

“Vieran el precio que yo pago”: Understanding the Risks and Rewards of Migration of Oaxacan

Women and their Families

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May 15, 2019

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Executive Summary

There were over 1.5 million people crossing the Mexican-US border in 2000 (Border Security Report, 2017) and the population in the US is becoming increasingly diverse. Along with this diversity, there are also rising trends in obesity for adults and overweight for children and adolescents (Ogden, Carroll, Curtin, McDowell, Tabak, and Flegal, 2006). Mexicans and Mexican Americans are, in particular, at an increased risk of being overweight or obese in comparison to other Latinx groups (Ogden et al., 2006). Moreover, there is a prominent, unfounded narrative that undocumented immigration is a problem for US citizens and that undocumented immigrants are depleting the US government of its resources (Meneses, 2003). Consequently, immigrants face a number of risks as they are exposed to death, bodily harm, and assault during their crossing experience. The high-risk, high-reward narrative suggests that these risks are worth the promised benefits of ameliorated family situations that come from crossing with peaceful intent (Meneses, 2003). However, in truth, when immigrants arrive and settle in the US, their health and well-being begin to decline (Villarejo, 2003).

The presented study aims to better understand the risks, rewards, and overall impact of migration on food preparation and weight in immigrant families; and to explore the expected negative moderating impacts of agricultural work and positive moderating impacts of social support. Accordingly, we administered semi-structured interviews to 16 participants in the Mexican state of Oaxaca and in Fresno, California. An initial list of codes was identified after conducting the interviews based on prior literature and, utilizing a grounded theory approach, we identified additional codes as they arose in the interviews. Three coders collaborated to create and alter definitions for each code until a consensus was reached. Inter and intra-reliability was tested iteratively until a satisfactory inter-rater reliability measure was achieved ($\alpha=.76$). Unsupervised machine learning clustered the codes into seven themes.

We found that mention of food, physical health and work were mentioned by all the participants. The theme with the highest level of mean correlation between codes (.77) was “Vieras el precio que yo pago” and included immigration systems, perception of immigration, community violence/harm, and religion and spirituality. We also noted a common story about the risks and rewards associated with participant crossing experiences. Specifically, participants mentioned the staggering dangers related to immigrating to the US, including negative impacts on their physical and emotional health, financial stability, and social connectedness. Overall, women describe negative perception of immigration, one that debunks the high risk, high reward narrative and instead suggest a high risk, low reward narrative.

This timely study has direct implications for social work practice. Although these interviews were collected before Trump’s Administration, the push factors that lead people to make these drastic decisions predated Trump. Trump’s Administration takes a more direct initiative to separate immigrant families (Rizzo, 2018) and these policies will continue to have a harmful impact if no meaningful changes to these policies are made. As social workers, we must not only actively work towards alleviating the mental and emotional burden these women carry but should also object the current administration’s procedures and status quo and advocate for transnational human rights.

A significant part of these human rights includes healthcare. Currently, new migrants are ineligible for coverage under the Affordable Care Act yet are one of the most vulnerable populations living in the US. Another meaningful push towards human rights is to challenge current policies that make it possible to separate families from one another.

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In order to more effectively change policies, future studies should further explore the relationship between immigration systems, perceptions of immigration, community violence and religion and spirituality which was so prevalent in the stories of these women. Doing so may yield meaningful results that help determine how these factors contribute to Oaxacan women's migration experience and their health outcomes after migration.

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Introduction

Context and Background

There were over 1.5 million people crossing the Mexican-US border in 2000 (Border Security Report, 2017) and the population in the US is becoming increasingly diverse. Among the 45.5 million Latinxs living in the US, 64% are from Mexico and 40% of Mexicans living in the US are first generation (Wallace & Castaneda, 2008). Along with this increasing diversity, there are also rising trends in obesity for adults and overweight for children and adolescents (Ogden et al., 2006). There is evidence that rises in obesity in Mexico run parallel to standard mortality rates of diabetes, hypertension and acute myocardial infarction (Rivera et al., 2002). Mexicans and Mexican Americans are, in particular, at an increased risk of being overweight or obese in comparison to other Latinx groups (Ogden et al., 2006). Moreover, there is a prominent, unfounded narrative that undocumented immigration is a problem for US citizens and that undocumented immigrants are depleting the US government of its resources (Meneses, 2003). Consequently, immigrants face a number of risks as they are exposed to death, bodily harm, and assault during their crossing experience. The high-risk high reward narrative suggests that these risks are worth the promised benefits of ameliorated family situations that come from crossing with peaceful intent (Meneses, 2003). However, in truth, when immigrants arrive and settle in the US, their health and well-being begin to decline (Villarejo, 2003).

Problem

Mexican migrant workers are at particular risk for obesity (Calderon & Sacks, 2015). Studies have also found a marked decline in diet for Latinx immigrants during their first year in the US (Villarejo, 2003). Furthermore, these workers are engaging in strenuous labor to pick fruits and vegetables that Americans consume, yet they often don't have access to healthy foods or time to prepare them (Calderon & Sacks, 2015). Immigrants also experience acute and

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prolonged stress related to legal status and lack of access to economic and sources resources (Calderon & Sacks, 2015). The National Agricultural Worker Survey shows that 81% of farm workers are migrants, and of that 81%, 95% are born in Mexico, and 52% are undocumented (Holmes, 2013, as cited in Calderon & Sacks, 2015). In particular, for the 1 million indigenous Oaxacans that are living in the US, many leave their homes due to poverty and lack of access to resources, only to encounter the same in America (Holmes, 2013, as cited in Calderon & Sacks, 2015).

Major Concepts

This study uses grounded theory in exploring the major concepts of immigration, family changes, work, time scarcity, food preparation, social support and weight for Mexican women (Calderon & Sacks, 2015, p. 10). Immigration is defined as women who have immigrated to the US, and in some cases, have immigrated back to Oaxaca (Calderon & Sacks, 2015). Family changes refers to adjustments within the family structure of Oaxacan women that result from migration (Calderon & Sacks, 2015). Work is the work that Oaxacan women engage in both in their home countries as well as the work that they do in the US (Calderon & Sacks, 2015). Time scarcity is the lack of time availability to prepare food (Calderon & Sacks, 2015). Food preparation are the norms relating to in-home food preparation for Oaxacan women both in Mexico and in the US (Calderon & Sacks, 2015). Social support are the structures and supports available to Oaxacan women, and how they change pre and post migration to the US (Calderon & Sacks, 2015). Weight is changes in health and quality of food consumed as they vary between Oaxacan women in Mexico, and Oaxacan women in the US (Calderon & Sacks, 2015).

Utilizing grounded theory approach, other major concepts that emerged from the interviews include: Immigration systems, religion and spirituality, lack of resources, community

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violence, perceptions of immigration, family dislocation and reunification, and crossing experience. Immigration systems is referred to first-hand experience with an immigration system (e.g. participant recounts experience of being deported from California to Oaxaca or participant reports experience filling out asylum paperwork). Religion and spirituality are defined when any mention of a belief system in religion, faith, spirituality, etc. (e.g. one's faith gives them hope for future). Lack of resources are the obstacles in accessing resources necessary to support health and wellbeing (e.g. inability to access social welfare systems because of documentation required or difficulty making medical appointment because of low socioeconomic status). Community violence is when there is any reference towards descriptions of community that involve violence, or harm that is caused to or within a community. Perceptions of immigration refers to participant's reports of beliefs, understanding and interpretation of the concept of immigration. Family dislocation and reunification is defined when there is any mention of separation of family. It also refers to any mention of reunification of family. Lastly, crossing experience is when any participant described their migration or movement from one land to another and experiences that come along with this.

Prior Knowledge

The US has gone to great lengths to control unauthorized immigration whereby thousands of border patrol agents, ten-foot-high steel fencing, infrared night scopes, motion detecting sensors, and surveillance systems persecute those deciding to cross (Cornelius, 2001). Despite these obstacles, immigrants pursue crossing the Mexican-US border and risk their lives in the process. Immigrants, especially undocumented immigrants, are disproportionately exposed to death, bodily harm, and assault during their crossing experience (Meneses, 2003). As they remain in the US, immigrants are prone to acute stress due to legal status and lack of resources

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(Calderon & Sacks, 2015). The longer Latinx immigrants remain in the US, the more their overall health and well-being declines (Villarejo, 2003). Immigrant Latina mothers reported increased social isolation and decreased social support compared to their country of origin (Sussner, K., 2008 in *J of Immigrant Minority Health*). This also creates an increase in vulnerability to stressful life events (Sussner, K., 2008). Additional literature highlights that acculturation and overweight/obesity, compounded by financial, linguistic, and social stressors creates difficulty for immigrants in a new country (Tovar, et. al, 2014, as cited in Calderon & Sacks, 2015).

Logic Model

Table 1 indicates our Logic Model for this project. The logic model describes the inputs, activities, outputs, short-term and intermediate outcomes, and the impact and long-term goals of the project. The intended purpose of this study was initially to contribute to existing research describing changing diets in migrant communities and later determined that the stories these women shared more closely reflects the harmful impact that immigration and immigration systems has on immigrants.

Research Questions

The presented study aims to better understand the risks, rewards, and overall impact of migration on food preparation and weight in immigrated families; and to explore the expected negative moderating impacts of agricultural work and positive moderating impacts of social support. We initially designed to learn about how time scarcity is related to overweight and obesity and how this varies between Oaxacan women in Mexico and Oaxacan women in the US. We also intended to learn more about how norms related to in-home food preparation vary between Oaxacan women in Mexico and Oaxacan women in the US.

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Approach

Epistemological Approach

This study uses an open qualitative method to explore the effects of immigration on social support, food preparation and weight. This project seeks to uplift the neglected stories of Oaxacan women who have immigrated to the US by exploring their experiences of health and nutrition through the process of migration (L. Calderon, personal communication, September 17, 2018). Through these stories, we will further understand how migration and agricultural work could impact women's health (L. Calderon, personal communication, November 26, 2018). This research could further influence immigration reform, healthcare policies, and advocate for economic justice.

We used an anti-oppressive approach when carrying out this research by reading and coding interviews without translating the text. Doing so maintained the participants' authentic narratives that is usually lost in translation. We have also discussed presenting the research outcomes at the Binational Center for the Development of Oaxacan Indigenous Communities (CBDIO) in Fresno (L. Calderon, personal communication, November 26, 2018). Additionally, we utilized cultural humility during this process by acknowledging how our own identities differ from the research participants as well as those that gathered the information. As aforementioned, it is important that we distinguish cultural humility from competence and not assume that we have a mastery in the participants' cultures as Tervalon and Murray-Garcia (1998) describe. We recognize that while all group members identify as Latinx, we each hold different histories, perspectives, dialects, cultures and beliefs. This is critical in our understanding of the data and the meaning we derived from it because our understanding of the participants' narratives may not be congruent with what they actually meant.

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Setting and Sample

The participants from California were recruited by the Binational Center for the Development of Oaxacan Indigenous Communities (CBDIO), a community organization dedicated to labor rights (Calderon & Sacks, 2015). In the California sample, all participants are women who migrated from Oaxaca to the US as adults in the last 10 years and who have children under 18 years of age (Calderon & Sacks, 2015). The CBDIO is committed to worker's rights by providing orientation, education, training, counseling, and referrals. The CBDIO works with key informants and focus group respondents to develop questions and major areas of focus for the interviews. In the Oaxacan sample, all participants are women who have been employed as an agricultural worker in the US in the last 10 years. These participants from this sample were recruited from NGOs in Oaxaca such as Casa de las Mujeres- Rosario Castellanos, El Círculo de Mujeres, A.C., Centro de Esperanza Infantil and Nueve Lunas (Calderon & Sacks, 2015).

Data Collection Procedure

We administered semi-structured interviews to 16 participants in the Mexican state of Oaxaca and in Fresno, California. All of the interviews were conducted by Spanish-speaking women. The interview questions were designed to elicit information regarding the participants' access to healthcare, perceptions of health, family life and food preparation, exercise, work, housing, religion and spiritual beliefs, personal and family goals, migration to the US, and community. The interviewees used the interview questions as a guide and were encouraged to deviate from the interview questions to get more detailed responses. An initial list of themes were identified shortly after conducting the interviews and, utilizing a grounded theory approach, identified additional codes as they arose in the interviews. Three coders collaborated to create and alter definitions for each code until a consensus was achieved ($\alpha=.76$). Inter and intra-

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reliability was tested iteratively until a satisfactory reliability measure was achieved and utilized unsupervised machine learning to cluster the codes into seven themes.

Major Concepts

To measure the key concepts, we identified and defined the following codes: family dislocation, food, time scarcity, perceptions of immigration, economic hardship, resiliency, and gender. These concepts were provided as deductive codes by the interviewing team based on prior literature and content of the interviews. Utilizing a grounded theory approach, we additionally identified and defined the following inductive codes, or codes that were identified by the coders while reading the interviews: physical health, emotional health, community violence, customs, lack of resources, religion, social support, and work. Inductive codes were identified through initial and thorough readings of the interviews and by labelling patterns or themes we noticed. These codes are rooted in at least one of the major concepts (i.e. family, work, time scarcity, food preparation, immigration, and social support).

Data Wrangling

Interviews were uploaded to Dedoose, a web application for mixed methods research, and guided our coding process. For each interview, coders individually labelled the presence of the codes in the text by using the definitions as a guide. Coders selected and labelled a chunk of text and identified the code that it most closely relates to. Coders would occasionally collaborate to reach a consensus for new codes and their corresponding definitions. Doing so increased reliability within the coders. We additionally administered inter and intra-reliability tests to assess whether coders were coding reliably. When reliability was not satisfactory, coders collaborated further, adjusted selected codes, and clarified incongruencies between coders iteratively until a satisfactory consensus was achieved.

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As we coded the interviews, we were continuously self-evaluating and self-critiquing to minimize paternalistic partnerships and power imbalances between researcher and participant. It is expected that doing these things decreased our own biases about the data to reach more accurate conclusions.

Findings

In order to describe the text in the narratives of the participants, we counted the amount a code was identified. Table 2 summarizes the saliency and frequency of the codes. We found that mention of food, physical health and work were mentioned by all the participants (See Table 2). The theme with the highest level of mean correlation between codes (.77) was “Vieras el precio que yo pago [You should see the price I pay]” and included immigration systems, perception of immigration, community violence/harm, and religion and spirituality (See Figure 1).

“Vieran el precio que yo pago” describes the adverse consequences immigrant women from Oaxaca experienced. One woman exemplifies this in the following excerpt: “Te vas a ir a Estados Unidos, cierto, les puedes mandar cosas, lujos, pero lo más importante no le vas a dar que es tu amor [you're going to the United States, true, you can send them things, luxuries, but most importantly, you will not give them what your love is]” (Comment from participant in the Oaxaca sample). The women here tended to describe their perceptions of immigration as a negative one, or one that was harmful for them and their families.

Another woman was speaking to immigration systems and the fear associated with interacting with these systems when she stated:

Ahí lo que uno siempre le tiene miedo esa migración nada más. Como que tanto a migración como a los policías porque hay que caminar con cuidado. Es como uno camina

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en la calle y ves a un policía, sí te da mucho temor porque piensas que te van a parar y te van a revisar tus papeles o te pueden llevar nada más porque ellos quieran .

[What one is always afraid of is migration nothing more. As to both migration and the police because you have to walk carefully. It's like you walk in the street and you see a policeman, it gives you a lot of fear because you think they're going to stop you and they're going to check your papers or they can take you just because they want to]
(Comment from a participant in the Fresno sample).

These justified fears do not end after they have crossed, but rather continue on well after they have settled in the US. For example, another woman touched on how she feared being assaulted in her community while living in the US, “Sí da miedo porque siente uno que nos van a saltar. [It is scary because one feels like they will attack us].” In the US, immigrants remain vigilant and cautious of their new surroundings. As the women from the interviews were facing hardships from immigration systems, perceptions of immigration, and community violence and harm, we found that religion helped the women and their families stay resilient. A woman shared a story:

Les voy a contar una anécdota que me pasó hace poco el más pequeño. Me dice, ‘Mamá, ¿mi abuelita se va a morir?’ Pues yo le contesté la pregunta, le digo, sí, hijo. Tu abuelita se tiene que morir y todos nos vamos a morir, nada más que en diferente etapa, en diferente tiempo y ¿quién dice que nos vamos a morir? Nosotros somos católicos y yo le dije, pues dios lo dispone. Pero para eso aquí, le digo, nosotros nos debemos que cuidar mucho, debemos de cuidarnos...

[I'm going to tell you an anecdote that happened to me recently the youngest. He says, ‘Mom, is my grandmother going to die?’ Well, I answered the question, I say, yes, son.

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Your grandmother has to die and we're all going to die, only at a different stage, at different times, and who says we're going to die? We are Catholics and I told him, God has it. But for that here, I say, we must take good care of ourselves, we must take care of ourselves...] (Comment from participant in the Fresno sample)

Despite the adversities these women endured, they continued on by using their faith to remain resilient and to continue their new way of life in the US. These findings were not what was intended to come out of this study. Instead of exploring themes of food, physical health, and time scarcity, we realized that these women needed to discuss concerns beyond the day to day and focus on their overall migration experiences. Furthermore, we noted a common story about the risks and rewards associated with participant crossing experiences. Specifically, participants mentioned the staggering dangers related to immigrating to the US, including negative impacts on their physical and emotional health, financial stability, and social connectedness. Overall, women describe negative perception of immigration, one that debunks the high risk, high reward narrative and instead suggest a high risk, low reward narrative.

Discussion

We as social workers frequently work with folks who have first-hand experience with immigration systems, but as researchers we did not intend to experience a heavy impact from the stories that were told throughout the interviews. We merely thought it dive deeper into the original intent of the research project and scratch the surface of obstacles the women were facing, when in fact it is was quite opposite. Many women were open to discussing the adversities they faced when crossing the Mexico-US border, take this woman's quote for an example:

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El que sí pasó por allá fue mi esposo y los abandonó el coyote, dice... Ellos se quedan en el desierto, dice, y sí llega el momento en que dice que se sintió muchísimo frío en la noche. Ahí, dice, te encuentras tirado ropa, nylon y lo único que lograron juntar así como hierbas secas, pasto como cama... escucharon el ruido de un carro y era la patrulla fronteriza dice, "Pues ahora sí que uno se entrega"... Entonces lo que hace uno es entregarse. ¿Por qué? Porque ahí ya te regresan otra vez a Tijuana y dice ellos que los detienen, les toman datos, todo, huellas. Entonces dice él que sí, cuando cruzan por el desierto sí sufren males.

[My husband was the one who did cross and the trafficker abandoned them. They stayed in the desert and the moment arrives in which he felt really cold at night. He says you find a lot of stranded clothes, nylon and the only thing they accomplished was collecting dry grass to use as a bed... they heard the sound of a car and it was border patrol who said, "Well now you have to turn yourself in"... So, what one does is turn yourself in. Why? Because they return you to Tijuana and they say that they detain them, take information, everything, your tracks. So, he says that yes, when they cross the desert they suffer badly.] (Comment from participant in the Oaxaca sample)

Quotes such as the one above was not expected to be stated during the interviewing process. The outcome of the findings resulted in patterns when participants mentioned risks and rewards associated with their crossing experiences. Specifically, participants mentioned the staggering dangers related to immigrating to the US, including negative impacts on their physical and emotional health, financial stability, and social connectedness. Participants describe of their perception of immigration, one that debunks the high risk, high reward narrative and instead emphasizes the high risk, low reward narrative. One participant from the Oaxacan sample

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thoroughly describes the relative low reward to the high risk that are involved in migrating to the US:

... por el tiempo perdido digo a veces, “Mejor me hubiese quedado yo aquí. Hubieses ido tú nada más y ya hubiéramos tenido -- vemos muchos puntos tantos buenos como malos. Una, va uno a conocer. Otra, fuiste a trabajar duro para decidir, “Los dos lo hicimos, los dos los cuidamos, los dos sufrimos”... fue algo que empezó de cero con los dos. Entonces en eso sí siento que valió la pena. Ahí sí. En el tiempo perdido con mi hija pues no. No. Pero ahorita trato como de -- ¿cómo te sé decir? -- como de recuperar todo eso. Ya no se recupera...

[... for the time lost, I sometimes say, “I should have stayed here [in Oaxaca]. It should have only been you [husband] that left and we would already have - we see a lot of pros and cons. One benefit is we get to visit. Another is going to work hard in order to say, “We both did it, we both took care of each other, we both suffered”... it was something that started at zero for both of us. So, in that sense, I do think it was worth it. There, it did. In the time lost with my daughter, well no. No. But now I try to - how do I tell you? - to recuperate all of that. It can't be recuperated...] (Comment from participant in the Oaxacan sample)

These women tend to discuss the sacrifices they made and their pride in having persevered despite these challenges. While participants mentioned their strong sense of effort, they have overwhelmingly been impacted in a harmful way which results in a poor overall wellbeing with little access to support from friends or family or through social and public services.

Conclusion

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The limitations in this study are primarily linguistic barriers as some Spanish words were challenging to translate to English and coders used English codes for Spanish transcripts. Using English words to name the experiences is another barrier as researchers will share this work with the interviewees and the agencies who work with the women. We want to acknowledge that all of the interviewees are women which was done intentionally to make the interviewees feel more comfortable when sharing their experiences. Despite this some of the interviewees had their husbands join the interviews which could have made the outcome of the interview different than interviewing the woman alone. As shared by Tina Sacks and Luna Calderon, the men sat in during the interview because they needed an outlet to discuss their experiences. Another limitation is not knowing why the researchers chose the questions they decided to ask in interviews and not having a list of those questions. We must keep in mind that these sixteen Oaxacan women experienced this violence before the current administration and what future research is responsible for focusing on the themes that came about including: Community Violence/Harm, Crossing Experience, Immigration Systems, and Lack of Resources.

This timely study has direct implications for social work practice. Although these interviews were collected before Trump's Administration, the push factors that lead people to make these drastic decisions predated Trump. Trump's Administration takes a more direct initiative to separate immigrant families (Rizzo, 2018) these policies will continue to have a harmful impact if no meaningful changes to these policies are made. As social workers, we must not only actively work towards alleviating the mental and emotional burden these women carry but should also object the current administration's procedures and status quo and advocate for transnational human rights. A significant part of these human rights includes healthcare. Currently, new migrants are ineligible for coverage under the Affordable Care Act yet are one of

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the most vulnerable populations living in the US. Another meaningful push towards human rights is to challenge current policies that make it possible to separate families from one another. As a result of our findings we hope to see that this research furthers policies to assist incoming migrants. We will begin by sharing this information with the agencies that work directly with the women in hopes for them to shift their services to tend to their needs.

In order to more effectively change policies, future studies should further explore the relationship between immigration systems, perceptions of immigration, community violence and religion and spirituality which was so prevalent in the stories of these women. Doing so may yield meaningful results that help determine how these factors contribute to Oaxacan women's migration experience and their health outcomes after migration.

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Table 1

Logic Model for Preparado en Casa

Inputs/Resources	Activities	Outputs	Outcomes	Long-term Impact
Financial support from the PIMSA Grant (\$30,000).	Data collection from: key informant interviews, focus groups, demographic data, close-coded survey.	Data from coded interviews that answer research questions.	<u>Short-term</u> Contribute to existing research describing changing diets in migrant communities.	To better understand the impact of migration on women and families.
Support from people (key informants, GSRs) to conduct and analyze the research.	Analyze data according to grounded theory research including open coding, axial coding, and the constant comparative method.	Understanding scarcity and social support as factors to obesity.	Fill gaps in this area of research by analyzing the concept of social support in determining migrant health.	Improve the well-being and health of Oaxacan immigrants and other migrant people living in the US.
UC Berkeley's Intercambio program which sends students and a faculty member (PI of this project) to Oaxaca, Mexico.	Transcribe interviews.	Understanding variations in time scarcity, norms relating to in-home food preparation, social support structures	<u>Intermediate</u> Explore the impact of agricultural work on migrant health and well-being.	Improve health and migration policies by reforming the ACA and the most recent US Immigration policy.
Binational Center for the Development of Oaxacan Indigenous Communities (CBDIO) in Fresno, CA.	Develop Survey Questionnaire.		Yield meaningful peer-reviewed articles on the relationship between food preparation, social support, migration and weight.	

Table 2

Occasions When Codes Were Identified in Total and Per Participant

<u>Code</u>	<u>Code Type</u>	<u>Total Number of Excerpts</u>	<u>Number of Participants</u>
Food	Deductive	138	16
Physical Health	Inductive	99	16
Work	Inductive	94	16
Customs	Inductive	50	15
Economic Hardship	Deductive	48	13
Perception of Immigration	Deductive	47	14
Time Scarcity	Deductive	46	14
Social Support	Inductive	43	13
Family Dislocation	Deductive	42	15
Crossing Experience	Deductive	41	15
Emotional Health	Inductive	35	14
Religion and Spirituality	Inductive	28	13
Resiliency	Deductive	27	11
Gender	Deductive	27	7
Lack of Resources	Inductive	20	8
Finance	Deductive	19	6
Language Barriers	Deductive	16	8
Education	Deductive	14	9
Racism & Discrimination	Deductive	11	5
Diet	Deductive	11	4
Immigration Systems	Deductive	8	5
Community Violence	Inductive	4	4

Note. This table illustrates the code type, number of excerpts each code emerged for all text data and the number of participants that identified each of the codes at least once. The data is comprised of 16 participant interviews and is organized in descending order of total number of excerpts.

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Figure 1

Bivariate Correlation Plot Model

