Ed.

relation, money in the home. Gardening,[22] when individuals can engage in it, can help them supplement the foods they are purchasing through traditional means or at farmers markets. Additionally, composting and recycling programs signal that farmers markets are engaging in sustainable practices, which are related to the concept of eco-habitus.

Gleaning programs allow farmers markets to address food insecurity by providing low-income residents with fresh fruits and vegetables who may have difficulty obtaining them due to lack of availability and funds while reducing food waste at the end of market days (Lanier and Schumacher 2017). While there has been little research done on these types of programming, Sisson (2016) discusses participants who receive gleaned fruit and vegetables report they are satisfied and use/eat almost if not all the produce they receive. Having increased access to produce can also provide opportunities and encourage individuals to try foods they may not have eaten before (Lanier and Schumacher 2017). Gleaning also helps farmers, volunteers, and local community members to build better relationships, and help community members have a deeper understanding of their food sources.

Connection with farmers, cultural and social capital.

Even when farmers markets do not have programming, there are still opportunities for individuals to increase capital. As Carson et al.'s (2015) research suggests, at the basis of every economic exchange at the farmers market, there is also a social exchange. This social connection can lead to trust and reciprocity which is seen as the compelling attribute of direct agriculture markets. Farmers and vendors can engage in conversations with customers about their agriculture practices and can directly address customers' concerns. These direct exchanges of information coupled with personal connection and appreciation of hard work are benefits touted

[22] Seeds and food producing plants can be purchased with SNAP.

by both farmers and customers. Through these interactions, vendors can offer suggestions, and ways to prepare products, and customers are more willing to act on vendors' suggestions when they have built a relationship. These relationships were also associated with customer returns to farmers markets and increased fruit and vegetable consumption (Carson et al. 2015).

THE CURRENT STUDY

Facilitating Eco-Habitus at Farmers Markets

In this study, I seek to resituate eco-habitus into Pierre Bourdieu's understanding of field to show how farmers markets can structure themselves as facilitators of spaces where all individuals, specifically those with low economic and cultural capital, can enact their eco-habitus. To ask how farmers markets can achieve this, I explore what predictors lead to a market accepting USDA FNS NP as forms of payment, the presence of nutrition and health programs, and food donation and conservation programs. I also provide a breakdown of the types of programming markets provide.

Here eco-habitus refers to "the embodiment of a durable yet changeable system of ecologically relevant dispositions, practices, perceptions, and material conditions perceptible as a lifestyle that is shaped by and helps shape socioecological contexts" (Kasper 2009:318). While eco-habitus refers to an internalized disposition it can be observed through ethical and green consumption, which can be associated with farmers markets which are viewed as ethically superior, local, and more sustainable than traditional grocery stores (Carolan 2022; Campbell 2009; Carson et al. 2015; Garner 2018; Garner 2022; Paddock 2016; Seyfang 2007; Sommer 1989).

Federal Nutrition Programs.

21 percent of the average 6.2 million WIC recipients receive WIC-FMNP, and .05 percent of total SNAP redemptions are made at farmers markets. This indicates there are a lot more people who could benefit by utilizing SNAP at markets but there are a few barriers preventing individuals eligible for food assistance from using them at farmers markets. The first is the lack of awareness of farmers markets with some individuals being unaware there was any market in their area. The second was the unawareness that SNAP can be used at a specific farmers market and that there is associated healthy food programming (Freedman 2017; Leone et al. 2014). The third is cost, which can be partially alleviated with the acceptance of SNAP, even more so when paired with matching programs (Leone et al. 2014).

FMNP and SNAP can be used to help increase individuals' economic capital at farmers markets allowing them to enact their eco-habitus as they can buy products that align with their ideas of ethical and/or green consumption. Markets that accept these programs as forms of payment are thus facilitating spaces of eco-habitus for all.

Nutrition Programming.

In returning to the idea of field, farmers' markets are the geographical space where those from different social spaces can interact. Increasing shared capital within and between groups can close social space, which has been mediated by the geographical space of the farmers' market. I argue the presence of nutrition and health programming are opportunities for those with lower income and education surrounding nutrition, and health the opportunity to increase their cultural capital.

Food Donations and Conservation.

Food donation and conservation fall into various categories of eco-habitus practices and their facilitation. At the level of the individual, programming about canning and gardening can help to increase participants' cultural capital and help them become more food secure. At the level of the market, gleaning and food donation programs can help increase food access to low-income individuals in the community, and signal the market is connected to and aware of the broader community's needs (Lanier and Schumacher 2017). While not related to either increasing capital or providing food, composting and recycling programs can signal the market is engaging in sustainable measures, which is related to eco-habitus.

Increasing cultural capital through nutrition and food programming can provide individuals with information that might increase their ability to act on their ecological disposition. Furthermore, this increase can reduce the social space between those with varying amounts of capital regardless of the different ethical eating/practices discourses/repertories they may be pulling from (Larimore 2018, Farmer et al. 2014).

Urban, Rural, and Political Affiliation

As discussed above there are often differences between rural and urban farmers markets, including size, shoppers, market managers, and environmental focus. Following these observations, for this study, I use population density as a proxy for urbanness as the key predictor to determine market acceptance of NP and availability of programming. Following Johnson and Scale (2020), I view rural and urban as a continuum rather than a dichotomy. On one end of the continuum are the large metropolitan core counties and on the other are rural counties far from urban areas with no official towns. Liberals often value living in areas where they can access

stores and other amenities within walking distance, along with wanting to live closer to people while conservates typically prefer to live farther apart (Scala and Johnson 2017). Place is political and often comes down to not where people live, but how people live and what they value.

County political leaning is layered on urbanness as there is research to suggest they are connected. Even when controlling for race, age, education, and income among others, there are differences between voters when they are in different areas (Gimpel et al. 2020; Scala and Johnston 2020; Scala, Johnston and Rogers 2015). Cities and urban areas have more progressive or liberal views, and rural areas have more traditionalist and conservative attitudes and views (Gimpel et al. 2020; Johnston and Scala 2020). Looking at the Rural-Urban continuum rural counties have a substantial Republican majority and are more likely to vote Republican than urban voters (Johnston and Scala 2020; McKee 2008). Republican political candidates understand this and have depicted rural individuals as the "real Americans." Additionally, the political gap between urban and rural continues to widen and is helped by the convergence of economic, demographic, and sociocultural shifts (Brown, Mettler and Puzzi 2021).

Cultural Capital

Education is used as a predictor and serves as a proxy for cultural capital for two reasons. Firstly, eco-habitus is most closely associated with cultural capital, which is most easily measured by individuals having at least a bachelor's degree. Secondly, areas with higher education and income are more likely to have a younger population, who tend to vote more Democratic, with urban areas having a younger population than rural (Scala and Johnson 2017).

According to the ACS (2023), between 2017 and 2021, 35.7% of adults aged 25 and older who lived in Urban areas had at least a bachelor's degree.

Economic Capital

Economic predictors are used to account for low and high-income areas for several reasons. The first is within the dominant eco-habitus literature there is the assumption that only affluent individuals possess an ecological habitus (Kamphius et al. 2015; Kennedy, Baumann and Johnston 2019; Kennedy and Givens 2019), but others (Beagan, Chapman and Power 2016; Carfagna et al. 2014; Stamer 2018), have shown those with less income still have an eco-habitus they just do not have the economic means to do so, or pull from different environmental narratives to enact it (Carolan 2021; Johnston, Szabo and Rodney 2011; Johnston, Szabo, and Rodney 2011; Keeling-Bond et al. 2009; Zepeda and Li 2006). Federal NP help low-income individuals and families supplement their food budgets increasing their ability to enact their eco-habitus at farmers markets who accepts these programs as forms of payment. Additionally, areas high in economic growth, urban centers, have been shown to vote Democratic, when compared to areas with low economic growth, rural areas, which vote for Republicans (Mettler and Brown 2022).

Race

Race is an important predictor for two reasons. First, farmers markets are often seen as a place of Whiteness (Alkon and McCullen 2011). As illustrated by Alkon (2012), race can determine what discourses of environmentalism and social justice a farmers market will focus on. This is due to dominant ethical eating repertoires being constructed by Whiteness, they often

create places where low-income people and people of color can be seen as unaware, ignorant, and apathetic towards their food choices and sources (Alkon and McCullen 2011; Johnston, Szabo, and Rodnesy 2011; Larimore 2018), which also contributes to people of color feeling out of place and unwanted (Byker et al. 2012; Larimore 2018; Taylor et al. 2022). Second, race is related to the rural-urban continuum, as urban areas have a higher percentage of black residents than rural (Scala and Johnson 2017).

DATA

An Original Survey

To look at the facilitation of eco-habitus across a national sample of farmers markets, I constructed and fielded an original survey national survey of farmers market managers. This survey asked market managers about their 2023 market construction and governance including, size, months in operation, acceptance of FNS NP as payment, educational programs surrounding health and nutrition programs, food donations and conservation programs, and types of products sold.[23] To obtain a national sample I used the USDA's Local Food Directories[24], Farmers' Market Directory.[25] The database includes a downloadable directory spreadsheet, which includes the name and address for all markets and a few other data points for some. On May 9th, 2023, there were 6,969 markets listed. Using the directory and spreadsheet I sorted by state and began gathering emails. Emails were sometimes listed on the directory or were obtained through the

[23] For a full list of FNS NP and programming asked about see Appendix 3.

[24] https://www.usdalocalfoodportal.com/

[25] https://www.usdalocalfoodportal.com/fe/fdirectory_farmersmarket/?source=fe&directory=farmersmarket&location=&x=&y=

market's publicly viewable[26] Facebook pages or websites. I tried to find contact information for the market manager, but generally could only find a general contact, resulting in 5,519 markets with email contacts. Of note, markets on the USDA database are self-reported, and it is up to the markets or their organization to update their market's information. As a result, there were approximately 1,000 emails sent to addresses that were no longer active or did not exist. I also received emails from markets listed on the database but had not been in operation for one to six plus years. After accounting for inactive and invalid emails there were approximately 4,519 markets. Using Qualtrics, test surveys were sent to farmers' markets in Alaska and Hawai'i on September 21st, 2023, with all other states having surveys sent on October 2nd, 2023, with weekly reminder emails until October 27th, 2023. On November 14th, 2023, there were 586 responses, a response rate of approximately 13%. This resulted in 522 completed surveys, 504 total responses, with 473 responses for analysis on acceptance of NP and 469 for nutrition and health programs, and food donation and conservation programs, from 47 states[27,28], once all data sets were linked and missing data dropped.[29]

[26] Publicly viewable, meaning one could view the page without having to log-in or have a Facebook account.

[27] Alaska, Hawai'i and Nebraska are missing. Hawai'i and Nebraska due to no responses, and Alaska was lost in data linking due to their lack of counties, as they use Census regions.

[28] For a full list of number of survey responses by state see Appendix 4.

[29] For a full list of descriptive statistics for all data sets used see Appendix 5.

Secondary Data Sources

American Community Survey.

I supplemented my survey data with the United States Census Bureau's *American Community Survey (ACS)* (USCB 2023a). I used the county-level five-year percentage summaries from 2017 to 2021 with incomes adjusted for inflation to 2022 dollars. Each year the survey contacts over 3.5 million households across all 50 states plus the District of Columbia and Puerto Rico, collecting data on social, economic, housing, and demographic characteristics of the U.S. population (USCB 2017). The sampling frame is taken from a list of more than 140 million eligible addresses, an address cannot be selected more than once every five years, which results in about 295,000 addresses a month or more than 3.5 million addresses a year being randomly selected to participate. The data is collected every year, with data compiled into yearly data reports and five-year summaries (USCB 2017). The average response rate from 2017 to 2021, the five-year estimations used for this research was 85.64 percent (USCB 2022).

County Presidential Election Return 2000-2020.

Data to measure county-level political affiliation comes from the MIT Election Data and Science Lab's *County Presidential Election Returns 2000-2020* (MIT Election Data and Science Lab 2018). This data set details county-level returns for Presidential elections from 2000-2020. For each county, there is the total number of votes and the number of votes given to the Democratic, and Republican candidates with all others lumped into Other, except with the addition of the Green party for 2000. It also includes the mode of voting, with some states lumping all of them together and some breaking them down into different categories (i.e. Early

Vote, Election Vote, Absentee, etc.). As a proxy for conservative versus liberal leaning for each county, I used the 2020 election results and calculated the percent vote for President Joseph Biden.

Population Density: United States Census Bureau.

Data used to measure the population density of counties was obtained from the United States Census Bureau. “Every 10 years, the U.S. Census Bureau conducts a census to determine the number of people living in the United States” (USCB 2021). County population density is expressed as the number of people per square mile of land area, determined by dividing the county's total population by the total land area.

Linking Data

In the absence of Federal Information Processing Standard (FIPS) codes, in my original dataset, I connected it to the ACS by matching on state and county, losing responses from Alaska (n=5), due to its use of census region, not counties. The two remaining data sets were linked via FIPS codes in the ACS, matching on all cases.

Measures of Eco-Habitus

To measure if farmers markets are facilitating spaces where individuals can enact their eco-habitus, I examine three dependent variables from my survey. The first is the acceptance of the United States Department of Agriculture’s Food and Nutrition Services’(FNS), Nutrition Programs (NP). These include the two programs under the USDA’s Farmers Market Nutrition Programs Special Supplemental Nutrition Program for Women, Infants and Children (WIC-

FMNP), and Seniors Farmers Market Nutrition Program (SFMNP) in addition to Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP).[30] The second is the presence of nutritional and/or health programming. The final measurement of eco-habitus is the presence of food donation and conservation programming.

Predictors of Eco-Habitus

As outlined above, my predictors of eco-habitus are county population density (as a proxy for urbanness) (USCB), logged to account for right skew, county liberal political leaning determined by the percentage of county voters who voted for President Joseph Biden (Biden) in 2020 (MIT Election Data and Science Lab 2018), and from the *American Community Survey*'s county-level five-year percentage summaries from 2017 to 2021: education as measured by the percentage of a county's population 25 years or older who have at least a bachelor's degree, median income in $10,000 increments, the poverty rate, and the Gini index of income inequality. Racial predictors are percent black and percent Hispanic in each county (USCB 2023a).

Controls

To examine county-level predictors instead of farmers market characteristics I control for the length of the farmers' market season, in number of months, and the size of the market, determined by the number of vendors, logged to account for right skew, as both could be confounders. For example, larger farmers markets and those with a longer season might have a

[30] The survey question asking which federal the farmers market accepted includes the three focused on in here, and included 'Women, Infants and Children's - Cash Value Voucher' (WIC-CVV) and 'Fruit and Vegetable Prescription (RX)'. All but one response which selected one of these also selected at least one of the three discussed.

regular or large enough customer base and staff to justify allocating finances and labor into NP and additional programming.

METHODS

I first analyze my data by looking at the breakdown of NP acceptance, and the types of nutrition and health programming along with food donation and conservation programming. I then analyze the data using logistic regression models, separately examining all three outcomes, whether or not a farmers market (1) accepts NP as a form of payment, (2) has nutrition and health programming, and (3) has food donations and conservation programs. I am thinking of these as indicators the markets are structuring themselves as facilitators of spaces where all individuals can enact their eco-habitus. To do this I used county population density in tandem with county political leaning as my key predictors. Additionally, I use county-level predictors for education, economic capital, and racial make-up, controlling for the length of the farmers' market season, and the size of the market.

Models

Model 1 shows the effect of population density on predicting the three eco-habitus outcomes, controlling for the length of the market season and the size of the market.

$$Eco - Habitus = \beta_0 + \beta_1 Population\ Density + \beta_2 Controls$$

Model 2 shows the effect of population density and political leaning on predicting the three eco-habitus outcomes, plus controls.

$$Eco - Habitus = \beta_0 + \beta_1 Population\ Density + \beta_2 Political\ Leaning + \beta_3 Controls$$

Model 3-7 predicts one of the three eco-habitus outcomes, with population density, political leaning, predictors, and controls. In each model, I enter education, economic, and racial predictors one at a time, and then combine them into a full model (Model 8).

$$Eco - Habitus = \beta_0 + \beta_1 Population\ Density + \beta_2 Political\ Leaning + \beta_3 Individual\ Predictors + \beta_4 Controls$$

Model 8 contains all predictors, plus controls.

$$Eco - Habitus = \beta_0 + \beta_1 Population\ Density + \beta_2 Political\ Leaning + \beta_3 All\ Predictors + \beta_4 Controls$$

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Programming Counts

Before looking at the results of logistic regression, I look at programming descriptive statistics. Table 1 shows the number of markets that answered the questions pertaining to NP and programming, and the percent of respondents whose market had the program(s). Table 2 shows of those who answered "yes" which forms of payment they accepted and what type of programming they had. For NP the most common was SNAP with 255 or 92.39% of markets accepting it. This is followed by SFMP with 173 and WIC-FMNP with 152.

Table 1: Descriptive Statistics Binary Variables (Farmers Markets)*

Variable	Count	Percent Yes
Market accepts Federal Nutrition Programming	473	58.35
Market has Nutrition and Health Programs	469	56.29
Market has Food Donation and Conservation Programs	469	30.49
*Note: *Does not include NA's.*		

Table 2: Counts for Federal Nutrition Programming*

Federal Nutrition Programming	Count*	Percent
Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP)	255	92.39
WIC-FMNP (Women, Infants and Children's - Farmers Market Nutrition Program)	152	55.07
Senior Farmers Market Nutrition Program (SFMNP)	173	62.68
WIC-CVV (Women, Infants and Children's - Cash Value Voucher)	70	25.36
Fruit and Vegetable Prescription (RX)	35	12.68
Other	48	17.39
*Note: n=276, *Markets can accept more than one.*		

Table 3 shows the count and percentage of markets that have health and fitness programming and food donation and conservation programming. Of the 473 markets, 264 had health and fitness programming, and 143 had food donation and conservation programming. The most common health and fitness program was recipe cards with 184 markets or 69.70 percent followed by cooking demonstrations (n=136), and nutrition classes/education (n=128). The most common food donation was donating to food banks, and community kitchens with both having 82 markets or 57.34. In relation to food conservation and waste reduction 72 markets, 59,35 percent, had composting/compost collection, 56 had recycling programs and 52 had gardening/horticultural instruction/classes.

Table 3: Counts for Farmers Market Programming*

Programming	Count	Percent
Health and Fitness Programming		
Bicycle Races	13	4.92
Fitness Programs	33	12.50
Exercise Classes/Events	65	24.62
Nutrition Classes/Education	128	48.48
Health Screening	69	26.14
Cooking Demonstrations	136	51.52
Cooking Lessons	28	10.61
Recipe Cards	184	69.70
Budgeting	12	4.55
Food Donation and Conservation Programs		
Canning and Other Processing Classes	14	9.80
Composting/Compost Collection	72	50.35
Gardening/Horticultural Instruction/Classes	52	36.36
Gleaning	36	25.17
Recycling	56	39.16
Donating to Food Banks	82	57.34
Donating to Community Kitchens	82	57.34
Donating to Food Recovery Programs	34	23.78
Note: Health and Fitness n=264; Food Donation and Conservation n=143		
**Markets can accept more than one.*		

Market Acceptance of Farmers Market Nutrition Programs

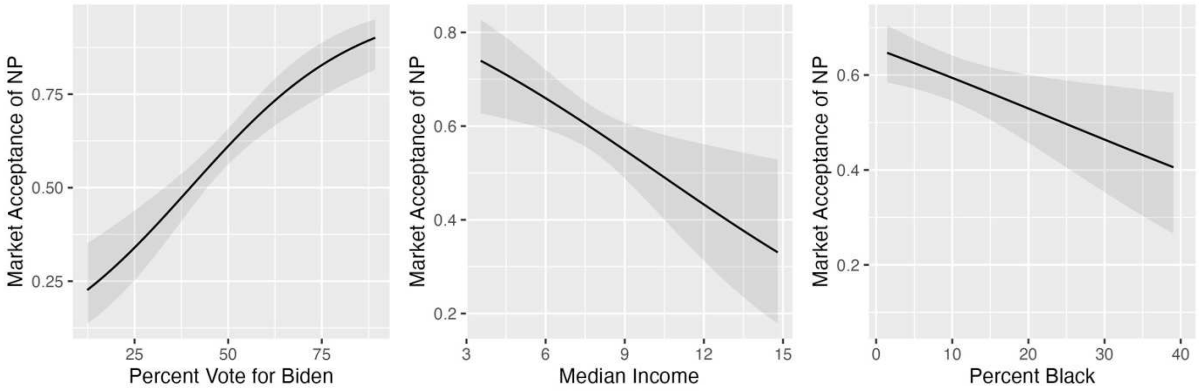
Table 4 shows the results of logistic regression models predicting farmers markets accepting FNS NP as a form of payment based on county demographics of education level, income, percent poverty, inequality, and race. Model 1 shows a one-point increase in county population density is associated with [exp(.134)/100 =] .0114 times greater odds, or 1.14% increase in the odds a farmers market will accept NP as a form of payment, controlling for all other variables ($p < 0.05$). In the Full Model (8) with all demographics and controls, the effect decreases to a 1.07% increase in the odds and loses statistical significance. Model 2 shows a one percentage point increase in a county voting for Biden is associated with a [exp(.045)=] 4.6% increase in the odds a farmers market will accept NP as a form of payment ($p < 0.001$). The

Table 4: Farmers Market Acceptance of Federal Nutrition Programs.

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
# Vendors (Logged)	0.427***	0.418***	0.448***	0.466***	0.428***	0.411***	0.362**	0.395**
	(0.116)	(0.120)	(0.123)	(0.123)	(0.122)	(0.120)	(0.123)	(0.127)
Months in Operation	0.044	0.054	0.052	0.045	0.051	0.060	0.079*	0.091*
	(0.034)	(0.035)	(0.035)	(0.035)	(0.035)	(0.036)	(0.037)	(0.038)
Population Density (Logged)	0.134*	-0.162*	-0.133	-0.082	-0.159	-0.154	-0.128	0.065
	(0.057)	(0.082)	(0.085)	(0.088)	(0.082)	(0.083)	(0.085)	(0.099)
Percent Vote for Biden		0.045***	0.052***	0.048***	0.045***	0.047***	0.052***	0.068***
		(0.008)	(0.010)	(0.009)	(0.008)	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.012)
Bachelor's or Higher			-0.018					-0.001
			(0.013)					(0.022)
Median Income				-0.155**				-0.311**
				(0.058)				(0.105)
Below Poverty Line					0.016			-0.009
					(0.031)			(0.062)
Gini Index						-2.954		-5.998
						(3.557)		(4.750)
Black							-0.026*	-0.046***
							(0.011)	(0.013)
Hispanic							-0.011	-0.012
							(0.009)	(0.011)
(Intercept)	-2.006***	-2.539***	-2.515***	-2.017***	-2.685***	-1.373	-2.743***	0.666
	(0.440)	(0.466)	(0.469)	(0.500)	(0.552)	(1.474)	(0.482)	(1.963)
Note: N=473								*p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001

association can be seen in the left panel of Figure 1, which details the predicted probability of a market accepting NP as the percent vote increases. In the Full Model, the odds increase to 7% ($p < 0.001$). Model 4 shows that every additional $10,000 in a county's median income, of citizens, is associated with a [1-exp(-.155) =] 14.4% decrease in the odds a farmers market will accept NP as a form of payment ($p < 0.01$), seen in the center panel of Figure 1. In the Full Model, the

effect increases to a 26.7% decrease in the odds ($p < 0.01$). Model 7 shows a one percentage point increase in a county's Black population is associated with a 2.6% decrease in the odds a farmers market will accept NP as a form of payment ($p < 0.05$), seen in the right panel of Figure 1. In the Full Model, the effect increases to a 4.5% decrease in the odds ($p < 0.001$).



Note: The left panel is Model 2, the center is Model 4, and the right is Model 7. This is the same in all figures.

Figure 1: Predicted probabilities for market acceptance of NP.

Health and Nutrition Programs

Table 5 shows the probability of a farmers market having health and nutrition programming based on county demographics of education level, income, percent poverty, inequality, and race. Population density is not statistically significant in Model 1. In the Full Model, the effect of population density increases to a 1.24% increase in the odds a farmers market will have health and nutrition programming ($p < 0.05$). County political leaning is not statistically significant in Model 2 or the Full Model. Model 3 shows that every one percentage point increase in a county's population having at least a bachelor's degree is associated with 2.7% decrease in the odds a farmers market will have health and nutrition programming ($p < 0.05$). In the Full Model, the effect changes direction and decreases to be associated with a 2.1% increase in the odds but loses statistical significance. Model 4 shows that every additional

Table 5: Farmers Markets having nutrition and health programming.

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
# Vendors (Logged)	0.144	0.149	0.190	0.201	0.215	0.155	0.181	0.196
	(0.110)	(0.111)	(0.113)	(0.113)	(0.114)	(0.111)	(0.114)	(0.117)
Months in Operation	0.093**	0.092**	0.089**	0.084*	0.071*	0.086*	0.081*	0.079*
	(0.033)	(0.033)	(0.034)	(0.034)	(0.034)	(0.034)	(0.034)	(0.035)
Population Density (Logged)	0.096	0.139	0.180*	0.233**	0.155*	0.130	0.114	0.219*
	(0.056)	(0.076)	(0.079)	(0.082)	(0.077)	(0.076)	(0.077)	(0.092)
Percent Vote for Biden		-0.006	0.004	-0.003	-0.005	-0.008	-0.010	-0.006
		(0.008)	(0.009)	(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.011)
Bachelor's or Higher			-0.027*					0.021
			(0.012)					(0.020)
Median Income				-0.178**				-0.113
				(0.055)				(0.096)
Below Poverty Line					0.111***			0.140*
					(0.032)			(0.062)
Gini Index						2.665		-7.009
						(3.356)		(4.529)
Black							0.014	-0.007
							(0.010)	(0.012)
Hispanic							0.006	0.002
							(0.008)	(0.010)
(Intercept)	-1.381**	-1.318**	-1.271**	-0.728	-2.395***	-2.377	-1.243**	0.433
	(0.423)	(0.430)	(0.432)	(0.466)	(0.539)	(1.403)	(0.431)	(1.844)
Note: N=469						*p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001		

$10,000 in a county's residents' median income, is associated with a 16.3% decrease in the odds a farmers market will have health and nutrition programming ($p < 0.01$). The association can be seen in the center panel of Figure 2, which details the predicted probability of a farmers market having nutrition and health programming. In the Full Model, the effect size decreases to 11% but is no longer statistically significance. Model 5 shows a one percentage point increase in the percentage of a county's residents living under the poverty threshold is associated with an 11.7%

increase in the odds a farmers market will have health and nutrition programming ($p < 0.001$). In the Full Model, the effect increases to a 15% increase in the odds ($p < 0.05$).

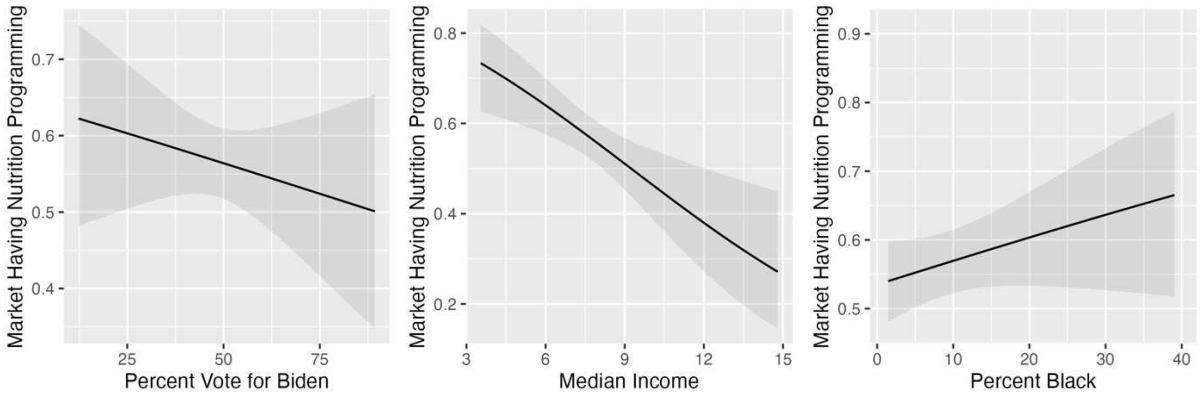


Figure 2: Predicted Probabilities for a farmers market having nutrition and health programming.

Food Donations, and Conservation Programs

Table 6 shows the probability of a farmers market having food donations, conservation, and/or waste programming (food programming) based on county demographics of education level, income, percent poverty, inequality, and race. Model 1 shows one-point increase in a county's population density is associated with a 1.28% increase in the odds a farmers market will have food programming ($p < 0.001$). In the Full Model, the effect decreases to 1.16% but is no longer statistically significance. Model 2 shows a one percentage point increase in a county voting for Biden is associated with a 2% increase in the odds a farmers market will have food programming ($p < 0.05$). The association can be seen in the center panel of Figure 3, which details the predicted probability of a farmers market having food donation and conservation programming. In the Full Model, the effect decreases to 1.5% but loses statistical significance.

Table 6: Farmers Markets having food donation, conservation and waste programming.

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
# Vendors (Logged)	0.229	0.223	0.218	0.237	0.240	0.243	0.205	0.217
	(0.124)	(0.125)	(0.126)	(0.126)	(0.127)	(0.127)	(0.128)	(0.130)
Months in Operation	0.101**	0.103**	0.104**	0.100**	0.097**	0.091*	0.107**	0.097**
	(0.035)	(0.035)	(0.035)	(0.036)	(0.036)	(0.036)	(0.036)	(0.037)
Population Density (Logged)	0.248***	0.110	0.104	0.140	0.114	0.087	0.124	0.146
	(0.066)	(0.086)	(0.088)	(0.091)	(0.086)	(0.087)	(0.089)	(0.103)
Percent Vote for Biden		0.020*	0.019	0.021*	0.021*	0.017	0.021*	0.015
		(0.008)	(0.010)	(0.009)	(0.008)	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.012)
Bachelor's or Higher			0.004					0.018
			(0.013)					(0.022)
Median Income				-0.059				-0.073
				(0.058)				(0.103)
Below Poverty Line					0.030			0.044
					(0.032)			(0.067)
Gini Index						6.053		3.526
						(3.711)		(4.910)
Black							-0.007	-0.017
							(0.011)	(0.013)
Hispanic							0.0002	-0.002
							(0.009)	(0.010)
(Intercept)	-3.736***	-3.952***	-3.964***	-3.751***	-4.236***	-6.360***	-3.990***	-5.685**
	(0.527)	(0.540)	(0.542)	(0.572)	(0.626)	(1.585)	(0.549)	(2.064)
Note: N=469							*p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001	

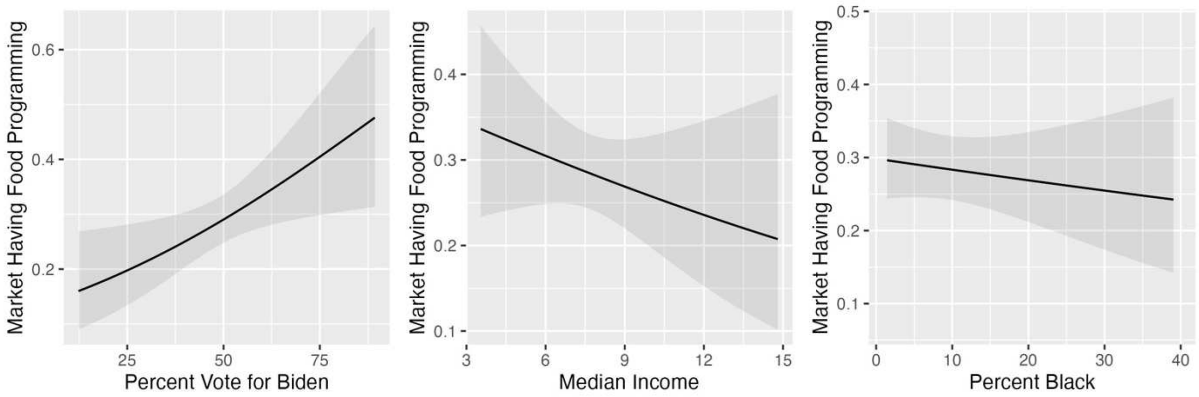


Figure 3: Predicted Probabilities for a farmers market having food donation and conservation programming.

Discussion of Results

Summarizing programming counts, the most common NP was SNAP, which was accepted at 255 of the 276 farmers markets who accepted NP as a form of payment. This was followed by SFMNP and WIC-FMNP. In relation to these, the most common nutrition and health programming was recipe cards (n=148), followed by cooking demonstrations (n=136) and nutrition classes/education (n=128). These results are in line with the mandate that farmer markets who accept FMNP must also provide nutrition and health programming, with recipes being made available through the USDA SNAP-Eds webpage (USDA 2021;2023b).[31]

To summarize logistic regression results, I find urbanness has little effect in predicting nutrition and health programming, and almost no effect on the other two outcomes. In the acceptance of NP population density only had a statistically significant effect on its own and when combined with political leaning, which was significant across all models. When looking at the presence of nutrition and health programming, the population density was significant when education, median income, and poverty were significant, and in the presence of food donation

[31] For each states SNAP-Ed recipes see: https://snaped.fns.usda.gov/resources/nutrition-education-materials/snap-ed-recipes/recipes-snap-ed-partners

and conservation programming, only percent vote was significant when paired with other predictors. When combining the population density and political leaning, what I might have been capturing is the political divide between rural and urban areas (Gimpel et al. 2020; Scala and Johnston 2020; Scala, Johnston and Rogers 2015). Democrats are more likely than Republicans to support government aid to the needy which may also explain why a county with a higher percentage of people who voted for Biden might be more likely to accept NP (Goenka and Thomas 2022; Pew Research Center 2018). Additionally, this might explain why political leaning is associated with the presence of food donation programming.

When looking at the effect of education, on markets having nutrition and health programming there is a decrease in the odds a market will have health programming, as a county's education level increases. In combining this with economic factors we see an increase in poverty is associated with an increase in the odds while an increase in income is associated with a decrease in the odds. We would expect that as poverty increases, income, and education levels decrease, and an increase in poverty means more individuals would be eligible for WIC-FMNP and SFMNP. It is important to reiterate that markets that accept FMNP as a form of payment must provide nutrition and health programming, which might also explain why the poverty level is still significant in the Full Model. Additionally, with nutrition and health programming, we see the same effects of income as in the acceptance of NP, which again suggests fewer people in the county need WIC-FMNP and SFMNP, or markets have enough clientele to justify not needing to take FMNP or SNAP. Markets might not want to spend money to set up the programs if there is not enough cliental to support the programs, in short there is not a high enough return on investment for them to justify it.

Taking racial makeup into account, in the acceptance of NP an increase in a county's black population is associated with a decrease in the odds a market will accept NP as a form of payment. In the Full Model, this decrease is also paired with a decrease in the odds when a county's median income increases, even as the county becomes more liberal. There is a link between race and income. Blacks make less than their white counterparts and have higher rates of poverty 25.8 percent compared to 11.6 percent (Macartney, Bishaw and Fontenot 2013; Thomas and Moye 2015). These results are also in line with discussions showing how low-income individuals and/or people of color, still possess an eco-habitus, looking at the positive effects of political leaning, but are pulling from non-dominate ethical eating repertoires (Johnston, Szabo and Rodney 2011; Farmer et al. 2014). These groups still possess high amounts of cultural capital just not the dominant forms associated with Whiteness, and eco-habitus (Yosso 2005).

Finally, in the probability of a market having food donation and conservation programming, there are no education, economic, or racial predictors that predict a market will have food donation and conservation programs. County political leaning was significant and positive except for education and in the Full Model. This might indicate that eco-habitus is associated more with consumption habits rather than other nonconsumption ecological and environmental habits and views such as food conservation and food access for others.

CONCLUSIONS

The rise of farmers markets and a shift to more ethical and green consumption can be read as the emergence of eco-habitus. This study sought to resituate eco-habitus into what Pierre Bourdieu refers to as field and show how farmers markets can increase an individual's ability to

enact their eco-habitus. Thus, I argue farmers markets can structure themselves as facilitators of spaces where all individuals, specifically those with low economic and cultural capital, can enact their eco-habitus. I suggest farmers markets can achieve this through the acceptance of the United States Department of Agriculture's Food and Nutrition Services Nutrition Programs as forms of payment, and by providing nutrition and health and food conservation programming, increasing low-income individuals' ability, through economic and educational support, to enact their eco-habitus. I explored the predictors that lead to markets having these programs and provided a breakdown of the types of programming markets provide.

Results from logistic regressions indicate county's leaning politically liberal increases the probability of accepting NP, while an increase in median income and an increase in a county's black population leads to a decrease in that probability. Greater population density initially appeared to increase probability of accepting NP, but has a negative effect when controlling for political leaning. In the probability of a farmers markets having nutrition and health programming an increase in population density and the poverty rate have a positive effect, while an increase in the population having at least a bachelor's degree and an increase in the median income has a negative effect. In the probability of farmers markets having food donations and conservation programs, an increase in population density initially appeared to increase the probability of having programming but loses this effect when controlling for other predictors. More liberal counties have a positive effect except when controlling for education and inequality (Gini).

Overall, these findings suggest an increase in a county's percentage vote for Biden has a positive effect on the odds a farmers market will accept NP as a form of payment, making it easier for those with less economic capital to enact their eco-habitus. An increase in a county's

population density has a positive effect on the odds a farmers market will have nutrition and health programming along with an increase in the percent of the population living in poverty suggesting there are opportunities for this population to increase their cultural capital regarding cooking and nutrition. Finally, an increase in a county's percentage vote for Biden increases the odds a farmers market will have food donation and conservation programs indicating markets in more liberal areas are engaging in sustainable measures, which is related to eco-habitus. I found it surprising education has no effect here, as eco-habitus is most closely associated with cultural capital often defined as having a bachelor's degree or higher.

Limitations and Future Research

In comparison to the population, the sample size N=473 was only a 10.5% response rate, after dropping missing data. Additionally, Alaska, Hawai'i, and Nebraska were not included in the sample. As mentioned above, the USDA's Local Food Directories, Farmers' Market Directory database is self-reported, and it is up to the markets or their organization to update the markets, leading to outdated emails, and emails to larger government entities such as city councils. To help get more accurate emails, most states keep an up-to-date list of farmers markets either through self-reporting or because they are a part of the state's farmer market association or organization.

The survey only asked general questions about the market manager or market representative taking the survey. As noted, market managers make decisions about market policies, programming, community engagement, and outreach among others, and the age, race, and years in the role among other demographic factors, can shape how a farmers market is structured. Future research could focus on the market manager to see how different identities

affect the structure of a market making it more or less likely to help in the facilitation of eco-habitus. Future research could look at market governance including additional rules and regulations, along with governance structure and if there are broader ties to the community. Ethnography and/or qualitative interviews could be conducted at farmers markets with these programs to see how they are implemented and the drivers for markets having them. Looking at eco-habitus, more research could be conducted looking at individuals' non-consumption ecological and environmental views and habits. Additionally, this research has only begun to critique farmers markets as White spaces. Future research could look at how farmers markets contribute to and/or hinder food justice, and food sovereignty and how FMNP could be improved.

Policy Implications

Farmers Markets.

Following Young et al. (2014) knowing the community and retail environment a farmers market is embedded in allows for better communication and outreach strategies in the community, including what languages to use on marketing campaigns and market signage, and what types of programming and federal nutrition programming will have the most community impact. To increase community impact, farmers market could perform an audit of their market and market attendees to find out what structure(s) would be the most beneficial to the community. This audit could include comparing county/city/community demographics to the market demographics, to see where the market could increase and break down cultural barriers to access.

USDA.

If the goal of FMNP is to increase low-income individuals' access to fresh fruits and vegetables while supporting local farmers then following inflation from 1989, the beginning of the Farmers Market Coupon Demonstration Project program to now, then the maximum amount given to participants would be around $47 today. Even when adjusting for inflation, and using the guidelines outlined by the Official USDA Thrifty Food Plan[32], the monthly cost for a mother aged 20-50, with one child aged 2-3 is $406.8.[33] For seniors the monthly cost for a couple aged 51-70 is $493.70 (USDA 2024).[34] The plans suggest 38% of the budget go to fruits (14%) and vegetables (24%), corresponding to $154.58 for a mother with one child and $187.60 for a senior couple (USDA 2023a).[35] The current average amount WIC-FMNP recipients receive for the entire market season of $26 is approximately one-sixth of one month's fruit and vegetable cost, and for SMNP the average of $39 is approximately one-fifth. Even when adjusting for inflation 30% of one month's cost is covered for a mother with one child, and 25% is covered for two seniors. This is all to illustrate that while these programs do provide this money on top of individuals' regular WIC amounts an entire farmers market season's worth of money does not even meet one month's cost of fruits and vegetables following the USDA's most conservative plan and nutritional guidelines, even when adjusting for inflation. If amounts were increased to cover at least one month's worth of fruits and vegetables, this would further increase the positive

[32] The Thrifty Food Plan is used to determine the maximum amount for SNAP and provided guidelines on how to meet nutritional needs on this budget.

[33] Female aged 20-50: $242.50 per month, Child aged 2-3: $164.30.

[34] Female aged 51-70: $225.30 per month, Male aged 51-70: $268.40. For 70 plus, female: $248.30, Male: $255.70 or $504 combined.

[35] Although WIC uses different guidelines to establish amounts given to recipients, I use the Thrifty Food Plan to help compare both WIC-FMNP and SFMNP.

effects of low-incomes customers increasing fruit and vegetable consumption and increase farmers revenue (Carson et al. 2015; Dannefer et al. 2015; Dollahite et al. 2005; Freedman 2017; Racine, Vaughn and Laditka 2010). SNAP redemption amounts could also be increased as less than one percent of SNAP redemptions take place at farmers markets and by direct sales from farmers (USDA 2024e).

Barriers cited by farmers markets for not having FMNP were related to the heavy administration burden (Mino, Chung and Montri 2018). Currently, the USDA only covers 70% of the administration for WIC-FMNP and 10% for SFMNP (USDA 2021;2023). Many states also do not cover the cost of point-of-sale devices for electronic benefits transfer (EBT) cards for SNAP. To help alleviate the financial burden the USDA could cover 100% of the administration cost for both FMNP and provide point-of-sale devices for EBT. Finally, the USDA could do an audit of these programs to determine what barriers are keeping farmers markets from implementing these programs, what challenges they face if they do have them, and what farmers markets need from the USDA to support these programs.

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States	Indian Tribal Organizations	U.S. Territories
Alabama	the Chickasaw Nation (OK)	Puerto Rico
Alaska	the Choctaw Nation (OK)	Virgin Islands
Arizona	Five Sandoval Indian Pueblos (NM)	
Arkansas	the Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians	
California	Osage Tribe (OK)	
Colorado	Pueblo of San Felipe (NM)	
Connecticut		
Delaware		
the District of Columbia		
Florida		
Georgia		
Illinois		
Indiana		
Iowa		
Kentucky		
Louisiana		
Maine		
Maryland		
Massachusetts		
Michigan		
Minnesota		
Mississippi		
Missouri		
Montana		
Nebraska		
Nevada		
New Hampshire		
New Jersey		
New Mexico		
New York		
North Carolina		
Ohio		
Oregon		
Pennsylvania		
Rhode Island		
South Caroline		
Tennessee		
Texas		
Vermont		
Virginia		
Washington		
West Virginia		
Wisconsin		

Appendix 1: State agencies, U.S. Territories, and Federally recognized Indian Tribal Organizations (ITOs) received grants to operate the FMNP (USDA 2021).

States	Indian Tribal Organizations	U.S. Territories
Alabama	the Chickasaw Nation (OK)	Puerto Rico
Alaska	the Choctaw Nation (OK)	Virgin Islands
Arizona	Five Sandoval Indian Pueblos (NM)	
Arkansas	the Grand Traverse Band of Ottawa and	
California	Chippewa Indians (MI)	
Connecticut	the Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians	
Delaware	Osage Tribe (OK)	
the District of Columbia	Pueblo of San Felipe (NM)	
Florida	Spirit Lake Tribe (ND)	
Georgia	Standing Rock Sioux Tribe (ND)	
Hawai‘i		
Illinois		
Indiana		
Iowa		
Kansas		
Kentucky		
Louisiana		
Maine		
Maryland		
Massachusetts		
Michigan		
Minnesota		
Mississippi		
Missouri		
Montana		
Nebraska		
Nevada		
New Hampshire		
New Jersey		
New Mexico		
New York		
North Carolina		
Ohio		
Oklahoma		
Oregon		
Pennsylvania		
Rhode Island		
South Carolina		
Tennessee		
Texas		
Utah		
Vermont		
Virginia		
Washington		
West Virginia		
Wisconsin		

Appendix 2: State agencies, U.S. Territories, and Federally recognized Indian Tribal Organizations (ITOs) received grants to operate the SFMNP (USDA 2023).

Program Group	Programs
Federal Nutrition Programming	Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP) WIC-FMNP (Women, Infants and Children's - Farmers Market Nutrition Program) Senior Farmers Market Nutrition Program (SFMNP) WIC-CVV (Women, Infants and Children's - Cash Value Voucher) Fruit and Vegetable Prescription (RX)
Health and Fitness Programming	Bicycle races Fitness programs Exercise classes/events, etc. Nutrition classes/education Heath screening Cooking demonstrations Cooking lessons Recipe cards Budgeting
Food Donation and Conservation Programming	Canning and other processing classes and demonstrations Composting/Compost Collection Gardening/Horticultural instruction/classes Gleaning Recycling Donating to Food Banks Donating to community kitchens Donating to food recovery programs

Appendix 3: Survey Choices for Federal Nutrition Programming, and Health and Food Programming Offered at Farmers Markets

State	Count	State	Count
Alabama	5	Nevada	3
Arizona	3	New Hampshire	2
Arkansas	5	New jersey	11
California	22	New Mexico	3
Colorado	11	New York	27
Connecticut	8	North Carolina	15
Delaware	2	North Dakota	2
Florida	7	Ohio	23
Georgia	8	Oklahoma	5
Idaho	7	Oregon	8
Illinois	24	Pennsylvania	12
Indiana	15	Rhode Island	2
Iowa	15	South Carolina	10
Kansas	20	South Dakota	2
Kentucky	11	Tennessee	10
Louisiana	2	Texas	16
Maine	3	Utah	3
Maryland	7	Vermont	13
Massachusetts	22	Virginia	15
Michigan	23	Washington	10
Minnesota	27	West Virginia	1
Mississippi	2	Wisconsin	14
Missouri	12	Wyoming	2
Montana	3		
Note: N=473			

Appendix 4: Number of Survey Responses by State

Variable	Count	Mean	Median	SD	Min	Max
Farmers' Markets						
Number of Vendors	478	32.2	20	60.97	1	1212
Months in Operation	497	7.22	6	3.11	2	12
American Community Survey						
Percentage White	504	77.10	80.55	15.64	14.95	97.50
Percentage Black	504	9.00	5.14	11.05	0	70.85
Percentage Hispanic	504	11.29	7.02	12.23	0.54	90.00
Percent with Bachelor's or higher	504	33.59	32.91	12.08	7.11	63.57
Percent below Poverty line	504	7.93	7.47	3.27	2.08	23.15
Gini Index	504	0.45	0.45	0.03	0.37	0.55
Median Income (in dollars)	504	76,802	71,482	20,927.61	35,418	147,983
Population Density: United States Census Bureau						
Population Density	504	939.81	289.66	2003.25	.73	18629.03
Population Density (Logged)	504	5.57	5.67	1.76	-0.31	9.83
County Presidential Election Return 2000-2020						
Votes for Biden	504	179,628	42,465.5	395,075.7	231	3,028,885
Percent Voted for Biden	504	48.37	49.19	17	12.36	89.26

Appendix 5: Descriptive Statistics Continuous Variables