

Fiscal Year 2010 WIC Food Cost Report

August 2013



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Fiscal Year 2010

WIC Food Cost Report

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Executive Summary

Administered by the Food and Nutrition Service (FNS) of the U.S. Department of Agriculture, the Special Supplemental Nutrition Program for Women, Infants, and Children (WIC) provides Federal grants to State agencies for providing supplemental foods, nutrition education including breastfeeding promotion and support, and health care and social service referrals to nutritionally at-risk, low-income pregnant, breastfeeding and nonbreastfeeding postpartum women, infants, and children up to age 5. The Federal costs of the WIC program in Fiscal Year (FY) 2010 totaled \$6.7 billion, \$4.6 billion of which were food costs. Rebate contracts with infant formula and infant food manufacturers reduced program costs by nearly \$1.7 billion. Rebate savings allow the program to serve more individuals at a given appropriation level. In FY 2010, the savings generated by manufacturer rebates covered the cost of program benefits for 1.9 million participants each month (U.S. Department of Agriculture 2013a). This report estimates the average monthly food costs by WIC participant category and estimates total dollars spent on each of several categories of WIC-eligible foods in FY 2010. Estimates were derived from multiple sources including the WIC Participant and Program Characteristics 2010 Food Package Data File, Nielsen Homescan 2009–10 data, FNS administrative data, and State agency–provided administrative data.

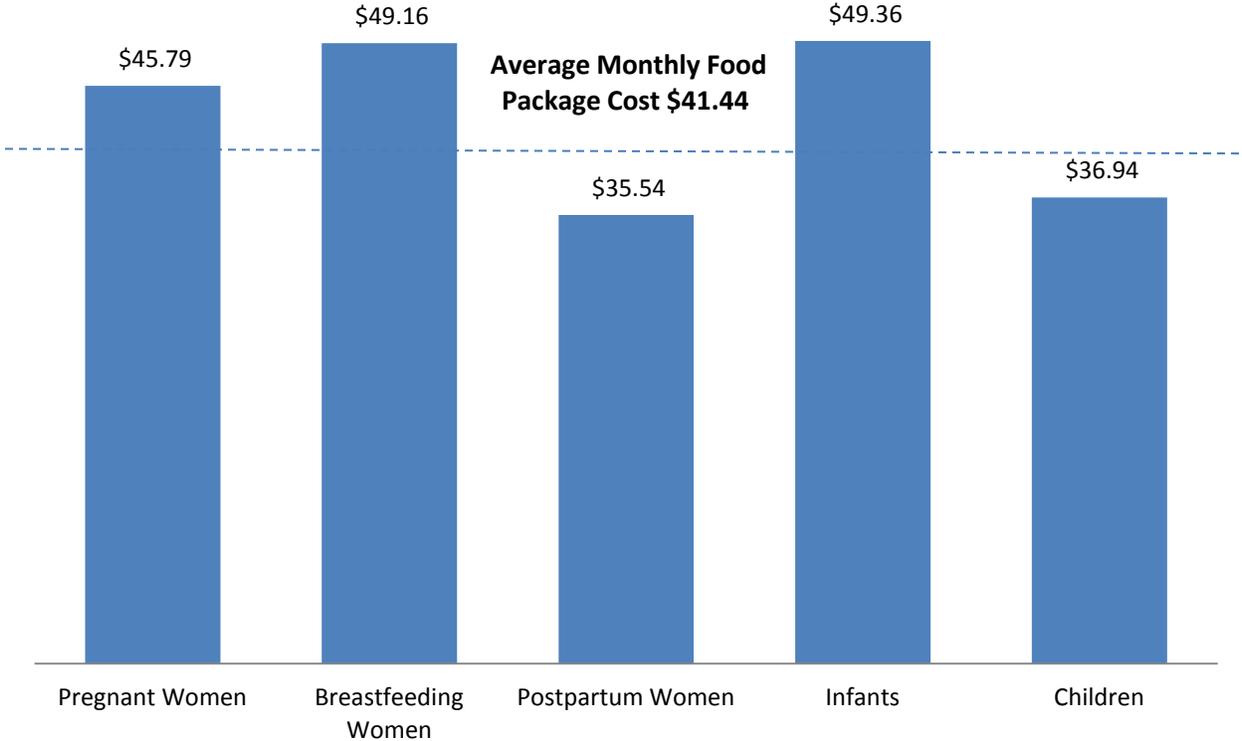
The WIC food packages provide supplemental foods tailored to the special nutritional needs of those categorically eligible (i.e., pregnant women, postpartum women up to 6 months postpartum who are not breastfeeding, breastfeeding women up to 1 year postpartum, infants, and children up to age 5) who are deemed to be at nutritional risk. Foods included in the WIC food packages were updated in FY 2010 to align with the 2005 *Dietary Guidelines for Americans (DGA)* and infant feeding practice guidelines of the American Academy of Pediatrics (AAP) (2005). The revisions better promote and support the establishment of successful long-term breastfeeding, provide WIC participants with a wider variety of foods, and provide WIC State agencies with greater flexibility in prescribing food packages to accommodate participants with cultural food preferences. WIC food packages consist of infant formula for infants not fully breastfed; infant foods (cereal, jarred fruits and vegetables, and meats) for infants based on age and breastfeeding status; and juice, milk, or milk alternatives (soy-based beverages, cheese, and tofu), breakfast cereal, eggs, a cash-value voucher for fruits and vegetables, whole grains, and mature legumes and/or peanut butter for women and children. In addition, fully breastfeeding women receive cheese, canned fish such as tuna, and greater amounts of some supplemental foods. Food packages differ for each category of participant.

This report offers a first look at the relative value of food benefits provided to the different categories of WIC participants since implementation of the 2010 food package changes, as FNS does not collect administrative data on food costs by participant category by food type. This report estimates that average monthly food package costs across all WIC participant categories in FY 2010 were \$41.44, after taking into account rebates offered by infant formula and infant

food manufacturers. Without rebates, average monthly food package costs would have been \$56.80. Examining post-rebate average monthly food costs by participant category, infant food costs were the highest at \$49.36, followed by breastfeeding women (\$49.16), pregnant women (\$45.79), and children (\$36.94) (Figure ES-1). The food packages received by postpartum women who were not breastfeeding cost the least, at \$35.54 a month. Without rebates, the average infant food package would have been \$114.21 a month.

One-fifth of food costs in FY 2010 were attributable to infant formula (20 percent) and an additional one-fifth to milk (20 percent). Just over 10 percent of food costs were from fruits and vegetables (13 percent) and breakfast cereal (11 percent). Other WIC-eligible food items including juice, cheese, infant foods, whole grains, eggs, peanut butter, mature legumes, canned fish, soy-based beverages, and tofu contributed less than 10 percent each to average monthly WIC food costs.

Figure ES-1. Estimated Average Monthly Post-Rebate WIC Food Package Costs per Person by Participant Category, FY 2010



Sources: The Urban Institute and RTI International, 2013. Authors' estimates based on data from the Study of WIC Participant and Program Characteristics 2010, Nielsen Homescan 2009-10, FNS administrative data, and other sources.

FISCAL YEAR 2010 WIC FOOD PACKAGE COST REPORT

Introduction

Administered by the Food and Nutrition Service (FNS) of the U.S. Department of Agriculture, the Special Supplemental Nutrition Program for Women, Infants, and Children (WIC) delivers Federal grants to State agencies for providing supplemental foods, nutrition education including breastfeeding promotion and support, and health care and social service referrals to nutritionally at-risk, low-income pregnant and postpartum women, infants, and children up to age 5. Federal costs of the WIC program in Fiscal Year (FY) 2010 totaled \$6.7 billion, \$4.6 billion of which were food costs (U.S. Department of Agriculture 2012). Rebate contracts with infant formula and infant food manufacturers reduced program costs by nearly \$1.7 billion.¹

Unlike the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP), WIC is not an entitlement program. Hence, the number of eligible women, infants, and children that the program can serve may be affected by the level of Congressionally-appropriated funds. To be eligible, an applicant must meet the following requirements: (1) categorical eligibility—being a pregnant, breastfeeding, or postpartum woman, infant, or young child under age 5; (2) income eligibility—living in a family with annual income below 185 percent of the federal poverty threshold or being automatically income eligible if enrolled in SNAP, Medicaid, Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF), or other State-administered assistance programs; (3) nutritional risk—being exposed to at least one medical (e.g., anemia, underweight) or dietary (e.g., a poor diet) risk factor that may result in poor health outcomes; and (4) residency in the State.

Since its inception in 1972–74, WIC has grown to be one of the largest nutrition assistance programs in the United States, reaching millions of low-income families every year. About 53

¹ By law, WIC State agencies are required to competitively bid infant formula rebate contracts with manufacturers. WIC State agencies agree to provide one brand of infant formula, and the manufacturer provides the State agency a rebate for each can of infant formula purchased by WIC participants.

percent of all infants born in the United States are served by WIC (USDA 2013a). Periodic evaluation of WIC has shown the program effectively improves the nutrition and health of low-income families (USDA 2013b).

Since the last major revision of the WIC food packages in the early 1980s, significant changes in the food supply, dietary intakes, cultural diversity of the low-income population, and public health priorities have occurred. In addition, scientific knowledge of the role of nutrition in health has expanded vastly in the past few decades. By 2003, there was significant interest in updating the WIC food packages based on new information about the nutritional needs of this evolving and diverse target population.

In response to such interest, in September 2003, FNS commissioned the National Academy of Sciences' Institute of Medicine (IOM) to conduct an independent review of the adequacy of the WIC food packages in supplementing participants' nutritional needs and to recommend specific changes to WIC food packages. IOM subsequently formed the Committee to Review the WIC Food Packages, consisting of various experts in the nutrition of the low-income population. After extensively reviewing the scientific literature, considering numerous stakeholder inputs, and conducting its own analyses, the Committee released its final report, *WIC Food Packages: Time for a Change* (IOM 2005), in April 2005. Largely reflecting the recommendations of the IOM committee, the USDA published an interim final rule, "Special Supplemental Nutrition Program for Women, Infants and Children (WIC): Revisions in the WIC Food Packages," in the *Federal Register* on December 6, 2007.

By the beginning of FY 2010, new food packages were issued to WIC participants in nearly all 90 State agencies to align with the 2005 *Dietary Guidelines for Americans (DGA)* and infant feeding practice guidelines of the American Academy of Pediatrics (AAP) (2005). The revisions better promote and support the establishment of successful long-term breastfeeding, provide WIC participants with a wider variety of food, and provide WIC State agencies with greater flexibility in prescribing food packages to accommodate participants with cultural food preferences. WIC food packages consist of infant formula for infants not fully breastfed; infant foods (cereal, jarred fruits and vegetables, and meats) for infants based on age and breastfeeding status; and

juice, milk, or milk alternatives (soy-based beverages, cheese, and tofu), breakfast cereal, eggs, a cash-value voucher for fruits and vegetables, whole grains, and mature legumes and/or peanut butter for women and children. In addition, fully breastfeeding women receive cheese, canned fish such as tuna, and greater amounts of some supplemental foods. Food packages differ for each category of participant (Table 1).

Better aligning the WIC food packages with the *DGA* and infant feeding practice guidelines of the AAP adjusted the quantities and types of food items prescribed to participants, thereby changing the cost of food items and food packages prescribed to participants. In some cases, prescription quantities are reduced, compared with previous prescription amounts. For example, maximum prescription amounts of juice, milk, cheese, and eggs are lower for women and children, and fully formula-fed infants age 6 through 11 months are prescribed fewer ounces of infant formula each month than they were before the revisions; in addition, infants are no longer prescribed juice. New foods have also been introduced into some food packages. Fruit and vegetable cash-value vouchers are now provided to women and children; infants age 6 through 11 months are prescribed jarred infant fruits and vegetables; fully breastfed infants age 6 through 11 months are prescribed infant food meats; postpartum nonbreastfeeding women are prescribed mature legumes; and whole wheat bread/whole-grain products are prescribed to pregnant women, partially and fully breastfeeding women, and children. Greater amounts of some foods are also provided. For example, pregnant and partially breastfeeding women can now receive both one pound of mature legumes *and* 18 ounces of peanut butter; fully breastfeeding women are prescribed greater amounts of canned fish; and fully formula-fed infants age 4–5 months receive greater amounts of infant formula. The revised food packages better reflect current nutrition science and dietary recommendations.

These changes to the food packages lower the cost share of such items as milk, juice, cheese, and eggs in the revised food packages. Other changes raise the cost of some food packages, while other changes lower the cost. For instance, the addition of jarred infant foods to some infant packages increases the cost of those packages, but decreasing the amount of formula

prescribed to some categories of infant participants and eliminating infant juice in the infant packages decreases the cost of those packages.

The changes in the food packages and corresponding cost estimates also mean that the 2010 estimates will differ in important ways from prior estimates. In addition, three other changes have occurred since FY 2005, the last Fiscal Year for which WIC food cost estimates were published. First, prices of WIC foods may have increased or decreased at different rates so that the costs of some foods may be more or less expensive in FY 2010 than they were in FY 2005. Second, the source of price data used for this report is different for many WIC foods than what was used in previous reports, so some shift in prices of foods may be due to measurement differences. Finally, rebates received from infant formula and food manufacturers have declined since FY 2005. The Food and Nutrition Service published short annual reports from FY 1999 to FY 2005 summarizing national cost estimates for WIC food packages by participant category and highlighting trends in food prices for the Fiscal Year just ended (see Appendix A for a list of historical reports).

This report presents estimates of national average monthly food package costs by WIC participant category as well as by WIC-eligible food category for FY 2010, the first full Fiscal Year in which only the new food packages were offered. Average costs both before and after the inclusion of infant formula and infant foods rebates are also presented.

Table 1. WIC-Eligible Foods Prescribed in the WIC Food Packages by Participant Category

Food Package Number	Participant Category			
	Infants			
	Food Package I (age 0–5 months)	Fully formula fed Infant formula	Partially breastfed Infant formula	Fully breastfed N/A
	Food Package II (age 6–11 months)	Fully formula fed Infant formula Infant cereal Infant food fruits and vegetables	Partially breastfed Infant formula Infant cereal Infant food fruits and vegetables	Fully breastfed Infant cereal Infant food fruits and vegetables Infant food meat
	Infants, Children, and Women			
	Food Package III (all participant categories)	WIC-eligible medical foods or exempt infant formula as prescribed by a medical professional; all other WIC supplemental foods prescribed to the food package associated with the participant by age and breastfeeding status		
	Children			
	Food Package IV (age 1–4)	Juice Milk/Milk substitutes Breakfast cereal	Eggs Fruits and vegetables	Whole wheat bread/whole grains Peanut butter or mature legumes
	Women			
	Food Package V (Pregnant and partially breastfeeding women up to 1 year postpartum)	Juice Milk/Milk substitutes Breakfast cereal	Eggs Fruits and vegetables	Whole wheat bread/whole grains Peanut butter and mature legumes
Food Package VI (Postpartum up to 6 months postpartum)	Juice Milk/Milk substitutes Breakfast cereal	Eggs Fruits and vegetables	Peanut butter or mature legumes	
Food Package VII (Fully breastfeeding up to 1 year postpartum)	Juice Milk/Milk substitutes Breakfast cereal	Cheese Eggs Fruits and vegetables	Whole wheat bread/whole grains Peanut butter and mature legumes Canned fish	

Notes: WIC recognizes and promotes breastfeeding as the optimal source of nutrition for infants. For infants who are not fully breastfed, WIC provides iron-fortified infant formula.

Methodology

The approach used to estimate average monthly food package costs for participant categories and WIC-eligible foods is as follows:

The monthly food package cost (C_i) of participant category i is

$$(1) C_i = \sum_k \bar{P}_k \times Q_{ik}$$

where \bar{P}_k is the national average retail price of food category k , and Q_{ik} is the average per participant quantity of food category k prescribed to participant category i .

Data needed to support these estimates came from the following sources:

- **Participant category, i :** Data on the average monthly number of participants in each participant category (i.e., infants, children, pregnant women, postpartum women, and breastfeeding women) were retrieved from FNS administrative data for FY 2010. Partially breastfeeding women participants who continue to breastfeed at least once a day are counted as partially breastfeeding participants for administrative purposes, but some of these participants do not breastfeed enough to receive a partially breastfeeding food package and instead receive a postpartum women's food package (up to 6 months postpartum) or no longer receive a food package (after 6 months postpartum). Consequently, the administrative data count of partially breastfeeding women participants (which provides the estimated share of partially breastfeeding women in the WIC population) is higher than the number of participants who actually received partially breastfeeding women food packages, and the administrative data count of postpartum women participants is lower than the number of participants who actually received postpartum women food packages.
- **Average retail price, \bar{P}_k :** Average unit prices of WIC-approved food categories were estimated using purchase transactions occurring between October 1, 2009 and

September 30, 2010, recorded in 2009–10 Nielsen Homescan data. Homescan is a household-based scanner dataset developed by the Nielsen Company. Households in Homescan agree to record and submit information weekly on grocery purchases made at a wide variety of retail outlets. Nielsen provides household-specific survey weights that are used to project household purchases to national estimates.

The retail prices of WIC-eligible foods, \bar{P}_k , were calculated by dividing total expenditures on WIC-eligible foods in category k by total quantity purchased. Using this procedure, individual food items in category k that received a higher share of household food budget received a higher weight in calculation of \bar{P}_k .

An estimated 84 percent of WIC participants redeem their food instruments in the same stores where they buy the rest of their groceries (Geller et al. 2012). Without attempting to sort through all of the factors that impact prices paid for WIC foods by program participants, a task beyond the scope of this project, this analysis estimates a set of prices equal to the average paid by individuals with WIC-eligible incomes, wherever they choose to shop. WIC State agencies authorize retailers for participation in the program according to criteria meant to ensure competitive prices and participant access. What this means in practice is that WIC participants shop primarily, but not exclusively, at large retail stores (Geller et al. 2012).

The use of prices paid by low-income shoppers serves a secondary purpose as well. Because identification of WIC-authorized products in the Nielsen dataset is imperfect, this analysis relies on the choices made by low-income shoppers to substitute for the cost containment measures commonly imposed by WIC State agencies. These include State agency restrictions on allowable brands and varieties.

The compromise made above for estimating the price of WIC foods (other than infant formula) is dropping the observations from higher-income Nielsen panelists. The

disadvantage of estimating prices based on less than the entire Nielsen dataset is offset by the necessity of using the choices made by low-income shoppers as a proxy for defining the universe of WIC-authorized products, for which no definitive variable exists.

For WIC-authorized infant formula, which is well-defined by brand name and container size, this compromise is not necessary. For that reason and to obtain a larger sample size for infant formula purchase transactions, this report uses all of the Nielsen records to estimate an average price per reconstituted ounce of infant formula.² To estimate the cost of infant formula, only purchase observations that matched that States agencies' contract infant formula brands and size specifications were used, as well as reconstitution rates specific to each infant formula brand.

For additional detail about the criteria used to select WIC-eligible foods from Homescan to be included in the estimation of average prices, see Appendix B.

Rather than being prescribed a set amount of fruits and vegetables, WIC participants are issued \$6 or \$10 cash-value fruit and vegetable vouchers per month for children and women, respectively. The retail price of fruits and vegetables charged to the WIC program in FY 2010 were assumed to be the full amount of the cash-value vouchers.

An additional adjustment was made to infant formula and infant food costs to account for rebates received from manufacturers. Total rebates, including infant food rebates and infant formula rebates, are available in national administrative data. To estimate the share of rebates for infant foods only, rebates per ounce of infant food were

² Arguably, it would still be preferred to compute an average price for infant formula from the subset of Nielsen households with WIC-eligible incomes, the methodology used for all other WIC foods. However, because of the high cost of infant formula, it is expected that a large majority households with WIC-eligible incomes that purchase formula participate in WIC. Perhaps because WIC-participant households are a relatively small subset of low-income households generally, the number of low-income households in the Nielsen dataset that purchase infant formula is small, much smaller than the number of low-income Nielsen households that purchase milk, fruits and vegetables, breakfast cereal, and other WIC commodity foods. In the end, there is little difference in average infant formula price calculated based on the full Homescan sample and the income-eligible sample: the estimate based on the income-eligible sample is 0.4 percent higher than the price estimate based on the full sample.

multiplied by the average number of ounces of infant food prescribed, to the number of infants receiving infant foods. Total infant food rebates for State agencies with infant food rebate contracts were then subtracted from total rebates to estimate total infant formula rebates.

- **Quantity, Q_{ik}** : The total quantity of WIC food item k purchased by participant category i was estimated using the WIC Participant and Program Characteristics 2010 Food Package Data File (PC2010). This strategy was used to estimate average quantities for all WIC food items except fruits and vegetables, as participants are prescribed dollar amounts for these foods (Table 2). Average quantities of cow's milk and soy-based beverages, peanut butter and mature legumes, and whole-grain bread and other whole grains were estimated using both PC2010 and 2009–10 Nielsen Homescan data for the reasons described below.

PC2010 provides the quantity of milk (in quarts) prescribed to each WIC participant each month separately from average prescription amounts of milk alternatives such as tofu and cheese. However, average prescription amounts of cow's milk versus soy milk are not provided in PC2010. To estimate average quantities of cow's milk prescribed to WIC participants, 2009-2010 Nielsen Homescan data were used to estimate the share of milk expenditures that high-income households spent on cow's milk (98 percent) versus soy-based beverages (2 percent).³ Milk expenditures by high-income households were used instead of low-income households because low-income households may be more price-sensitive to soy-based beverages. Because WIC provides a food-based voucher and not a cash amount for participants to spend, WIC participants may not be price-sensitive to soy-based beverages.⁴

³ Receipt of soy-based beverages by children requires a doctor's note.

⁴ Note that the preference for soy-based beverages versus cow's milk may not be driven entirely by price; therefore, differences in the low-income and higher-income populations' preference sets for milk and milk alternatives may not be reflected in the estimates.

The quantity of milk prescribed was also adjusted to only allow for whole milk to be prescribed to children under the age of 2 and reduced-fat, low-fat, and skim milk to be prescribed to older children and women. Nielsen purchase transactions by low-income households were used to estimate the share of milk quantities prescribed to women and older children by milk fat (skim, 1 percent, and 2 percent). Participants were assumed to fill their prescriptions first with gallons, then half-gallons, then quarts. For instance, the average quantity prescribed to breastfeeding women was 19 quarts.⁵ For purposes of cost estimation, it was assumed that breastfeeding women purchased four gallons, one half-gallon, and one quart of milk each month to fill the prescription.

State agencies have the flexibility to prescribe combinations of peanut butter and mature legumes. However, PC2010 does not provide separate quantities prescribed of peanut butter and mature legumes. Homescan data were used to estimate the share of all low-income expenditures on peanut butter and legumes that were spent on peanut butter (34 percent), canned beans (50 percent), and dried beans (16 percent). These shares were then applied to the legume prescription amounts in PC2010 to arrive at average quantities of peanut butter and mature legumes prescribed to WIC participants each month.

PC2010 provides the prescription amounts of whole grains, but does not provide separate prescription amounts for whole-grain bread and other whole grains. PC2010 provides data on the share of WIC participants allowed to purchase whole-grain bread, other whole grains, or both whole-grain bread and other whole grains. These estimates for each subgroup were applied to the amount of whole grains prescribed. Nielsen Homescan data were used to estimate the share of all low-income household expenditures on whole-grain products that were on whole-grain bread (49 percent) and other whole grains (51 percent) for those WIC participants who were able to choose between whole-grain bread and other whole grains.

⁵ Average prescriptions of milk that lie below the federal maximum are due largely to substitutions with milk alternatives such as tofu and cheese.

Average amounts of major food categories prescribed to each participant category served as a proxy for actual voucher or electronic benefits transfer (EBT) redemptions. This approach implicitly assumes that participants redeem WIC food items at the same rates. This strategy was used to determine average quantities for all WIC food.

Table 2. Estimated Average Quantities of WIC-Eligible Foods Prescribed Per Month by Participant Category, FY 2010

Unit Category	Infant Formula oz.	Infant Cereal oz.	Infant Fruits and Vegetables oz.	Infant Food Meats oz.	Cow's Milk qt.	Soy-Based Beverages qt.	Tofu lb.	Cheese lb.	Eggs doz.	Fruit and Vegetables \$	Breakfast Cereal oz.	Whole-grain Bread lb.	Other Whole Grains lb.	Juice oz.	Peanut Butter oz.	Mature Legumes oz.	Canned Fish oz.
Pregnant women	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	18.6	0.3	0.0	0.8	1.0	10.0	35.8	0.6	0.4	141.6	16.0	16.3	0.0
Breastfeeding women (up to 1 year postpartum)	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	18.6	0.3	0.0	1.2	1.4	10.0	36.1	0.4	0.4	131.0	13.9	15.4	13.0
Postpartum women (up to 6 months postpartum)	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	13.1	0.2	0.0	0.8	1.0	10.0	35.8	0.0	0.0	91.6	9.1	7.4	0.0
Infants	628.4	12.3	71.4	3.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Children	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	13.2	0.2	0.0	0.8	1.0	6.0	35.7	1.1	0.9	121.9	8.3	8.2	0.0

Sources: The Urban Institute and RTI International, 2013. Authors' estimates based on data from the Study of WIC Participant and Program Characteristics 2010 and Nielsen Homescan 2009–2010.

Total costs of WIC-eligible medical foods (including formulas prescribed to women and children receiving Food Package III) are included in the estimation of average food package costs, but these costs are not presented separately due to data limitations. Costs of WIC-eligible medical foods and exempt infant formulas are distributed across the participation categories proportional to the number of participants within each category.⁶

These methods produced post-rebate per participant food package costs estimates that are about 2 percent lower than the total cost of the program. Factors including use of Homescan prices rather than actual prices and average food prescriptions rather than actual EBT transactions or voucher redemptions influence the cost estimates. To ensure that *estimated* total food costs add up to *actual* total food costs, the percent of the *estimated* total cost of each WIC food item is applied to actual total food costs by participant category. For instance, if milk is calculated to be 20 percent of *estimated* total WIC post-rebate food costs; it is also assumed to be 20 percent of total *actual* WIC food costs.

A key limitation of this methodology is that the relative contribution of each food item to total WIC costs is computed without applying redemption rates.⁷ This methodological simplification is necessitated by the lack of redemption data for most States. More importantly, the methodology underlying this report takes the default assumption that redemption rates are the same for all WIC foods. To the extent that this assumption is incorrect, results will overstate the relative contribution of some foods to total WIC costs and will understate the contribution of other foods.

⁶ This analysis does not attempt to isolate the costs of exempt infant formula or WIC-eligible medical foods (including formulas prescribed to women and children receiving Food Package III) to the WIC program; collection of the State-level data necessary to estimate those costs is beyond the scope of this study. For this reason, the cost of these foods is distributed across the participant categories proportional to size. However, the methodology used to estimate infant formula costs in the infant food package includes *all* infants – those receiving both exempt and non-exempt formulas. The costs of exempt infant formulas are included in the infant food package cost estimate to the extent that the cost of exempt infant formula is the same as non-exempt formula. The amount by which exempt infant formula costs exceed non-exempt formula is spread across the participation categories proportional to the number of participants within each category. (Note: In FY 2010, 5 percent of WIC infant participants received exempt formula. See the *WIC Program and Participants 2010* report for more information.)

⁷ Future analyses may be able to use data on redemptions from States with EBT systems.

Results

Estimated Food Package Costs by Participant Category

Total WIC food costs in FY 2010 were \$4.6 billion, after accounting for \$1.7 billion the program received in rebates from infant formula and infant food manufacturers. In FY 2010, average monthly food package costs totaled \$41.44 per WIC participant, after taking into account infant formula and infant food rebates (Table 3). Without rebates, the average monthly food package cost per participant would have been \$56.80. These results come from administrative data, whereas the results discussed below are estimates.

Post-rebate costs were highest for infants (\$49.36), followed by breastfeeding women (\$49.16), pregnant women (\$45.79), children (\$36.94), and postpartum women (\$35.54). Pre-rebate, the average monthly food package cost for infants would have been \$114.21.

Table 3. Estimated Average Monthly WIC Food Package Costs per Person by Participant Category, FY 2010

Category	Total WIC participants (%)	Average pre-rebate food package cost (\$)	Average post-rebate food package cost (\$)
Pregnant women	10	45.79	45.79
Breastfeeding women (up to 1 year postpartum)	6	49.16	49.16
Postpartum women (up to 6 months postpartum)	7	35.54	35.54
Infants	24	114.21	49.36
Children	53	36.94	36.94
TOTAL	100	56.80	41.44

Sources: The Urban Institute and RTI International, 2013. Authors' estimates based on data from the Study of WIC Participant and Program Characteristics 2010, Nielsen Homescan 2009–10, FNS administrative data, and other sources.

Notes: Costs of WIC-eligible medical foods (including formulas prescribed to women and children) are not estimated separately in this analysis. These costs, which are reflected in the administrative cost figures at the bottom of Table 3, are distributed across participation categories proportional to the number of participants within each category.

Similarly, this analysis does not develop a separate estimate of the cost of exempt infant formula. The table's pre-rebate and post-rebate infant package estimates include the cost of all non-exempt formula prescribed to WIC infants, but only part of the cost of exempt formula. The contribution of formula to the infant package estimate is equal to the total volume of non-exempt and exempt formula prescribed to infants multiplied by the average cost per unit of non-exempt formula. To the extent that the average cost of exempt infant formula is higher than the cost of non-exempt formula, that cost is spread across all other WIC foods and participant categories, in the same manner as the costs of WIC-eligible medical foods and formulas prescribed to women

and children. (Note: In FY 2010, 5 percent of WIC infant participants received exempt formula. See the *WIC Program and Participants 2010* report for more information.)

Partially breastfeeding women participants who continue to breastfeed at least once a day are counted as partially breastfeeding participants for administrative purposes, but some of these participants do not breastfeed enough to receive a partially breastfeeding food package and instead receive a postpartum women's food package (up to 6 months postpartum) or no longer receive a food package (after 6 months postpartum). Consequently, the administrative data count of partially breastfeeding women participants (which provides the estimated share of partially breastfeeding women in the WIC population) is higher than the number of participants who actually received partially breastfeeding women food packages, and the administrative data count of postpartum women participants is lower than the number of participants who actually received postpartum women food packages.

Estimated Costs of WIC-Eligible Foods

Total pre- and post-rebate costs of the following WIC-eligible foods were estimated: infant formula, infant cereal, infant fruits and vegetables, infant food meats, milk, soy-based beverages, tofu, cheese, eggs, fruits and vegetables, breakfast cereal, whole-grain bread, other whole grains, juice, peanut butter, mature legumes, and canned fish (Table 4).

One-fifth of food costs were attributed to infant formula (\$926.6 million), leading post-rebate food costs. Milk also contributed one-fifth to post-rebate food costs (\$898.8 million). Fruits and vegetables (\$614.3 million) and breakfast cereal (\$493.1 million) contributed 13 and 11 percent, respectively, to food costs. The remaining food costs was shared among juice (9 percent), cheese (6 percent), infant fruits and vegetables (6 percent), and other WIC-eligible foods comprising less than 5 percent each to food costs. Table 5 shows the unit prices used to estimate these food costs.

Table 4. Estimated Contribution to WIC Food Costs by WIC-Eligible Food Item, FY 2010

Food item category	Pre-rebate contribution (%)	Post-rebate contribution (%)	Pre-rebate food costs (\$ mil)	Post-rebate food costs (\$ mil)
Infant Foods				
Infant formula	42	20	2,615.7	926.6
Infant fruits and vegetables	4	6	260.5	259.8
Infant cereal	1	2	70.1	68.9
Infant food meat	1	1	32.0	32.0
Foods for Women and Children				
Milk	14	20	898.8	898.8
Fruits and vegetables*	10	13	614.3	614.3
Breakfast cereal (except infant cereal)	8	11	493.1	493.1
Juice	7	9	423.5	423.5
Cheese	5	6	291.6	291.6
Whole-grain bread	3	4	167.6	167.6
Eggs	2	2	109.7	109.7
Peanut butter	1	2	93.1	93.1
Other whole grains	1	2	87.7	87.7
Mature legumes	1	1	50.3	50.3
Soy-based beverages	0	1	27.9	27.9
Canned fish	0	0	15.9	15.9
Tofu	0	0	1.9	1.9
TOTAL	100	100	6,253.9	4,562.7

*Estimated cost reflects the value of the cash value vouchers (CVVs) for fruit and vegetable purchases.

Sources: The Urban Institute and RTI International, 2013. Authors' estimates based on data from the Study of WIC Participant and Program Characteristics 2010, Nielsen Homescan 2009–10, FNS administrative data, and other sources.

Notes: Costs of WIC-eligible medical foods (including formulas prescribed to women and children) are not estimated separately in this analysis. These costs, which are reflected in the administrative cost figures at the bottom of Table 3, are distributed across participation categories proportional to the number of participants within each category.

Similarly, this analysis does not develop a separate estimate of the cost of exempt infant formula. The table's pre-rebate and post-rebate infant package estimates include the cost of all non-exempt formula prescribed to WIC infants, but only part of the cost of exempt formula. The contribution of formula to the infant package estimate is equal to the total volume of non-exempt and exempt formula prescribed to infants multiplied by the average cost per unit of non-exempt formula. To the extent that the average cost of exempt infant formula is higher than the cost of non-exempt formula, that cost is spread across all other WIC foods and participant categories, in the same manner as the costs of WIC-eligible medical foods and formulas prescribed to women and children. (Note: In FY 2010, 5 percent of WIC infant participants received exempt formula. See the *WIC Program and Participants 2010* report for more information.)

Partially breastfeeding women participants who continue to breastfeed at least once a day are counted as partially breastfeeding participants for administrative purposes, but some of these participants do not breastfeed enough to receive a partially breastfeeding food package and instead receive a postpartum women's food package (up to 6 months postpartum) or no longer receive a food package (after 6 months postpartum). Consequently, the administrative data count of partially breastfeeding women participants (which provides the estimated share of partially breastfeeding women in the WIC population) is higher than the number of participants who actually received partially breastfeeding women food packages, and the administrative data count of postpartum women participants is lower than the number of participants who actually received postpartum women food packages.

Table 5. Price per Unit for WIC-Eligible Food Package Items, FY 2010

Food item category	Unit	FY10 price per unit (\$)
Infant formula (pre-rebate)	Reconstituted ounce ⁸	0.16
Infant cereal	Ounce	0.22
Infant fruits and vegetables	Ounce	0.14
Infant food meat	Ounce	0.36
Whole milk	Gallon	2.76
Reduced-fat milk	Gallon	2.67
Low fat milk	Gallon	2.67
Skim milk	Gallon	2.55
Whole milk	Half-gallon	2.04
Reduced-fat milk	Half-gallon	2.00
Low fat milk	Half-gallon	2.12
Skim milk	Half-gallon	2.17
Whole milk	Quart	1.40
Reduced-fat milk	Quart	1.44
Low fat milk	Quart	1.44
Skim milk	Quart	1.40
Soy-based beverages	Quart	1.47
Tofu	Pound	2.04
Cheese	Ounce	0.26
Eggs	Dozen	1.25
Fruits and vegetables, child	Voucher	6.00
Fruits and vegetables, adult	Voucher	10.00
Breakfast cereal (except cereal for infants)	Ounce	0.16
Whole-grain bread	Pound	2.25
Other whole grains	Pound	1.48
Juice	Ounce	0.04
Peanut butter	Ounce	0.11
Canned beans	Ounce	0.05
Dried beans	Ounce	0.07
Canned fish	Ounce	0.18

Source: The Urban Institute and RTI International, 2013. Authors' estimates based on data from the Study of WIC Participant and Program Characteristics 2010, Nielsen Homescan 2009–10, FNS administrative data, and other sources.

⁸ The conversion factor for reconstitute infant formula powder into ready-to-serve liquid is brand-specific and calculated based on the feeding instruction on the product package.

Discussion

The average costs of WIC food packages logically flow from the prices and quantities of food items prescribed to each category of participant. Costs are highest for infants because infant formula, even after rebates, constitutes one-fifth of total food costs. The costs of foods prescribed to breastfeeding women are higher than other categories of women because they receive greater quantities of some foods (e.g., milk and eggs) and receive canned fish as an additional benefit. Costs are lowest for postpartum women because they are prescribed lower quantities of juice, milk, and mature legumes than other women and are not prescribed whole grains at all. Children also receive lower quantities of some WIC food items as compared to other participant categories, and they receive a fruit and vegetable voucher of lesser value.

The most recent WIC food cost report published prior to this report was for FY 2005. There are a number of important factors that make direct comparisons between the FY 2005 and FY 2010 cost reports difficult to interpret, chief among them being:

1. the revisions to the WIC food packages in FY 2010 (meaning that the two reports are estimating the costs of two different baskets of food prescriptions);
2. the volatility of the prices of individual WIC food items over time, both in general and relative to the other food items in the WIC prescription basket; and
3. slight tweaks to the methodology used to produce this report as compared with the methodology used to produce the FY 2005 report (probably the most significant difference being that for the FY 2005 report, only observations from low-income Nielsen households were used for formula, while as described above, this report uses observations from all Nielsen households).

For these reasons, the extent to which comparing the FY 2005 and FY 2010 WIC food cost reports illuminates policy differences between FY 2005 and FY 2010, fluctuating market prices of food items, and/or methodological differences between the two reports is limited.

Nevertheless, in spite of this limitation, the results table from the FY 2005 WIC food cost report is provided below, as a comparison to Table 3 (p. 14) in this report.

Table 6. Estimated Average Monthly WIC Food Package Costs per Person, FY 2005

Category	Total WIC participants (%)	Average pre-rebate food package cost (\$)	Average post-rebate food package cost (\$)
Pregnant women	11	45.28	45.28
Breastfeeding women (up to 1 year postpartum)	6	46.49	46.49
Postpartum women (up to 6 months postpartum)	7	36.51	36.51
Infants	26	97.86	25.52
Children	50	39.97	39.97
TOTAL	100	55.18	37.42

Source: USDA 2007.

Compared with FY 2005, children made up a slightly larger share and infants a slightly smaller share of overall WIC participants in FY 2010.

Most apparent is that the post-rebate cost of the infant food package has increased compared with FY 2005, from \$25.52 in FY 2005 to \$49.36 in FY 2010, meaning that, while the average infant post-rebate food package was the least expensive participant food package in FY 2005, it was the most expensive food package in FY 2010. Several factors contributed to this increase in cost:

- According to our estimates, the average monthly rebate per infant decreased from \$69.65 in FY 2005 to \$64.80 in FY 2010.⁹ FY 2010 represented a relative low point in WIC rebate receipts.
- In 2009, the revised WIC food package for infants changed the basket of foods provided to infant WIC participants in response to IOM's recommendations to improve the nutrition profile of the WIC food package for infants and to increase incentives for longer breastfeeding (IOM). Based on these recommendations, juice was eliminated

⁹ The decrease in average rebate per infant is due at least in part to lower average formula prescription amounts per infant. It is not possible to calculate the average rebate amount per can of formula from national FNS administrative data.

from the infant food packages, and the average amount of infant formula prescribed to infants was decreased, but most of the calories represented by the decreased amount of infant formula were replaced by infant fruits, vegetables, and meats, which are more expensive per-ounce than post-rebate infant formula. Thus, the change in foods provided in the average infant food package increased the value of this food package.

Relative to FY 2005, the cost of the food package for breastfeeding women has increased to a small extent, perhaps as a result of the addition of new food items to that package. The cost of the children's food package has decreased slightly, compared to FY 2005. The costs of the other food packages have remained flat, changing by less than one dollar each.

Summary

In FY 2010, the first year in which the new food packages were in place, the WIC program spent \$4.6 billion on foods; infant formula and milk were the two largest expenditures. Rebate contracts with infant formula and infant food manufacturers reduced program costs by nearly \$1.7 billion. Average monthly food package costs totaled \$41.44, ranging from \$49.36 for infants to \$35.54 for postpartum, nonbreastfeeding women.

Appendix A: Historic WIC Food Cost Reports

- U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA), Food and Nutrition Service. 2000. *Summary: Fiscal Year 1999 WIC Food Package Costs*. Alexandria, VA: USDA, Food and Nutrition Service, Office of Analysis, Nutrition and Evaluation. <http://www.fns.usda.gov/wic/fundingandprogramdata/foodcostreports.htm> (accessed October 2, 2012).
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- . 2007. *WIC Food Package Costs and Rebate Summary: Fiscal Year 2005*. Alexandria, VA: U.S. Department of Agriculture, Food and Nutrition Service, Office of Analysis, Nutrition and Evaluation. <http://www.fns.usda.gov/wic/fundingandprogramdata/foodcostreports.htm> (accessed October 2, 2012).

Appendix B: Criteria for Selecting Foods from 2009–10 Homescan Data

This appendix describes the procedures used to identify WIC-eligible foods in Homescan and calculate average prices and total retail quantities by WIC food category.

General Steps

There are six general steps:

1. Obtain information on the forms, sizes, flavors, and other attributes of WIC foods allowed by State agencies after the interim final rule by referring to the WIC Food Packages Policy Options Study (FNS 2011; referred to as the Food Package Study hereafter).
2. Compare WIC food lists on randomly selected State agency web sites with the food lists in the Food Package Study report. Five to six State agencies were usually selected for each food category. More State agencies were selected if we were unable to get a consensus on WIC-eligible sizes or specific products.
3. Identify all products in each WIC food category in Homescan at the UPC level using the criteria from the Food Package Study and State agencies. Exclude organic products from all WIC food categories except tofu and fruits and vegetables.
4. Compare RTI SAS code to FNS SAS code used in previous WIC food cost reports. Double-check/reconcile any differences.
5. Merge household income status (i.e., whether annual income is at or below 185 percent of federal poverty threshold) onto Homescan purchase transaction datasets. Designate households at or below 185 percent of the threshold as low-income households.
6. Calculate total quantities and total expenditures for each WIC food category for the low-income population and the overall population using the Homescan projection factors

(i.e., weights). The average price was calculated as the ratio of total expenditure to total quantity. Average prices for the low-income population were used to calculate the costs of WIC food packages.

The FY 2010 estimates are based on household transactions between October 1, 2009, and September 30, 2010, in the 2009–10 Homescan. To determine whether a household is at or below 185 percent of the poverty threshold, we took the following specific steps:

1. Obtain sources of poverty thresholds.
 - a. Poverty Thresholds for 2009 by Size of Family and Number of Related Children under 18 Years, U.S. Census Bureau (for Homescan transactions between Oct 1, 2009 and Dec 31, 2009)
 - b. Poverty Thresholds for 2010 by Size of Family and Number of Related Children under 18 Years, U.S. Census Bureau (for Homescan transactions between Jan 1, 2010 and Sept 30, 2010)
2. Multiply thresholds by 1.85.
3. Homescan household income is reported in income brackets. Impute a continuous measure of annual income for each household using the reported bracket and the methodology proposed by Stewart (1983).
4. Determine income status of each household by comparing reported household income to the 185 percent poverty threshold for household of the corresponding size. Use the birthdates provided for eight household members to determine the number of children under 18.

Although WIC determines income eligibility based on the number of household members with a pregnant woman counted as two people, Homescan does not contain information on whether there is pregnant woman in the household. Therefore, our approach to determining income eligibility is an approximation to State agencies' income certification process. Table B1 provides

additional detail about the selection of food items from Homescan used to estimate average retail prices for WIC-eligible food items.

Table B.1. Criteria Used to Select WIC-Eligible Foods for Average Price Estimates

Category	Food	Description	Food-specific exclusions	Sizes used to calculate WIC prices
Whole-grain bread	Bread	Regular, Italian, French, and specialty fresh whole-grain bread loaves. Whole grain included wheat, flax, multigrain, oat, rye, white, and other whole grains.	Organic bread and bread with added fruit	16 ounces
	Rolls and buns	Fresh whole-grain buns included hamburger, hot dog, and sandwich buns. Fresh whole-grain rolls included dinner, sandwich, and sub rolls. Whole grain included wheat, multigrain, and other whole grains.	Organic buns and rolls	16 ounces
Other whole grains	Barley	All varieties of dry barley	Organic dry barley	16–32 ounces
	Bulgur	Regular wheat bulgur	Organic bulgur	18–28 ounces
	Oats	Regular, instant, and quick types of oats; cut oats; rolled oats; whole oats; oatmeal; and porridge oats	Organic oats and flavored oats	16– 32 ounces
	Rice– brown	Instant, packaged, and bulk types of brown rice. Brown rice varieties included basmati, jasmine, pearl, whole grain, and regular.	Organic rice	14–32 ounces
	Tortillas	Soft corn tortillas and whole-wheat flour tortillas	Organic tortillas	14–24 ounces
Canned fish	Canned fish	Mackerel, salmon, sardines, and tuna	Organic fish and fish with added flavorings and seasonings	30 ounces or less
Breakfast cereal	Grits	Instant and regular hominy grits products listed in "WIC Food Packages Policy Options Study"		12–36 ounces
	Hot cereal	Regular and old-fashioned types of coco wheat, cream of wheat, creamy wheat, farina, oat bran, oat flakes, oatmeal, oats, and wheat cereals listed in "WIC Food Packages Policy Options Study"		12–36 ounces
	RTE cereal	Store-brand, private-label, and brand-name ready-to-eat cereals listed in "WIC Food Packages Policy Options Study"		12–36 ounces
Cheese	Muenster	Chunk, sliced, and cubed products of natural muenster cheese.	Individually wrapped slices, organic cheese, and lactose-free cheese	8–16 ounces
	Mozzarella	Chunk, sliced, cubed, and string products of natural mozzarella cheese.	Individually wrapped slices, organic cheese, specialty cheese, and cheese with	8–16 ounces

Category	Food	Description	Food-specific exclusions added flavors	Sizes used to calculate WIC prices
	Brick	Chunk and sliced products of natural brick cheese.	Organic cheese	8–16 ounces
	Colby–American	Chunk, sliced, and cubed products of natural American Colby cheese.	Organic cheese	8–16 ounces
	Cheddar– American	Chunk, sliced, and cubed products of natural American cheddar cheese.	Individually wrapped slices, organic cheese, string cheese, cheese sticks, other forms such as crumbles, and specialty cheese	8–16 ounces
	Processed	Sliced and loaf products of processed cheese; mild, regular, and sharp flavors	Individually wrapped slices; organic cheese; cheese with added flavors, herbs, and spices; lactose-free cheese; and imitation cheese	8–16 ounces
	Swiss	Chunk, sliced, and cubed products of natural Swiss cheese; aged, kosher, regular, mild, and lacey types of cheese	Individually wrapped slices; organic cheese; cheese with added flavors, herbs, and spices; lactose-free cheese; and specialty cheese	8–16 ounces
	Monterey Jack	Chunk, sliced, and cubed products of natural Monterey Jack cheese	Individually wrapped slices; organic cheese; baby cheese; cheese with added flavors, herbs, and spices; and lactose-free cheese	8–16 ounces
	Provolone	Chunk, sliced, and cubed products of natural provolone cheese	Individually wrapped slices; organic cheese; cheese with added flavors, herbs, and spices; and lactose-free cheese	8–16 ounces
Eggs	Eggs	Medium and large white, regular fresh eggs	Eggs with additives, sodium-free eggs, reduced-fat eggs, fertile eggs, low-cholesterol eggs, organic eggs, and vegetarian diet eggs	1 dozen
Infant cereal	Infant cereal	Dry cereal in boxes. Flavors included barley, mixed grain, oatmeal, plain, rice, whole-grain multigrain, whole-grain oatmeal, whole-grain rice, and whole wheat.	Wet cereal; cereal with added flavorings, yogurt, and/or fruit; any packaging that was not a box or carton; and organic cereals	8 or 16 ounces
Infant formula	Infant formula	Major brands of powdered, concentrated, and ready-to-use infant formula contracted by State agencies		Powder: 12–13.2 ounces Concentrate: 13 ounces Ready-to-use: 32 ounces

Category	Food	Description	Food-specific exclusions	Sizes used to calculate WIC prices
Infant fruits and vegetables	Fruits	Shelf-stable, single-ingredient fruit and combinations of single-ingredient fruits of strained baby food	Frozen fruit; organic fruit; fruit with added cereal, tapioca, or sugars; and medleys of nontraditional fruit	2.5–4 ounces
	Vegetables	Shelf-stable, single-ingredient vegetables and combinations of single-ingredient vegetables of strained baby food	Frozen vegetables, organic vegetables, vegetables with added potatoes, creamed vegetables, casseroles, wheat pits, and medleys of unknown vegetables	2.5–4 ounces
Infant food meat	Infant food meat	Shelf-stable jars of meat and poultry strained baby food. Included products with gravy and broth as long as meat was only other ingredient.	Frozen infant food meat, organic infant food meat, infant food meat with added fruit and glazes, and any packaging that was not a jar	2.5 ounces
Juice	Grapefruit juice	Shelf-stable and frozen concentrated grapefruit juice	Organic grapefruit juice	Shelf-stable: 46, 48, 64 ounces Frozen: 12, 16 ounces
	Apple juice	Shelf-stable and frozen concentrated apple juice	Organic apple juice and frozen sweetened apple juice	Shelf-stable: 46, 48, 64 ounces Frozen: 12, 16 ounces
	Grape juice	Shelf-stable and frozen concentrated grape juice	Organic grape juice, shelf-stable sweetened grape juice, and frozen sweetened grape juice	Shelf-stable: 46, 48, 64 ounces Frozen: 11.5, 12 ounces
	Orange juice	Shelf-stable and frozen concentrated orange juice	Organic orange juice	Shelf-stable: 46, 48, 64 ounces Frozen: 10, 11.5, 12, 16 ounces
	Pineapple juice	Shelf-stable pineapple juice	Organic pineapple juice	46, 48, 64 ounces
	Cranberry juice	Shelf-stable cranberry juice	Cranberry drinks, blended juices, diet and low-calorie juices, and organic cranberry juice	46, 48, 64 ounces
	Vegetable juice	Shelf-stable tomato juice and vegetable juice	Vegetable drinks, any juice product that did not say vegetable juice, spicy juice, and organic juice	46, 48, 64 ounces
Mature legumes	Canned legumes	Black bean, black soy bean, black turtle bean, borlotti bean, broad bean, butter bean, canary bean, cannellini bean, ceci chick pea, charro bean, chick pea, dark red kidney bean, Dominican red bean, fava bean, garbanzo bean, garbanzo chick pea, great Northern bean, Italian bean, Italian shellout bean, kidney bean, lentil bean, light red kidney bean, lima bean, lupini	Organic products, mixed beans, string beans, bean pastes, crushed beans, creamed beans, beans with added flavors and seasonings, and beans in plastic containers	Cans: 16 ounces or less Multipack: 128 ounces or less

Category	Food	Description	Food-specific exclusions	Sizes used to calculate WIC prices
		bean, mayocoba bean, navy bean, pea bean, picante bean, pink bean, pinquitos, pinto bean, ranch bean, red bean, red kidney bean, roman bean, shellie bean, white bean, white cannellini bean, white cargamanto bean, and white kidney bean		
	Dry legumes	All varieties of dry beans, dry peas, and dry lentils	Organic beans, peas, and lentils	16–32 ounces
Milk	Shelf-stable milk	Plain shelf-stable milk	Goat milk, half & half, organic milk, and flavored milk	8–34 ounces
	Evaporated milk	All evaporated milk	Organic evaporated milk	5–13 ounces
	Powdered milk	Regular powdered milk	Powdered buttermilk and organic powdered milk	1–200 ounces
	Dairy milk	Refrigerated dairy milk (whole, reduced-fat, low-fat, nonfat, fat-free, skim)	Extra-rich milk, goat milk, raw milk, milk with oil, flavored milk, organic milk, and milk in pouches	32, 64, 128 ounces
	Buttermilk	Refrigerated buttermilk	Organic buttermilk and buttermilk in pouches	32, 64, 128 ounces
Peanut butter	Peanut butter	Chunky and creamy types of low-sugar, natural, reduced-fat, traditional, and regular, plain peanut butter.	Peanut butter spreads; organic peanut butter; peanut butter with added honey, jelly, chocolate, fruit, and caramel	16–18 ounces Multipacks: 2 units
Soy beverages	Shelf-stable soy beverage	All flavors of soy beverages	Soy drinks and organic soy beverages	32–64 ounces
	Refrigerated soy beverage	All flavors of soy beverages	Soy drinks and organic soy beverages	32–128 ounces
Tofu	Tofu	Plain tofu	Tofu with added flavors and herbs	14 ounces or more

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