

BLACK WOMEN'S EXPERIENCES NAVIGATING THE HUNGER LANDSCAPE IN WASHINGTON, D.C.

Zhara Edwards, Bill Emerson National Hunger Fellow



D.C. Hunger Solutions

Ending hunger in the nation's capital

Black Women's Experiences Navigating the Hunger Landscape in Washington, D.C.

Land and Labor Acknowledgement

Washington, D.C. sits along both the Anacostia and Potomac Rivers and is built upon land that nourished the Nacotchtank (Anacostan) and Piscataway people. The District exists because of the forced removal of Indigenous people and the forced labor of enslaved African people. This history of oppression and genocide must be acknowledged and living descendants impacted by this history should be prioritized in conversations surrounding racial equity.

Author Introduction

Zhara Edwards is from Cleveland, Ohio and a proud first-generation graduate of Case Western Reserve University with a B.A. in Medical Anthropology. With particular interest in child and maternal health, she was drawn to food access and advocacy because of nutrition's important role in child and adolescent health and development. She plans to pursue a master's degree in public health following the end of the Bill Emerson National Hunger Fellowship.

About D.C. Hunger Solutions

D.C. Hunger Solutions, founded in 2002 as an initiative of the Food Research & Action Center, seeks to create a hunger-free community and improve the nutrition, health, economic security, and well-being of low-income residents in the District of Columbia. To learn more about D.C. Hunger Solutions, visit www.dchunger.org

What are the racial and gender inequities that Black women face when accessing federal nutrition programs?

Introduction

Black women's experiences are impacted by **misogynoir**, the combined discrimination of both racism and misogyny that Black women uniquely experience (Bailey, 2018). This term was coined by Black queer feminist Moya Bailey and writer Trudy @theTrudz. Racial disparities in income, locality, and food access affect Black residents in DC, and this can have impacts on black women's access to SNAP and WIC.

With black maternal mortality being a serious public health crisis alone, **ensuring that black women are centered in conversations around nutrition and nutrition program access is crucial**. This fact sheet centers the experiences of Black women in DC, and what can be done to support their access to SNAP and WIC.

Black communities that have been in the District for generations have been pushed further and further to the D.C./Maryland borders as **gentrification** has brought in more non-Black residents and more expensive housing (D.C. Policy Center, 2020; Journal of Gender, Social Policy, & Law, 2023). With Ward 7 and 8 being predominantly Black, issues surrounding lack of food, transportation, and housing disproportionately impacts Black women and their families.

District Overview



Black women make up **54.55%** of the Black population in D.C, representing just under **145,000 residents** (DC Health Matters, 2023a). Across all wards in DC, Black women primarily live in **Ward 7** (35,283 persons), **Ward 8** (34,298 persons), and **Ward 5** (22,615 persons) (DC Health Matters, 2023b). These wards have the **highest number of Black residents** of all wards in the District. (DC Health Matters, 2023c).

Across the District, there are income and poverty disparities across racial identities that heavily impact residents of color. Despite a high median household income for the District (\$104,110), the median household income for black residents is **half** of that (\$54,401) (DC Health Matters, 2023d). Furthermore, Black residents living in Wards 7 and 8 have a median household income of less than \$50,000 (DC Health Matters, 2023d). These statistics are driven by historical disinvestment and lack of infrastructure for communities **East of the Anacostia River**.

In 2021, the rate of poverty for Black women aged 18 and older was **28.1%** for the District, significantly higher than the national rate of **18.8%** (National Women's Law Center, 2023). The District ranks **last** among states in the lifetime wage gap for Black women. Black women in the District make 52 cents for every dollar made by a White, non-Hispanic man makes, amounting to **\$2.2 million** in lifetime losses due to the wage gap (National Women's Law Center, 2023b). The National Women's Law Center assessed that Black women in the District would need to work until they are 97 to reach the same amount of money that a white, non-Hispanic man would make by age 60 (2023b).



What are the racial and gender inequities that Black women face when accessing federal nutrition programs?

Food Insecurity & Poverty

Socioeconomic status may play a role in the existence of food insecurity for families. Nationally, households headed by single women experience **higher rates of food insecurity** compared to other households (United States Department of Agriculture, 2023a). With both Black residents having a lower median income and single woman headed households experiencing higher levels of food insecurity, it can be inferred that Black women and the households they contribute to may experience higher rates of poverty and food insecurity.

Food Landscape in D.C.

Within the District exists **food apartheid**, wherein the food insecurity and lack of access to grocery stores that residents in certain area experience stems from racial discrimination and segregation (Data Visualization Society, 2021).

The term “food apartheid”, as coined by urban farmer, food justice advocate and community activist Karen Washington, emphasizes the **root causes** of inequity in our food system based on race, class, and geography which due to discriminatory planning and policy decisions (University of Michigan, 2021).

As a result, residents in these areas experience **disproportionate health and life outcomes** compared to those living outside of these areas. Examples of racial inequities that have created these outcomes include segregation, housing discrimination, gentrification, employment discrimination and criminalization (Urban Institute, 2016).



Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP)

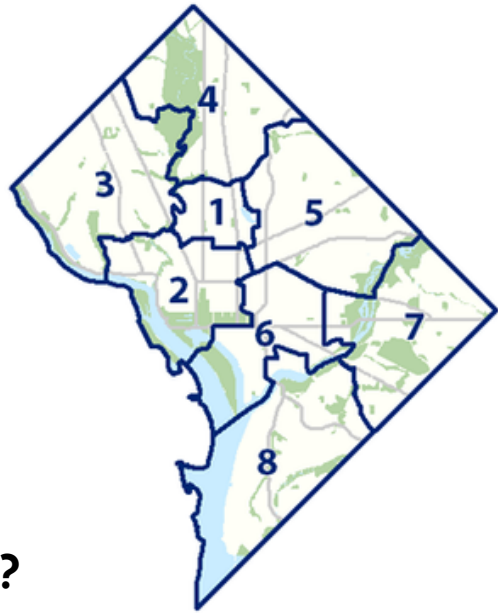
What is SNAP?

The first iteration of the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP) was established in 1939 before becoming permanent in 1964 through the Food Stamp Act (United States Department of Agriculture, 2023b) It is the **largest** federal nutrition program with 41.2 million participants in fiscal year 2022, representing 12% of the country's population (Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, 2023). Comparatively, **22% of the District's population** received SNAP assistance, representing 145,800 people. Nearly 57% of SNAP participants in the District live in households with children, illustrating how SNAP supports child nutrition (Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, 2023).

Every dollar in SNAP benefits generates \$1.50 in economic activity. From August 2022 to August 2023, the national average SNAP benefit **decreased** from \$221 to \$180 (United States Department of Agriculture, 2023c). During this time SNAP saw an increase in participants across the country, but the average SNAP benefit decreased by nearly 20%, with many decreases in benefits related to the end of SNAP emergency allotments in March 2023 (United States Department of Agriculture, 2023c).

Who Experiences the Highest Percentage of SNAP Participation Across the District?

In the District of Columbia, different wards experienced varying levels of SNAP participation in 2022. The largest share of families receiving SNAP resided in Ward 8 (25,792 families), followed by Ward 7 (21,003 families), and Ward 5 (12,802 families) (Kids Count Data Center, 2023). Participation across the District did not see much change from August 2022 to August 2023, changing from 142,764 participants to 139,485 participants in that timeframe (United States Department of Agriculture, 2023d).



Are There Barriers for SNAP Participants?

Campus hunger is also an issue impacting Black students, including Black women students. 20% of students at Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) reported participation in SNAP indicating a **high number** of food insecure students over the course of the pandemic (The Hope Center, 2022). Similarly, temporary exemptions during the pandemic were implemented allowing more students to be deemed eligible for SNAP. After July 1, 2023, these exemptions ended, making many students ineligible.

In D.C., work requirements have been waived because of the rate of unemployment in the District, but time limits on benefits remain. Able-bodied adults without dependents (ABAWDs) are waived of SNAP work requirements in the District because of the unemployment rate being higher than the national average; this waiver expires November 2024 (United States Department of Agriculture, n.d).

Supplemental Nutrition Program for Women, Infants, and Children (WIC)

What is WIC?

The Special Supplemental Nutrition Program for Women, Infants and Children (WIC) began in 1972 as a short-term program to improve the nutrition outcomes for low-income pregnant and post-partum people and their children through age 5 (DC WIC, n.d.). The agency's services include nutrition education and screening, health and social service referrals, and specified food assistance (DC WIC, n.d.). During fiscal year 2022, the District saw **11,184 participants** in the WIC program (United States Department of Agriculture, 2023e). There are **four District WIC agencies** that parents and children can be referred to: Children's National Hospital, Community of Hope, Mary's Center, and Unity Health Care.

Who is Participating in WIC?

In 2022, the U.S. Department of Agriculture released the WIC Participant and Program Characteristics 2020 Report, highlighting participant demographics across the nation. This resource includes information important for understanding the experiences of **both** Black women and their children. During that time frame, the District had 14,953 participants in WIC (U.S. Department of Agriculture, 2022). Due to the COVID-19 pandemic, 16 types of WIC waivers were granted to agencies, allowing for telehealth appointments and waiving of certain requirements for applicants (U.S. Department of Agriculture, 2022). This may have had an impact on enrollment of WIC agency programs similar to other federal nutrition programs like SNAP.

In April 2020, WIC had over 7 million participants nationally, with 22.3% of all participants reported as Black, representing over 1.5 million people (U.S. Department of Agriculture, 2022.) 53.2% of all WIC participants were children, highlighting the program's reach and importance for child health and development (U.S. Department of Agriculture, 2022). In the WIC Participant and Program Characteristics report, it was found that across the country, 369,877 Black women (pregnant, breastfeeding, and postpartum) participated in the program (2022). The report also found that the vast majority (84.1%) of Black women in the program were between the ages of 18 and 34 (2022). Furthermore there were 120,658 pregnant Black women participating in the program, with nearly half of those women being certified in their first trimester (U.S. Department of Agriculture, 2022).



Supplemental Nutrition Program for Women, Infants, and Children (WIC)

- **Poverty & Income**

- The WIC Participant and Program Characteristics 2020 Report also provided economic context of WIC participants. The median income for family units participating in WIC nationally was \$12,818. This highlights **high** income disparities for WIC recipients, as the median household income in the United States during 2020 was \$67,521. In terms of poverty, 44.7% of Black participants of WIC were within 0-50% of the federal poverty guidelines. An additional 26% of participants were within 51-100% of the federal poverty guidelines. There is also overlap between participation in WIC and other federal nutrition and health programs such as SNAP and Medicaid. For Black participants, 35.4% were participants of SNAP.

- **Health**

- With nutrition and food playing a large role in health, the WIC Participant and Program Characteristics 2020 also provided information on the anemia status of participants. It reports that 21.1% of national Black child participants in WIC were anemic, far more than White child participants (11.4%), Asian child participants (11.9%) and child participants who identify with two or more races (13.4%). Disparities between anemia status are even more pronounced among women participants, with Black women experiencing the highest levels. 40.6% of Black woman participants in WIC were anemic, compared to 23.3% of White woman participants, 26.1% of women who identify as two or more races, 26.4% of Pacific Islander woman participants, and 29.2% of Asian woman participants. The link between nutrition and health can mean adverse health effects for low-income or food-insecure families.



Community Perspective

Centering Black women's voices when discussing access to federal nutrition programs is essential. This resource includes impactful excerpts from an informational interview with Aaliyah, a 27-year-old Ward 8 resident who works with food insecure populations. Her perspective does not represent all Black women in the District, but provides insight on SNAP & WIC. Community voices like Aaliyah's are important for **accurately** addressing issues that people are facing in the District. Initiatives and programs should **always** include input from the communities they are trying to target. While "nothing about us, without us" has been coined by disability rights activists to describe the way policy should include the population it is trying to address, it is also a true sentiment for this field of work (Charlton, 1998). If communities aren't included, it is nearly impossible to assess and initiative changes that communities actually want and need.

Question: What have been your experiences as a mother of a young child?

Aaliyah: As a parent of a young child, my experience is, especially surrounding food insecurity, is that food is very expensive...So that's what kind of made me get on WIC, because I was like, I can't afford to sustain myself or my child in this environment.

Q: What challenges have you experienced or did experience when enrolling and using your benefits for WIC and SNAP?

A: So some challenges I faced...was definitely the application process and the documentation. So in my previous role at my company I was a food and nutrition resource navigator and because I was an expert in the field, I was able to help other mothers do the application process...You need 5 verification documents for your address and make sure you don't have a job. And if you have a job do you really make that much? And they need your social so they check your accounts, and the application process is so long and lengthy especially with DC WIC. Now instead of just going straight to the WIC website they lead you to something else...So it's like it's so many steps, you know, just to get to the process. Like, the challenges I had definitely was the application process, the waiting to figure out in the redetermination process that was the worst thing.

Q: How would you describe your experiences receiving SNAP and/or WIC benefits? How have they impacted your life?

A: They kind of were short lived only because once I got a better paying job, they cut me off immediately...So I had a really bad experience just because it was like, I feel like you have to struggle and be below the poverty line to even get that assistance. But as soon as I'm making a step forward to better myself, it's cut off. But it's like I still need that support...I'm like, you know, my income does not match my expenses, you know, because I have two children. But with WIC, I did have a better experience. I did like the fact that at each WIC appointment for my children, they took their iron and they did weigh my children...I had a better experience with WIC than I did with SNAP for sure.

Community Perspective

Q: What type of challenges did you experience when attempting to access nutrition assistance program benefits?

A: So like the stores would have something that says like, you know, WIC approved. The app would say this is WIC approved and when you get there it's not approved. Like and I know people especially had this problem with like the whole grain, so like the bread, the tortillas and things like that...So it's like it was really hard navigating that, especially a lot of other women, you know, they would want formula, but then their baby is on a special formula and then WIC doesn't cover it.

Q: What can SNAP and/or WIC programs do to increase access to benefits for Black women?

A: Definitely I want to say making the application process a little more easy to digest in the area that I work in and what I've seen...What I noticed, especially when I was helping applicants apply, they really just did not understand...So I definitely think, like in a population that I'm in which is you know, underserved...you know, we don't really have the education resources. I think really like helping them through that process....Some women, you know, they go through it, they can't figure it out and they just give up. They don't really have people to hold their hands and walk through through the steps and, be there with them every step of the way....So it would be nice in the process if you know the case managers that you're assigned when you get approved, you have them through the application process. I think that you should come in with a case manager. "Hey, you want to apply, you know, let's get all your documents, we'll see what happens." But you're really just on your own until they say "yes, you can get it." And then once you get it, you're still on your own...So it's, you know, a little more support during the process would be helpful, especially for our black moms in our area.



Community Perspective & Analysis

Q: If you could change someone thing about the SNAP and/or WIC programs and benefits, what would it be and how would this improve the program?

A: Definitely for SNAP, the vast requirements needed to be on SNAP, I do think that it's unfair. I think it's unfair how you know we give these women these benefits but it's only you know if they make it like our moms are afraid to get jobs because they don't want to lose their benefits and then they get their benefits but they're really unsure of how to use them...the more kids you have, the more mouths you have to feed, the money is going to go. You know, some moms, they, they don't know how to budget it or use it. So definitely like having those workshops and having a case manager on their case to see where this person is realistically. Maybe you know, this person got a job, maybe they need 3 full paychecks to catch up. Maybe let's keep them on for this little bit of time instead of just snatching benefits from under them. I think that's something that I would improve about the process. It's too many requirements. They give you the money. You don't know what to do with it. The app doesn't work and then you know we still need... Food accessibility is crazy. In Ward 8 there is one grocery store per capita of all of these residents, so it's hard for me to get to the grocery store. When I get to the grocery store, my kids have been stressing me out all day. I just want to get in, get out, Teach me. You know how to do this. You know, I don't. I already don't have accessibility. So now you're taking away my accessibility and my money for my food, you know, and it just puts, you know, especially, the ward 8 community back in this state of distress because they're fighting, they have to fight to find food now they have to fight to buy it. It's too much. That's something that I would change about the process.

Analysis

From both the data and the informational interview with Aaliyah, common themes emerge. Access to grocery stores is a huge barrier to nutrition for many residents East of the Anacostia river, with a single full-service grocery store in Ward 8. Income and poverty inequalities are a driving force of food insecurity, but the lack of food infrastructure resulting in food apartheid in the District is alarming. WIC and SNAP are helpful programs for families, and provide needed support due to uneven distribution and access to food resources in the District. However, Federal nutrition programs should continue to take into consideration the realities that structural racial and gender discrimination have on participants ability to access both benefits and food. Rising costs in food, housing, and access to transportation all impact participant families. The health of Black mothers is impacted by their socioeconomic conditions and must be protected. Protecting the nutritional health and well-being of Black women in turn protects their children and families.

Recommendations & Conclusion

Recommendations

Based on what has been presented in the report, there are four key recommendations to increase access to federal nutrition programs for Black women:

1. Emerging from the interview with Aaliyah, adjusting the income requirements of SNAP and WIC to reflect the context of a household's situation. While income is one of the main qualifiers for SNAP and WIC, assessing a household's income alone does not paint a full picture.
2. Another point from Aaliyah's interview was making the application and documentation process easier for families. Not only should facilitation of the program become a less complicated process, support should be given to prospective families to help guide them. This includes assistance with the LinkU website that WIC uses for referrals, which may be difficult to navigate for first-time users.
3. For WIC participants, technical support in-store and on the WIC app to make selecting WIC-approved foods easier is also important. As Aaliyah described, WIC-approved foods on the app and in-store are not always consistent. Working with local grocery stores to ensure that employees can provide in-store support is also important.
4. Targeted financial, legislative, and technical support for organizations that provide food and nutrition focused initiatives for Black women means investing in Black women in the District. Below are two organizations that work with and for Black women locally in the food landscape. While this resource focuses on Black women's access to SNAP & WIC, these organizations work to provide full context care.

Supporting Black Women-Centered Organizations.

[Mamatoto Village](#)

A local nonprofit based in Ward 7 that provides perinatal services and career opportunities in maternal health for Black women. The organization provides wellness coaching, parent education, and home visiting to support healthy parents and children. Centering Black women in conversations surrounding nutrition also means centering Black motherhood.

[Women and Girls Advancing Nutrition Dietetics and Agriculture \(WANDA\)](#)

The organization plays a role in advocacy and education surrounding food and nutrition for Black women. This includes the WANDA Academy that works against food injustice, the WANDA Fellowship that provides community nutrition experience in Ward 8, and the Sisterhood Supper which celebrates Black women in food, agriculture, nutrition, and dietetics.

Conclusion

Improving the experiences of Black women when accessing federal nutrition programs requires targeted investment in Black communities and Black women-focused organizations. Black mothers play such a crucial role in the lives of their children, and deserve the autonomy to choose nutritious foods for themselves and their children. For Black families East of the Anacostia River, this is especially difficult due to lack of grocery store access in those areas. To fully address the nutritional needs of Black women and their families, there needs to be an overhaul of not only aspects of the SNAP and WIC programs, but also the food infrastructure within the District. Misogynoir impacts many aspects of Black women's lives including their socioeconomic status and environment, as Black women activists have spoken out against. Income and poverty disparities are extreme across the District, and Ward 7 and 8 often experience the highest levels of disparities. Communities East of the Anacostia River, which are predominantly Black, lacking significant infrastructure needed to support them is not a coincidence. It is the result of targeted racial oppression that must be eradicated. Not only does this impact Black women, but it impacts Black children, who are an important part of the future of the District. The recommendations outlined in this resource are specific to SNAP and WIC, but this is only one piece of improving food access for Black women and their families.



References

- Bailey, Moya.** (2018). On Misogynoir: Citation, Erasure, and Plagiarism. Moya Bailey. (2018). Available at: <https://www.moyabailey.com/2018/03/13/on-misogynoir-citation-erasure-and-plagiarism/>. Accessed 3 January 2023.
- Charlton, J.I.** (1998). Nothing About Us Without Us: Disability Oppression and Empowerment. University of California Press.
- Center on Budget and Policy Priorities.** (2023). District of Columbia Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program. Available at: https://www.cbpp.org/sites/default/files/atoms/files/snap_factsheet_district_of_columbia.pdf. Accessed 2 November 2023.
- Data Visualization Society.** (2021). Food Apartheid in Washington DC. Available at: <https://www.datavisualizationsociety.org/black-in-data/2021/3/5/food-apartheid-in-washington-dc>. Accessed 18 January 2024.
- D.C. Policy Center.** (2020). How the Region's Racial and Ethnic Demographics Have Changed Since 1970. Available at: <https://www.dcpolicycenter.org/publications/regional-demographic-shifts/?s=>. Accessed 25 January 2024.
- DC Health Matters.** (2023a). Race Data for City: District of Columbia. Available at: [lack women make up 54.55% of the Black population in the District, representing just under 145,000 residents.](#). Accessed 21 December 2023.
- DC Health Matters.** (2023b). Black/African American Population: Female. Available at: [lack women make up 54.55% of the Black population in the District, representing just under 145,000 residents.](#). Accessed 20 December 2023.
- DC Health Matters.** (2023c). Black/African American Population. Available at: [lack women make up 54.55% of the Black population in the District, representing just under 145,000 residents.](#). Accessed 8 January 2024.
- DC Health Matters.** (2023d). Households/Income Data for City: District of Columbia. Available at: https://www.dchealthmatters.org/?module=demographicdata&controller=index&action=index&id=130951§ionId=936#sectionPiece_72. Accessed 30 November 2023.
- DC WIC.** What Is WIC? Available at: <https://www.dcwic.org/what-is-wic>. Accessed 16 January 2024.
- The Hope Center.** (2022). Basic Needs Insecurity at Historically Black Colleges and Universities: A #RealCollegeHBCU Report. Available at: https://hope.temple.edu/sites/hope/files/media/document/HBCU_FINAL.pdf. Accessed 15 December 2023.
- Journal of Gender, Social Policy, & the Law.** (2023). D.C.'s Rapid Gentrification Eliminating Affordable Housing and Causing Displacement of Black Residents Can be Resolved Through Social Housing. Available at: <https://jgspl.org/d-cs-rapid-gentrification-eliminating-affordable-housing-and-causing-displacement-of-black-residents-can-be-resolved-through-social-housing/>. Accessed 25 January 2024.
- Kids Count Data Center.** (2023). Families, Children and Adults Receiving SNAP By Ward Starting in 2017 in District of Columbia. Available at: <https://datacenter.aecf.org/data/tables/11506-families-children-and-adults-receiving-snap-supplemental-nutrition-assistance-program-by-ward-starting-in-2017?loc=10&loct=21#ranking/21/any/true/1095/3537/22697>. Accessed 12 December 2023.
- National Women's Law Center.** (2023a). Social Determinants of Health Metrics for Black Women by State: May 2023. Available at: <https://nwlc.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/05/Health-Metrics-for-Black-Women-by-State-1.pdf>. Accessed 20 December 2023.
- National Women's Law Center.** (2023b). Lifetime Wage Gap Losses by State for Black Women – March 2023. Available at: https://nwlc.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/03/lifetime_table_black_women.pdf. Accessed 20 December 2023.

References

United States Department of Agriculture. (2023a). Household Food Security in the United States in 2022. Available at: <https://www.ers.usda.gov/webdocs/publications/107703/err-325.pdf?v=182>. Accessed 15 November 2023.

United States Department of Agriculture. (2023b). A Short History of SNAP. Available at: <https://www.fns.usda.gov/snap/short-history-snap#1964>. Accessed 5 January 2024.

United States Department of Agriculture. (2023c). Nutrition Assistance Program Report. Available at: <https://fns-prod.azureedge.us/sites/default/files/data-files/birdseye-august-2023.pdf>. Accessed 16 November 2023.

United States Department of Agriculture. (2023d). Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program: Number of Persons Participating. Available at: <https://fns-prod.azureedge.us/sites/default/files/resource-files/snap-persons-11.pdf>. Accessed 8 December 2023.

Urban Institute. (2016). The Color of Wealth in the Nation's Capital. Available at: <https://www.urban.org/research/publication/color-wealth-nations-capital>. Accessed 16 October 2023.

U.S. Department of Agriculture. (n.d.) Able-Bodied Adults Without Dependents (ABAWD) Waiver Response. Available at: <https://fns-prod.azureedge.us/sites/default/files/resource-files/dc-abawd-response-fy2024.pdf>. Accessed 19 January 2024.

U.S. Department of Agriculture. (2023e). WIC Program: Total Participation. Available at: <https://fns-prod.azureedge.us/sites/default/files/resource-files/26wifypart-12.pdf>. Accessed 17 January 2024.

U.S. Department of Agriculture. (2022). WIC Participant and Program Characteristics 2020 Final Report. Available at: <https://fns-prod.azureedge.us/sites/default/files/resource-files/WICPC2020-1.pdf>. Accessed 16 January 2024.

U.S. Department of Agriculture. (2022). WIC Participant and Program Characteristics 2020 Final Report. Available at: <https://fns-prod.azureedge.us/sites/default/files/resource-files/WICPC2020-1.pdf>. Accessed 16 January 2024.

U.S. Department of Agriculture. (2022). WIC Participant and Program Characteristics 2020 Final Report. Available at: <https://fns-prod.azureedge.us/sites/default/files/resource-files/WICPC2020-1.pdf>. Accessed 16 January 2024.

U.S. Census Bureau. (2021). Income and Poverty in the United States: 2020. Available at: <https://www.census.gov/content/dam/Census/library/publications/2021/demo/p60-273.pdf>. Accessed 17 January 2024.

U.S. Department of Agriculture. (2022). WIC Participant and Program Characteristics 2020 Final Report. Available at: <https://fns-prod.azureedge.us/sites/default/files/resource-files/WICPC2020-1.pdf>. Accessed 16 January 2024.

University of Michigan: School of Environment and Sustainability. (2021). 'Food desert' vs. 'food apartheid': Which term best describes disparities in food access?. Available at: <https://seas.umich.edu/news/food-desert-vs-food-apartheid-which-term-best-describes-disparities-foodaccess#:~:text=Karen percent20Washington percent2C percent20food percent20justice percent20advocate,wealthy percent20neighborhoods percent20while percent20unhealthy percent20food>. Accessed 19 January 2024.