Policy Brief – The Farm Bill

Background

The Farm Bill is an omnibus, multi-year bill that provides policy makers with the opportunity to address agricultural policy and food issues comprehensively. It is typically renewed every five years. Since many of the current farm programs will expire in 2012, the next authorization will likely occur during the 112th Congress.

The Farm Bill covers several important areas relevant to food availability and consumption including nutrition, farm commodity support, conservation, and crop insurance, as well as additional titles including livestock, energy and forestry, and thus has far reaching effects in aligning public health and nutrition. The Food, Conservation, and Energy Act of 2008 included $284 billion over 5 years and $604 billion over 10 years, with 97% going towards the first four titles (nutrition-67%, farm commodity support-15%, conservation-9%, and crop insurance-8%.

Improving access to fruits and vegetables and making them more affordable for consumers is an important priority for the public health community in the Farm Bill. There are barriers to overcome to make this happen – lowering labor costs for growing fruits and vegetables, helping fruit and vegetable growers purchase acreage to grow these crops, increasing availability and affordability of crop insurance, and increasing the amount of land used to grow fruits and vegetables. Additionally, the Farm Bill can help make fruits and vegetables and other healthy foods such as whole grains more available within government feeding programs, and school and community programs and national, state, and local markets.

Health Impact

As our nation wrestles with an obesity epidemic and the increasing prevalence of diabetes and other forms of chronic disease, the relationship between our government’s investment in agriculture and health has received increased scrutiny. Public health advocates are promoting a consistent “farm to fork” policy that links the foods grown and produced in the U.S. with the foods ultimately consumed by U.S. consumers, with an emphasis on foods recommended in the Dietary Guidelines for Americans – fruits, vegetables, whole grains, seafood, and low-fat dairy.

Since World War II, the soybean, corn, wheat, cotton, rice, and milk industries have received sizable direct and indirect cash subsidies from the federal government. University research and extension services also support production of these commodities leading to significantly increased yields. Commodity crops lend themselves to large-scale production, easy storage, and long-distance shipping. The corn and soybean crops are the basis for cheap, edible vegetable oil, caloric sweeteners, and animal feed. Several researchers have shown that the highly processed foods produced from these commodity crops are less expensive than healthier foods like fruits, vegetables, and whole grain products. They are also the foundation for the lower cost feed that drives the beef and poultry industries.
As a result, there has been a call from some public health advocates to reduce government subsidies for corn and soybean crops and to subsidize fruits and vegetables to help lower the consumer prices for foods recommended by the Dietary Guidelines. However, it’s not clear that cutting subsidies for the current commodity crops will make a significant difference in the final price that consumers pay for less healthy foods. Since many of the subsidies end up as agribusiness profits, these price increases could be largely absorbed. Many agricultural economists maintain that it is naïve thinking to assume that the prices farmers receive for their crops is the sole cause of price dynamics. Subsidies are only part of the equation driving retail costs. For example, these same economists calculate that the price of sugar is only about a half penny out of the cost of a $1 soft drink.

Fruits and vegetables, on the other hand, have much higher production costs. They have limited storage time, they often have to be transported with temperature control, they typically have to be hand-picked or cannot be harvested completely mechanized, and certain crops are especially susceptible to adverse weather. The changes in relative prices noted in the graph below reflect these increased production costs.

Figure 1. Trends in Global Prices for Beef, 1990 US Dollars

Source: International Food Price Research Institute
Cited in Delgado & Courbois 1998
Issues around Fruit and Vegetable Production

The good news is that consumer expenditures for fruit and vegetables are growing faster than for any food group other than meats. The bad news is that at current production rates, the U.S. food system would be unable to supply the recommended 9 servings of fruits and vegetables called for in the Dietary Guidelines for Americans. To meet these guidelines, Americans would have to increase daily fruit and vegetable consumption by 132 and 31 percent respectively and for production to meet this demand, there would have to be an expansion of domestic production, an increase in imports, and/or a diversion of current exports to the domestic market.

According to recent data:

1. The U.S. domestic market supplies 24 percent fewer servings/person than the recommended amount and the shortfall worsens if starchy vegetables are taken out of the calculation.
2. Only half the recommended servings of dark green vegetables are available, one-third of orange vegetables, and one quarter of legumes.

International trade in fruits and vegetables has led to substantial growth in the volume and variety of specialty crops, overcoming seasonality issues and smoothing price fluctuations. Global trade of fruits and vegetables has increased significantly since the 1980s, facilitated by rising incomes, falling transportation costs, improved technology, and evolving international agreements. Trade with the Southern Hemisphere allows for imports of juices, bananas, and off-season fruits and vegetables because of the countercyclical seasons. Technological innovations have enabled timely transport of fruits and vegetables that maintain quality and freshness. U.S. imports are especially influenced by income growth, price, and quality factors.
However, the increasing reliance on imports increases concerns around carbon emissions, food safety, nutrient preservation, and national security.

Although growth in U.S. fruit exports has been strong, the United States has remained a net fruit importer, especially for fresh fruit.\textsuperscript{10} Fresh fruit imports as a share of domestic fruit consumption rose from 35 percent in 1990 to over 40 percent in the early 2000s and bananas rank number one in U.S. per capita fresh fruit consumption, followed by apples and oranges.\textsuperscript{4} Virtually all bananas are imported, and they claim more than 60 percent of the volume of fresh fruit imports.\textsuperscript{4}

Labor issues are a major consideration for the U.S. domestic market which is labor intensive and faces higher labor rates than many other countries.\textsuperscript{11} Currently, labor costs make up almost half of the variable production expenses for U.S. fruit and vegetable farms, however this varies significantly by the particular crop grown.\textsuperscript{5} Accordingly, efforts to reduce labor costs are a priority for U.S. producers. It is estimated that over half of the hired workers are unauthorized immigrants and most hired workers stay in the seasonal farm workforce for less than a decade.\textsuperscript{5} Therefore, immigration reform laws are of critical importance to U.S. producers. U.S. growers are trying to lessen their vulnerability to rising labor costs by increasing the use of mechanical harvesters for crops where that is possible such as with raisins and leaf lettuce and introducing labor aids for crops that must be harvested largely by hand. However, mechanization favors large producers who can spread the fixed costs over more acres and is not suitable for many fruits and vegetables.

There is rising interest in increasing processing capability and distribution systems closer to where foods are grown to make fruits and vegetables more available to consumers, especially in areas limited by seasonal constraints. The “locavore” movement – which promotes foods grown and consumed locally - is gaining momentum. This movement touts not only the nutritional benefits, but also the positive environmental impact of not having to transport these crops over long distances. There is not yet consensus on a definition for “local” or “local food systems” but defining it in terms of marketing arrangements such as farmers selling directly to consumers (through farmers markets or schools) is well accepted.\textsuperscript{12} Local food markets are accounting for a small, but growing share of U.S. agricultural production. Findings are mixed on the impact of local food systems on economic development, better nutrition levels for consumers and whether localization reduces energy use or greenhouse gas emissions.\textsuperscript{13}

From a nutritional perspective, crops can be processed at harvest and developed into products that are flash frozen or processed in other ways that maintain their nutritional integrity. These products have increased shelf life and can be transported to many consumers. Frozen vegetables that are steamed and packaged for convenience are increasing in market share; however data from the USDA shows that since 1970 canned fruit products are remaining fairly constant at about 6% of total fruit consumed while canned vegetables are declining from their 24% share in 2008.\textsuperscript{13}

Both access and price are important issues to address in making healthy foods more affordable to consumers. The USDA Economic Research Service calculates that the average price at retail stores of an edible cup equivalent of fruits and vegetables varied from less than 20 cents per cup to more than $2.\textsuperscript{14} An edible cup equivalent is the recommended serving of the fruit and
vegetable after it has been prepared for consumption. The same report mentioned that the average adult on a 2,000 calorie diet could meet the Dietary Guidelines recommendations for the amount and variety of fruit and vegetable consumption at an average price of $2 to $2.50 per day, or approximately fifty cents per edible cup equivalent. The study incorporated fresh and processed vegetables and fruits and those processed included frozen, canned, dried and in 100% juice. Another important finding was that processed fruits and vegetables were not consistently more or less expensive than fresh produce. However, USDA forecasts that food prices will continue to climb in the next decade and in 2009-10 food expenditures by the typical (median) low-income household increased by 5.4 percent. Prices for fruits and vegetables alone, which account for more than 8 percent of food spending, will rise 5.5 percent. The cost of energy used to transport, package and process foods is also contributing to rising prices, as well as diversion of some crops to biofuels. Prices of many healthy foods are rising much more rapidly than less-nutritious foods.

The AHA intends on monitoring the outcome of the first ever Healthy Incentive Pilot Project authorized and funded under the 2008 Farm Bill that will take place in Hamden County, Massachusetts. The Healthy Incentives Pilot will enroll 7,500 randomly selected SNAP households to receive incentives. For every dollar participants spend on fruits and vegetables using their SNAP Electronic Benefit Transfer cards, 30 cents will be added to their benefit balance, thus cutting the cost of fruits and vegetables by almost one-third. Massachusetts was selected competitively based on its comprehensive pilot proposal that included very thorough and strong design, implementation, staffing and management plans. Hampden County is a mix of 27 urban, rural, and suburban cities with a total of 50,000 SNAP households. Massachusetts will begin operating the pilot in the fall of 2011. Abt Associates, Inc. of Cambridge, MA will be the independent contractor to evaluate the program. The evaluation will focus on whether incentives increase the consumption of fruits and vegetables and how participants' overall diets are affected. Researchers will also study the program's effects on the state, retailers and other SNAP stakeholders and assess the feasibility of implementing the Healthy Incentive Pilot Project nationwide.

A recent study by USDA’s Economic Research Service showed that the 20 most commonly purchased fruits and vegetables cost 30-70 percent more in the highest priced market areas than in the lowest, implying that for low-income consumers in more expensive areas might be able to purchase fewer fruits and vegetables. Regional price variation led to different buying power. In programs like WIC, where there is a fixed-value voucher, regional price variation could have an impact on healthy food consumption in vulnerable, at-risk families in certain areas of the country. The lowest priced market for fruits and vegetables were the Nashville, Birmingham, Memphis, and Louisville area while the highest price was San Francisco. The most expensive vegetables were peppers and tomatoes and the most expensive fruits were strawberries and grapes. The lowest cost vegetables were cabbage and corn while bananas and oranges were the lowest cost fruits.

In the end, consumers are making food choices on the basis of taste, cost, and convenience, and to a lesser extent, health and variety. Researchers like Adam Drewnowski maintain that sweets and fats cost less and diets high in vegetables and fruit cost more. As water is removed from foods (through processing), prices go down and energy density goes up. Lower-income
households tend to choose diets high in low-cost meats, inexpensive grains, added sugars, and added fats and their fruit and vegetable expenditures are low.\textsuperscript{18}

However, retail outlets where consumers make their final purchase are playing an increasingly important role in food pricing. Nontraditional retailers/discount stores like Wal-Mart are making fruits, vegetables, and whole grains more affordable at the check-out counter (as well as less healthy foods). Nationally, 86\% of broad food groups had lower prices in these stores.\textsuperscript{19} There are also efforts underway by Wal-Mart to drive local sustainable agriculture to support increased availability and affordability of fresh fruits, vegetables and other specialty crops in their stores. Since these initiatives are relatively new, researchers and consumer groups are still assessing their impact.

**Health-related initiatives in 2008 Farm Bill**

Some examples of health-related provisions in the previous farm bill that addressed access, quality, and affordability of healthy foods:

*Distribution/Access:*

- The Healthy Food Urban Enterprise Development Center - Provides technical assistance and planning grants for enterprises which improve food distribution and access in low-income communities
- A no-cost priority in the Rural Business and Industry Loan Guarantee Program to improve the distribution and market reach of products from local farmers to consumers in underserved communities;
- An inter-agency Food Access Study, led by USDA, to identify factors contributing to lack of access to healthy foods and recommend ways to address these issues through existing government programs as well as private sector solutions.
- The Fresh Fruit and Vegetable Program - The Fresh Fruit and Vegetable Program, authorized and funded under Section 19 of the Richard B. Russell National School Lunch Act and expanded in recent years as a result of the 2008 Farm Bill, operates in selected low-income elementary schools in the 50 States, the District of Columbia, Guam, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands. This year, USDA plans to provide $158 million in assistance to state agencies. States then select schools to participate based on criteria in the law, including the requirement that each student receives between $50 and $75 worth of fresh produce over the school year. Depending on enrollment and the allotment spent on each child, USDA estimates the expanded assistance could help schools serve an additional 600,000 to 950,000 students in school year 2011-2012.
- The Farmers’ Market Promotion Program: aims to increase and strengthen direct producer-to-consumer marketing channels. Through a competitive grants application process, FMPP provides funding for marketing proposals for community-supported agriculture programs, farmers’ markets, roadside stands, and other direct marketing strategies. Specific grant uses include developing relevant financial and marketing information, business planning, improving market access and education for consumers, organizing markets and direct marketing networks, and supporting innovative approaches to market management and operations. Entities that are eligible for FMPP grants are
groups of farmers, non-profit corporations, agricultural cooperatives, local governments, economic development corporations, regional farmers’ market authorities, public benefit corporations, and Tribal Governments. The program is administered by USDA’s Agricultural Marketing Service (AMS). To date, AMS has instituted a maximum grant award limitation of $100,000.

- Local Preference for School Food Purchases
- Community Food Projects

**Production Practices:**
- Specialty Crop Block Grants

**Research:**
- Pilot projects to evaluation health and nutrition promotion in SNAP
- Agriculture and Food Research Initiative – Nutrition Research
- The Food Desert Study
- Sustainable Agricultural Research and Extension

**Education**
- Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program Nutrition Education

**Affordability/Pricing:**
- The Community Food Projects Grants which support grassroots solutions connecting residents of low-income communities with healthy, affordable foods.
- The Healthy Incentive Pilot Program (HIP) within the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP): The Food, Nutrition and Conservation Act of 2008 authorized $20 million for pilot projects to evaluate health and nutrition promotion in the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP) to determine if incentives provided to SNAP recipients at the point-of-sale increase the purchase of fruits, vegetables or other healthful foods. Evaluation of the program was to determine: if the financial incentive provided by HIP increases the amount of fruits and vegetables consumed; if the substitutes for resources would otherwise have been spent on fruits and vegetables and if additional calories consumed in fruits and vegetables displace calories from other food groups, the household characteristics and circumstances that influence any observed impact, and estimate the federal, state, and local administrative expenses and benefits.
- Senior Farmer’s Market Nutrition Program
- Farmer’s Market Electronic Benefits Transfer Program

**Potential Policy Recommendations for the Forthcoming Farm Bill Reauthorization:**

During the forthcoming Farm Bill reauthorization, it will be important to preserve these programs established in the previous Farm Bill as well as expand opportunities to impact pricing, affordability, agricultural production, distribution, and access to healthy foods, especially fruits and vegetables.
Distribution

- Maintain funding for and promote the Agricultural Marketing Service's Farmers' Market Promotion Program (FMPP). The FMPP is a competitive grant program that makes funds available to eligible entities for projects to establish, expand, and promote farmers markets, roadside stands, community-supported agriculture programs, agritourism activities, and other direct producer-to-consumer opportunities.
- Provide grants and loans for value-added agriculture and to develop the small and mid-sized processing and distribution systems needed to get products from family farmers into local, regional, and national markets.

Access/Availability

- Increase the availability of fruits and vegetables in school meals and remove barriers which prevent local farmers from selling products to local schools.
- Foster community-led approaches to improve consumer access to healthy and fresh foods in low income neighborhoods.
- Assure the USDA commodity program continues to improve the concentration of healthy foods that are provided in government feeding programs and remains congruent with the Dietary Guidelines for Americans.
- Healthy Food Financing Initiative

Pricing/Affordability

- Ensure the affordability of healthy and fresh foods for low-income families and seniors through purchases of fresh foods directly from farmers and other agricultural producers.
- Support incentives in the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP) that support the purchase of healthy foods, especially fruits, vegetables, and whole grains. Advocate for other privately or publicly funded initiatives that support the purchase of healthy foods such as Double Up Food Bucks and Wholesome Wave.

Promoting Agricultural Production of Specialty Crops

- Provide incentives to small and mid-size farms to produce specialty crops like fruits and vegetables and distribute locally and regionally.
- Increase opportunities for fruit and vegetable farmers to purchase crop insurance.
- Support the recruitment and training of new farmers with grants or financing to spur land acquisition and encourage farmers to grow fruit and vegetable crops.
- Provide additional research and a segment of the extension services to support growth, production, transport, and safety of fruit and vegetable crops. Work toward some congruence between NIH and other health agency research and USDA research initiatives to address the growing challenges of climate change, water scarcity, development pressure, and obesity to establish farming methods that meet the needs of our U.S. population in the 21st century.
- Provide incentives to large farms to diversify some of their crops toward fruits and vegetables. Allow for direct payments for fruits and vegetables to qualify under Title I of the Farm Bill (i.e. allow fruit and vegetable farmers to participate in any commodity program of the Farm Bill).
Finally, it may be of benefit to advocate for an Executive Summit led by the White House to forge collaboration between the public health and agriculture communities to develop significant food policy initiatives and a collective effort to link agriculture and food production with the health of the U.S. population. It will be important to build a powerful sustaining coalition to continue policy development for a healthier food environment from “farm to fork,” showing the connections between farm policy and chronic disease prevention.

**Previous Coalitions on the Farm Bill**

There were several coalitions working to impact health-related provisions in the 2008 Farm Bill. This work led to incremental reform and some pilot projects as well as non-mandatory funding and some community food programs. It is important to note that since the 2008 Farm Bill, there has not been an enduring public health coalition around agriculture and food policy.

The coalitions were:

- **National Sustainable Agriculture Coalition**: an alliance of grassroots organizations advocating for federal policy reform to advance the sustainability of agriculture, food systems, natural resources, and rural communities. National Sustainable Agriculture Coalition - 110 Maryland Avenue NE Washington, D.C. 20002 - Phone: (202) 547-5754 Fax: (202) 547-1837 info@sustainableagriculture.net.

- **W.K. Kellogg Funded Farm & Food Policy Project**: The Farm and Food Policy Project was one of two major policy reform collaboratives organized by the nonprofit sector for the 2007-2008 Farm Bill. Undertaking a strategy to pursue incremental reforms for a more sustainable and equitable farm and food system by working with the House and Senate Agriculture Committee members, the project’s consensus policy recommendations resulted in significant structural reforms for marginalized producer groups, as well as a funding increase totaling $7 billion over five years for sustainable agriculture, locally-led conservation projects, local food production and marketing, and development of new and beginning farmers. Aside from the policy outcomes, one goal of the project was to engage and include a broader set of stakeholders than had previously been included in any Farm Bill. A consensus-building model was adopted by the project’s lead grantees: American Farmland Trust, Community Food Security Coalition, Environmental Defense Fund, Rural Coalition, and Sustainable Agriculture Coalition. The Northeast-Midwest Institute served as the coordinator for this three-year, $5-million initiative, funded by the W.K. Kellogg Foundation. While issues pertaining to the reform of farm subsidies were outside the scope of this project, significant policies and advocacy networks were developed in support of socially disadvantaged producers, the production and marketing of locally-produced food, and healthy, affordable food access in underserved areas. [http://nemw.org/index.php/policy-areas/agriculture-and-food/farm-and-food-policy-project](http://nemw.org/index.php/policy-areas/agriculture-and-food/farm-and-food-policy-project)

- **Specialty Crop Farm Bill Alliance** – The Specialty Crop Farm Bill Alliance was formed to broaden the scope and efficiency of U.S. agricultural public policy. Its founding members include a variety of specialty crops organizations, representing growers of
fruits, vegetables, dried fruit, tree nuts, nursery plants and other products. The United Fresh Produce Association takes a significant lead. The goal of the Alliance is to raise awareness about the significant challenges specialty crops face including pests, diseases, and competition from foreign producers. The Alliance promotes Farm Bill programs that address the priorities of specialty crops.  http://www.competitiveagriculture.org/

• **Anti-Hunger Coalition**: National coalition with links to state level anti-hunger coalitions addressing the priorities of the anti-hunger community. National Anti-Hunger Coalition - 1875 Connecticut Avenue NW # 540 - Washington, DC 20009-5738. (202) 986-2200.

• **Public Health Coalition**: Consisted of the American Public Health Association and some others.

**Emerging Coalitions for the Current Farm Bill Reauthorization:**

• **Health/Food Justice/Farm Group partnerships** – include the Public Health Institute, Public Health Law and Policy, Johns Hopkins Center for a Livable Future, California Food and Justice Coalition, Institute for Agriculture and Trade Policy, National Sustainable Agriculture Coalition, the American Farmland Trust, and the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. There

• **Specialty Crop Farm Bill Alliance**

• **Center for a Livable Future at Johns Hopkins University**: Has commissioned a report which is being written by Susan Roberts and Thomas Forster that will summarize all of the public health-related policies from the 2008 Farm Bill. The report will include for each policy the purpose, level of funding, history of advocacy, and a description of its implementation. The report will discuss each of the policies individually and collectively, and draw lessons from policy implementation, coalition building, and advocacy to help guide efforts for the next Farm Bill and beyond.

• **Community Food Security Coalition**

• **Collaboration for a Healthy Sustainable Food System**: American Public Health Association, American Dietetic Association, Healthy Food Action, and others. These coalition’s founding members have published and endorsed a shared set of broad principles to support socially, economically and ecologically sustainable food systems that promote health, addressing the current and future health of individuals, communities and the natural environment. Collaboration among the coalition organizations will enable greater communication and coordination among the professions, from the local to national levels. The coalition plans to build upon the principles by continuing to advocate for improved food systems. Efforts are under way to coordinate with other health, nutrition, and planning related organizations and to connect the food system interest groups of each organization. These principles may be found at: http://www.planning.org/nationalcenters/health/foodprinciples.htm
• The “Healthy Farms, Healthy People: A Farm & Food Policy Summit for a Strong America” was held in Washington DC on May 17th and 18th for numerous groups interested in health-related, access, and affordability provisions of the Farm Bill to come together and finalize policy priorities for the forthcoming reauthorization. Contacts for that event were: Matthew Marsom at the Public Health Institute (matthew.marsom@phi.org) and David Wallinga at the Institute for Agriculture and Trade Policy (dWallinga@iatp.org). There is an intent to build a sustainable coalition out of this meeting.
Appendix A:

THE FARM BILL – IN SUMMARY

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<td>I Commodity</td>
<td>Addresses major commodity crops – grains, oilseeds, and cotton. Direct payment, countercyclical payment, and marketing loan programs; adjusts target prices and loan rates for some commodities; last Farm Bill eliminated benefits to farms with less than 10 acres, restricted base acres developed for residential use, and created a pilot revenue-based counter-cyclical program called the Average Crop Revenue Election and a pilot program for planting flexibility. Defines two federal programs that support milk prices and dairy farm income – the dairy price support program and the Milk Income Loss Contract. Continued the sugar program that supports prices for domestic producers and processors. Mandated an 85% market share for U.S. sugar producers (to combat imports from Mexico under NAFTA), and created a sugar-for-ethanol program to sell surplus sugar to ethanol producers.</td>
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<td>II Conservation</td>
<td>Addresses working lands programs and land retirement programs, eligibility requirements, program definitions, enrollment and payment limits, contract terms, evaluation and ranking criteria. Producer coverage across most programs was expanded to include beginning, limited-resource, and socially disadvantaged producers, specialty crop producers, and producers transitioning to organic production.</td>
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<td>III Trade/Food Aid</td>
<td>Addresses USDA’s food aid, export market development, and</td>
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