AGRICULTURE, DIET, AND EMPOWERMENT: UNDERSTANDING THE ROLE
OF COMMUNITY GARDENS IN IMPROVING THE HEALTH OF
OREGON’S URBAN LATINO COMMUNITY

by

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THESIS ABSTRACT

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Title: Agriculture, Diet, and Empowerment: Understanding the Role of Community Gardens in Improving the Health of Oregon’s Urban Latino Community

Across the United States, organic gardens are being used to improve community development and develop civic agriculture programs for minority populations, including Latinos. Huerto de la Familia (Family Garden), a community agriculture organization based in Eugene, Oregon, aims to improve the food security and well-being of urban Latino immigrants. This study asks the question: how effective is the organization’s Organic Gardening program at improving the mental, physical, and nutritional health of urban Latinos? I analyze how participation in the community gardening program empowers the families involved and provides them access to fresh and culturally appropriate foods. Through active participatory research, semi-structured interviews, and the use of photo journals and receipt collections, this study finds that Huerto de la Familia is beneficial in terms of food justice and improving community integration.
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“Let food be your medicine and medicine be your food”
-- Hippocrates 400 B.C.E
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Food is a necessity for life. However, it can be used to create social stratification or cultural integration. The field of food justice and the understanding of what affects people's access to food is critical for creating peaceful and integrated communities. My research, which examines how a community organization uses organic gardening to empower and integrate Latino immigrants into the Eugene community, is important for community development and food justice. It demonstrates an effective way to improve the health and to empower a minority population, and to provide them with a voice and sense of belonging in a new community. Through the use of active participatory research, semi-structured interviews, and analysis of shopping and consumption behaviors, this study reveals the benefits Latino immigrant families gain through participation in Huerto de la Familia. The study analyzes how grassroots, community organizations are capable of improving public health, social relationships, and aiding underserved communities.

Huerto de la Familia’s Role in Food Security and Immigrant Integration

Because food insecurity is directly linked to poverty, it is difficult for families living below the poverty line to have access to nutritious and adequate food. As of 2011, in the United States, there were 46.2 million people living below the national poverty line and fifty million people living in food insecure households (Feeding America; Pew Hispanic Center). Latinos, who comprise 16.4% of the population, are the most food insecure demographic in the nation wherein nearly 26.2% of Latino households are food insecure (USDA). Considering that many Latino immigrants work as farm workers or in
the food industry, there is a large disconnect between food production and access to food for consumption. According to the United Nation’s Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), hunger and food security in the United States is on the rise (FAO 2012). As a country that considers itself an international leader, the fact that 14.9% of the United State’s population is food insecure is unacceptable (Figure 1) (Coleman-Jensen et al. 2012).

Figure 1: Percentage of food secure and food insecure households in the United States in 2011

<table>
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<td>85.10% Food Secure</td>
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<td>9.20% Food Insecure</td>
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<td>5.70% Severly Food Insecure</td>
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The federal government does have programs in place to combat hunger-- food banks, food stamps (Supplemental Nutritional Assistance Program; Women, Infants, and Children)-- however it is often not for profit organizations that have the biggest impact in helping people obtain food. Community-based programs target the needs of the populations in certain regions. In Eugene, Oregon, Huerto de la Familia uses self-sufficient family garden plots, as well as education and training on how to grow food, in
order to promote food security. This allows immigrant Latino families to increase their access to healthy and nutritious foods.

Founded in 1999 by Sarah Cantril, Huerto de la Familia (The Family Garden) is a nonprofit organization focused on social justice. The mission of the organization is to “offer Latino families a place to connect with their roots and the earth… and to cultivate community integration and economic self-sufficiency by offering opportunities…in organic gardening and farming…” (Our Mission 2013). As opposed to many programs, Huerto de la Familia supports a self-sufficiency model that encourages Latino families to grow at least a portion of their own food. The model not only allows for community development, but also allows immigrants and their families to connect with their cultural heritage (Saldivar-Tanaka and Krasny 2003). Additionally, by providing a place for Latino families to connect with each other, Huerto de la Familia creates social networks, which increases integration into the local community. According to the Huerto de la Familia website, over the last decade, Huerto de la Familia has helped more than 400 parents and children who “live at 100% to 150% of the federal poverty level” (Our History 2013). The organization currently supports over 70 families\(^1\) from four different countries and provides them access to three community gardens and one farm in Eugene and Springfield, Oregon (Figure 2)

\(^1\) For the purpose of this study, the term Latino is used to refer to all Central and South American immigrants that move to Oregon. However, one hundred percent of participants in this study are from Mexico. In fact, only 4 families out of the 70 that participate in Huerto de la Familia are not from Mexico (Interview with Sarah Cantril, 10 July 2012).
Figure 2: Percentages of families from different Latin American nations involved in Huerto de la Familia during 2012

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<th>Nationality</th>
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<tr>
<td>Mexican</td>
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<tr>
<td>El Salvadoran</td>
<td>4%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Guatemalan</td>
<td>1%</td>
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<td>Peruvian</td>
<td>2%</td>
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Source: Chart comprised of data provided by Huerto de la Familia 2012 family intake survey

Statement of the Problem

Within the last few decades, literature regarding the issue of food insecurity in the United States has become increasingly prevalent (Drewnowski 2009; Duffey et al. 2008; Gonzalez 2006; Irazabal and Punja 2009; Rodriguez 2004; Saldivar-Tanaka and Krasny 2003; Sanjur 1994). However, there are still large gaps in the data. Considering that each area of the country faces different issues, studies must be place-specific in order to accurately address the issues causing food security in a given region. My research adds to the body of literature on food justice in the United States by focusing on the theme of immigration and food security for the Latino population living in Oregon. More specifically, it focuses on how urban Latino immigrants, living in Eugene and Springfield, Oregon, deal with economic and social obstacles to obtaining healthy and culturally appropriate food. I, in turn, examine how access to healthy food improves the
health and quality of life for Latino immigrant families. This study evaluates the effectiveness of Huerto de la Familia in improving the quality of life and the mental and physical health of its participants through the use of personal narrative and the understanding of lived realities. Lived experience is important for analyzing how people embody adverse health conditions, including the “often-overwhelming circumstances of hardship in their local social worlds” (Yarris 2009, 226). Therefore, this study integrates the fields of public health and cultural anthropology to evaluate the capability of a grassroots, social justice organization in improving the well-being of its participants.

**Food’s Role in Cultural Integration**

For many Latino immigrants, food, poverty, and the hope of better lives motivated them to come to the United States. Yet, often Latino immigrants face significant hardships and discrimination from the United States’ government and culture (Chavez 2008; Ewig 2012). Federal and state policy regarding immigration has become increasingly strict and has created tension between many United States’ citizens and Latino immigrants. For example, in 1994, California passed Proposition 187\(^2\), which created a state-verification program to determine the legal status of an individual (CA’s Anti-Immigration; Massey 1998). More recently, Arizona passed S.B. 1070, which allows police to arrest or detain a person if they have reasonable suspicion to believe the person to be here illegally. This inspired many other states to follow suit (Arizona’s SB 1070). Based on how Latino immigrants are received by different communities in the U.S., they will integrate in different ways. They may attempt to embrace the host culture

\(^2\) California’s Proposition 187 was never implemented because of issues with Constitutionality. Days after it passed, a federal district judge issued an injunction prohibiting its implementation. In 1999, the ruling was confirmed by federal court (CA’s Anti-Immigration; Prop. 187 Approved).
or they may separate themselves and maintain their traditional cultures. Often when Latino immigrants maintain their traditional cultures, there are clashes in ideals between traditional American values and Latino values, which are considered ethnic or the “other” (Chavez 2008; Said 1979).

Food plays a large part in the immigrant experience as it denotes adoption of the host culture or persistence of the traditional culture. It is obviously also important in maintaining the health of the individual. Various studies suggest that food can be used as a way to alienate or fuse cultures (Kershen 2002; Sanjur 1994). Because communities can use food as a way to separate and marginalize classes, races, and ethnicities, immigrants often try to "Americanize" through food in order to avoid becoming the “other” (Gonzales 2006). Harris (1987) states "expectations concerning what is a meal and when various kinds of meals ought to take place are cross culturally variable" (60). Therefore, the Latino traditional meal of C+F+L (core food item, fringe item, and legume) may change to the United States meal of M+S+2V (meat, staple, and 2 vegetable) in order for immigrants to conform to American tradition (Lang et al. 2009). The change to the American norm, including the increased consumption of meat, is also correlated with the increased consumption of processed or fatty foods. This often results in worsening nutritional health. In addition, similar to the Haute cuisine of the Aztec, certain foods are associated with status (Harris 1987). In terms of the U.S. and immigration, certain foods may be selected over others as forms of acculturation and integration. For example, in the U.S., beef consumption is a symbol of wealth and virility and so eating a hamburger is associated with a higher status compared to eating rice and beans.
Food Insecurity and Community Organizations in Oregon

Many Latino immigrants move to Oregon, specifically the Willamette Valley, because of its large agriculture industry and the promise of work. Because Latino immigrants have been steadily migrating to the Willamette Valley since the 1940s, there are established receiving communities that help with the settlement of newcomers. Twelve percent of the population in Oregon is Latino and although the population works primarily in the food industry, almost one third\(^3\) is food insecure (2010 U.S. Census; Huerto de la Familia). In a study conducted with the Farm Worker Housing Development Corporation, it is suggested that 54% of the Latino farm worker families in Marion County self-identify as food insecure (McClure et al. 2010). Although many government and non-profit organizations are attempting to alleviate this problem through food stamps, food pantries, and nutritional aid, the prevalence of malnutrition and food insecurity is still drastically high.

Though on a broad scale there is information regarding Latino health and food insecurity, research is lacking in analyzing how community food organizations improve Latino health and nutrition. Thus, this study attempts to demonstrate how a community gardening organization can improve the over-all health, including both mental and physical health, and the well-being of a Latino immigrant community. Even though various studies have suggested the positive aspects of urban farming in other regions of the world, there is limited data regarding how community gardens help Latino immigrant communities in the United States (Asomani-Boateng 2007; Loram et al.

\(^3\) Compared to the national average of 14.9% food insecurity (Coleman-Jensen et al. 2012)
2008; Ngome and Foeken 2012; Oswald 2005; Stark and Ossa 2007). Additionally, this study will help to demonstrate the impact of programs, such as Huerto de la Familia, in alleviating food insecurity, empowering families, and addressing the needs of urban Latino populations.

**Purpose of the Study**

**Private Purpose**

Personally, I am fascinated about the correlation between food and culture and the implications for peoples’ quality of life. Food is more than just a basic human need and everyone should have equal access to healthy and culturally appropriate food. As the United States portrays itself as the role model for all developing nations, it seems to me that there is a disconnect between United States’ ideals and the reality of food insecurity and lack of acceptance for immigrant population. Yet, ultimately, it is United States’ policies and actions that decreased food security in countries, such as Mexico, and increased Latino immigration to the United States. The United States, through enactment of policies such as the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), flooded foreign markets with cheap food. This, in turn, drove down prices and forced poor farmers to immigrate to the U.S. in order to avoid hunger in Mexico (Bello 2009; Leatherman and Goodman 2005; Massey 1998).

Academics in international studies tend to focus on developing countries as needing assistance or improvement. However, as the United States is a land of immigrants and highly involved in international affairs, I believe that problems of social inequality and immigration within the United States need to be examined as part of the international studies discourse. As a self-identified global leader, the United States needs
to solve its own issues of poverty and food insecurity before it can presume to offer solutions regarding these matters to the rest of the world (Conry 1997).

**Public Purpose**

The information gathered from this study will aid various organizations, educators, and government groups in their quest to improve community health. Primarily, this information is for Huerto de la Familia to determine how effective it is at combating food insecurity and improving the nutritional and mental health of its participants. Throughout the study, I have been in contact with Sarah Cantril, Huerto de la Familia’s Executive Director and she has expressed support and need for a formal study of Huerto de la Familia. I also believe that this study contributes to the public health discourse. The study aims to help other community and governmental organizations create or improve programs to help immigrants or low-income families in other regions. It will also help policy makers and public planners to improve regional and local policies and land use as they relate to food availability and gardening.

**Research Questions**

My research is guided by two overarching questions. The first question is: how effective is Huerto de la Familia at improving the health and nutrition of urban Latino immigrants living in Eugene, Oregon? The second question is how are immigrant lives’ shaped by their relationship to food? In regards to the first question, I focus on the heath and economic impacts of gardening at Huerto de la Familia and how families spend their money on food. I hypothesize that people join Huerto de la Familia in order to have access to healthy foods, yet I question whether or not it really affects what they eat or their overall health. In addition, because this study was conducted for Huerto de la
Familia, I also looked for areas in which the organization could improve. I believe Huerto de la Familia to be a model organization that can be implemented around the country and so, ultimately, I tried to understand how beneficial the organization is for immigrant families. In addressing the second question, I planned to determine how immigrant’s lives are shaped by their relationships to food. Therefore, my research examined how immigrating to the United State’s changes dietary patterns, gardening methods, and shopping behaviors.

Throughout the study, the question of what constitutes access is also asked. Of course, proximity is the most logical answer to that question, however proximity is not always the limiting factor. Cost, environment, and availability of culturally appropriate foods also play significant roles in determining where people shop and what foods people buy. Additionally, age and gender greatly impact each person’s relationship to food. Because all adults in this study were born in Mexico, and most of their children were born in the United States, there are differences in their eating habits. The differences in diet have to do with what each person considers their traditional culture and how much of the host culture each person has adopted. For example, mono-cultural parents are going to have very different eating behaviors than their bi-lingual, bi-cultural children. I used social and historical contexts to frame the study due to the current issues surrounding Latino immigration and Oregon’s history of importing agricultural workers. I also think it is important to highlight the structural framework of Huerto de la Familia. As an organization, its structure and mission do more than just provide healthy food to low-income families. Because of its self-sufficiency model, it promotes personal responsibility and personal ownership.
Relevance

In the United States, Latinos are heavily discriminated against and, therefore, isolated from mainstream American society (Chavez 2008). The high rates of discrimination force many Latinos to be considered outsiders unless they conform to American culture and lose their traditional cultural identities. Even when immigrants Americanize, they still face the highest levels of food insecurity and poverty of any demographic in the United States (Hispanic/Latino Hunger 2013). Nevertheless, the Latino Epidemiological Paradox explains how despite poor socioeconomic status, Latino immigrants have better health outcomes than other similarly disadvantaged groups (Montes de Oca et al. 2011). Montes de Oca and colleagues (2011) state that “social environment, social hierarchies, and the positioning of people in the social organization are fundamental contextual variables for understanding and even predicting the varying levels of mortality and the presence of certain diseases” (1119). If Latino immigrants live with family and maintain social networks in the United States, they are more likely to experience better health outcomes than other ethnic groups of similar socioeconomic status. Because acculturation and Americanization have proven to be detrimental to health and well-being of many immigrant populations, programs benefiting public health, that include these populations need to be enacted. Improving the health of Latinos is also an effective way for integration to occur and equality to increase as it allows Latino immigrants to prosper while maintaining their cultural identity (Farmer, 2003).

All across the country, various governmental and community-based programs are being implemented to help promote the health of America’s fastest growing population.
Nevertheless, it is difficult for the larger programs to directly aid their target audiences in effective and sustainable ways. This is due to the fact that they do not have the capacity to deal with individual issues. Within the Latino community, there are diverse cultural, social, and economic issues that need to be considered. Thus, programs need to be specialized and focused on specific topics. They also need to be able to provide tangible results through culturally appropriate methods.

It is only in the last two decades, that community gardens focusing on Latino participants and utilizing self-sufficiency models to improving food security have become prominent. In this regard, there are very few studies available that focus on Latino community gardens (Saldivar-Tanaka and Krasny 2003). Additionally, there is a lack of available research denoting the economic significance of community garden sites. If there is strong evidence demonstrating the importance of Latino community gardens, research will help in the preservation of current sites and the implementation of new sites. According to Irazabal and Punja (2009), civic agriculture and urban gardening have the “potential to cost-effectively address a multitude of the challenges facing inner-city, poor, and minority communities today” (10).

**Thesis Structure**

During the summer of 2012, I conducted this study to determine the impacts participation in Huerto de la Familia may have on improving food security, nutritional and mental health, and community development for Latino families. As the longest standing Latino community garden in Oregon, Huerto de la Familia demonstrates an effective and empowering way to improve access to fresh and culturally appropriate foods. This study provides clear examples and data to emphasize the significant impact
Huerto de la Familia has had on Latino families living in the Eugene/Springfield metropolitan area. My research is divided into five sections. I first present the theoretical framework, which emphasizes issues of discrimination and the importance of food as culture for Latinos living in the United States. This is followed by background information regarding the issues of poverty and food insecurity in the United States and the demographics of Huerto de la Familia families. I then turn to my qualitative and quantitative research methods in order to elaborate on the use of active participatory research, interviews, and the USDA National Household Food Security Survey used in this study. Finally I present my data and analysis so as to demonstrate the effectiveness of Huerto de la Familia’s programs. My thesis concludes by providing recommendations for improving Huerto de la Familia and suggestions for future studies that go beyond the scope of my research.
CHAPTER II
THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The United States is as conflicted as ever about its historical identity as a nation of immigrants (Ewig 2012, 7)

Because they are the fastest growing demographic in the United States, the Latino population’s health and well-being is becoming increasingly more of a national concern (Perez-Escamilla and Melgar-Quinonez 2011). By 2050, it is predicted that 30% of Americans will be Latino (Passel and Cohn 2008). Thus, the fact that Latinos are the population with the highest rates of food insecurity, diabetes, and other lifestyle related diseases has the potential to affect a huge portion of the United States’ population. Food security is defined as “the limited or uncertain ability to access through socially acceptable manners the nutritionally adequate and safe foods needed for a healthy and active life” (Perez-Escamilla and Melgar-Quinonez, 2011). For the current study, Huerto de la Familia participants’ relationships to food were assessed in the context of past and present immigration policies, economic stresses, and social pressures.

Historical Health Disparities

According to Farmer (2003), current health disparities must be historicized within broader political, economic and social contexts. In the case of Latino immigrants, the discrepancies in health and food security began in the mid-twentieth century. The use of Latino immigrants as temporary and exploited farm laborers beginning in the 1940s has set the tone for how Latinos are treated in Oregon today, and why they still represent a somewhat invisible population (Rothenberg 1998; Gamboa 2000). During World War II, Mexican immigrants came to Oregon to participate in the Bracero program. The purpose of the program was to temporarily replace United States farmers
who were enlisted in the military. It is ironic to think that the purpose of the Mexican government agreeing to the Braceros Program (PL-45) and the reason many young men agreed to come to the United States was to improve their economic status. However, conditions for many laborers were worse than those they left in Mexico (Gamboa 2000). Within the labor camps, Mexicans experienced sub-standard living conditions and people often suffered from food poisoning and general declining health (Gamboa 2000). Thus, many of these immigrants returned to Mexico due to the unwelcoming environment they experienced in Oregon, and the United States in general.

According to Gonzales-Berry and Mendoza (2008), “immigration… is a kind of mirror that reflects not only the internal and external dynamics of economic development, but also… social hierarchies and unresolved social issues in the receiving society” (141). In addition, Stephen (2007) suggests is that almost all Latino immigration to the U.S. can be described in terms of economic needs. Economics can be thought of as both a push and a pull factor. It is a push factor because people are unable to make a living in Mexico and are looking for better lives. It is a pull factor because the U.S. requires cheap, unskilled labor that attracts immigrant populations (Stephen 2007). Due to low economic opportunity in their countries, including Mexico, Latino immigrants are commonly exploited, as the immigrants believe the work in the United States will lead to better lives (Cohen 2001).

Current issues regarding food insecurity and malnutrition for urban Latino immigrants are based on past issues of immigration to Oregon. The term “food justice” is used to describe how everyone, no matter race, gender, or economic status, deserves the right to access healthy and culturally appropriate foods (Holt-Gimenez and Wang
The harsh conditions that Bracero Program workers faced are examples of issues of social injustices that continue today. During World War II, Mexican migrants were tolerated because of the need for agricultural workers, however, once American men returned from the war, anti-immigrant policies re-emerged.

In particular, during the 1980s, nativist sentiment caused the United States’ government to make legal Latino immigration more difficult (Gonzalez-Berry and Mendoza 2008). Ironically, by doing so and by enacting the 1986 Immigration Reform Act, which allowed immigrants in the U.S. to apply for amnesty, immigration increased. Because migration became more difficult, many undocumented immigrants applied for amnesty and stayed in the United States, which disrupted the circular migration pattern (Massey 1998). It also meant that there was an increase in women and children immigrants as men brought their families to live with them. As the United States tried throughout the 1990s to minimize Latino immigration, the enactment of the North American Free Trade Agreement and the 1996 Immigration Reform Act encouraged more Latinos to move across the border (Massey 1998). Market forces, which caused dramatic changes in Mexico’s economy, forced people who were unable to make a living in Mexico to move north (Massey 1998). Thus, although Latino migration to Oregon has a historical background, the last twenty years has seen a dramatic surge in Latino population due to increased immigration, family reunification, and births.

Issues with Latino Immigrant Integration

The U.S. prides itself as being a land of freedom where, "from many, we became one" (Sanjur 1994, 2). Yet this really is not the case for new immigrants who are often viewed as the outsider or “the other” (Said 1979). As old wave immigrants became more
established, an exclusive United States' culture was formed that created hardship and social stresses for those that did not conform to the status quo. This is argued as being the case for Latino immigrants who brought new sets and forms of traditions that did not fit in with the ideals of western Europeans (Sanjur 1994). Currently, the US foreign-born population is only 12%, which, arguably makes the United States “less of a nation of immigrants now than a century ago” (Immigration Resources 2013). The perception of Latinos in the United States is reflected in the work of Chavez (2008), which provides insight into the current and historical political and social climate of Latino immigration.

Chavez (2008) uses the term “Latino Threat” to describe the negative view that many United States’ citizens have regarding Latino immigrants, more specifically, Mexicanos. According to Chavez (2008), the negative connotation surrounding Latino immigrants is due to inaccurate representations of Latinos as lazy foreigners, unwilling to integrate into United States’ society. However, the inability of Latino immigrants to integrate is due to no fault of their own. Rather, it is due to societal forces, including segregation, denying Latino families fair treatment by society. How does a country expect a population to integrate if it does not provide an opportunity to do so? Most Latino immigrants are willing to adopt U.S. culture if provided with the opportunity and a receptive environment. A study of immigrants in Orange County, California concludes that most immigrant families do learn English, receive higher educations and incomes (with each subsequent generation that remains in the United States), and practice U.S. social customs (Chavez 2008). However, because of segregation in many other areas of the United States, Latino immigrants lack opportunities and the incentive to integrate. The United States needs Latino workers; yet, it treats Latinos like they are second-class
citizens. Therefore, Chavez (2008) reaffirms the need to take action and use community organizations that create positive environments as modes of integration.

The Latino immigrant experience is not a transparent process. Many different factors need to be taken into consideration when examining integration. Thus, it cannot be defined by Gordon’s early migration theory of “straight-line assimilation” (Gonzales-Berry and Mendoza 2010, 210). “Straight-line assimilation theory” is based on a series of stages: “uprooting from the place of origin, settlement in a new nation, [and] eventual integration or incorporation of the uprooted immigrant”, where traditional culture is completely abandoned (Gonzales-Berry and Mendoza 2010, 210). Although this theory worked to describe the assimilation experience for many Europeans who came to the United States in the twentieth century, it is not accurate for Latinos, specifically Mexican immigrants. The Mexican immigration process is affected by bidirectional cultural flow, localized and regional cultures, and socially constructed identities (Gonzales-Berry and Mendoza 2010). Because, historically speaking, Latino or Mexican immigration was temporary, they maintained many aspects of their cultures. In addition, there have been many aspects of Latino culture adopted by mainstream American culture, including foods, celebrations, and words that promote integration rather than assimilation (Chavez 2008).

Nevertheless, acculturation and integration do occur for many Latino immigrants. According to McClure et al. (2010) “acculturation is a multidimensional construct that describes phenomena resulting from continuous contact between groups of individuals from different cultures, including subsequent changes in the cultural patterns of one or both groups” (434). Therefore, based on their language and cultural
preferences, ethnicity, and nativity, individuals will be affected differently by the
process of acculturation (McClure et al. 2010). Gonzales-Berry and Mendoza (2010)
state that there are three different types of acculturation (dissonant, consonant, and
selective) that can occur for Latino immigrants, with the most positive being selective
acculturation. Dissonant acculturation, which is when the children acculturate at a faster
rate than the parents, often leads to poor children-parent relationships and increased
levels of poverty as parents are unable to easily negotiate life in America (Gonzales-
Berry and Mendoza 2010; McClure et al. 2010). In comparison, consonant and selective
acculturations both help to mediate this issue by maintaining good relationships between
parents and children and creating positive household environments (Gonzales-Berry and
Mendoza 2010).

Different institutions are charged with different roles in the process of
acculturation and integration (Sanjur 1994). For children especially, integrated peer
groups at schools provide places for "Americanization" to occur, while families
reinforce cultural traditions and loyalties. However, this often leads to discrepancies
between generations as children and parents acculturate differently. To combat this,
organizations focused on the family are important for communities to promote positive
modes of acculturation. Huerto de la Familia, therefore, is a program that allows for
selective acculturation to occur by providing Latino families’ community support and
the ability to maintain cultural practices in a safe and welcoming environment.

According to Pena (1998), "Place... is a primary repository for human
constructions of meaning and identity" (11). Who a person is and how society views him
or her is defined by the place he or she lives. For example, in Oregon, Latino immigrants
are made to feel unwelcome and discriminated against by being pushed to the outskirts of towns (Stephen 2007). Thus, the immigrants tend to stay hidden and only associate with people within their own communities. Place, as a major shaper in identity, also affects how people view themselves and the cultures they associate with. Integration is based on peoples’ ability to go through various “psychological development stages, in their socialization process within the family, in their orientation toward their homeland, and in their experiences of accommodation to their new host culture” in order to feel accepted into the new society (Gonzales-Berry and Mendoza 2010, 210). As immigrants are marginalized in the United States, it is difficult for many Latinos to accept United States’ customs when their cultural associations are still tied to Mexico. Thus, new and marginalized Latino immigrants maintain their traditions and practices from their countries of origin. In addition, as many immigrants view their time in the United States as only temporary, there is not an urgent need to learn English and eat American foods. Therefore, examining people’s diets and eating practices becomes an excellent tool in understanding their cultural identities and ties.

The Role of Food in Immigration

Food can be thought of as culture and is transferred through communities, regions, and ethnicities. In regards to preparation and eating habits, different societies hold different values and norms. Food behavior and choices are shaped by culture. Food culture is described as “shared assumptions, meanings, social interactions, practices and more that are exhibited in daily food behaviour [sic]” (Lang et al. 2009, 228). As Levi-Strauss puts it, “food culture is a language to be translated, with the preparation and serving of food mediating cultural relations” (cited in Lang et al. 2009, 229). In terms of
the U.S. and immigration, certain foods may be selected over others as forms of acculturation and integration. In a study conducted by Duffey et al. (2008), it was determined that "exposure to the U.S. environment and lifestyle results in the adoption of the dominant culture's behaviors and norms, including greater consumption of away-from-home foods" (2428). Related to this, are difficulties preparing foods at home as immigrants, who are unfamiliar with the host country’s foods, will have a hard time preparing new dishes with new ingredients (Kershen 2002). Therefore, if culturally appropriate, or familiar, ingredients are unavailable, immigrants will select processed and fast foods over healthier alternatives (Duffey et al. 2002; Harris 1987). The lack of availability of culturally appropriate foods can be used as a tool to maintain cultural separation and marginalize specific races, classes, or ethnicities (Kershen 2002). Therefore, availability of culturally appropriate foods represents the host community’s acceptance of the immigrant population. Furthermore, the immigrant populations’ access to these foods demonstrates their economic and social empowerment and integration.

**Latino Immigrant Health and Nutrition**

Research often points to living in the U.S. adversely affecting the health of Latinos due to inadequate healthcare and poor food choices (Duffey et al. 2008). Many Latino health disparities exist in the U.S., including drug and alcohol abuse, diabetes, obesity, asthma, HIV/AIDS/ and STIs (Martinez et al. 2011). The term “Latino Epidemiological Paradox” states that many Latino immigrants, despite poor socioeconomic status have better health than other social groups of the same socioeconomic status, including Latinos born in the United States (Duffey et al. 2008; Hayes-Bautista et al. 2002; Montes de Oca et al. 2011). In the United States,
acculturation, disparities in language, low socioeconomic status, and cultural preferences in behavior and food choices are the factors that could potentially decrease Latino health (Blebea 2009).

Traditionally, there are many differences between the traditional Latino diet and the United States diet (Gonzalez 2006). According to Gonzalez (2006), the Latino diet includes more fruit, more fibers, more phosphorous, more niacin, and more complex carbohydrates. Compared to the U.S. where traditionally wheat was the main grain, the Latino diet is centered on corn, which has no saturated fats or cholesterol, is low in sodium, and is a good source of vitamin C, folate, thiamine, potassium, and iron (Gonzalez 2006). In the United States, meals are centered on a protein or meat, while in Latin American countries, meat is seen as supplemental. Although the Latino diet lacks dairy and green leafy vegetables, it still provides all essential vitamins and minerals and is well adapted to life in Latin America (Gonzalez 2006). In the United States, Latino immigrants encounter a different set of ideals regarding food consumption and different portion sizes, which tend to alter diet choices and nutrient intake, especially considering the availability of more and different food choices.

When healthy, culturally appropriate foods are available, immigrants have a tendency to eat carotene-rich foods and less processed foods (Elder 2005). Research suggests that foreign-born Latinos, who are not well integrated into American culture, are more likely to select foods such as legumes, fruits, low-fat/high fiber breads, and are less likely to consume non-Mexican fast food and snacks and desserts (Duffey et al. 2008). In addition, speaking Spanish as the main language, which denotes less impact of American culture and less integration of food choices, is associated with higher intake of
legumes, rice, fruits, soups, and potatoes (Duffey et al. 2008). However, as immigrants become more acculturated, they typically eat more total and saturated fats, found in unhealthy and processed foods. The United States diet, which is associated with fast foods and processed foods, is high in fat and low in fiber and therefore changing Latino diets to be more American can be detrimental to their health (Elder 2005). The increased consumption of these foods, especially when compounded by more sedentary lifestyles, often leads to obesity (Elder 2005; Sussner et al. 2008). Of course, a healthy diet is not solely dependent on environment and access to specific foods. There are various factors, economic, social, and political, that contribute to food consumption patterns.

Socioeconomic and environmental conditions marginalize many Latinos in the United States. These conditions encourage the consumption of large quantities of energy-dense, low-nutrient foods and increase sedentary behaviors that lead to diet-related diseases (Lindsay et al. 2009). Although shoppers may want to buy healthy fruits and vegetables, if they are not on sale or are too expensive, shoppers will substitute with more inexpensive foods that are often nutritionally inadequate (Hampl 2002; Lindsay et al. 2009). Food insecurity can be identified by undernourishment, obesity and illness (due to too many empty calories), and anxiety and depression for parents trying to feed their children (Perez-Escamilla and Melgar-Quinonez 2011). Poor nutrition when coupled with psychological stress, among immigrants, may contribute to poor health over the long term. According to a study by McClure et al. (2010), Latino immigrants in Oregon tend to have high rates of stress and increased blood pressure due to the discrimination they experience. As a result, their overall health decreases. Of course, coming to the United States does have many advantages for Latino immigrants, but the
amount of nutritional related diseases in the families interviewed by McClure and associates (2010) denotes that moving to a developed country does not mean better health.
CHAPTER III
BACKGROUND

Food Security in the United States

According to Dr. Heather McClure, “our health as a nation is determined by those who are the most vulnerable” (University of Oregon lecture, 30 January 2013). As the fastest growing demographic in the United States, Latinos significantly contribute to the economy of the United States (Perez-Escamilla and Melgar-Quinonez 2011). According to the Immigration Policy Center (2010), “immigrants are not only integral to the state’s [Oregon] economy as workers, but also account for billions of dollars in tax revenue and consumer purchasing power” (1). In essence, there presence here is beneficial for the growth and prosperity of the state. Oregon is considered to be a new growth state. The Latino population increased from 4% in 1990 to 12% in 2012, which makes Latinos the largest minority demographic in Oregon (Immigration Policy 2010; Nogueros 2012; State and County Quickfacts 2013). The increase in the number of Latinos in Oregon follows a national trend in which the Latino population has increased by 43% during the last decade (Hugo-Lopez and Cohn 2011). In Oregon, the majority of immigrants are from Mexico, which is congruent with the fact that Mexican immigrants account for 31% of all United States immigration (Fast Facts 2013). Thus, in addition to the 23% of immigrants from other Latin American countries, Latino immigration to the United States accounts for 50% of total immigration (Fast Facts 2013; Hugo-Lopez and Cohn 2011). Because Latinos now account for 16.3% of the total United States’ population, or fifty million people, their health has become a national issue (Motel and Pattern 2012; Pew Hispanic Center 2012).
Understanding how cultural preferences affect food choices is important for improving the availability of culturally appropriate foods. Because Latinos are becoming such a prominent demographic in the United States, the fact that they have the highest rates of food insecurity is disconcerting (Nord et al. 2010). Food insecurity is defined as the “limited ability or uncertainty in accessing adequate, nutritious, and culturally-acceptable food in socially-acceptable manners” (Vahabi and Damba 2013). According to Donkin and Dowler (2002), access to healthy food is defined as "a) the ease by which households can physically get to shops which sell healthy food [and] b) the ability of the household to pay for such goods" (200). I argue that the availability of culturally appropriate food should also be in that definition.

Although past studies indicated that public and urban planning needed to be considered when examining food access, more recent studies indicate that it is more an issue of economics and social position (An and Strum 2012; Donkin and Dowler 2002). Often, in low-income neighborhoods, the closest places to buy foods are convenience stores or small-scale markets. Because there are price premiums at small-scale markets, as compared to large super markets, the prices of goods influences what people buy (Donkin and Dowler 2002). In addition, as a way to offset social stigma, low-income parents will still buy candy or unhealthy snack foods as special treats for their children (Hampl 2002).

Although food prices do influence consumption patterns, environment and access to healthy foods also affects diet choices. An and Strum (2012) found that if fast food chains surround a family’s house, the family is not more likely to consume fast food than it is to buy food at a grocery store located further away. However, in areas that
predominately house Latino families, Ng’andu and Leal Gianfortoni (2006) indicate fresh fruits and vegetable retailers are 38% less prevalent than stores stocking unhealthy or processed foods. In a study conducted by Moreland et al. (2002), every additional supermarket in an area increased African American consumption of fruits and vegetables by 32%. Therefore, proximity does influence foods purchased, especially if a family is unable to access healthy food, due to proximity or lack of transportation to grocery stores. However, I argue that cultural practices, taste preferences, and cost play larger roles in determining diet (An and Strum 2012).

Statistically speaking, Latinos have disproportionately higher rates of poverty, food insecurity, and unemployment than any other demographic group in the United States (Hispanic/Latino Hunger 2013; Perez-Escamilla and Melgar-Quinonez 2011). The severity of food insecurity is measured by the actions taken when considering purchasing and consuming food. According to Perez-Escamilla and Melgar-Quinonez (2011), food insecurity is a “managed process” with a sequence of events, as outlined below:

The severity of food insecurity is measured by:
1) Suffering from anxiety and worry over food supply,
2) Making adjustments to the household budget, which often affect the quality of diet,
3) Adults in the household limiting the quantity and quality of foods they consume,
With the highest level of food insecurity being denoted by:
4) The quantity and quality of food consumed by children is affected

In 2011, Latino food insecure households were almost double the percentage of the rest of the United States at 26.2% and 14.9%, respectively (Hispanic/Latino Hunger 2013). Between 2009 and 2011, 13.6%, or 491,000, households in Oregon were food insecure
(Kempe-Ware et al. 2012). In addition, 5.9% of these households are severely food insecure (Kempe-Ware et al. 2012).

Latinos are likely to suffer the highest rates of food insecurity and, in fact, 28% of the Latino population in Oregon is food insecure and 14.8% suffered from hunger, denoted by severe food insecurity (Edwards 2010; Oregon Hunger Issues 2003; Profiles of Hunger 2012). Yet, as previously stated, in 2012, Latinos only encompassed 12% of the state’s population (State and County Quickfacts 2013). As opposed to the rest of the country, the majority of severely food insecure families, those suffering from hunger, in Oregon live in urban settings (Edwards 2010). The fact that hunger is more prevalent in urban settings is significant to this study due to the fact that all families involved in Huerto de la Familia live in urban areas and, therefore, food insecurity is not solely an issue of proximity to grocery stores. According to the Huerto de la Familia website, “This higher rate of food insecurity can be largely attributed to the low wages that Latino individuals earn, underemployment and unemployment”. Unemployment rates are high around the nation and Oregon currently has the 12th highest rate of unemployment (Hunger Statistics 2013). In addition, Latinos have the second highest unemployment rate of any ethnicity at 9.9% (Unemployment Rate Demographics 2012). When the Great Recession hit in 2008, Latinos were the hardest hit, which resulted in a sharp decline in household wealth, income, and health (Kochlar et al. 2011).

Food Insecurity’s Impact on Families

As Huerto de la Familia works on the family level, it is important to understand the statistics that impact family health. Although nation-wide, hunger rates for married couples with children are low (2.8%), Oregon is an exception with 6.1% suffering from
hunger (Edwards 2010). Furthermore, minority populations, including African Americans and Latinos, have much higher prevalence of food insecurity than Caucasians (Figure 3).

Figure 3: Percent of households, with and without children, in the U.S. that are food insecure

![2011 U.S. Household Food Insecurity by Demographic](chart.png)


For Huerto de la Familia families, which average 2 children per household, a total of 64% of participants in the 2012 Family Intake Survey self-identified as food insecure (Appendix A). Thus, there is an impact on Latino children that must also be taken into consideration. As of 2010, Latino youth accounted for 37.3% of the total children in the United States living in poverty, compared to 30.5% white and 26.6%
black (Pew Hispanic Center; U.S. Census Bureau). In 2010, there were 6.1 million Latino children living in poverty and two-thirds, or 4.1 million, of the children had parents that immigrated to the United States (Hugo-Lopez and Velasco 2010). It should be noted that foreign-born individuals, the population Huerto de la Familia serves, are more likely to experience poverty than those born in the United States (Hugo-Lopez and Cohn 2011). Mexican immigrants also have the highest rates of food insecurity of any immigrant population in the United States with 37.3% of households being food insecure (Hugo-Lopez and Cohn 2011).

There is a correlation between parent education and poverty. Because many immigrants come to the United States with high school educations or less, and statistics show that increased education decreases hunger, there is an obvious association between education and hunger. This is particularly true for New Growth States, including Oregon, due to the fact that immigrants to these states tend to have less formal education and be poorer than Latinos in traditional settlement states. In the United States, 48.3% of Latino children in poverty live in households where parents possess a high school education or less (Hugo-Lopez and Cohn 2011). In Oregon, 14.8% of Latino households, with less than high school educations, suffer from hunger (Edwards 2010). Even with adults working full-time jobs, their lack of education, and often inability to speak English, means they are unable to find jobs with livable wages. For Huerto de la Familia participants that responded to the 2012 Intake Survey, only 24% of surveyed participants could speak English (Figure 4). In Oregon, where the demographic is primarily white, the inability to speak English can be detrimental to their ability to find well-paying jobs (U.S. Census Bureau).
Poverty and Food Insecurity

Poverty and food insecurity are closely related. The median income for Latino households is $38,624, yet, nationally, 26.7% of Latinos in the United States fall below the Federal Poverty Line (Figure 5) (Hispanic/Latino Hunger 2013; Hugo-Lopez and Cohn 2011). To determine the official poverty line, the federal government “defines thresholds based on the cost of a basket of food, adjusted for householder age, family size and composition” (Hugo-Lopez and Cohn 2011). For 2012, the Department of Health and Human Services determined that the Federal Poverty Level based on annual income for a family of four to be $23,050 (2012 HHS Poverty Guidelines). In Oregon, and specifically Lane County (where all study participants live) 20% to 24% of Latino families live below the federal poverty line (American Community Survey 2013). Of

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The 2012 Family Intake Survey is an unpublished survey used by Huerto de la Familia staff to understand the demographics of participants.
those involved in Huerto de la Familia’s Organic Garden program, 32% of surveyed families earn an annual income of less than $17,292 and 65% earn less than $23,052 per year, which correlates to 2/3s of families being below the federal poverty line. All families are below 185% poverty level and 81% of families are below 150% of the federal poverty level.

**Figure 5: Comparison of federal poverty level income for family of 4 to median household incomes**

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<th>Median Household Income of Latinos</th>
<th>Median Household Income in Oregon</th>
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</table>


**Available Federal Aid in Oregon**

Federal and non-governmental food aid is readily available for families living in Lane County. In 2011-2012, the federal supplemental nutrition assistance program (SNAP) assisted 785,397 Oregonians, which equates to 20% of the population (Food for Lane County). In Lane County, 62% of households reported receiving SNAP during

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5 Data taken from 2012 Huerto de la Familia Intake Survey
2013 (2013 Hunger). In 2009, SNAP and women, infants, & children program (WIC) assisted 64,454 people, and 13,790 pregnant or breast-feeding women, infants, and children, respectively, in Lane County alone (2010 Addressing Hunger). However, although one in four Latino families are food insecure, studies indicate that Latino families are the least likely to participate in SNAP (Hispanic/Latino Hunger; Profiles of Latino Health). For Huerto de la Familia families, only 28% of surveyed participants stated that they received federal food stamps (Appendix A). In contrast, Latino families will use emergency food assistance programs, such as those provided by the non-governmental organization Food For Lane County; this is congruent with data from Huerto de la Familia surveyed participants which indicated that 52% of families knew where to obtain food boxes (Appendix A) (Hispanic/Latino Hunger; Profiles of Latino Health).

Not-for-Profit Food Aid

Food For Lane County seeks “To alleviate hunger by creating access to food” and “To eliminate hunger in Lane County” (Food for Lane County). Although Food For Lane County does have its own gardens, it is a larger organization that serves the entire Lane County area and manages a number of different programs. The organization primarily focuses its efforts on supporting emergency food pantries, youth nutrition programs, rural food security, senior food security, and various other programs that provide food to those in need.

Although Food for Lane County is an excellent resource for Lane County residents, it does not provide opportunities for food insecure families to become self-sufficient. Thus, Huerto de la Familia becomes an excellent resource for Latino families
wanting to provide for themselves. Unlike emergency aid, Huerto de la Familia aims to provide long term solutions for the Latino community and bring awareness about the importance of nutritious food. Huerto de la Familia helps Latino families combat hunger and gain access to nutritious foods by growing their own food in community gardens.

The use of community gardens as a mode for improved food security is not a new concept. In fact, community gardens have historically been used “as a response to changing socio-economic and demographic trends” (Saldivar-Tanaka and Krasny 2003, 399). Beginning in the 1960s, many community gardens in the United States have been cared for by immigrant or minority groups. This allows the gardens to be utilized as places that allow for the use of culturally distinct gardening practices (Saldivar-Tanaka and Krasny 2003).

Huerto de la Familia

As opposed to emergency food pantries and food aid, community gardens allow Latino immigrant families to acquire food in socially acceptable ways (In Brief). Through empowering families to grow their own food, Huerto de la Familia becomes instrumental in aiding the food insecure Latino families living in Eugene and Springfield, Oregon to improve their overall health. By utilizing a holistic approach, it not only provides families the tools and space to grow food, but it also works with families to improve quality of life and increase integration into the community. Huerto de la Familia educates families around agriculture, cooking, and health issues. It provides clinics and workshops for families and also connects families to other organizations in the area. Huerto de la Familia is an example of how to effectively
communicate with and support the under-represented Latino community and provide them access to much needed resources.
CHAPTER IV

METHODOLOGY

My study uses methods employed by many researchers in the fields of public health and medical anthropology. It uses emic methods that allow for the collection of data and reflect the lived experiences of the participants. In addition, my study uses both quantitative and qualitative methods to provide a complete and thorough report. Therefore, not only does the study look at specific facts, collected through economic methods and semi-structured interviews, but it also examines personal experience and identity. According to Counihan (2009), “experiences and voices… particularly those belonging to economically and politically marginalized ethnic groups—have too long been absent from the historical record” (7). As my study focuses on immigrants, it is important to note how their experiences in the U.S. affects their lives, and, therefore, to hear their personal stories regarding immigration to the U.S. My methods revolve around the use of food centered life histories to explain the “cultural associations, family ties, and sense of belonging” that affect the participants’ lives (Counihan 2009, 3). Counihan (2009) describes using food centered life histories as a way to create cultural citizenship, or a sense of place. I avoid ethnocentric assumptions and attempt to understand the lived experiences of participants from their perspective. My hope is by thoroughly examining the Organic Gardening program and aspects of the Small Farmer’s Project at Huerto de la Familia, I am able to provide the organization with valuable data and information regarding how its programs are impacting its participants’ health and well-being.
Methods

Collaborative Activist Ethnographic Research

The study is based on Lynn Stephen’s (2007) collaborative activist ethnographic research method so as to ensure my research emphasizes the needs of Huerto de la Familia. As I conducted this research to help the functioning community organization, it was imperative for me to understand the political and social dimensions behind it. Therefore, I used what Stephen (2007) calls “the locations of collaborating participants… and global connections” (322), “the internal hierarchies found within collaborating groups” (323), “the access to resources that all participants have” (323), and “the stakes for participants in the outcomes of research” (323) when creating my methodology. The first step in conducting my research was to meet with Huerto de la Familia staff to determine what research they had already conducted and to set up parameters for what my study would include. The majority of the initial planning for the project took place in late May through early July 2012. I worked with the program leadership (Sarah Cantril and Joanna Lovera) to ensure that the study and data collected was relevant to their needs, provided fair assessment of their projects, and was informative for the organization.

Active Participatory Research

Because the aforementioned method encompasses the use of active participatory research, my personal experience working with Huerto de la Familia impacted and informed my research. After acquiring approval from Huerto de la Familia staff, I spent six weeks, during July, August, and September 2012, volunteering and meeting families
in the garden. I spent approximately forty hours at the three community garden sites: Churchill, Youth Farm, and Skinner City Farm. The purpose of doing this was to understand how families utilized the garden and to ensure the families were comfortable with my presence. Although I did help a few families weed their plots and was able to speak to the families about various aspects of their lives, as well as my life, I mainly helped Huerto de la Familia staff weed, till, and water garden plots. When working at the sites, I was primarily in contact with the garden manager and the volunteer coordinator. Nevertheless, if families were present at the garden, the garden manager would introduce me to them in order to begin dialogues. During this time, I became comfortable working at all three garden sites, and began understanding the inter-workings of the Organic Gardening program.

Active participatory research was also conducted through visiting government and non-profit food aid sites and grocery stores in Eugene and Springfield, Oregon. For this portion of research, I spent approximately twenty hours. To compare how the Huerto de la Familia runs its garden sites to other organizations, I spent four days working in community gardens in Eugene, Oregon and Oakland, California. In addition, to understand the process of obtaining food stamps, I researched how to apply for the Supplemental Nutritional Assistance Program and applied for food stamps through the Oregon Department of Human Services website: http://www.oregon.gov/dhs/assistance/pages/foodstamps. I then went to the Department of Human Services office to understand the process for obtaining food stamps. After attempting to acquire government aid, and being denied because I was a student, I looked to obtain non-profit food aid through the services of Food for Lane County. I
contacted Food for Lane County and asked where the closest food pantry was. I was
directed to the Food Pantry at a local church. At the food pantry, I showed proof of
residency and low income, and went through the pantry like anyone else asking for help.
I also visited various grocery stores in Eugene and Springfield, including Winco,
WalMart, Fred Meyer, Market of Choice, Safeway, Target, and 3 small independently
owned grocery stores. The point of the grocery store visits was to understand the
products the stores stocked, the prices of the prices, and the type of people who shopped
at the different shops.

Semi-Structured Interviews

The second phase of research consisted of conducting seven semi-structured
interviews\(^6\). These allowed me to gain a more accurate understanding of the issues of
food insecurity and poverty among Latinos in Eugene, Oregon. The first two interviews
were conducted with people in leadership roles—the Executive Director of Huerto de la
Familia and the Multi-Cultural Outreach Coordinator of Food for Lane County. The
interviews took place during the month of July 2012 and interviewees were selected
based on their involvement with the food aid organizations, the Latino community, and
their knowledge of food insecurity within the region. The next five interviews were
conducted with participants from Huerto de la Familia’s Organic Gardening program
and Small Farmer’s Project. Volunteers were recruited during the months of July and
August 2012 and came from two different sites: the Churchill Garden and the farm on
East Beacon Road in Eugene.

\(^6\) Interviews cited in this paper are part of the original research conducted for this
project. Interviews took place between 10 July and 1 September 2012. In order to
protect identities, all participants, besides the executive director of Huerto de la Familia,
were provided with pseudonyms.
Prior to the interview, each person was read an oral consent script, in English for the leadership interviews and in Spanish for the participant interviews, approved by the University of Oregon’s IRB (Appendices B, C). Written consent was not used because of variability in literacy rates and in order to maintain complete confidentiality. The two leadership interviews were conducted in English and the five participant interviews were conducted in Spanish. Although no information was collected that could jeopardize the participants’ personal safety, the anonymous format of the study was used to respect the privacy of the participants. Therefore, participants received pseudonyms, which is how they are referred to in this study.

**Leadership Interviews**

I conducted two leadership interviews that served to provide context regarding the problem of food insecurity in the region. The leadership interviews also shaped the direction of the participant interviews. The first interview was conducted with the Huerto de la Familia Executive Director, Sarah Cantril. The purpose of this interview was to determine the founder and director of the organization’s vision and what she saw as the most pressing and important issues. By interviewing the Executive Director first, I could structure the participant interview questions around themes that were important for understanding the role of Huerto de la Familia. The questions asked to the executive director were open-ended and provided space for follow-up questions (Appendix F). The questions were approved by the University of Oregon IRB and revolved around how and why the program started, how she feels it is benefiting the participants, and what the

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7 Sarah Cantril, Executive Director of Huerto de la Familia, is the founder of the organization. Providing her with a pseudonym did not seem appropriate as she is the only person who has held the title of Huerto de la Familia Executive Director. She expressed consent for the use of her name throughout this thesis.
program is doing to become more effective. The interview took place at her office and ran approximately forty-five minutes.

The second interview was with an employee of Food For Lane County and took place on 31 July 2012. The interview was conducted in the Food For Lane County office and took approximately fifty minutes. The purpose of this interview was to understand the overall issue of food insecurity in Lane County. In particular, I wanted to understand what Food For Lane County was doing to help Latino families become more food secure. The organization has only two requirements for people to acquire food: 1) provide proof of address in Lane County and 2) meet the eligibility guidelines provided by the USDA (Food For Lane County). Thus, it serves a much broader demographic than federal food aid. Because of its capacity, and partnership with other organizations in the area, it is a valuable resource for my study. The interview questions were approved by University of Oregon IRB and revolved around the themes of food insecurity and outreach in Lane County, Latino participation (or lack there of) in Food For Lane County programs, and the availability of culturally appropriate foods (Appendix G). In addition, this interview provided me with background knowledge of the issue of food insecurity in Lane County, and allowed me to finalize my interview questions for the Huerto de la Familia participants.

Participant Interviews

At the end of July 2012, I attended a general meeting at Churchill Garden to present my study to members of Huerto de la Familia. With the help of the garden manager, who promoted the importance of my study, five of the seven families who attended the meeting volunteered to participate. Saldivar-Tanaka and Krasny (2004) explain that
active participation of community members in participatory research is more likely to occur when the project is community initiated. Therefore, the fact that the project had the support of Huerto de la Familia staff and I am part of the broader Eugene community was critical to gaining willing participation. As the study examined aspects of the participants’ lives, I wanted to be sure to create positive relationships with the participants, which ensured that they felt relaxed when talking to me. Therefore, I disclosed all information about myself and the study that I believed would help the volunteer participants feel at ease. At this point, the five volunteer participants provided me with contact information, which would stay confidential, and selected convenient times and locations to meet and conduct the interviews.

Over the next three weeks, I met, individually, with members of the five families. The formal interviews ranged from 25-50 minutes in length and were conducted in Spanish. The interview format was chosen due to the low literacy rate of Latinos in the United States (National Assessment of Adult). It also allowed me to personally interact with the participants, which was valuable because I was able to more accurately comprehend their personal stories. All interviews took place at the Churchill Garden and were tape recorded with the individual’s consent. Interviews were then typically followed by one hour of helping the participant tend his/her garden with informal conversation. Interviews were divided into 2 sections: 1) personal histories and background information and 2) the USDA National Household Food Security survey (Appendices D, E).

The interview began by asking the participant about the food from Mexico he or she missed the most and his or her favorite dish to make with produce from his or her
The purpose of these preliminary questions was to put the participant at ease. According to Counihan (2009), “food provides a powerful voice and sparks meaningful memories” (7). It is associated with various aspects of peoples’ lives and can generate narratives of their pasts. Thus, my method emulated the polyphonic testimonio genre that allowed people from a specific community to tell stories “…involving a problem of repression, poverty, subalternity, exploitation, or simply survival” (Beverly 1993,73). I hoped that by associating an experience with food with the background questions, I would learn about the complex reality that each participant had faced. I wanted to ensure that the participants felt agency "which is critical to the concept of cultural citizenship [as] it reflects the active role of Latinos and other groups in reclaiming rights" (Flores and Benmayor 1997, 12). In addition, in order to contextualize the food experiences, I asked basic demographic information including where each person was from, how long they had been in the United States, occupation, income, amount of remittances sent back to Mexico, and family size (Appendices D, E).

The second part of the interview used the United States Department of Agriculture (USDA) Household Food Security Survey (Appendix D, E). The survey, which began in 1995, is part of the Current Population Survey and is sent out annually by the U.S. Census Bureau (Hampl 2002). Each year, 40,000 households provide information on food spending, food access and adequacy, and sources of food assistance for the U.S. population (Hampl 2002). The Spanish USDA Household Food Security Survey consists of 1 preliminary question and 15 questions regarding what the families’ situations with food are like (Appendix D, E). The questions are based on quantitative components of having enough food, qualitative components of having the right food,
and psychological elements of uncertainty due to privation or restricted selection of foods (Perez-Escamilla and Melgar-Quinonez 2011). Families were asked to respond to statements such as: “I (we) are worried that the food will run out before we have money to buy more. For (you/ your house) does this happen frequently, sometimes, or never in the last 12 months?” (Appendix D, E). The object of including this survey in my interview was to determine how families involved in Huerto de la Familia compare nationally to other families in terms of food security.

Food Purchasing and Eating Behavior Study

At the end of the interview, families were presented with a folder and two 24 exposure disposable cameras, which were tools for the third and fourth parts of the study. Families were asked to take photographs of their meals or anything they ate for one week (Appendix H). Typically, families ended up taking an average of 12 photographs and photographing 7 meals. Families were instructed to not take photographs of people. The use of the food photographs was meant to provide supplementary information to the interviews and economic study. I hoped that by having families take photographs of what they ate, I would be able to cross-reference their actual eating habits with their buying habits, and what they told me in the interviews. It was a way to check how healthy their meals were, how many vegetables they were eating, and how culturally appropriate their food was. Additionally, I could see how the fruits and vegetables that they grew in their gardens were used in cooking. Families were also asked to record the amount of money spent on food for one week (Appendix I). They did this by either writing down what they bought and the cost on a sheet provided or by collecting receipts. Because many families told me they go to
the grocery store every 8 days, the week was approximated. By having families record their spending, I was able to determine monthly spending and percent of income spent on food. Additionally, with families that provided their receipts, I could determine where they were shopping, if they were using food stamps, and the varieties of foods they purchased (Appendix J). The receipt collection was also supplementary to the interview. I wanted to see if what they grew in their gardens offset some of their grocery costs. Additionally, the use of an economic study was beneficial in determining how much the families spent per person per day and how that corresponded to the national average.

**Assumptions and Limitations to Study**

Within all research, there are certain assumptions and limitations that exist. The very nature of my research subject and methods present biases and restrictions that need to be addressed. Because I used active participatory research, my personal experience working with Huerto de la Familia impacted and informed my research. However, I attempted to understand the participants from their perspectives and avoid ethnocentric assumptions or value judgments. Due to the fact that I believe in the model and mission of Huerto de la Familia, I did have a personal bias in favor of the alternative food security model and hoped my research data would confirm my personal views. Additionally, by working with the organization’s staff, I created personal relationships that limited my ability to analyze the organization objectively.

My limitations are also apparent in my interactions with the study participants. Because I am a middle-class, European-American, I do not share the same experiences as the participants. Therefore, although I did make personal connections with the
families, and gained their trust, there were cultural barriers. The fact that the entire study was conducted in Spanish, which is not my first language, also proved to be a barrier. During the interviews, there were clear language barriers in being able to understand everything said. Nevertheless through extensive research of Latino culture, ten years of studying Spanish and working with Spanish-speakers, and support of Huerto de la Familia staff throughout the entire research period, I was able to significantly decrease the effect of this limitation. In addition, Irazabal and Punja (2009) suggest that multiclass and multiracial coalitions are critical for improving conditions for minority groups. The authors note, “by creating such coalitions, poor people of color may overcome the built-in biases of the constrictive socio-legal system and garner greater political support for their goals” (Irazabal and Punja 2009, 18). Therefore, the fact that I conducted this study as a person outside of the cultural group was also beneficial for providing the organization and its participants with a stronger platform.

The geographic specificity of this study provided both limitations and opportunities. Because this study was only conducted in Eugene, Oregon, the data provided is not going to be completely applicable to the rest of the country or world. However, it is relevant to the other 21 New Growth States, which have similar immigrant compositions as Oregon. Eugene is composed of only 7.8% Latinos, as opposed to the United States’ 16.7% Latinos, which makes it a very small portion of the population (Eugene Quickfacts; USA Quickfacts). In addition, most Latinos in Oregon are of Mexican decent and have different dietary and cultural customs than other Latinos from other countries. The study also is specific to those living in urban settings and in close proximity to grocery stores. However, the location with its small, yet growing
Latino population also provides an example of how community organizations have the potential to implement programs centered around minority populations to improve integration into an area. In addition, because of Oregon’s high rate of food insecurity, especially within the Latino community, demonstrating the success of Huerto de la Familia would signify how effective alternative food aid programs are in alleviating hunger.

In addition, the seasonality of when I conducted the study influenced my findings. Because my work in the garden and with participant families took place between July and September, I was exposed to the garden at the time of peak harvest season. Therefore, most families involved in the Organic Gardening program had ample vegetables growing. I believe that if I conducted the research in the winter, my experience in the garden would have been different. I tried to mitigate this limitation by asking families about their eating and purchasing behaviors for the entire year. For instance, the questions regarding food security asked families to respond to questions based on their experiences in the last 12 months.

As this was a pilot study, I wanted to be able to provide Huerto de la Familia in-depth analysis of specific aspects of the organization, thereby, determining what aspects of the organization need to be assessed further. Because of restrictions of time, I was unable to interview all 70 families participating in Huerto de la Familia. In addition, Huerto de la Familia has a micro-enterprise project, which I felt was outside the scope of this study due to the fact that it is not specifically directed towards improving food security. Thus, my study focused on a small sample size but gathered extensive information regarding how involvement in Huerto de la Familia’s Organic Gardening
program impacted the health and well-being of participating families. Although I visited all three community garden sites (Churchill Community Garden, Skinner City Farm in Eugene, and Youth Farm in Springfield) and the Small Farmers’ Project farm, I primarily focused on families working in the Churchill Garden and one family participating in the Small Farmers’ Project. By doing so, I could control certain factors including what part of town participants lived in, proximity to grocery stores, meeting location, and garden environment. However, certain variables such as how long participants have lived in the United States, family size, whether they are undocumented or documented, education, occupation, and income could not be controlled. Because I wanted to ensure the safety and protection of individuals’ identities, all data collected are anonymous. I also avoided questions regarding documented and undocumented status.

Although I wanted to analyze how Huerto de la Familia impacts the family unit and would have liked to interview both parents in the families, one parent in each family provided most of my data. Similarly, not all members of the families participated in the economic study and photo journal. The fact that it was primarily the women who participated has to due with gender roles and who does most of the jobs related to food shopping and preparation.

In addition, before I began the study, Huerto de la Familia staff informed me that collecting data from families, in their experience, was difficult. Because all participants were volunteers, I could not control how much of the study they completed. Nevertheless all five families participated in the interviews and the photograph portions of the project. I was unable to control how many photographs families took or how
many meals were depicted. Yet, I accounted for this prior to beginning the project and thus, all supplemental data is still beneficial. As for the economic study, only 1 family of the 5 did not agree to participate. However, because all four families interviewed from the Churchill Garden did participate, data still demonstrates how being involved in the Organic Gardening program impacts the families. I would have liked to collected data regarding buying habits of the family involved in the Small Farmers’ Project, yet, the interview still provides enough data to understand the effect of the farm project on the families involved.
CHAPTER V

PRESENTATION OF DATA AND ANALYSIS

Since the inception of Huerto de la Familia in 1999, the Organic Gardening program has become a vital resource for Latino immigrant families living in Eugene and Springfield. Over the past fourteen years, Huerto de la Familia has expanded its community outreach and urban agriculture programs in order to increase efficiency and community involvement. The garden program began with one plot and 6 women and it now hosts 4 separate garden sites, over 100 plots, and over 70 families. According to (Been and Voicu 2006), community gardens “provide stabilization for neighborhoods, are cheap alternatives to city parks, create venues for community organizing and networking, supply fresh food in areas that lack proper access to grocery stores, and offer opportunities for exercise and therapy for residents” (3). The founder of Huerto de la Familia believed in creating a program that integrated education, sustainable agriculture and community development.

Below, I address the implications of the data collected at Huerto de la Familia’s Churchill Garden, Youth Farm, Skinner City Farm and Small Farmer’s Project. I first address the demographics of the people drawn to participate in the Organic Gardening program. Next, I turn to obstacles to community integration and health including the language barrier and inability to access healthcare. I then analyze their participation in terms of civic agriculture, including food security, access to healthy foods, economic impact, and cultural relationship to food. This is followed by an examination of the community development components of the program. Finally I address how involvement in Huerto de la Familia leads to individual empowerment and community
integration.

Participant Demographics

As this is a pilot study, I wanted to provide in-depth information regarding a select number of individuals, as opposed to a broad overview. Therefore, my focus was on a small sample of participants in the program. However, even though the sample size was small, I believe it accurately represents the participants of Huerto de la Familia. Although some may argue that those who volunteered to participate in my study are more bicultural and economically stable, I believe that most participants agreed to partake in the study in order to gain agency in the community and to have their voices heard.

In Huerto de la Familia, the average income for families was between $18,672 to $23,052 annually. For participants in my study, the average income (based on 4 respondents) was $27,000 to $28,500, with the lowest being less than $15,000 per year and the highest being more than $36,000 per year (Table 1). The income of families involved in Huerto de la Familia is significantly lower than the median income of Latinos in Oregon, which was $37,300 in 2008 (Oregon Commission). It should also be noted that two families sent remittances back to family in Mexico. Jorge’s family sent US$ 100-200 monthly and Ana’s family sent US$ 600 monthly. This accounts for, respectively, approximately 5% and 20% of Jorge’s and Ana’s monthly incomes.

Additionally the average family in Huerto de la Familia is composed of 1 adult male, 1 adult female and 2 children. For the present study, the average family size was the same.

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8 Data collected from Huerto de la Familia intake survey.

9 One family was unable to provide average income because it was dependent on his farm’s harvest and he was not sure what it was going to be this year.
Because the location of Huerto de la Familia is in an urban setting, the majority of participants are employed in construction-related or factory-related jobs. As opposed to the historical trend of Latinos in Oregon working in agriculture, the majority of Latinos currently work in construction or production related jobs (Williams 2011). The transition to industrial jobs denotes that many Latino families are moving within the urban growth boundaries of metropolitan areas. The move to urban settings also emphasizes the need for better integration methods that do not marginalize the population.
Language Barrier

At the volunteer party, held on the 7 August 2012, I began the evening by helping Joanna, the garden manager, weed a plot for a family. Soon an older man showed up to tend to his plot. Joanna introduced me to the man and I asked him if I could help him weed. He handed me a shovel and I went to work. We talked about a wide array of topics. He told me that he worked at a vineyard and also had his own farm out of town. I asked him if his children ever helped him with his farm and his garden plots and he replied that they were not interested. His children were in high school and college and did not understand the value of the garden. What struck me as noteworthy were the differences in priorities and interests across generations. Many families I spoke with commented on wanting to involve their children in gardening. However, it was only young children that tended to visit the garden. The oldest boy I met was thirteen and the majority was under the age of eight. The lack of teenagers at the garden is based on how teenagers integrate into United States’ culture. The thirteen-year-old boy I met was from a very close-knit family where the parents were monolingual and maintained many traditional practices. The children primarily spoke Spanish, which denoted similarities in how the two generations interacted with United States culture. Their experience is defined by consonant acculturation, which is when parents and children acculturate at the same rate and, therefore, maintain healthy relationships (Gonzales-Berry and Mendoza 2008).

In contrast, many of the adults with older children were more bi-cultural and spoke some English. Because the majority of these families have lived in the United States longer, they are often more acculturated. In addition, depending on where each
person works, lives, or whom he or she networks with, each person will experience different stressors or advantages that can make living in the United States harder or easier (Gonzales-Berry and Mendoza 2008). Teenaged youth may want to ‘fit in’ better and ignore their traditional cultural practices. This is often the case in families that experience dissonant acculturation, which is when the children acculturate faster than the parents (Gonzalez-Berry and Mendoza 2008). Similarly, the identities of youth tend to belong to the host country rather than the parents’ countries of origin, which creates a disconnect between parent and child (Gonzalez-Berry and Mendoza 2008). However, for the most part, it appeared that Huerto de la Familia helped to mitigate some of the negative aspects of acculturation, especially for families with younger children. By bringing their children to the garden, parents are able to share traditional cultural practices and spend quality time with their children.

Because the majority of those interviewed are primarily Spanish speakers, which is comparable to Huerto de la Familia as a whole, integration methods need to be used that account for cultural differences. For example, resources need to be available to overcome the language barrier. Many families indicated to me that they would like to learn English, but they did not know where classes were held or did not have time to attend. One interviewee told me that the reason he learned English was so he could buy food. He told me that he went to Burger King and asked for a “number five” (he knew numbers) but when they asked him if he wanted cheese on that (which he could not understand), he panicked and ran out the door. However, there are many adults who have been in the country for more than ten years that still do not speak English. According to the Pew Hispanic Center, the language barrier can be overcome, and
language efficiency increases with every subsequent generation (Taylor et al. 2012). The issue with this is that it is important for the adults to learn English and for institutions to provide greater language access, otherwise, parents may be forced to rely on their children to be translators. A study by Martinez et al. (2009) indicated that using children as translators decreases family ties, increases stress, and results in parent-child conflict.

The language barrier, along with other forms of racial discrimination and stresses, including financial hardship, are potential stressors for declining health. According to McClure et al. (2010), the stress response is an automatic physiological defense against an acute threat. The language barrier is a form of chronic stress that leads to negative health outcomes. Chronic stress can lead to allostatic load, which is the price the body pays over long periods of time for adapting to challenges (McEwen 1998).

**Healthcare**

Although my research was not specifically focused on healthcare, it is impossible to examine food security and nutrition without understanding the correlations to healthcare. Broader social changes, including the access to healthy foods and increased community participation, improve health. Huerto de la Familia is an intervention strategy that helps to alleviate the structural disparity caused by Untied States society, which inherently discriminates against Latino immigrants. Therefore, there is a direct relationship between social justice and healthcare. The definition of health is described in the Declaration of the Alma-Ata established by the World Health Organization in 1978:

Health, which is a state of complete physical, mental and social wellbeing, and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity, is a fundamental
human right and that the attainment of the highest possible level of health is a most important world-wide social goal whose realization requires the action of many other social and economic sectors in addition to the health sector.

According to the World Health Organization’s definition of health, Huerto de la Familia, by alleviating food insecurity and providing a safe and nurturing space for Latino immigrant families, is responsible for improving the “physical, mental and social wellbeing” of its participants (Declaration of the Alma-Ata). Research by Sir Michael Marmot (2006) indicates that social position is directly associated with disease and health. Huerto de la Familia acknowledges that there are numerous social determinants of health that need to be taken into consideration, including race, ethnicity, income-level, and gender. Providing alternative approaches to dealing with disparities can greatly improve quality of life.

The phrase “Latino Epidemiological Paradox” explains how even with low socioeconomic status, Latino immigrants have better health and lower rates of disease than other demographics of similar socio-economic status (Hayes-Bautista et al. 2002; Montes de Oca 2011). The better health of Latino immigrants holds true only for the first generation that lives in the United States (Adelman et al. 2008). However, for every five years that immigrants stay in the United States, they are one and half times more likely to develop high blood pressure, obesity, and diabetes (Adelman et al. 2008). Yet, given their socioeconomic status, Latino health outcomes are better than would be expected. Of the people interviewed in this study, the average time in the United States is 9.8 years with a maximum of 13 years and a minimum of 6 years (Table 1). The oldest participant, a 63-year-old man, first traveled to the United States alone, which Dr. Lisa
Berkman, from Harvard School of Public Health, indicates causes more stress than traveling with the family (Adelman et al. 2008).

Raul:

Before I was by myself. I was about 3 and a half years here by myself. And then I brought my daughter, and then another one, and then my wife. They finished studying and then have been here. I have 2 daughters here and 1 son and the others went back to Mexico to study. It [life in the U.S.] has gone well for us, thanks to God, everyone is doing well.

Although Raul originally moved without his family, his family’s ability to join him in Oregon was beneficial to his health. The longer Latino immigrants live in the United States, the more discrimination they experience and the more the hopefulness they arrive with is lost (Adelman et al. 2008). Therefore, based on the number of years they have lived in the United States, the people I interviewed may be experiencing a decline in health due to the fact they are becoming “more American” and experiencing increased stress, as a result of life in the United States (Table 2) (Adelman et al 2008). Nevertheless, having family around does help diminish the effects of discrimination so the fact that all interviewed participants have family in the United States is important for maintaining their mental and physical health.

**Huerto de la Familia’s Participant Access to Healthcare**

Although the Organic Gardening program is a direct example of an alternative approach aimed at improving health, Huerto de la Familia also recognizes that access to professional medical care is important for its participating families. Huerto de la Familia works with other non-profit organizations, including Oregon States University extension and Volunteers in Medicine, to hold classes around issues of nutrition and diet related diseases. In addition Huerto de la Familia has begun to hold an annual clinic for its
participants. Although the annual clinic is still a new service and has only been held for the last two years, the large attendance demonstrates its need. At the first clinic, there were volunteers from Volunteers in Medicine, a pre-med student, and a doctor. The clinic was scheduled to last from 9 am to 12 pm. However, forty-two people showed up for testing, which the volunteers were not prepared for. The clinic had to be extended for another three hours to accommodate all the people who attended. According to the Department of Minority Health, in 2011, only 31.1% of Latinos under 65 years old living in the United States had health insurance. For Mexican-Americans, only 33% of those under 65 years old had health insurance (Faststats). Therefore, the families may not typically receive basic healthcare.

Michael Marmot (2006) emphasizes that environment is directly correlated to disease patterns. Thus, because when living in the U.S. Latinos are exposed to increased stresses and unhealthy eating habits, the types of diseases contracted are similar to those of other Americans and are primarily life-style related (Table 2). Considering that 10% of all Latinos in the U.S. have diabetes, 20% have high cholesterol, and 40% have high blood pressure, the lack of health care can have detrimental effects for the Latino population (Blebea 2009; McClure et al. 2010). According to McClure and colleagues (2010), increased blood pressure in Latino males is a direct result of diet and stress. Jorge, who is the father from Family #1, understands the role of stress in health.

Jorge:

I have high blood pressure because of the stress with school and the problems at home.

At the time of the interview, Jorge was going through a divorce and attempting to earn an associates degree. Because of this, he was experiencing excessive stress, which he
attributes to his declining health. In addition, his family, which is the most acculturated of all families interviewed, has the highest prevalence of diet related diseases (Table 2).

Table 2: Prevalence of disease within the immediate family for the five participating families

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Family</th>
<th>Jorge</th>
<th>Ana</th>
<th>Cecelia</th>
<th>Lupe</th>
<th>Raul</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Diabetes</td>
<td>2 Grandparents and Mother</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Mother</td>
<td>Father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High Cholesterol</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Mother</td>
<td>Husband</td>
<td>Grandfather and Father</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High Blood Pressure</td>
<td>Father</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Semi-structured formal interviews conducted with members of Huerto de la Familia. Summer 2012.

The prevalence of obesity within the Latino population is also directly related to the amount of time in the United States. The high rate of obesity, along with the frequency of other life-style related diseases, demonstrates the negative impact inequality has on Latino immigrants (McClure et al. 2010). Of the five families interviewed, three families contained people with diabetes, three families contained people with high cholesterol, and one family contained a person with high blood pressure (Table 2). It is possible that some of the families have access to medical care, or utilized Huerto de la Familia’s annual health clinic, and could have recently been updated on their health statuses. However, it must be noted that I am relying on personal accounts and not medical information. Blaxter (2004), a social scientist states, “What people say . . . and what they do may be different things. It is generally accepted that attitudes and beliefs, though they may have associations with actions, are rather poor predictors of them” (71). Therefore, there is potential for medical conditions to be
overlooked and/or unaccounted for if participants and their families had not visited a medical facility recently.

**Civic Agriculture**

Researchers have identified three key components regarding the benefits of community gardens. According to Saldivar-Tanaka and Krasny (2003), community gardens are beneficial from the perspectives of community development, open space, and civic agriculture. Community development indicates community members finding ways to improve social, economic, cultural, or environmental conditions (Saldivar-Tanaka and Krasny 2003). It also relates to having a sense of community and belonging. Open space is essentially having access to parks, gardens, or recreational spaces, also providing ecological and aesthetic functions, within an urban setting (Saldivar-Tanaka and Krasny 2003). Finally, civic agriculture’s primary purpose is to provide healthy and fresh food to low-income or underserved communities (Sustainable Food Center 1996; Lyson and Raymer 2000; Huerto de la Familia 2012).

**Food Justice**

There is currently a worldwide movement advocating for food justice. Food justice aims to ensure that everyone can benefit from all aspects of food production including growing, harvesting, transportation, production, and consumption. It can be ultimately thought of as bottom-up and interpersonal effort for change of the food system (What is Food Justice). A major component of food justice is civic agriculture. According to Lyson (2004), “civic agriculture brings together production and consumption activities within communities and offers consumers real alternatives to the commodities produced, processed, and marketed by large agribusiness firms” (101). By
providing an alternative to mainstream supermarkets and governmental food aid, Huerto de la Familia brings healthy food within reach of Eugene and Springfield, Oregon’s food insecure Latino population.

According to Huerto de la Familia Executive Director, Sarah Cantril, her original reason for creating the Organic Gardening program was to promote social justice. In the United States, 13% of the workforce is Latino and the majority of Latinos work in low-wage industrial, sales, or agricultural related jobs (The Emerging Hispanic Workforce). Yet, as Cantril argues:

We all [Americans] benefit so much from that labor…. And these [Latinos] are people who are the most food insecure.

Considering in 2007, 20% of food system and agricultural employees and 40% of farm employees were Latino, there is a large discrepancy between who is producing the food and who is consuming the food (The Emerging Hispanic Workforce). The unequal access to food that is inherent in the United State’s food system is something that food justice attempts to address in a healthy and sustainable way.

For many Latino immigrants, growing food is an important part of their culture. Adults told me that in Mexico, their parents had gardens and farms. Jorge remarked that growing his own food has always been a part of him. For immigrants, civic agriculture provides families with ways to be self-sufficient. According to a Food for Lane County representative, self-sufficiency is:

A trait [of] immigrants in general, not just Latinos. [Latinos] are trying to be as self-sufficient as possible and manage and progress as much as possible without help.

Self-sufficiency is described as a cultural trait due to the fact that Latino immigrants do not want to be seen as trying to take advantage of United States’ services.
In July, I began visiting the Churchill and Youth Farm gardens with Joanna, the garden manager. The garden manager is in charge of everything that occurs at the four garden sites. As part of her job, she prepares vacant plots, makes vegetable starters for families to use, waters, weeds, and oversees the general maintenance of the gardens. The volunteer coordinator and various other volunteers who come from the community, including University of Oregon students, often help Joanna maintain the garden plots. However, families are primarily responsible for the condition of their individual plots. If families will be gone for extended periods of time, or unable to tend their garden for a few weeks, Joanna and volunteers will care for the plots.

Every other Tuesday during the summer, Churchill garden held a volunteer party night and every other Thursday, Youth Farm held its volunteer party night. The volunteer parties ran about two hours in length and activities varied depending on what needed to be done. During this time, Joanna, the volunteer coordinator, and I would weed, water, and till different garden plots. As the plots are small, most of the work was done with shovels and hoes, although a handheld weed-whacker was necessary for some of the more overgrown plots. The spaces, shared with Food for Lane County, also had their own compost piles, tool sheds, and greenhouses. Over the next month and a half, I would show up to the weekly meetings and help maintain the garden spaces. I would also help in prepping starters of kale, lettuce, carrots, and various other winter vegetables that would later be available to families. If families were present, Joanna would introduce me to them and I would often spend an hour talking with the family and helping them weed.
Although Huerto de la Familia provides resources, including land and tools, for growing food, it is up to the families to make sure they produce crops. Jorge explained the importance of civic agriculture for ensuring everyone has access to healthy food.

Jorge:

I think what needs to be done is to make more small gardens to have a secure future. If we ignore it, or stop doing this type of thing [farming], this is going to be our failure. But when you can’t find seeds anymore, when you have to buy them from somebody that has already destroyed the genetic part of the plant, that won’t produce, it’s going to be a lot more difficult. But while we still can cultivate our own plants, we’re going to be good.

There are many benefits to having more people involved in food production, including physical, mental, and economical. It is a sustainable method that ensures access to food and physical well-being. Lyson (2004) states that agricultural literacy and the understanding of how food is produced is important for creating a more just and sustainable food system. Lyson (2004) emphasizes, “through active engagement in the food system, civic agriculture has the potential to transform individuals from passive consumers into active food citizens” (77). He describes a food citizen as “someone who has not only a stake but also a voice in how and where his or her food is produced, processed, and sold” (Lyson 2004, 77). Therefore, I argue that Huerto de la Familia is creating food citizens by providing families control over food production. Immigrant families, who are discriminated against by U.S. society, are able to take control over a portion of their life, which leads to increased physical and emotional health.
Food Security

Throughout the study, it was clear that the need to be more food secure influenced many of the families to participate in Huerto de la Familia. One woman, Ana, when asked why she decided to participate in Huerto de la Familia, her response was simple and direct.

Ana:

I joined [Huerto de la Familia] to be able to eat.

Because of their low socioeconomic statuses, I assert that many Latino families do not have the option to be self-sufficient because they do not have access to a garden and cannot afford fresh, organic fruits and vegetables. According to an employee at Food for Lane County, Latino immigrants want the option to be self-sufficient and work hard to provide for their families.

Food for Lane County Representative:

There’s a concept called ‘siempre aprovechan’. They don’t want to be seen as someone taking advantage of the system. When immigrants come to this country, you know the majority of them want to prosper... But at the same time, they don’t want to be seen like they’re working the system in any way, or taking advantage of it.

Even with the desire to be self-sufficient, resources need to be made available to help Latino families who are affected by poverty and inequality. As previously stated, 64% of families in Huerto de la Familia indicated that they are food insecure (Appendix A). Therefore, even with the increased access to fruits and vegetables gained from participating in Huerto de la Familia’s Organic Gardening program, food insecurity for Latino families in Oregon is a structural problem based on inequality, discrimination, and the inability to access resources.
During the semi-structured interviews, families were asked to answer questions from the USDA Household Food Security Survey. Of the five families interviewed, three families displayed food insecurity, with one of those families demonstrating hunger within the last year (Table 3). When asked if they “worried whether our food would run out before we got money to buy more”, all five families indicated yes (Table 3). However, Raul’s family and Ana’s family scored a 1 on the survey, indicating that they are food secure. It must be noted that there are inherent biases with this type of survey. Because I was asking families personal information, there is the possibility that families did not answer all questions accurately, especially pertaining to being able to feed their children. I do feel however, that children were the least affected by food insecurity because of the tendency for parents to ration to the children first and because many children were able to obtain food through the Food for Lane County School Lunch Program. I suggest that Raul was the least open in his responses. As an older Latino male, admitting to not being able to provide for his family could be seen as admitting failure. Because his income was dependent on the crop and not consistent, I would suggest that his family is the most likely to suffer food insecurity. However, Raul also has three grown children who could be helping to provide for him and his wife.

*Participation in Governmental and Non-Profit Food Aid Programs*

Although there are public agencies and private organizations available in Eugene that can help food insecure families, the families I interviewed did not utilize all of the programs. In fact, the program used most commonly by families was the School Lunch Program, which provides the children with free food at school (Table 4). The fact that three families used the School Lunch Program demonstrates parents are concerned with
ensuring their children have enough to eat. The three families that had children in the
School Lunch Program are also the three families that were identified as food insecure
based on the USDA Household Food Security survey (Table 3). According to a
representative for Food for Lane County, many of the Latino immigrant families that are
moving to Oregon are young and have elementary school aged children.

Food for Lane County Representative:

The age for Latinos [in immigrant families] in Lane County is actually pretty young. A mom and dad that are mid-thirties have children that are elementary to middle school age. So I would say a lot of them are connected with some sort of services that are helping them and helping their family.

Three families, all that appeared to be food insecure, used a food aid program besides Huerto de la Familia. Cecelia’s family and Jorge’s family participated in government food stamp programs. Cecelia, who had an infant child, used WIC and Jorge used SNAP. Lupe stated her family used Food for Lane County’s emergency food pantries. However, the food pantries can only be used once per month and only provide a 3-5 day ration of food. According to one participant, Jorge, the severity of hunger in his family would affect his children, which demonstrates how relying on emergency food aid is not sustainable for a family.

Jorge:

It wasn’t that we didn’t eat enough food, but there were times, that we had to wait a certain amount of days to be able to get the food stamps to be able to buy enough, because we were always rationing. So we would always ration out to the kids.

Sarah Cantril, the Executive Director of Huerto de la Familia, emphasized how difficult it was for Latino families to have healthy diets when they were relying on staple foods and rationing to make it through the end of the month.
Sarah:

I knew that they weren’t accessing food stamps necessarily and I knew at the time that they were not accessing the food bank, although that is changing some because of the work the food bank is doing now.

Although one family did indicate that they utilize Food for Lane County when food is low, reliance on emergency food aid is not sustainable or healthy. As part of my research, I visited a Food for Lane County pantry site, in order to gain a better perspective of how a food pantry works. The pantry I visited was housed in a church and dedicated to helping people living in West Eugene. During my visit to the pantry, I noticed two white females and one white male acquiring food from the pantry. According to a Food for Lane County representative, the majority of people using their services are white while only 9% are Latino. As I walked through the pantry and was provided with food, I was cognizant of the foods available and the attitudes of those working in the pantry. The Food for Lane County representative who I interviewed articulated how the pantries were trying to provide “food with dignity”.

Food for Lane County Representative:

[We aim to] provide food with dignity to people. To do that is to not pick food for them or tell them what to do—I mean education is still big but it’s not choosing the food for them. It’s asking them to take ownership of the food that they would use.

However when I was at the pantry, I did not feel dignified. Rather, I felt a sense of shame for using the service and a feeling of judgment from the volunteers there. The workers were friendly, yet asking for help with food made me feel uncomfortable. The employees told me what to do and what I could take. I had to follow a line of food distribution and I was chastised for not bagging my food as I went.
Table 3: USDA Spanish Household Food Security Survey demonstrating food security among the five interviewed families

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Jorge’s Family</th>
<th>Ana’s Family</th>
<th>Cecelia’s Family</th>
<th>Lupe’s Family</th>
<th>Raul’s Family</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HH2 I/We) worried whether (my/our) food would run out before (I/we) get money to buy more</td>
<td>Frequently*</td>
<td>Sometimes*</td>
<td>Sometimes*</td>
<td>Frequently*</td>
<td>Frequently*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HH3. “The food that (I/we) bought just didn’t last, and (I/we) didn’t have money to get more.” Was that often, sometimes, or never true for (you/your household) in the last 12 months?</td>
<td>Sometimes*</td>
<td>Never</td>
<td>Sometimes*</td>
<td>Sometimes*</td>
<td>Never</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HH4. “(I/we) couldn’t afford to eat balanced meals.” Was that often, sometimes, or never true for (you/your household) in the last 12 months?</td>
<td>Sometimes*</td>
<td>Never</td>
<td>Sometimes*</td>
<td>Sometimes*</td>
<td>Never</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CH1 “(I/we) relied on only a few kinds of low-cost food to feed (my/our) child/the children) because (I was/we were) running out of money to buy food.”</td>
<td>Frequently*</td>
<td>Never</td>
<td>Don’t know or Refused</td>
<td>Sometimes*</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CH2. “(I/We) couldn’t feed (my/our) child/the children) a balanced meal, because (I/we) couldn’t afford that.”</td>
<td>Sometimes*</td>
<td>Never</td>
<td>Sometimes*</td>
<td>Sometimes*</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CH3. “(My/Our child was/The children were) not eating enough because (I/we) just couldn’t afford enough food.”</td>
<td>Never</td>
<td>Never</td>
<td>Sometimes*</td>
<td>Sometimes*</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AD1. In the last 12 months, since last July, did (you/you or other adults in your household) ever cut the size of your meals or skip meals because there wasn’t enough money for food?</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes*</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AD2: In the last 12 months, did (you/other adult in your household) eat less than you thought you should because you didn’t have enough money to buy food?</td>
<td>Yes*</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question</td>
<td>Jorge’s Family</td>
<td>Ana’s Family</td>
<td>Cecelia’s Family</td>
<td>Lupe’s Family</td>
<td>Raul’s Family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AD3. In the last 12 months, were you ever hungry but didn’t eat because there wasn’t enough money for food?</td>
<td>Yes*</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes*</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AD4. In the last 12 months, did you lose weight because there wasn’t enough money for food?</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AD5. In the last 12 months, did (you/you or other adults in your household) ever not eat for a whole day because there wasn’t enough money for food?</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CH4. In the last 12 months, since July of last year, did you ever cut the size of (your child’s/any of the children’s) meals because there wasn’t enough money for food?</td>
<td>Yes*</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes (once)*</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CH5. In the last 12 months, did (CHILD’S NAME/any of the children) ever skip meals because there wasn’t enough money for food?</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CH6. In the last 12 months, was (CHILD’S NAME/any of the children) ever hungry but didn’t eat because you didn’t have enough money to buy more food?</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CH7. In the last 12 months, did any of your children not eat for a whole day because you didn’t have enough money to buy food?</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food Insecurity (10 being the most food insecure)</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Denotes a food insecure answer

Source: USDA Household Food Security Survey used in interviews. Summer 2012
Table 4: Participation of five interviewed families in governmental and non-profit food aid programs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Family</th>
<th>Jorge</th>
<th>Ana</th>
<th>Cecelia</th>
<th>Lupe</th>
<th>Raul</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Food Security</strong></td>
<td>Hungry (very food insecure)</td>
<td>Food Secure</td>
<td>Food Insecure</td>
<td>Food Insecure</td>
<td>Food Secure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Participates in WIC</strong></td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Doesn’t know where to</td>
<td>Yes, currently</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Participates in SNAP</strong></td>
<td>With in the last year</td>
<td>Doesn’t know where to</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Food for Lane County</strong></td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>When necessary</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Children Use School Lunch Program</strong></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Semi-structured formal interviews with five Huerto de la Familia families.

In addition, it is difficult to find healthy and culturally appropriate foods in the pantry. The majority of the pantry consisted of staple, dried goods (pasta, rice, oatmeal, beans) and canned or frozen goods (canned corn or peas, canned fruit, frozen-expired yogurt, frozen processed food). The only fresh produce available was a head of lettuce and a bag of spinach. In contrast, there was a surplus of Oreo cookies, cakes, and expired breads available. The fact that I visited the pantry in January could account for the lack of available produce as Food for Lane County does have its own gardens, which provide substantial produce in the summer. Although they did not explicitly tell me what I could or could not take, there were limits and basic requirements, such only being able to take one item from a certain category. Therefore, if a family wanted more healthy foods, it would not be able to acquire them because of limitations on what they were allowed to take.
Healthy Foods

In September, Huerto de la Familia put on a potluck for all the families involved in the organization. Approximately thirty adults and children showed up for the event and each family brought a dish to share. Dishes ranged from catered tacos to couscous salad, and chocolate zucchini cake to Little Caesar’s Pizza. As soon as the family showed up with the Little Caesar’s Pizza, the children immediately grabbed slices. Although Huerto de la Familia is focused on increasing access to healthy foods, the Executive Director of Huerto de la Familia understands that participating in the Organic Gardening program will not completely change eating patterns.

Sarah:

We’ll have potlucks at the garden and people will bring healthy meals but they’ll also bring sodas. So I don’t know if we’ve really changed peoples’ eating habits. I think we’re adding… with them growing their own food, they are adding more fruits and vegetables to their diet because it’s affordable but they’re still eating at McDonald’s.

During the interviews, I asked families if they purchased fast food. Families said they typically do not eat fast food more than once or twice a month. Jorge, the most acculturated man I interviewed, was the person who ate the most fast food.

Jorge:

When we go to buy fast food, we pretty much always go to Taco Bell or Burger King because they’re close to our house.

Therefore, not only does proximity play an important role in purchasing food, but also acculturation and the shift to more American lifestyle are significant factors. Although Jorge admitted that he knew eating fast food was not healthy, he said he did not have time for much else.
Even though families still do eat junk foods, Sarah Cantril does assert that participation in the Organic Gardening program does provide increased access to healthy foods and, therefore, an increase in consumption of fruits and vegetables. Although unhealthy food was brought to the potluck, many families did provide fruits and vegetables and homemade nutritious foods, such as ceviche. Lindsay and colleagues (2009) explains how Latino culture is dependent on community and it influences the ability to prepare healthy meals. In addition, the fact that they are participating in the Organic Gardening program demonstrates the participants’ desires to eat healthy. The Executive Director of Huerto de la Familia argues that growing their own food is better than receiving food stamps or emergency food aid, in terms of eating healthy foods.

Sarah:

Even if they have food stamps, doesn’t mean they’re necessarily making healthy choices about what they’re buying. Where as this [Huerto de la Familia] is a no-brainer. Of course you can’t grow something that’s not healthy. I mean it definitely gives people more control over their lives by being able to grow food for themselves, and getting that knowledge and passing it on, and I think it’s better than getting a food box once a month.

The use of the Organic Gardening program expands the access families have to healthy food. A study by Bell and Burlin (1993) indicates that neighborhoods with predominately low-income, minority or immigrant residents have fewer supermarkets per capita than those neighborhoods with more affluent residents. In examining Eugene and the population of interest, it is at least five miles to the most visited supermarket, Winco, from where the majority of participants live. In contrast, it is less than one mile to the Churchill garden where the families have their plots. The lack of logistical access to healthy food in these poor neighborhoods has prompted some to call them “food deserts” (Examining the Impact 2006). Because the quality of products is drastically
lower in poor neighborhoods, minority families are forced to travel further to buy healthy foods (Bell and Burlin 1993). Therefore, it is not just an issue of proximity, but also of access to culturally appropriate foods, affordable foods, and healthy foods. In addition, the quality of produce at large-scale warehouse style grocery stores is significantly lower than the quality of produce at health stores. For example, when I visited Winco, produce, although inexpensive, was shipped in from Mexico and looked less fresh than produce at the local, independent grocery stores. In addition, up until recently, most of the larger warehouse stores did not carry organic foods. I was informed by one participant, Cecilia, that she valued eating organic foods but could not afford to buy them.

In regards to access to healthy foods, it is interesting to note that grocery stores in Eugene seem to be highly segregated regarding the ethnicity of shoppers in the stores. The participants in my study, all Latino, primarily shopped at Winco, Wal-Mart, or Fred Meyer (Table 5). The three stores are bargain stores. Winco and Wal-Mart do not have large selections of organic foods. Wal-Mart does not have as many culturally appropriate foods and has more processed foods than fresh foods. In Eugene, it is rare to see minority populations, including Latino families, shopping in “health” food stores, such as Market of Choice and the small locally owned grocery stores. The fact that these families primarily shop in Winco and Wal-Mart is based on two rationales: cost of foods and proximity to stores. The families indicated that they live on the outskirts of town, in West Eugene, where rent is cheaper. Therefore, the closest stores, Fred Meyer and Wal-Mart, are big chains that have cheap food and cater to low-income residents. In
comparison, the cost of food in health food stores, due to the quality of the food and the smaller business scale, is often more expensive.

The most common way to measure the cost of food is based on examining the price per calorie (Carlson and Frazao 2012). By this measurement, energy dense but nutritionally empty junk food is cheaper per calorie than nutritionally beneficial products. According to the USDA, healthy foods “contain an amount of a food in at least one of the major food groups (vegetables, fruits, grains, dairy, and protein foods) equal to at least half the portion size…” (Carlson and Frazao 2012, 30). I argue that this definition should also include an examination of the amount of trans and saturated fats, sugars, cholesterol, and sodium also in the foods. For example, packaged crackers can have a serving of grains, but the amount of fats and sugars can offset the nutritional benefits of the grains. Therefore, the inexpensive snack food is “‘expensive’ for the consumer from a nutritional economy perspective, whereas a food with a higher retail price that provides large amounts of nutrients may actually be quite cheap” (Carlson and Frazao 2012, 30). When asked what foods they considered healthy, families repeatedly told me that fruit and vegetables were healthy and fast food was not. Ana also mentioned culturally appropriate foods as being healthy.

Ana:

Pozole…and vegetables I think are healthy. Of course, I don’t buy much meat here. We eat it, but not much.

It is interesting to note that the families who maintained similar diet practices to those they had in Mexico do not eat a lot of meat. For them, meat is supplemental to a meal and not the main course.
Table 5: Amount of money each family spent at a given grocery store in a week

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Family</th>
<th>Winco ($)</th>
<th>Fred Meyer ($)</th>
<th>Plaza Latina ($)</th>
<th>WalMart ($)</th>
<th>Convenience Store ($)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jorge</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>89.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ana</td>
<td>149.65</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cecilia</td>
<td>157.58*</td>
<td>15.35*</td>
<td>10.84*</td>
<td>6.08*</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lupe</td>
<td>77.8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raul</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Denotes the use of WIC

Source: Receipt Collection Study

Nevertheless, because of their limited purchasing power and difficulty finding organic, healthy, or culturally appropriate foods, families assert eating healthy in the United States is difficult. As previously stated, unhealthy diets can be attributed to numerous factors including limited access to healthy foods compared to increased access to processed snack foods, proximity to convenience stores, and cultural significance of certain foods, such as the prestige associated with drinking Coca-Cola (An and Strum 2012; Harris 1987; Kershen 2002; Lee 2012). Ana, a participant in the Organic Gardening program understood this. She told me that it is difficult to eat healthy in the U.S. without help. Therefore, her motivation to participate in Huerto de la Familia was based on her desire to grow her own vegetables, save money, and provide her family with healthy food. When I ask her why she began participating in Huerto de la Familia she told me it was because she wanted access to fresh vegetables and to teach her children about gardening.
Ana:

I was interested because I wanted to harvest vegetables and it did not cost any money. Also, the farm is beneficial for my children to learn how to grow their own food.

Growing her own food significantly cut down on the amount of vegetables purchased by Ana’s family. Families told me they grew more than ten varieties of vegetables including: tomatoes, tomatillos, cilantro, lettuce, onion, radishes, squash, pumpkin, peppers, corn, potatoes, cucumbers, and chilies. The foods grown in the garden were reminiscent of what the families were able to find in Mexico. In addition to what they planted, families also benefited from wild plants including purslane and pigweed.

Although through the receipt collection portion of the study it was shown that families did buy some of the same vegetables they grew, most families were able to offset a substantial amount of their fruit and vegetable purchases with their harvests. Even though I collected receipts and data for this study in the height of summer, there is a possibility that crops were not ready for harvest or families were unable to harvest the amount of produce they needed from the garden, which contributed to them buying produce (Table 6). Lupe’s family utilized the garden the most. They grew 13 varieties and only purchased 5 varieties (Table 6). Only three of the varieties they grew they also purchased. As a family of four that had a monthly income between $1000-2000 a month, the fact that they only spent $77.80 per week on food is significant (Table 5). It demonstrates that they were effectively able to utilize the garden and offset food purchasing costs.
### Table 6: Number of varieties grown versus number of varieties consumed by families

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Family</th>
<th>Number of Varieties Grown</th>
<th>Number of Varieties Purchased</th>
<th>Total Number of Varieties Consumed</th>
<th>Varieties Grown and Not Purchased</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jorge</td>
<td>0*</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ana</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cecilia</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lupe</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raul</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*As of interview, Jorge had planted 10 varieties but nothing was growing*

**Source:** Huerto de la Familia Participant Interviews and Receipt Collection Study

**Children and Healthy Eating**

Every two weeks Churchill Garden holds a reunión oficial (official meeting) for all families who own a plot at the site. I attended my first reunión oficial on the 22 July 2012. Although more than 20 families have plots at the site, only seven showed up. I was told this was a high turnout. Most of the adults who showed up were young, between their late twenties to thirties, and had young children. As we sat in a circle waiting for the meeting to start, I overheard various conversations. One conversation of particular interest centered on the subject of how to get children to eat vegetables. Parents talked about what their children would rather eat or recipes they used to get their children to eat vegetables. This is an issue that parents across cultures experience.

However, I do believe part of it is specific to American culture. In the United States, children at a young age are exposed to various forms of media, including television advertisements that promote unhealthy foods. According to Thompson et al. (2013), of the food and drink related commercials on Spanish language television, 31% depict fast food, 27% depict drinks, and only 16% depict healthy foods. This means that throughout
the day, children are constantly being exposed to advertisements telling them it is “cool” to eat junk food. Not only does the media influence child food preferences, but also Latino food culture plays an important role.

Latino parents are more likely to use food as a reward than many other cultures (Tschann et al. 2013). In addition, because of the prevalence of food insecurity and famine in Latino countries, food indulgence in times of surplus did, traditionally, make sense as a way to combat undernutrition (Gonzales 2006). Being the chubby kid, or "gordito" was a compliment to the mother due to the fact that it meant she was keeping the child in "bien alimentados" (good health) (Gonzales 2006). However, in the United States, media targeting Latino youth and increased consumption of unhealthy foods leads to chronic diseases including obesity and type II diabetes (Gonzales 2006). Therefore, not only does Huerto de la Familia become essential to increasing food security, but it also helps parents provide increased fruits and vegetables to their children, who may not eat these healthy foods otherwise.

**Economic Impact**

In the United States, the cost of healthy living and eating is high, which makes it difficult for people of low socio-economic status. Jorge expressed his dissatisfaction with the cost of fresh foods in the United States in comparison to buying fruit in Mexico.

Jorge:

Last time I went to Mexico, there was a woman selling huge bags of oranges for 10 pesos. That’s less than $1.00 a bag. And then you come here and there’s a little tiny bag worth $7.00 dollars. It’s ridiculous!

While Jorge’s comments demonstrate his frustration with food prices in the United States, it is difficult to contextualize the costs of the oranges Jorge is referring to.
However, it does demonstrate how people perceive food costs differently. In general in the United States, food costs are low. The average American household only spends 6.8% of its income on food while the average Mexican household spends 24.1% of its income on food (Annual Income Spent). Yet, this does not take into account variance in income and social class. Families in poverty in Mexico and the United States will obviously spend more of their incomes on food than middle-class families. In addition, the types of foods being purchased will affect how much is spent. In the United States, junk food and processed foods are cheaper to purchase than healthy fruits and vegetables.

*Purchasing Food in the United States*

Given the fact that the United States has one of the highest levels of economic inequality of a developed nation, the high cost of healthy foods means many Americans eat poorly (CIA-The World Factbook). As of 2011, 15% or 46.2 million Americans lived below the national poverty line (Weise 2012). According to the Gallup Poll (2012), the average American family spends $151 per week on food and 1 in 10 Americans spends over $300 a week on food. The five families I interviewed spent anywhere from $77.80 to $217.53 on food per week (Table 7). However, it is important to note the family that spent the most on food, Cecelia’s family, received federal food aid (WIC) which meant that 84% of all grocery and food purchases were covered by WIC. On average, The Bureau of Labor Statistics estimates an average American family spends 12.5% of its total income on food purchases (Associated Press 2009).
Table 7: Estimated amount of weekly income spent on food per family

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Family</th>
<th>Income (weekly)</th>
<th>Est. Amount Spent on Food (weekly) $</th>
<th>Percent of Weekly Income</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jorge</td>
<td>675</td>
<td>82.69</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ana</td>
<td>750</td>
<td>149.65</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cecilia</td>
<td>375</td>
<td>217.53 (182.85 WIC)*</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lupe</td>
<td>575</td>
<td>77.80</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raul</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Receipt Collection and Semi-Structured Participant Interviews of Five Families

For a family of four, the amount of food needed to provide healthy meals to the entire family is expensive. For the families I interviewed, typical weekly spending on food was anywhere from 8% to 20% of the weekly income. Cecelia’s family was fortunate to receive WIC, which meant that she was able to purchase more than her family’s income would typically allow. However, families that did not receive federal food aid spent a significant portion of their income on food. Ana, who spent the national average on groceries per week ($149.65), spent 20% of her family’s weekly income on food. However, because of their ability to utilize the garden and grow their own produce, their food bill was dramatically reduced. According to the USDA, families with 2 children, aged 6-11, on a “thrifty food plan” should spend $145.20 on food per week and families on a low cost plan should spend $189.50 on food per week (USDA 2012). Under the restraints of the “thrifty food plan”, it would mean that for a week, families would have to spend less than $36.30 per person on food. I assert that it is impossible to buy healthy foods, including fresh fruits and vegetables, on such restraints.

Table 8 depicts, on average, what four of the participating families spent on food per
week. The fact that families can offset their purchases by growing vegetables and fruits in the garden is important to maintaining a healthy diet. Executive Director Sarah Cantril noted that families recognize how utilizing the garden is beneficial for saving money.

Sarah:

And people do say that they are able to save money. I think people in the gardens, some of them save a lot of money, some of them save very little but it’s enough to make a difference.

Table 8: Amount each family spent per person per week on food

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Family</th>
<th>Family size</th>
<th>Est. Amount Spent on Food per person per weekly ($)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jorge</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>82.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ana</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>37.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cecilia</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>43.51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lupe</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>19.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raul</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Receipt Collection Study and Participant Interviews

Typically, families went to the grocery store to purchase protein rich foods, such as meat, and junk or snack foods (Table 9). Families spent less than 30% of grocery purchases on vegetables and fruits. Lupe’s family, which grew ten varieties of vegetables, only spent 3.86% of grocery purchases on vegetables. However, they did spend 21.34% of purchases on fruits. The fact that they purchase so much fruit indicates that they are not growing as many fruits as vegetables and that they are trying to eat healthy. Moreover, out of the four families that provided me with receipts, Lupe’s family spent the least on junk foods. In contrast, Jorge, whose garden was not producing any crops, purchased no vegetables and 47.32% of purchases were on junk foods.
In an article published in the New York Times, University of Washington Professor Dr. Adam Drewnowski indicated how difficult it is for low-income families to buy fresh fruits and vegetables (Parker-Pope 2007). Drewnowski articulated the fact that if a family is trying to get as many calories as it can for the lowest cost, they are going to buy processed foods (Parker-Pope 2007).

If you have $3 to feed yourself, your choices gravitate toward foods which give you the most calories per dollar...Not only are the empty calories cheaper, but the healthy foods are becoming more and more expensive. Vegetables and fruits are rapidly becoming luxury goods.

Therefore, the fact that Ana, Cecilia, and Lupe tended to buy more fresh foods than junk foods and spent nearly 30% of their grocery bills on fruits and vegetables is indicative to their desire to provide healthy meals for their family (Table 9).

**Table 9: Percentage of purchases spent on different types of foods**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Family #</th>
<th>% Spent on Protein</th>
<th>% Spent on Grains</th>
<th>% Spent on Vegetables</th>
<th>% Spent on Fruit</th>
<th>% Spent of Junk Food</th>
<th>% Spent on Staples</th>
<th>% Spent on Dairy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Raul</td>
<td>41.24</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>11.44</td>
<td>47.32</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ana</td>
<td>24.36</td>
<td>6.68</td>
<td>15.34</td>
<td>15.45</td>
<td>13.13</td>
<td>9.84</td>
<td>12.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cecilia</td>
<td>21.54</td>
<td>14.77</td>
<td>7.57</td>
<td>15.64</td>
<td>18.98</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>11.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lupe</td>
<td>50.39</td>
<td>11.57</td>
<td>3.86</td>
<td>21.34</td>
<td>12.85</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raul</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Receipt Collection Study

In addition, because through working at the garden, I was able see them harvesting vegetables, I suggest that their food bill was dramatically reduced by their ability to grow vegetables. In examination of the photographs of their meals, which
depicted such dishes as mole, vegetable soup, ceviche, and tostadas, it is clearly evident that families were utilizing many of the vegetables grown in their gardens. For example, Lupe made her family soup, which consisted of tomatoes, carrots, corn, and onions. These are all varieties of produce that she harvested from her garden and she, considering her small weekly budget of $77.80, would not have been able to afford otherwise.

*Growing Crops and Cutting Costs*

While volunteering in the garden on a Monday night in July, I was approached by a couple working in their garden plot. I asked them if I could help them weed and we began talking about how beautiful their garden was. The style of planting that this family used was very intensive and there was very little open space within the plot. It was similar to the milpa style of planting in Mexico. The man told me that he talks to his plants to help them grow and the wife told me they have enough tomatoes and tomatillos from the late summer harvest to last them throughout the year. If the average family of 4 consumes 88 pounds of tomatoes per year, with the lowest cost of conventional tomatoes being $1.69 per pound\(^{10}\), then growing enough tomatoes to last the entire year would save a family of four approximately $160 (Bureau of Labor Statistics; MSNBC; Tomato Dirt). Additionally, the plot contained purslane and pigweed, which most Americans associate as weeds. However, they are edible greens to use in salads, tacos, or other dishes.

Because of the amount of produce growing in their plot, the family told me that they rarely buy vegetables. “They’re too expensive”, they told me, and by growing their

\(^{10}\) Organic tomatoes can cost upwards of $4.99 per pound in some grocery stores
own, they could freeze them to last throughout the year. According to Lyson (2004), “the average urban garden produces about 540 pounds of food a year. If purchased in a grocery store, the fruit and vegetables grown in the average garden would cost almost $500.16” (96). Therefore, proper utilization of the garden could significantly cut down on food expenses. In addition, some participants were able to grow enough vegetables to turn into prepared foods to sell on the side. Sarah Cantril told me the story of one woman in the Organic Gardening program who grew enough extra produce to make tamales to sell to her co-workers.

Sarah:

She started out in our garden program and ended up growing so much produce, and she thought, ‘what the heck am I going to do with this?’ So she started her own business. She was working as a berry picker for a blueberry farm and she said ‘well I’ll start making tamales to bring to my co-workers’. So she started making tamales with the extra produce to sell to her co-workers. And then she started packing up her van, and driving into the field and finding other places where farmworkers were working and selling them tamales. And now she’s taking the micro-development class we [Huerto de la Familia] offer.

Huerto de la Familia provides families with access to microfinance training that allows them to start small food-centered businesses. In addition, the Small Farmer’s Project, which Raul is a member, is a functioning business that started as a collaboration between Huerto de la Familia and Heifer International. Raul emphasized how beneficial the Small Farmer’s Project has been for him. Although many families lost hope in the Small Farmer’s Project, Raul and his wife continue to participate because it provides them with a sense of pride and ownership.

Raul:

We thought that we weren’t going to get anywhere or be successful. But we continued and some people lost hope in the project. They don’t
participate any more. But we held in there and Sarah told us that it was getting all fixed. That all the details were falling into place. We didn’t have any electricity. The farm was really uncared for. There were really high weeds that we had to knock all down. And then when we got everything cleared up, we planted the raspberry and then we started working it all the time. Here has been my life—working. We were about 20 families but they wanted to see money quickly and they didn’t like it and started leaving. And then it became 10 and now we’re 4… 4 marriages so 8 people. Up until now, things are going well. We’re just working. It’s a lot of help that they [Heifer International and Huerto de la Familia] gave us and I’m really appreciative. I’m really appreciative that they continue to support us.

Community members also see the economic benefits that Huerto de la Familia and the Small Farmer’s Project provide for Latino immigrants.

One community member told me how beneficial the Small Farmer’s Project was for his family:

Especially like Small Farmers Project. My dad’s in Small Farmer’s Project. He’s an immigrant from Mexico and my mom’s from El Salvador. My dad found out about Small Farmers Project and he’s planting black cap raspberries. He [by himself] no, but as a co-op separate from Huerto [they are planting]. But they’re just planting black cap raspberries, harvesting them, making jam, and selling jam. And these are people that have lived with nothing. They had nothing. My mom sold tomatoes when she was 6 years old out of the markets in Mexico. And then they have this co-op, this community… this is an example of what the rest of the community can do for each other and not just these people.

From its origins as one 15x20 foot garden plot worked by six women, to four garden sites with more than 70 family plots, Huerto de la Familia has come a long way. It has changed the quality of life for many Latino immigrant families living in Eugene and Springfield. It not only offsets the economic costs of purchasing food, but it has also helps families unite as a community and reconnect to their cultural roots.
Eating Behavior

When immigrants migrate from Mexico to the United States, they typically change their eating patterns and behaviors. The shifts in diet and nutrition are due to changes in employment, access to foods, and cultural values. Often, arriving in the United States is synonymous with eating more processed and prepared foods. Therefore, it was necessary for me to ask participants how eating habits changed from when they were in Mexico, to when they arrived in the United States, and finally after they began participating in Huerto de la Familia.

Diets in Mexico

According to participants, their desire to be part of Huerto de la Familia stemmed from their Mexican cultural connection to food. The adults I interviewed grew up in Mexico with close relationships to farming, animals, and food preparation. I asked participants about their connections with food in Mexico. All respondents reported that their families had gardens and raised animals.

Cecelia:

In Mexico, my father had a little bit of a land. A little where he had a milpa with beans, squash, pumpkins, and corn. He had sheep. My mom, she had 30 sheep.

Jorge:

We had lots of chickens, ducks, pigeons, rabbits, sheep, turkey, geese, and everything related to corral birds. My mom would ask me to water fruit trees and vegetables. My job would be to collect the chicks so that the raccoons or rats wouldn’t eat them. So I would have to collect them all every night. They were more confined and more protected in a little corral with wire so the animals wouldn’t get them. In the morning before going to school, I would have to take them all out and bring them to the larger corral behind the house. That was my life.
Participants in Huerto de la Familia grew up with involvement in food production. Families in Mexico did not buy many fresh foods but instead were self-sufficient and grew many of their own crops. According to Sarah Cantril, often when families join Huerto de la Familia, they do not necessarily have experience growing a large variety of crops. In Mexico, it was their parents who were in charge of tending the gardens and the animals. However, they were still accustomed to having fresh fruits and vegetables that their families grew available to eat.

Jorge grew up in Mexico City and in a family very involved in food production. His family had a small farm and a restaurant. Because of his mother’s health problems, he told me his family ate a lot of vegetables.

Jorge:

[We ate] traditional Mexican food but more focused on vegetables. [We ate] beans, we ate rice, creamed soups, garlic soup, onion soup, and different type of cream soups. Many vegetables. Many steamed vegetables. My mom would make breaded cheese and put it on the side of vegetables or salad. We would eat chicken, we would eat fish, we also ate beef, but it wasn’t very much.

Jorge said his mom would make pozole, a soup made with hominy, meats, and chilies, and that is the food he misses the most.

Jorge:

It’s easy [to make] but the person that knows how to do it well gives it her own original touch. It’s difficult. I’ve eaten a lot of pozole from different places and all the colors [of corn]. But the one my mom makes, never have I tried one like that anywhere else. Many people have said that also. It’s not only because she’s my mom.

Cecelia grew up in Oaxaca and is indigenous Mixteco. Her family was very poor and ate simple meals.
Cecilia:

When I was there [in Mexico], I didn’t eat much meat. My parents—well-- they were very poor. They didn’t have money except to buy tortillas. We always ate tortillas every day-- tortillas with salt and salsa. I think that was what we ate every day. I don’t know if we drank milk but we sometimes bought cheese. My parents were poor so they got what they grew at their house-- for example bananas, grapes, and fruits.

In contrast, Lupe grew up in the state of Pueblo where the typical cuisine is based on fried meats.

Lupe:

We ate the typical food of my village. Not a lot of vegetables. Chicken with salsa or pork with salsa, beans, rice, and queso fresco.

Based on the responses from Jorge, Cecelia, and Lupe, it is evident that diets in Mexico were very culturally and regionally specific. They were based on traditional and homemade foods and were centered on foods grown and harvested in the specific areas.

According to Gonzalez (2006), the Latino diet includes more fruit, fibers, phosphorous, niacin, and complex carbohydrates than United States’ diets do. The Latino diet is centered on corn, which has no saturated fats or cholesterol, is low in sodium, and is a good source of vitamin C, folate, thiamine, potassium, and iron (Gonzalez 2006). The diet also lacks dairy and green leafy vegetables. Considering the environment of Central America, the diet made sense and was extremely healthy.

Diets in the United States Prior to Participation in Huerto de la Familia

Jorge, Ana, Cecelia, Lupe, and Raul are recent immigrants to the United States. Raul has been in the U.S. the longest, at 13 years, and the other four participants indicated that they have been in the United States less than ten years (Table 1). Although certain regions of the United States have thousands of immigrants arriving every year,
participants asserted that coming to the United States significantly changed their diets (Gonzalez 2006). According to Harris (1987), when immigrants arrive in the U.S., they encounter a different set of ideals regarding food consumption, and different portion sizes (Gonzalez 2006). This tends to completely alter diet choices and nutrient intake, especially considering the availability of more food choices. Jorge, who told me he came to the United States off and on between 1996 and 2002 before moving permanently to the United States, emphasized how poorly he ate when he first arrived.

Jorge:

[When I was] living with friends in Los Angeles, we ate whatever, if we ate at all. It would be to go and buy chicken. It would be legs and thighs and we knew we needed salt on it but we didn’t put anything else because we didn’t know how. Same with steak. We would just put it in oil and have carne asada. When we arrived, that was pretty much it. But I was becoming independent.

For Jorge, who spoke about eating very healthy with his family in Mexico, his diet was not a priority in the United States. His priorities were work and school. He is the most educated of the five participants interviewed and received a scholarship to attend Lane Community College in Eugene. For Jorge, achieving the “American Dream” meant his priorities did not include health and nutrition. Harris (1987) also notes that education may not always make people change their diets if they do not have the financial resources to buy nutritious foods, which is often the reason for malnutrition.

Jorge told me a story about when he first came to the United States, the only food he recognized the word for was ‘doughnut’ so for a week, he only ate doughnuts. It is important to note that recent immigrants are less likely to be overweight when they still eat a traditional diet low in fat and high in fiber, vitamins, calcium, potassium, and magnesium (Gonzalez 2006). There is the issue, however, of abandoning traditional
diets to quickly "Americanize" through food. Or, in the case of Jorge, not understanding what food choices are available and selecting the food that feels familiar. Therefore, socialization plays a huge role in food selection, as there are cultural barriers to maintaining access to healthy foods.

Cecilia, who came to Santa Maria, California as a farmworker, indicated that she remembers eating hamburgers when she first came to the United States.

Cecelia:

I think hamburgers are what I ate the most. We ate broccoli. It was a very big farm. They had broccoli, cauliflower, and lettuce.

For Cecelia, her diet was based on American hamburgers and the produce that other farmworkers brought back to the camp. She was not buying produce but was lucky enough to have access to it on the farm. As previously mentioned, when immigrants first arrive in the United States, certain foods may be selected over others because of their prestigious connotations (Leatherman and Goodman 2005). Therefore, the fact that Cecelia ate hamburgers when she first arrived in the U.S is significant because eating McDonalds or drinking Coca-Cola demonstrate that an immigrant has “made it” and belongs in the United States.

Other participants, Ana and Raul, emphasized the fact that when they first arrived in the United States, they could not find certain culturally appropriate foods.

Ana:

I would buy food at the stores but I could not find tomatillos or chilies.

Raul:

The typical thing, to tell you the truth, is that there weren’t tortillas. The bread, meat-- before it was different. In that time, I ate soup, and up until now, we haven’t stopped eating soup. Well, there were also some
vegetables and all of that. And every once in a while, we would buy meat. In that time, we had more work. Now it’s a little more difficult to come by. And that’s what we used to eat. Before we used to make tortillas by hand. And now you can find them wherever.

Jorge reiterates the point that it is difficult to find the same ingredients as he would in Mexico.

Jorge:

The problem here is that you can’t always get the same ingredients. Like chili guajillo. There’s sometimes when it’s good but it’s not what it should be. It taste like chili pequeño. There’s not always that variety and you can’t always count on the same ingredients. I don’t know if you can grow the same things here.

For many Latino immigrants, it is difficult to eat healthy when they first arrive in the United States. Political-economic, demographic, and technological factors influence food consumption and the variation in culture between Latin America and the United States means consumption patterns between the two regions will be different (Harris, 1987). The desire to integrate into the community means people tend to choose foods that they feel are symbolically more American. For example, there is a status associated with McDonalds and buying fast food is synonymous with life in the United States. In addition, the lack of access to culturally appropriate or healthy foods, due to availability and cost, often means Latino immigrants do not know how to prepare the different foods or cannot afford the healthy options.

Diets After Joining Huerto de la Familia

In the last twenty years, access to more traditional Latin American foods in most U.S. cities has increased. In addition, the ability to grow their own fruits and vegetables has also allowed participants to eat more culturally appropriate foods. Therefore, since joining Huerto de la Familia, the eating habits of participants has become more
culturally appropriate and similar to what they were in Mexico. Cecelia explains that although she wants to provide her family with healthy diets, she finds it difficult to do so in the United States.

Cecelia:

It is difficult to eat healthy in the US without help.

Huerto de la Familia is beneficial for Latino families in Eugene and Springfield, Oregon because it provides them with much-needed help and does so in a manner that promotes self-sufficiency. By having increased access to fresh fruits and vegetables and being able to offset the cost of purchasing produce from the grocery store, the diets of Huerto de la Familia families are much healthier than would be expected for their low socio-economic statuses.

Ana, Cecelia, and Lupe all acknowledge that since joining Huerto de la Familia their families’ diets have improved. When asked what foods they prepare the most now, families indicated that they are eating increased fruits and vegetables and dishes similar to what they ate in Mexico.

Ana:

We eat tacos durados, enchiladas… More vegetables and also sweet corn. The farm here is very beneficial.

Cecelia:

Well, sometimes I make a little mole. We eat many vegetables and salads. One day a week we eat meat. When I go to the store, I buy a packet of good steak and a bag of rice.

Lupe:

We eat vegetables. Chicken with salsa, fried pork with garlic and onion and rice. I cook tomatoes with chilies. We always have vegetables. We have lettuce with lemon or carrots and spinach.
Jorge, who as previously mentioned is the most acculturated, has the worst diet. His diet is due to the stresses in his life.

Jorge:
Right now I’m going through this divorce, I don’t know how far it’s going to get, but what I eat is a lot is packaged foods. Even though I know how to cook and what to eat, I barely cook. But I’m sort of in this circle, where I go, I work, I return late, I go, I work, I return late…

Jorge utilizes the Organic Gardening program for cultivating produce the least of the five interviewed participants. Although he did attempt to plant seeds in his plot, nothing grew. His diet reflects the fact that he does not have the time to maintain a plot and has had to adhere to the stressful demands of life in the U.S. Nevertheless, for many families involved in Huerto de la Familia, the increased access to fresh fruits and vegetables allows the families to cook more culturally appropriate and healthier foods. Good nutrition and healthy diets are signs of happy and healthy families (Forthum 2012). In addition, “Cooking good food, presenting it beautifully, and sharing it with others [are] powerful means of attaining emotional connection, creative fulfillment, and admiration” (Counihan 2009, 122). When parents are able to share traditional foods with their children, they are stimulating cultural connectivity and family ties. Raul emphasizes the benefit of having his family in the United States with him.

Raul:
Now we are eating more similarly to when we were in Mexico because my wife is here and she is able to cook.

As the oldest participant I interviewed, it is evident that Raul and his wife stick to traditional gender roles. Raul’s wife stayed in Mexico longer than Raul to take care of the household. When she finally immigrated to the United States, her role was still tied to food production and preparation (Cohen 2001). However, it is important to note that
traditional gender roles, based on patriarchy in Mexico, were not commonly seen within the Organic Gardening program (Hondagneu-Sotelo 1992; Prakash 2003; Stephen 2007). In Mexico, women are primarily responsible for domestic roles, including the maintenance of small family gardens (Rees 2006). However, in my experience conducting research in the community gardens, I witnessed just as many men as women working the plots. Because Latino immigrants, in general, are discriminated against by United States’ society, there is the need for the immigrant families to maintain cohesive bonds in order to navigate their surroundings. Therefore, women, who experienced marginalization in Mexico, are less likely to experience it in the United States (Prakash 2003).

Cultural Ties to Food

In Latino culture, family togetherness and food production and preparation are intrinsically connected. Because of this, the cultural dynamic of family and food is described by the term familismo (familialism). Compared to European Americans, Latinos are “more family oriented” (Garro 2010, 478). The tighter family unit based on familialism is associated with better health; this is particularly true for Mexican Americans who have better mental health than many other ethnic groups (Garro 2010). Families in my study indicated that the purpose of immigrating to the United States was in search of opportunities for their families.

Raul:

We still look forward to the future for our family. And to provide our kids an example. We came to this country to be able to do good things.
Ana:

For me, this is a great country. I am in the United States because it is a country of opportunities. We have work. It’s very good for my family.

Not only do families feel that living in the United States is beneficial, but they also feel that participating in Huerto de la Familia has strengthened family cohesiveness. The Executive Director of Huerto de la Familia, Sarah Cantril, makes a point to acknowledge how involvement in the Organic Gardening program has improved family dynamics and increased cultural ties to Mexico.

Sarah:

Families will say, I want my children to learn how to grow food like we did at home.

The fact that parents want to teach their children to garden and grow the same crops as they did in Mexico signifies the value Huerto de la Familia families place on maintaining traditional culture. Familialism is important in Latin American countries; yet, it is something that often decreases when immigrants move to the United States due to differences in acculturation between parent and child and less time spent together as a family (Gonzales-Berry 2010). Therefore, parents stated how important it was for them to be able to share the garden space with their children.

The Importance of Family Dinners

According to Paredes and Shelnutt (2010), “Children from families who eat together on a regular basis are more likely to have more family support, positive peer influences, and positive adult role models” (2). For Latino families, family dinners also help maintain cultural ties and a sense of belonging (Weinstein 2005). Weinstein (2005) indicates, eating family dinners is “a magic bullet—something that would improve the
quality of your daily life, your children’s chances of success in the world, [and] your family’s health…Something that is inexpensive, simple to produce, and within the reach of pretty much everyone” (1). Counihan (2009) also asserts "meals [are] a significant forum for constructing family and gender, socializing children, expressing emotions, and enacting ideals of behavior for the changing world" (137). When asked if they ate together as a family, 3 of the 5 families interviewed said they ate dinner together every night. Jorge, who at the time of the interview was going through a divorce, said it was a challenge to schedule family dinners because of work and school schedules.

Jorge:

When we were all still together, it wasn’t daily because everyone was in school. When I would return, some of the kids would already be asleep and some would already be doing their homework. The time wasn’t available. But way before, we all ate together.

Jorge’s family is an example of how life in the United States has the potential to harm family dynamics. The fast paced and high stress environment affects family life. Family dinners create stronger bonds, provide healthier diets, and increase communication (Forthum 2012). When families stop eating dinner together, there is the potential for parents to become disconnected from their children. Lupe also indicated that because she worked nights, she was unable to eat dinner with her family. However, Lupe also acknowledged that her time spent at her organic garden plot with her children helped to maintain close family relationships. Her time at the garden plot with her children served in place of family dinners as it helped create a sense of belonging and increased traditional cultural ties.
Community Development

The original reason for the creation of Huerto de la Familia was to improve food security for low-income, immigrant Latino Families. However, the establishment of community gardens has had so many other positive benefits for the Latino families involved. According to the “Latino Epidemiological Paradox”, Latino immigrants are able to maintain better health compared to others of similar socioeconomic status because of cultural ties (Hayes-Bautista 2002; Montes de Oca 2011). Sarah Cantril, the Executive Director of Huerto de la Familia, reaffirms the fact that participation in the garden has had positive benefits for Latino families, in terms of community development.

Sarah:

Initially the idea really was to increase people’s access to healthy food and save money on grocery bills. Those are sort of the basics. But there are so many psychological benefits and that has been really interesting to see with the families and to hear what they have to say. Families have said to me, this is the only place I can count on my family being all the time.

In order to stay healthy, people need social networks. Latinos are able to maintain tighter social bonds than many other ethnic groups in the U.S. According to Dr. Lisa Berkman, social isolation can kill (Adelman et al. 2008). The fact that many Latino immigrants maintain strong, cohesive family ties, even during difficult situations, provides a protective shield against poor health.

By utilizing active participatory research, I was able to clearly see the community development aspect of the Organic Gardening program. It is clear to me that people feel at ease and relaxed when working in the garden. The garden provides physical activity and an opportunity to be outside and away from the stress of work.
Additionally, the fact that they are able to bring their children, who use the garden as a playground, is beneficial to the families. As the garden area is fenced, parents feel it was a safe space for their children to play outside and for the families to interact. During official meetings, the garden manager prepared an activity for the children to participate in. One week, it was harvesting broccoli from the ‘Children’s Garden’, while during another week, it was making a scarecrow to put up in the garden. For some participants, such as Jorge, the community development aspect of the program was more important than the garden’s role in improving food security. As previously mentioned, Jorge’s garden, in the middle of August, had yet to produce any crops. Although, he had planted seeds, very few plants had actually started to grow. At first, I was baffled why Jorge remained in the program, as he really was not taking advantage of the garden and there were many families on the wait list that could make productive plots. However, I also noticed how appreciative Jorge was that Huerto de la Familia was allowing him the opportunity to continue to try and grow food.

Jorge:

This garden [plot], we’ve had since 2005. We had it for that year, but that year, I didn’t have any idea what I was doing. Then everything failed… even worse than they’re [the crops] failing this year. But that time, I was so discouraged, that I didn’t want to do it again. And then afterwards, about 3 or 4 years ago, I saw Sarah again and she asked me if I wanted a garden again…. I got excited about doing it again and Sarah gave me another chance. That year [3 or 4 years ago], was the best year that I had had. Also last year was a good harvest, but not as good as the first year [when I rejoined]. This year, I still don’t know.

Although Jorge is not a successful gardener, his charismatic attitude and his participation in the community enabled him to stay involved in Huerto de la Familia. Sarah Cantril, the executive director, acknowledged that Jorge contributes by being
involved in the social aspects of the organization. For example, he was always present at many events and on time to the official meetings held at the garden. This is important because it demonstrates for Jorge that participation in the program contributes to his personal well-being through involvement in a social network. Thus, the Organic Gardening program may provide participants nourishment in more than a nutritional sense.

**Personal Ownership of Garden Plots**

Maintenance of the plots was an issue of pride. Families were proud of their gardens and, often, protective of their plants. At the Youth Farm garden, one woman even went so far as to mark off her plot with bright yellow caution tape. In addition, people knew a lot about the plants in their gardens and used different techniques based on what they considered to be the most effective method for maintaining healthy crops. During one visit, I was helping a women weed her garden and she started picking squash blossoms. We began talking about how we liked to cook squash blossoms when a fellow gardener came over. This woman, who is the only non-Latino participant in Huerto de la Familia, could not understand why we were picking the squash blossoms. I, therefore, was asked to translate for the gardener and told the women that there are male and female squash blossoms and only female squash blossoms produce fruit. The fact that squash blossoms had sexes was new to me as well.

Each family I spoke with shared new information with me and taught me something about their garden plots. The garden became a medium to preserve and recreate cultural traditions of agriculture. Many of the families planted heirloom seeds, which were brought up from Mexico or saved by their families. Sarah Cantril spoke of
how important being able to grow varieties from Mexico was to families.

Sarah:

I mean people certainly—they won’t necessarily say this but what I’ve noticed is people will have seeds sent to them or bring back seed from Mexico. So they’re growing herbs or vegetables that they get from down there, which they can’t find up here.

Participation in the Organic Garden program is a way to maintain ties to traditional cultural practices that have survived centuries of cultural exploitation and have been passed down through generations (Radford and Santos 2006). Often is the case that cultural practices are lost as families attempt to assimilate into mainstream United States’ culture. However, by having a welcoming space that embraces Latino culture, parents are able to pass their knowledge of gardening to their children.

Because families own their plots (they pay $10 a year), they take pride in their maintenance and the productivity of their plots. By working in the garden, families are empowered because they are able to provide fresh fruits and vegetables to their families that they may not have been able to do otherwise. Therefore, people are not allowed to pick vegetables from other peoples’ plots. Although families were protective of their plots, food sharing did occur as a way to show trust and friendship. When I spoke with families at the garden, they mentioned that they often give away some of their surplus produce to friends. When I worked with families in their garden plots, they frequently gave me vegetables before I left. One family gave me lemon grass and lettuce and another family gave me a cucumber. At the end of August, I visited the Skinner City garden with the garden manager and we were presented with a bucket of tomatoes and zucchini from one gardener. These small gestures are important for building relationships and creating trust.
The Garden as a Site for Creating Social Networks

The gardens are sites for social interaction and communication between families, and are important for maintaining mental health. According to Lisa Berkman, professor of Public Health at Harvard University, chronic stress, which increases the risk of nearly every disease including heart disease, cancer, and diabetes, is caused by social isolation (Adelman et al. 2008). The prevalence of discrimination Latino immigrants face in the United States has the direct consequence of social isolation. However, Huerto de la Familia, by providing a safe and inviting space for Latino immigrants to congregate, is capable of mitigating the social isolation and protecting the emotional health of its participants. In addition to improving networks between Latino families, Huerto de la Familia helps to maintain the integrity of the family unit. Margarita Alegria, Director for the Center for Multicultural Mental Health, indicates, “strong, cohesive family ties [help to] facilitate people’s struggle through disadvantageous conditions” (Adelman et al. 2008). The fact that most of the recruitment for Huerto de la Familia comes from word of mouth demonstrates the interconnectedness of participants and the strength of social networks. Sarah Cantril recognizes that there are so many different relationships in the garden.

Sarah:

Participants in the garden are people who are from the same pueblo and who were next-door neighbors in Mexico, people who are grandparents as well as aunts and uncles or cousins. It’s incredible the amount of relationships.

Yet, she also acknowledges that Huerto de la Familia could do a better job fostering new relationships.
Sarah:

I feel like we could do a better job of helping to build community. We’ve done barbeques and potlucks and that kind of thing. We could do more of that. We could try to do interactive activities.

The fact that Cantril, the Executive Director, recognizes the importance of social networks demonstrates their value. Her desire to provide new avenues of interaction is critical for helping participants establish a better sense of community and identity within Eugene and Springfield. Strong relationships help to minimize social threats such as violence, discrimination, and poverty. In a new community, which is what Eugene and Springfield are for Latino immigrants, collective bonds are crucial for navigating difficult social circumstances.

Using the Garden to Improve Mental Health

Though Huerto de la Familia does maintain a small payroll to oversee the organization and the gardens, participants do most of the work. This promotes self-sufficiency and empowerment, as well as creating a community-centered agricultural program. As each family is responsible for its own plot, there is no specific model for plot management. The only requirement from Huerto de la Familia, is that all gardening is organic. Therefore, when I visited different families’ plots, I saw a wide array of gardening techniques. One evening, while working in the Churchill Garden in late July, I began interacting with a couple tending their plot. The husband and wife were both middle-aged immigrants from Mexico. The wife spoke little English so almost all interaction with her was in Spanish. The husband spoke some English, as he worked as a painter and needed it for work. Nevertheless, almost all dialogue was in Spanish. We
talked for about two hours. Of course, there were some translation issues, but the couple was patient when I did not understand or know the right word.

As I helped the couple weed their plot, we talked about a variety of topics ranging from their participation in Huerto de la Familia to my family to soccer and the violence in Mexico. There garden plot was beautiful and I could tell that the couple really cared about gardening. They grew a variety of crops including black cap raspberries, tomatillos, tomatoes, zucchini, broccoli, onion, squash, pumpkin, lettuce, lemon grass, mint, garlic, flowers, beans, and chilies. To them, gardening was a way to relieve stress and to relax. The husband told me that he has to take a shower before he comes to the garden so that he doesn’t bring all the stress from work with him. Sarah Cantril acknowledges that this is the most common benefit indicated by participants:

Sarah:

It distracts them from their worries. It always has to do with decreasing stress.

As previously stated, decreased levels of stress are vital for maintaining good health. Compared to mainstream food aid, which does not enable families to be self-sufficient, Huerto de la Familia is doing an excellent job empowering its participants. Nevertheless, Sarah Cantril admits that more needs to be done to provide families with more agency.

Sarah:

One way I think it would be more empowering is if families had more involvement in organizing events at the garden or really taking control of growing starts. Some people will grow their own starts in the greenhouse and people have volunteered, but we haven’t really capitalized on that or really incorporated them into these parts [of the organization].
It is clear that the organization advocates for participant involvement in leadership roles. However, this has not been carried out as well as the Cantril would like. If participants became more active in running the program, it would provide them with a more important role in the community.
CHAPTER VI

DISCUSSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Huerto de la Familia is a vital and sustainable community resource for Latino immigrant families living in Springfield and Eugene, Oregon. Not only does it provide a place for community development, but it is also a model how a grass-roots organization is able to promote social and food justice. In effect, it provides a physical, social, economic, and cultural forum for members of the community to realize their potential as both individuals and as a collective. For most recent immigrants, service utilization is low. However, the fact that Huerto de la Familia keeps a wait list and families want to be included in the organization demonstrates its positive role in the community.

Although information collected by Huerto de la Familia staff and through my own study indicates that food insecurity is an issue for families involved, the ability to acquire fresh fruits and vegetables in a stress-free and inexpensive manner does suggest improvement of the overall health and well-being of participants. If families did not utilize Huerto de la Familia, I argue that rates and severity of food insecurity would be much higher. In addition, there are enough other benefits to participation in Huerto that the organization is a tremendous asset for Latino immigrant families. By providing community support and social networks, Huerto de la Familia is able to help Latino families stay connected and healthy.
Significant Findings

Improved Diet and Health

Without involvement in Huerto de la Familia, I would argue that Latino immigrant families would possibly experience an earlier deterioration of health from the adverse conditions they face in the United States (Geronimus et al. 2006). As Willen (2012) explains, people embody aspects of their social, political, and biological surroundings and, “the epidemiological concept of embodiment thus offers a …way of attending to the relationship between life’s sociopolitical and biological dimensions” (Willen 2012, 808). Thus, Willen (2012) emphasizes the point that health needs to be considered from a multitude of different angles, including how individual’s perceive their own health.

My study illustrates the importance of understanding the lived realities of Latino immigrants in Eugene and Springfield, Oregon. Because of their desire to be self-sufficient and not take advantage of the United States’ system, families do not appear to utilize welfare programs like their Caucasian counter-parts do (Hispanic/Latino Hunger 2013). Therefore, Huerto de la Familia is able to reach a wider range of Latino families (living in Eugene/Springfield) than government programs. Thus, this study demonstrates that non-profit organizations that utilize organic garden programs to promote self-sufficiency may be more effective than government food aid programs in terms of improving mental and physical health, increasing access to healthy foods, and empowering participants.

According to Drewnowski (2009), diet related diseases, including obesity and type 2 diabetes "follow a socioeconomic gradient...[with the] highest rates...[observed]
among groups with the lowest levels of education and income and in the most deprived areas" (536). Drewnowski (2009) is arguing against the idea of ‘diseases of affluence’ and stating that obesity and diabetes need to be considered in the same category as other diseases caused by poverty and food insecurity. Therefore, the fact that families are able to maintain their health, when they are involved in Huerto de la Familia, is indicative of how participation in the organization contributes to maintaining the “Latino Epidemiological Paradox”.

A crucial finding from this study is that the severity of food insecurity appears to be decreased through participation in Huerto de la Familia. Because the families interviewed are capable of growing enough produce to last them throughout the year (except for Jorge), they are able to offset grocery costs, while still having access to more food than their monthly salaries could afford. Although "food choices are made on the basis of taste, cost, convenience,... healthfulness and variety", the main factor for food choice, for many minority or poor people, is cost (Drewnowski 2009, 538). Drewnowski (2009) goes on to state, "diet quality in the United States is very much a function of socioeconomic status" (538). If participants efficiently utilize Huerto de la Familia’s Organic Gardening program, then cost becomes significantly less of a factor for maintaining healthy and culturally appropriate diets. Even though families still purchased processed foods, primarily for their children, the availability of produce meant families prepared healthy and culturally appropriate meals.

The fact that families are able to improve their diets in a way that allows them to maintain cultural ties and economic independence is critical to the success of Huerto de la Familia. Even though the fee to own a plot is low ($10 a year), it creates a sense of
pride and responsibility for the families. Families are, therefore, inclined to take full advantage of their plots and create thriving gardens. In addition, because families have the ability to select what crops are grown in their garden, they are able to maintain cultural ties and grow culturally appropriate foods. In a study by Carlson and Frazao (2012), it was determined the prices of fresh fruits and vegetables have increased in comparison and snack and dessert foods. Thus, without access to the garden plots, families would have less ability to eat fresh foods. According to Mayer and colleagues (2003), economic discrimination is common in low-income neighborhoods. The fact that families have to travel outside their neighborhoods to purchase inexpensive foods demonstrates this. Although it should be noted that West Eugene (where the majority of this study was conducted) does have low-priced large chain stores, the stores do not all carry organic produce, which study participants indicated they would like. Therefore, the close proximity of families to their organic garden plots and the ability to grow food year-round significantly mitigates the problem of access to fresh foods.

Creating Agency and Empowering the Oppressed

Suffering is 'structured' by historically given (and often economically driven) processes and forces that conspire—whether through routine, ritual, or, as is more commonly the case, the hard surfaces of life-- to constrain agency (Farmer 2003, 40).

Because historically immigration to Oregon was based on the need for farm labor, there is a social hierarchy in place on the basis of race, which discriminates against Latino immigrants (Gamboa 2000; Rothenberg 1998). Even though most of the families involved in Huerto de la Familia, including those I interviewed, are not farm workers, they experience the same hardships. Seth Holmes (2011), Professor of Medical Anthropology at University of California, Berkeley, describes this as structural vulnerability. Holmes (2011) suggests that because many Latino immigrants are living
in impoverished conditions, they are subject to social disparities in health. It is no question that life in Eugene and Springfield, Oregon is difficult for many Latino immigrant families. The town, although currently working to improve conditions for immigrants in order to make them feel more welcome\textsuperscript{11}, has a history of social stratification and discrimination of Latino laborers (Gamboa 2000; Gonzalez-Berry and Mendoza 2008).

Nevertheless, non-profit organizations, such as Huerto de la Familia, are critical for improving quality of life and empowering immigrant Latino families living in Eugene and Springfield, Oregon. The work of Huerto de la Familia is in the realm of social justice that “elicit[s] the experiences and views of poor people” (Farmer 2003, 146). That is to say, Huerto de la Familia practices what Paul Farmer (2003) terms “pragmatic solidarity” to create a practical and functional solution for improving the health of Latino immigrants (146). Holmes (2005) states that Farmer uses pragmatic solidarity “to indicate a stance and process that begins with observing and moves to judging and then acting” (154). This is exactly what Sarah Cantril did when she began Huerto de la Familia in 1999. She assessed the needs of the population and created a practical solution that would empower participants and improve health and nutrition. Through Huerto de la Familia, many Latino immigrant families have been provided with agency, which enables the opportunity to gain cultural citizenship and an active role within the local community (Counihan 2009). Therefore, Huerto de la Familia appears to

\textsuperscript{11} Beginning in 2012, there has been a private/public collaborative effort to create the Lane County Network for Immigrant Integration. At the time of this research, the LCNII was in preliminary planning stages but has significant support from private and public agencies.
mitigate the negative effects of structural violence by providing participants with a safe space within the community (Farmer 2003).

**Increased Community Participation**

Another benefit of the Organic Gardening program is its creation of community. Often, with the immigration to the United States and the "exposure to the U.S. environment and lifestyle, there is adoption of the dominant culture's behaviors and norms, including greater consumption of away-from-home foods" (Duffey et al. 2008, 2428). However, because of increased interaction with other Latino immigrants and ability to grow fruits and vegetables, Latino immigrants who effectively utilize their gardens seem to eat more culturally appropriate foods, thus maintaining ties to their cultural roots. In addition, although families indicated the desire to speak English, the fact that the majority of families speak primarily Spanish and are using the garden to increase their children’s knowledge of their cultural roots is beneficial to their health (Duffey et al. 2008). Because families use the garden sites as meeting spots or as places for relaxation, they are able to network with other families, which allows for community development.

In addition, the families I interviewed emphasized how important Huerto de la Familia is for strengthening family cohesion. Because families feel that utilization of the gardens allow them to maintain cultural ties and are safe spaces for their children, time in the garden is not seen as increased work. Instead, it may be a way to decrease stress and spend time with the family. This has implications for improving physical and mental health. Gonzalez-Berry and Mendoza (2008) emphasize that family is very important in making the transition to life in the US. In addition, Garro (2010) articulates how
familialism is critical for Latino immigrants to maintain good health in the face of adversity. As food and diet are good indicators of cultural practices, the ability to prepare family meals that reflect traditional Latino diets allow families to selectively acculturate and maintain inter-generational cohesion (Gonzalez-Berry and Mendoza 2010).

**Recommendations**

Often, non-profit organizations fail because they are not directed by community members, as there are often stigmas against ‘outsiders’ running an organization. Community participation and voice is crucial to establishing productive and effective organizations. In the case of Huerto de la Familia, Cantril, an established member of the broader Eugene community, found a niche with a community that readily welcomed help. As she is committed to promoting social justice, she worked to provide a space and a voice for Latino immigrants, who often are neglected by United States’ society. Therefore, providing participants with agency was critical to the success of Huerto de la Familia. According to Counihan (2009), agency is “a purposive action expressing freedom [and is] the process of making a life and making a self. It is the ability to have an impact on the world in multiple ways” (114). By providing participants with agency, they have an active role in the community and are contributing to their own well-being.

One of the biggest issues that Huerto de la Familia faces is due to lack of capacity. The non-profit employs four staff members—the executive director, the garden project manager, the microfinance project manager, and the communications and development coordinator. As the program currently helps more than 200 parents and children, it is difficult for the four staff members to address all the needs of the
community they serve. Maintaining and expanding the organization takes resources, including capital, people, and land. Therefore, for the organization to reach more people, there needs to be increased access to capital, through grants and donations. Sarah Cantril admits that she finds this to be a large obstacle to the organization.

Sarah:

I think there’s a need in some other areas like Cottage Grove or Creswell we just don’t have the capacity to spread that far right now.

Below, I address a few recommendations that I believe would be beneficial to the organization and increase its role in the community.

**Collaboration**

I would recommend that increased collaboration occur between Huerto de la Familia and other organizations focusing on food justice and immigration rights. Interagency and community partnerships are becoming more prevalent as they create larger platforms and have the potential to increase community impact. A representative from Food For Lane County believes resources to be the limiting factor in the ability to accomplish organizational goals.

Food for Lane County Representative:

I think the biggest obstacles are resources. I think one of the most successful things that have come out of it [Lane County], are social services that are working together to make diverse events. Those things [festivals or celebrations] attract the Latino population to come together to hang out and celebrate, and also to learn together. Social services can take advantage of that. I think that it’s getting harder and harder to do those things because of [the lack of] resources.

I believe it would be beneficial for all organizations in the community to work together to create a common platform and mission. By creating a more united movement, Latino immigrants in Eugene will be provided with a larger voice and
stronger sense of agency. This will become easier with the formation of the Lane County Network for Immigrant Integration\textsuperscript{12}. There is a need for partnership between non-profit, private, and public sectors that understand how the integration and the health of minority populations are beneficial for the entire community. The importance of interagency collaboration is clearly explained by a representative from Food for Lane County.

Food for Lane County Representative:

[To improve] Latino community [integration] and social services, [collaboration] is something that the community needs to keep working on. And a lot of immigrant friendly cities need to work with community agencies that already work with diverse populations. This is going to benefit us all economically and socially, because we’re gong to learn from each other. But I think that we still need to be pushing and progressing forward. We can be a better society with integration and a better community with integration.

Interagency collaboration would allow minority rights agencies to create a stronger and more unified platform. Around the country, community gardens are being used to promote food security and food justice for low-income families. The organizations could greatly benefit from collaboration and sharing of resources. Table 10 is a partial list of organizations around the United States that utilize community gardens to increase food security for low-income and Latino communities.

\textbf{Table 10: Organizations in the United States promoting food justice and civic agriculture, and serving Latino populations}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organization</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Population Served</th>
<th>Garden Type</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CATA-Farmworker Support Committee</td>
<td>Bridgeton, New Jersey</td>
<td>Low-income, Central American Immigrants, Farmworkers</td>
<td>Communal Garden- shared harvest</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{12} Lane County Network for Immigrant Integration began its planning process in late 2010. It is still in its foundational stages but promotes interagency collaboration.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organization</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Population Served</th>
<th>Garden Type</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Re:Vision International</td>
<td>Denver, Colorado</td>
<td>Low-income, Latino Families</td>
<td>Promotes self-sufficiency by training families to grow own</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nuestra Raíces</td>
<td>Holyoke, Massachusetts</td>
<td>Puerto Rican and Latino immigrants</td>
<td>Grassroots organization- 10 community gardens and 30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adelante Mujeres</td>
<td>Forest Grove, Oregon</td>
<td>Latino immigrant Farmers</td>
<td>Provides farmers with training and skills necessary to farm -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tamales y Bicicletas</td>
<td>Minneapolis, Minnesota</td>
<td>Latino Families</td>
<td>Promotes food justice and environmental justice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proyecto Jardin</td>
<td>Los Angeles, California</td>
<td>Latino community</td>
<td>Community gardens</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Los Angeles Community Garden Council</td>
<td>Los Angeles, California</td>
<td>Los Angeles residents</td>
<td>70 community gardens serving 3,900 families. Neighborhood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P-Patch Community Gardening Program</td>
<td>Seattle, Washington</td>
<td>Seattle Residents</td>
<td>Community gardens worked by volunteers. Collective and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Garden-Raised Bounty (GRuB)</td>
<td>Olympia Washington</td>
<td>Low-income families</td>
<td>Individual, family, and community gardens (Kitchen Garden Project)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saint John’s Baptist Church and Benedict College</td>
<td>Columbia, South Carolina</td>
<td>Families in Columbia, SC</td>
<td>Square foot gardens at faith-based centers that are worked by</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organization</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Population Served</td>
<td>Garden Type</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tualatin Valley Gleaner Gardens</td>
<td>Beaverton, Oregon</td>
<td>Low-income families</td>
<td>Donation and volunteer based garden. Distributes produce to families.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UR-BIN Downtown Los Angeles Garden Network</td>
<td>Los Angeles, California</td>
<td>Los Angeles residents</td>
<td>Community development and community gardens throughout</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denver Urban Gardens</td>
<td>Denver, Colorado</td>
<td>Latino immigrants</td>
<td>Self-sufficiency models and gardens</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Farmer Development Project</td>
<td>New York City</td>
<td>Immigrants</td>
<td>Supports immigrants to establish small farms in the region</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City of Bakersfield</td>
<td>Bakersfield, California</td>
<td>Low-income communities</td>
<td>Community Gardens</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Huerta del Valle</td>
<td>Ontario, California</td>
<td>Latino families</td>
<td>Community organizing and urban farming, support and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People's Grocery</td>
<td>Oakland, California</td>
<td>East Oakland low-income residents</td>
<td>Volunteer based community gardens</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Planting Justice</td>
<td>Oakland, California</td>
<td>Low-income and disenfranchised community members</td>
<td>Community and prison gardens</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ecumenical Ministries of Oregon- Farm to Congregation</td>
<td>Oregon</td>
<td>Low-income families</td>
<td>Support CSA, farmstands, and connecting farmers to consumers</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Data was collected for this table through outreach on the COMFOOD Tufts University Listserv and through an internet search of organizations.
Diversification of Crops

Although the gardens do provide substantial amounts of produce for the families, increased knowledge of crop varieties could make the gardens more productive. Because most of the families plant culturally appropriate crops (tomatoes, tomatillos, corn, zucchini, etc.), they do not utilize winter crops or different varieties that are more appropriate for Oregon weather. The Latino diet traditionally lacks dark leafy greens, which are easy to grow throughout the Oregon winter. Even though the farm manager is encouraging some families to start planting kale and chard, most families are unfamiliar with the crops or how to prepare them. Therefore, increased education of different crops needs to occur. This could be through providing seedlings of the crops to families (which Huerto de la Familia already does with many varieties), planning cooking demonstrations, or by distributing recipe cards that utilize unfamiliar crops. If the cooking classes or the introduction to new foods changes one adult’s diet, the results will extend to the entire family. Some families do utilize different ingredients and Huerto de la Familia could enlist their help in teaching other families to grow and cook new foods. This would increase community interaction and participant agency within the organization.

Most interviewed families maintained a desire to eat healthy and traditional foods. However children, who are more susceptible to acculturation, have a tendency to prefer unhealthy, junk food. Upon analysis of what families are buying, most of the junk foods are things that the children want to eat. This could be due to peer pressures in school, media marketing, or the desire to Americanize. Therefore, Huerto de la Familia
should work with parents to promote “kid friendly” recipes that are both healthy and tasty.

In addition, Huerto de la Familia maintains a large wait list. Although this is a capacity issue and families own their own plots, I propose that Huerto de la Familia determine ways to pair up single parents or have some families work together. I believe this would allow for increased participation and also increased productivity. For example, one man I interviewed, Jorge, was currently going through a divorce and was attempting to maintain a plot by himself. He admitted to not being a very good gardener and was not having luck growing crops that year. I think he would benefit by having help in the plot from another family. In addition, families I spoke with were happy to share their produce and mentioned they often had excess produce that they were able to give away to friends and family. I recommend that Huerto de la Familia start a communal grub box. Families could donate produce to the grub box when they had excess harvest. By doing this, those who did not have a good harvest could have access to fresh fruits and vegetables.

Although the Organic Gardening program is insuring the families have access to ample vegetables, I would recommend Huerto de la Familia look into ways to provide families with more fruit and more protein. I would suggest that Huerto de la Familia look into planting communal fruit trees. At the Churchill site, which was shared with Food for Lane County, families were repeatedly reminded to not take fruit from Food for Lane County’s trees. By providing families with fruit trees, it would increase fruit consumption, decrease the need for purchasing fruit, and decrease the desire of families to graze off of trees that do not belong to them. Finally, although this may be an issue
with capacity, I believe that families could benefit from having access to laying hens. Huerto de la Familia could care for the chickens and sell fresh eggs at subsidized costs. Families told me that they eat meat but cannot afford to buy a lot of it. The access to fresh eggs could help ensure that families have access to healthy protein at an affordable cost.

**Future Research**

Because this was a pilot study, my focus was on only five families participating in Huerto de la Familia’s Organic Gardening program and Small Farmer’s Project. The families were representative of the participants, as a whole, and how families negotiate community integration and access to healthy foods. However, future studies should be more focused on specific aspects and span longer periods of time. An extensive economic study would be beneficial for determining the amount of produce grown per year and the amount of money participants save by not having to buy fruits and vegetables. It is clear that Huerto de la Familia empowers families, relieves stress, and improves access to healthy foods. Social, cultural, and economic factors are critical determinants of health. Therefore, when positive social connections are made and families are able to uphold traditional cultural practices, health will be maintained (McClure et al. 2010). In addition, the decrease in stress associated with increased access to fresh fruits and vegetables and lowered food bills is also positively correlated with improved health.

Although results from my study indicate that families do experience the aforementioned benefits, it would be useful for organizations and researchers to understand the biological benefits of participation. Therefore, I propose that future
studies use biomarkers to determine the benefits of Huerto de la Familia on family members. Self-reported data, such as what was relied on in this study is important for understanding lived experiences but it is absent of quantitative data. Thus, the use of biological markers would provide public health officials and researchers a clearer understanding of how involvement improves the health outcomes of participants. In addition, Huerto de la Familia could also benefit from a comparative study. Because of time and capacity issues, I was unable to compare participants of Huerto de la Familia to other members of the Latino community that do not utilize organizational support. It would be useful to compare the differences in health and food security between the two populations in order to understand the exact benefits of participation in Huerto de la Familia.
CHAPTER VII
CONCLUSION

Upon examination of Huerto de la Familia’s Organic Gardening program, it is clearly evident that participation contributes to improving the quality of life for Latino immigrants living in Eugene and Springfield, Oregon. For these families, their lives are shaped by structural and institutional barriers to accessing resources. Because Latinos account for such a small percentage of the population, they are often disadvantaged and discriminated against (Chavez 2008). Nevertheless, the lived realities of individuals shape their health and community relationships. Therefore, having access to an organization that promotes family unification and healthy life choices is critical for the well-being of Latino immigrants in Springfield and Eugene, Oregon. Not only does this organization provide increased access to fresh fruits and vegetables, but it also helps to decrease stress and provide increased community integration. In essence, utilizing Huerto de la Familia maintains health and lessens the negative effects of stress on participants (Geronimus 2006). It is evident families that take advantage of the gardens may be more likely to experience better health outcomes in relation to other similarly disadvantaged minority groups (Markides and Coreil 1986). Families explained to me that involvement in Huerto de la Familia was beneficial for their children and for themselves. Families acknowledged that they felt safe and free of stress at the garden. Therefore, even with relatively low education, income, and socioeconomic status, participants indicate that having access to the organic gardens improves their health and happiness.
Huerto de la Familia is a role model for other social justice organizations focusing on Latino immigrants. Its ability to employ a self-sufficiency model that provides Latino families with agency is crucial for its acceptance by participants. The fact that the organization is continuously expanding demonstrates its accomplishments in the community. As a grassroots organization that started with one employee and six female participants, Huerto de la Familia has achieved considerable success in the past fourteen years. The organization has considerably improved the lives of its participants and should be viewed as an example for other organizations around the world.
### APPENDIX A

**HUERTO DE LA FAMILIA FAMILY INTAKE SURVEY – FOOD SECURITY**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Family Size</th>
<th>My family uses Food Stamps</th>
<th>I don't have enough to feed my family</th>
<th>Sometimes I don't eat</th>
<th>I know about food boxes</th>
<th>I know where we can eat for free</th>
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APPENDIX B

ADULT ENGLISH CONSENT FORM

You are invited to participate in a research project on nutrition and food security of members of Huerto de la Familia. You were selected as a potential participant based on recommendations that were made by Huerto de la Familia leadership who identified you as a member of this community. The project is conducted by Caroline Dezendorf, a graduate student in the Department of International Studies at the University of Oregon. This project, Agriculture, Nutrition, and Empowerment: Understanding the Role of Community Gardens in improving the nutritional health of Oregon’s Latino Immigrants, will document the relationship between food security, nutrition, and community gardening among Eugene/Springfield’s Latino population. The project will employ interviews that deal with day to day experiences and personal history of Latinos/as in the U.S. This project will be used for my Master’s thesis and for the purpose of improving Huerto de la Familia.

The Project will collect information primarily from interviews, and from receipt collection and food diaries. You were selected as a possible participant in this study because of your history as a Latino or Latin American immigrant or your association with Latino and Latin American immigrants. Five to eight (5-8) participants will be interviewed regarding their experience in Oregon, especially that experience that is related to food security and nutrition. Interviews will be conducted by Caroline Dezendorf.

a. Method of Data Collection

Interviews will take place at a site and time convenient to the interviewee. They will take an average of 30 minutes to one hour. Participants will be given a pseudonym to protect anonymity. The participant may at any time terminate the interview, or protect confidential information by requesting that it be “off the record”, or that the tape recorder be turned off (if one is being used with your consent) at any point during the interview.

In addition, if you decide to participate in the food dairy and receipt collection studies, you will be given a disposable camera and folder to record information for 1 week. You will be asked to take photographs of your meals for one week. At the end of the week, I will pick up the camera and develop the film. This information will be used to determine what is eaten at home. The receipt collection study will be used in order to determine how much your family is spending on groceries during an average week. You will be asked to collect receipts or record your spendings, on a sheet provided, for one week. At the end of the week, I will collect your records. I will then analyze the data and provide you with the nutrient content and spending report, if desired.

b. Purpose of Project

Data collected for this project will be used to produce an initial assessment of the relationship between food security and community gardening. In addition, it will also be used to produce a Master’s Thesis that will expand views on the Latino experience in Oregon. Your participation in this project is truly appreciated.
c. Confidentiality
Any information that is obtained in connection with this study and that can be identified with you will remain confidential and will be disclosed only with your permission. Subject identities will be kept confidential by the use of pseudonyms.

d. Voluntary Participation
Your participation is voluntary. Your decision whether or not to participate will not affect your relationship with the researchers, or with the any organizations, groups, or institutions profiled in the Project. If you decide to participate, you are free to withdraw your consent and discontinue participation at any time without penalty.

e. Risks and Benefits
This project does not pose any risks to you beyond those in daily life. This means that the participant might be subject to embarrassment, besides this we do not see any predictable risks that the subjects might experience. Discussion of legal status and details of conditions under which you were employed will not be included in the interview and we encourage you not to bring up such topics. We hope that you benefit from the experience of telling your immigration and settlement story and it will bring a larger benefit to educating a broad public in Oregon.

If you have any questions, please feel free to contact Caroline Dezendorf, Department of International Studies. If you have questions regarding your rights as a research subject, contact Human Subjects Compliance, University of Oregon, Eugene, OR 97403, (541) 346-2510. You have been given a copy of this form to keep.

Your consent indicates that:
1. You have read and understand the information provided above,
2. That you willingly agree to participate,
3. That you may withdraw your consent at any time and discontinue participation without penalty,
4. That you have received a copy of this form, and
5. That you are not waiving any legal claims, rights or remedies.

___Yes, I agree to be audio-recorded
___No, I do not wish to be audio-recorded.
___Yes, I agree to participate in the anthropometric and biological measurements.
___No, I do not agree to participate in the anthropometric and biological measurements.
APPENDIX C

ADULT SPANISH CONSENT FORM

Usted ha sido invitado a participar en el proyecto de investigación: Jardinería, Dieta, y Empoderamiento: Comprender el papel de los jardines de la comunidad en la mejora de la salud nutricional de los inmigrantes latinos urbanos de Oregon. Usted ha sido seleccionado por las sugerencias de dirección de Huerto de la Familia, quienes le identificaron como un miembro de su comunidad. Este proyecto será llevado a cabo por Caroline Dezendorf, estudiante de postgrado en el Departamento de Estudios Internacionales en el Universidad de Oregon. Este Proyecto piloto documentará la relación entre la seguridad alimentaria y la comunidad de jardinería en la población Latina de Eugene y Springfield. Este proyecto usará entrevistas que tienen que ver con las experiencias cotidianas y la historia personal de los Latinos/as en los Estados Unidos. Este proyecto desarrollará tesis de maestría y mejorar el trabajo de Huerto de la Familia. El proyecto recolectará información principalmente a través de entrevistas, diario de comida y recibo de la colección. Usted ha sido seleccionado como posible participante en este proyecto por su historia como Latino, inmigrante Latinoamericano o por su asociación con la comunidad de Latinos/as en Oregon. Cinco a ocho (5-8) participantes serán entrevistados acerca de su experiencia en Oregon, específicamente la experiencia que esté relacionada con la seguridad alimentaria y nutrición. Las entrevistas serán llevadas a cabo por Caroline Dezendorf.

a. Método de recolección de información.
Las entrevistas serán llevadas a cabo en un lugar y a una hora que sea conveniente para la persona entrevistada y durarán, en promedio, entre 30 minutos y una hora. Si usted está de acuerdo con una segunda entrevista, ésta también se haría según le convenga. Los participantes recibirán un pseudónimo para proteger su identidad. Los participantes pueden interrumpir la entrevista en cualquier momento, o proteger información confidencial solicitando que no sean registradas partes de la información o que la grabadora sea apagada (si es que una está siendo usada con su consentimiento) en cualquier momento de la entrevista.
Además, si usted dice decide participar en el diario de comida y recoger recibo estudios, dará una cámara descachable y una carpeta registrar información por una semana. Pedirá tomar fotos de su comidas por una semana. A la fin de semana, recogeré la cámara y desarrollar la film. El información utilizaré determinar qué comer en su casa. El recoger recibo estudio utilizará determinar cuánto su familia gasta en comida por una semana. Usted pedirá recoger recibo ó registrar su gastos, sobre un papel provista, por una semana. A la fin de semana, recogeré su archivos. Analizaré los datos y darle con su información nutrición y informe de gastos, si deseo.

b. Propósito del proyecto.
La información recopilada en este proyecto será usada para producir una evaluación inicial de la relación entre la seguridad alimentaria y nutrición. Además, será usada para tesis de maestría y mejorar el trabajo de Huerto de la Familia. Su participación en este proyecto es verdaderamente apreciada.

c. Confidencialidad.
Cualquier información que sea obtenida a través de este estudio y que pueda ser relacionada con usted será confidencial y sólo será revelada con su permiso. Las identidades de los personas serán protegidas a través del uso de pseudónimos.

d. Participación voluntaria.
Su participación es voluntaria. Su decisión de participar, o no, no afectará su relación con los investigadores, ni con ninguna otra organización, grupo o institución que esté involucrada en este proyecto. Si usted decide participar, podrá retractar su consentimiento y retirarse del proyecto en cualquier momento sin ningún tipo de castigo.

e. Riesgos y beneficios.
Este proyecto no tiene ningún riesgo más allá de los de la vida cotidiana. Esto significa que el participante puede sentir vergüenza, además de esto no existe ningún riesgo predecible. La discusión de su estatus legal y las condiciones bajo las cuales usted ha sido empleado no serán incluidas en la entrevista y lo invitamos a no discutir estos temas. Esperamos que usted se beneficie de la experiencia de relatar su historia de inmigración y de asentamiento, y que esto traiga beneficios más amplios al educar al público más amplio de Oregon.
Si usted tiene alguna pregunta por favor contacte a Caroline Dezendorf, Departmento de Estudios Internacionales, Universidad de Oregon. Si usted tiene preguntas concernientes a sus derechos como sujeto de investigación, contacte a Human Subjects Compliance, Universidad de Oregon, Eugene, OR 97403, (541) 346-2510. Usted recibirá una copia de esta forma.

Su firma indica que:
1. Ha leído y entendido la información que aparece en esta forma,
2. Usted está dispuesto a participar,
3. Usted puede retractar su consentimiento en cualquier momento y dejar de participar sin ninguna consecuencia,
4. Usted ha recibido una copia de esta forma, y
5. Usted no está declinando ningún derecho.
   _ Sí, estoy dispuesto a ser audio-grabado
   _ No, deseo no ser audio-grabado
   _ Sí, estoy dispuesto a participar en las mediciones antropocéntricas y biológicas.
   _ No, no estoy dispuesto a participar en las mediciones antropocéntricas y biológicas

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APPENDIX D

HUERTO DE LA FAMILIA PARTICIPANT INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

(ENGLISH)

A. Where are you from?

B. How many years have you lived in the United States?

C. When you first came to the United States, where did you live?

D. How many years have you lived in Springfield or Eugene?

E. What is your profession?

F. When you first came to the United States, what did you do for work?

G. In what year did you begin participating in Huerto de la Familia?

H. Why did you begin participating in Huerto de la Familia?

I. What motivated you to participate in Huerto de la Familia?

J. How did you hear about Huerto de la Familia?
   1. Family
   2. Friends
   3. Advertisement
   4. Other _______________________

K. How many people are in your family?

L. Before you came to the United States, what was your typical meal?

M. When you first came to the United States, what did you typically eat?

N. What is your typical meal now?

O. What do you think are the favorite foods of your children?

P. Do your children participate in free breakfast or school lunch programs?
   1. Yes
   2. No

Q. Have you ever received for stamps?
   1. Yes
2. No

R. What foods do you consider healthy?

S. How often do you eat the foods you consider healthy?

T. How often do you buy fast food?
   1. Never
   2. 1-2 times a week
   3. 3-5 times a week
   4. Everyday

U. What vegetables or fruits do you grow in your garden?

V. What is your gender?
   1. male
   2. female
   3. other

W. How old are you?

X. What is your monthly income in January?
   1. $0-$500 por mes
   2. $501-$1000 por mes
   3. $1001-$2000 por mes
   4. $2001-$3000 per month
   5. $3001 or more per month

X1. What is your monthly income in July?
   1. $0-$500 por mes
   2. $501-$1000 por mes
   3. $1001-$2000 por mes
   4. $2001-$3000 per month
   5. $3001 or more per month

X2. What is your average monthly income?
   1. $0-$500 por mes
   2. $501-$1000 por mes
   3. $1001-$2000 por mes
   4. $2001-$3000 per month
   6. $3001 or more per month

X3. How much money do you send back to family or friends in your country of origin?
   1. None
   2. $1-$200 per year
   3. $201-$500 per year
4. $501-$1000 per year
5. $1000-$2000 per year

USDA HOUSEHOLD FOOD SECURITY SURVEY

HH1. [IF ONE PERSON IN HOUSEHOLD, USE "I" IN PARENTHETICALS, OTHERWISE, USE "WE."]
Which of these statements best describes the food eaten in your household in the last 12 months: —enough of the kinds of food (I/we) want to eat; —enough, but not always the kinds of food (I/we) want; —sometimes not enough to eat; or, —often not enough to eat?
  [1] Enough of the kinds of food we want to eat
  [2] Enough but not always the kinds of food we want
  [3] Sometimes not enough to eat
  [4] Often not enough to eat
  [ ] DK or Refused

Household Stage 1: Questions HH2-HH4 (asked of all households; begin scale items).

HH2. Now I’m going to read you several statements that people have made about their food situation. For these statements, please tell me whether the statement was often true, sometimes true, or never true for (you/your household) in the last 12 months—that is, since last (name of current month).
The first statement is “(I/We) worried whether (my/our) food would run out before (I/we) got money to buy more.” Was that often true, sometimes true, or never true for (you/your household) in the last 12 months?
  [ ] Often true
  [ ] Sometimes true
  [ ] Never true
  [ ] DK or Refused

HH3. “The food that (I/we) bought just didn’t last, and (I/we) didn’t have money to get more.” Was that often, sometimes, or never true for (you/your household) in the last 12 months?
  [ ] Often true
  [ ] Sometimes true
  [ ] Never true
  [ ] DK or Refused

HH4. “(I/we) couldn’t afford to eat balanced meals.” Was that often, sometimes, or never true for (you/your household) in the last 12 months?
  [ ] Often true
  [ ] Sometimes true
  [ ] Never true
  [ ] DK or Refused

Screen for Stage 2 Adult-Referenced Questions: If affirmative response (i.e., "often true" or "sometimes true") to one or more of Questions HH2-HH4, OR, response [3] or
[4] to question HH1 (if administered), then continue to Adult Stage 2; otherwise, if children under age 18 are present in the household, skip to Child Stage 1, otherwise skip to End of Food Security Module.

NOTE: In a sample similar to that of the general U.S. population, about 20 percent of households (45 percent of households with incomes less than 185 percent of poverty line) will pass this screen and continue to Adult Stage 2.

Adult Stage 2: Questions AD1-AD4 (asked of households passing the screener for Stage 2

AD1. In the last 12 months, since last (name of current month), did (you/you or other adults in your household) ever cut the size of your meals or skip meals because there wasn't enough money for food?
[ ] Yes
[ ] No (Skip AD1a)
[ ] DK (Skip AD1a)

AD1a. [IF YES ABOVE, ASK] How often did this happen—almost every month, some months but not every month, or in only 1 or 2 months?
[ ] Almost every month
[ ] Some months but not every month
[ ] Only 1 or 2 months
[ ] DK

AD2. In the last 12 months, did you ever eat less than you felt you should because there wasn't enough money for food?
[ ] Yes
[ ] No
[ ] DK

AD3. In the last 12 months, were you every hungry but didn't eat because there wasn't enough money for food?
[ ] Yes
[ ] No
[ ] DK

AD4. In the last 12 months, did you lose weight because there wasn't enough money for food?
[ ] Yes
[ ] No
[ ] DK

Screener for Stage 3 Adult-Referenced Questions: If affirmative response to one or more of questions AD1 through AD4, then continue to Adult Stage 3; otherwise, if children under age 18 are present in the household, skip to Child Stage 1, otherwise skip to End of Food Security Module.
NOTE: In a sample similar to that of the general U.S. population, about 8 percent of households (20 percent of households with incomes less than 185 percent of poverty line) will pass this screen and continue to Adult Stage 3.

Adult Stage 3: Questions AD5-AD5a (asked of households passing screener for Stage 3 adult-referenced questions).

AD5. In the last 12 months, did (you/you or other adults in your household) ever not eat for a whole day because there wasn't enough money for food?

[ ] Yes
[ ] No (Skip 12a)
[ ] DK (Skip 12a)

AD5a. [IF YES ABOVE, ASK] How often did this happen—almost every month, some months but not every month, or in only 1 or 2 months?

[ ] Almost every month
[ ] Some months but not every month
[ ] Only 1 or 2 months
[ ] DK
APPENDIX E

HUERTO DE LA FAMILIA PARTICIPANT INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

(Spanish)

A. ¿De dónde es usted?

B. ¿Cuántos años ha vivido en Estados Unidos?

C. ¿Antes de su llegado en Eugene, de dónde vivió en Estados Unidos?

D. ¿Cuántos años ha vivido en Eugene ó Springfield?

E. ¿Cuál es su trabajo?

F. ¿Antes de su llegado en los Estados Unidos, cuál fue su trabajo?

G. ¿En qué año empezó participar en Huerto de la Familia?

H. ¿Por qué empezó participar en Huerto de la Familia?

I. ¿Qué motivó su participación en Huerto de la Familia?

J. ¿Cómo aprendió sobre Huerto de la Familia?
   1. Familia
   2. Amigos
   3. Advertido
   4. Otra _______________________

K. Cuántas personas hay en su familia?

L. ¿Antes de su llegada en los Estados Unidos, cuál fue su comida típica?

M. ¿Cuál fue su comida típica cuándo llegó primero en los Estados Unidos?

N. ¿Cuál es su comida típica ahora?

O. ¿En su opinión, qué son las comidas favoritas de su hijos?

P. ¿Participan sus hijos en las programas gratis que ofrece desayuno ó almuerzo?
   1. Sí
   2. No
Q. ¿Recibe estampillas de comida?
   1. Sí
   2. No

R. ¿Qué comidas considerar saludable?

S. ¿Qué frecuentemente comer las comidas saludable?

T. ¿Qué frecuentemente comprar comida rápida?
   1. Nunca
   2. 1-2 veces por semana
   3. 3-5 veces por semana
   4. todos las días

U. ¿Qué verduras cultiva?

V. ¿Qué es su género?
   1. masculino
   2. femenino
   3. otra

W. ¿Cuántos años tiene?

X. ¿Qué está su nivel de ingresos mensuales en enero?
   1. $0-$500 por mes
   2. $501-$1000 por mes
   3. $1001-$2000 por mes
   4. $2001-$3000 per month
   5. $3001 or more per month

X1. ¿Qué está su nivel de ingresos mensuales en julio?
   1. $0-$500 por mes
   2. $501-$1000 por mes
   3. $1001-$2000 por mes
   4. $2001-$3000 per month
   5. $3001 or more per month

X2. ¿Qué está su nivel de ingresos mensuales mediá?
   1. $0-$500 por mes
   2. $501-$1000 por mes
   3. $1001-$2000 por mes
   4. $2001-$3000 per month
   6. $3001 or more per month

Z. ¿Has probado obtener cupones de alimentos?
   1. Sí, recibí cupones de alimentos
2. Sí, pero no calificé por los cupones de alimentos
3. No, porque no sé sobre los cupones de alimentos
4. No, nunca

AA. ¿Cómo lo encuentra difícil comer saludable en los Estados Unidos?
1. Sí
2. No
Por qué ______________________________________________________________

BB. ¿Qué problemas de salud las personas en su familia inmediato tener?
1. Nunca
2. Diabetes
3. Problemas de pesos
4. Problemas cardíacos
5. El colesterol alta
6. Hipertensión

USDA HOUSEHOLD FOOD SECURITY SURVEY

1. ¿Cuál de las siguentes oraciones describe mejor la situación de comida en su casa en los últimos doce meses? (CHOOSE ONLY ONE OPTION)
   - [ ] Siempre como (comemos) lo suficiente y los tipos de alimentos que deseo (deseamos) (SKIP TO 2)
   - [ ] Como (comemos) lo suficiente pero no siempre lo que deseo (deseamos) (CONTINUE TO 1B)
   - [ ] A veces no como (comemos) lo suficiente o (CONTINUE TO 1A)
   - [ ] Frecuentemente no como (comemos) lo suficiente (CONTINUE TO 1A)
   - [ ] Don’t Know or Refused

1a. Aquí hay algunas razones por cual las personas no comen lo suficiente. Para cada una, digame si es una razón por la cual usted no come lo suficiente (MARK ALL THAT APPLY)
   - [ ] SI NO DON’T KNOW
   - [ ] [ ] [ ] No tengo suficiente dinero para comida
   - [ ] [ ] [ ] Se me hace difícil ir a la tienda
   - [ ] [ ] [ ] Estoy a dieta
   - [ ] [ ] [ ] No tengo una estufa que funcione
   - [ ] [ ] [ ] No puedo cocinar o comer debido a problemas de salud
   - (CONTINUE TO 2)
1b. Aquí hay algunas razones por que las personas no siempre tienen las clases de comida que quieren o necesitan. Para cada una, por favor dígame si esa es una razón por que no tiene las clases de comida que usted quiere o necesita. (MARK ALL THAT APPLY).

- [ ] [ ] [ ] No hay suficiente dinero para comida
- [ ] [ ] [ ] Muy difícil ir a la tienda
- [ ] [ ] [ ] Estoy a dieta
- [ ] [ ] [ ] No hay la clase de comida que quiero
- [ ] [ ] [ ] No hay buena calidad de comida

Ahora le voy a leer algunas respuestas de la gente sobre su situación de comida. Para cada repuesta, favor de indicarme si ocurre en su casa frecuentemente, a veces, o nunca en los últimos 12 meses, es decir desde el ultimo (display current month).

2. La primera oración es “Me (nos) preocupó que la comida se podía acabar antes de tener dinero para comprar más.” Para (Usted./su casa), ¿ Esto fue frecuentemente, a veces, o nunca en los últimos 12 meses?
- [ ] Frecuentemente
- [ ] A veces
- [ ] Nunca
- [ ] Don’t Know or Refused

3. La comida que compré (compramos) no duró mucho y no había dinero para comprar más. Para (Usted./su casa), ¿ Esto fue frecuentemente, a veces, o nunca en los últimos 12 meses?
- [ ] Frecuentemente
- [ ] A veces
- [ ] Nunca
- [ ] Don’t Know or Refused

4. (Yo/Nosotros) no teníamos lo suficiente para comer una comida balanceada (nutritiva). Para (Usted./su casa), ¿ Esto fue frecuentemente, a veces, o nunca en los últimos 12 meses?
- [ ] Frecuentemente
- [ ] A veces
- [ ] Nunca
- [ ] Don’t Know or Refused
5. Dependía (Dependíamos) de unos pocos alimentos de bajo costo para dar comida a los niños por que se nos terminó el dinero disponible para comprar alimentos. Para (Usted./su casa), ¿ Esto fue frecuentemente, a veces, o nunca en los últimos 12 meses?
   - [ ] Frecuentemente
   - [ ] A veces
   - [ ] Nunca
   - [ ] Don’t Know or Refused

6. No tenía (teníamos) suficiente dinero para ofrecer una comida balanceada (nutritiva) a los niños. Para (Usted./su casa), ¿ Esto fue frecuentemente, a veces, o nunca en los últimos 12 meses?
   - [ ] Frecuentemente
   - [ ] A veces
   - [ ] Nunca
   - [ ] Don’t Know or Refused

7. Mi (s)/nuestros hijo(s) no comía(n) lo suficiente por que no tenía(mos) dinero para comprar suficiente comida. Para (Usted./su casa), ¿ Esto fue frecuentemente, a veces, o nunca en los últimos 12 meses?
   - [ ] Frecuentemente
   - [ ] A veces
   - [ ] Nunca
   - [ ] Don’t Know or Refused

8. En los últimos 12 meses, desde el último julio. ¿ Usted o algún miembro de su familia comió menos o dejó de comer por que no había suficiente dinero para la comida?
   - [ ] Sí (GO TO 8A)
   - [ ] No (SKIP TO 9)
   - [ ] Don’t Know (SKIP TO 9)

   8a. ¿Con qué frecuencia sucedió esto—casi cada mes, algunos meses, o solo en uno o dos meses?
   - [ ] Casi cada mes
   - [ ] Algunos meses
   - [ ] Solo en uno o dos meses
   - [ ] Don’t Know

9. En los últimos 12 meses, ¿ Comió usted menos de lo que pensaba que debía por que no hubo suficiente dinero para comida?
   - [ ] Sí
   - [ ] No
   - [ ] Don’t Know
10. En los últimos 12 meses, ¿Alguna vez tuvo hambre pero no comió por que no tuvo suficiente dinero para comida?
   [ ] Sí
   [ ] No
   [ ] Don’t Know

11. En los últimos 12 meses, ¿Perdió usted peso por que no tuvo suficiente dinero para comprar comida?
   [ ] Sí
   [ ] No
   [ ] Don’t Know

12. En los últimos 12 meses, ¿Usted o algún otro adulto de su familia no comió por todo el día por que no hubo suficiente dinero para comida?
   [ ] Sí (GO TO 12A)
   [ ] No (SKIP TO 13)
   [ ] Don’t Know (SKIP TO 13)

12a. ¿Con qué frecuencia sucedió esto—casi cada mes, algunos meses, o solo en uno o dos meses?
   [ ] Casi cada mes
   [ ] Algunos meses
   [ ] Solo en uno o dos meses
   [ ] Don’t Know

13. En los últimos 12 meses, ¿Alguna vez le dió menos cantidad de comida a su(s) hijo(s) por que no hubo suficiente dinero para comida?
   [ ] Sí
   [ ] No
   [ ] Don’t Know

14. En los últimos 12 meses, ¿Alguna vez su hijo o cualquiera de sus hijos no comió por que no hubo suficiente dinero para comida?
   [ ] Sí (GO TO 12A)
   [ ] No (SKIP TO 13)
   [ ] Don’t Know (SKIP TO 13)

14a. ¿Con qué frecuencia sucedió esto—casi cada mes, algunos meses, o solo en uno o dos meses?
   [ ] Casi cada mes
   [ ] Algunos meses
   [ ] Solo en uno o dos meses
   [ ] Don’t Know
15. En los últimos 12 meses, ¿Alguna vez su hijo o cualquiera de sus hijos tuvo hambre pero no tuvo suficiente dinero para comprar más comida?
[ ] Sí
[ ] No
[ ] Don’t Know

16. En los últimos 12 meses, ¿Alguna vez sus hijos no comieron por todo el día porque no hubo suficiente dinero para comida?
[ ] Sí
[ ] No
[ ] Don’t Know

Muchas gracias por participar en mi encuesta.
APPENDIX F

HUERTO DE LA FAMILIA LEADERSHIP INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

1. What motivated you to begin Huerto de la Familia?
2. When you first started the program, how did you get families to participate?
3. What were you hoping would happen when families began participating in the program?
4. How did you feel that creating community gardens would help improve food security?
5. Do you notice that growing their own food, empowers your participants?
6. Do you typically just have women working the gardens or do men or families come to?
7. How does this effect the sense of community? Do you find that people are drawn together or more willing to help each other out?
8. What do the participants tell you about how the program is helping them?
9. Do you notice differences in nutrition or food choices?
10. Can you notice changes in health, diet, or confidence in families that participate in the community gardens or the small farmer’s project.
11. During my research, I have not been able to find many programs that use a model like Huerto de la Familia. By this I mean, not many programs focus on self-sufficiency and support for micro-enterprise to improve quality of life for its participants. How did you come up with this model and why do you think it is so effective?
12. Because many of your participants do not qualify for food stamps, private organizations really are their own option for improving food security. However, would you argue that this model is more beneficial than food stamps or programs that only give out food?
APPENDIX G

FOOD FOR LANE COUNTY EMPLOYEE INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

1. Food for Lane County is a government organization correct? So what are the requirements for receiving aid from FFLC?
2. Do you have an idea of the demographic make up for people participating in the program?
3. Considering that Latinos in Oregon have twice the rate of food insecurity compared to the national and state averages, why do you think that many Latinos do not participate in FFLC programs?
4. How does your organization compare to other Food Banks. Do you do anything differently to try to incorporate a larger demographic or provide better access to food?
5. Where do people have to live in order to participate in the program? What if they are outside the urban growth boundary?
6. Your website highlights the importance of food self-sufficiency, what is your organization doing to ensure that people become self-sufficient
7. A common critique of food banks is that they provide too many empty calories and they do not provide enough nutritional calories. Therefore, people that are overweight, can still be food insecure or malnourished. How does FFLC try to prevent this from happening? Do you provide educational opportunities to teach people about the importance of healthy eating?
8. How are you trying to promote better interaction and communication with minority or Latino populations?
9. Has FFLC conducted any studies regarding how their programs are improving food security or nutrition? If so, what have been the results?
10. For your programs that center around children, how do children receive the help? Are you teaching the children about the importance of healthy food?
11. A huge issue for Latino immigrants, is either that they do not know that programs exist due to communication barriers or they are afraid to ask for help. Do you come across these problems, and if so, how do you address them?
12. Are the exclusions for participating in FFLC?
13. How does your program differ from government food stamps, WIC, etc.? and do you think those programs are beneficial?
14. How do you ensure that food provided is culturally appropriate?
Thank you for participating in the food diary study. For one week, please record or take photographs of all the food you eat. If the food is from Huerto de la Familia, please note that on the sheet by writing (HDLF) or let me know at the end of the week, which foods are from Huerto de la Familia. All the information is confidential and I will be the only person to see it. When the study is over, we will arrange a time to meet for me to collect the materials. Thank you for your help.

Diario de Comida

Gracias por participar en el diario de comida estudia. Por una semana, anota qué comida comer. Si la comida está de Huerto de la Familia, escribe HDLF a lado de la comida. Por favor, anota ingrediente individual en lugar de el todo comida. Por ejemplo: si come un sandwich, anota pan, lechuga (HDLF), tomate (HDLF), queso, y jamón. Todos los información es confidencial y yo estara la persona solo verlo. Cuando está terminado, recogeré todos los información. Gracias por su ayuda.
APPENDIX I

HUERTO DE LA FAMILIA PARTICIPANT RECEIPT COLLECTION STUDY

DIRECTIONS (ENGLISH AND SPANISH)

Thank you for participating in the receipt collection study. Please write down the amount of money spent on foods for a week or save all receipts and put them in the provided envelope. If the food is from Huerto de la Familia, please write down HDLF next to it in the “how much” column. All the information is confidential and I will be the only one to see it. When the study is over, we will set up a time to meet so that you can give me all the materials. Thank you for your help.

Recorder Recibo

Gracias para participar en mi estudio. Por favor anota qué comprar por una semana. También, pon todos los ingresos en el sobre por favor. Si la comida está de Huerto de la Familia, escribe “HDLF” en el “Cuánto cuesta” columna. Todos los información es confidencial y yo estara la persona solo verlo.
APPENDIX J

PARTICIPANT FOOD PURCHASES FOR ONE WEEK

Jorge Receipt Collection

<table>
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<th>Food Group</th>
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<th>Cost ($)</th>
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<td>Tuna</td>
<td>$32\textsuperscript{1}</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Eggs</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Beans</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fast Food</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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<td>Fruit</td>
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<td>4 Banana</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dessert</td>
<td>Gansito (Mexican Snack Cake)</td>
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<td>Pumpkin Pie (Gift)</td>
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Protein 41.24%
Fruit 11.44%
Vegetable 0.00%
Dessert 2.66%
Fast Food 44.66%

\textsuperscript{1} He bought the whole tuna for $32. He ate it until there was none left. He also shared it with friends

** Jorge had bad luck with a garden. This year, there is not much to harvest. He wants to learn but has little time and is unable to work on it as much as he needs to.
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<tr>
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<tr>
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<td>El Mexico Queso 4.48lbs</td>
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<td>Protein</td>
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### Cecelia Receipt Collection

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<td>Fred Meyer</td>
<td>Sarku Japan</td>
<td>Plaza Latina Market</td>
<td>Winco</td>
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<td>Crumbs</td>
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<td>Sarku Japan</td>
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<td>Betty Crocker Strawberry Fruit Roll-Up</td>
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<td>Gourmet Jelly Beans 1.73lbs</td>
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<td>Hawaii's Own Frozen Juicemix</td>
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<td>American Falls Bottled Water</td>
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<td>Gummy Bears</td>
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**Total**  |  |  |  |  | **$217.53**  |

**EBT**  |  |  |  |  | **$157.58**  |
## Lupe Receipt Collection

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Food Group</th>
<th>Food</th>
<th>Cost</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Protein</td>
<td>Chicken Legs</td>
<td>6.00</td>
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<td>Bistec (1lbs)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Carne Asada</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Whole Chicken</td>
<td>8.20</td>
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<tr>
<td>Grains</td>
<td>1 Pack Tortilla</td>
<td>3.00</td>
<td>11.57%</td>
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<td>2 Packages Tortilla</td>
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<tr>
<td>Vegetable</td>
<td>Onion (2lbs)</td>
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<td>3.86%</td>
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<td>Fruit</td>
<td>Oranges (2lbs)</td>
<td>3.00</td>
<td>21.34%</td>
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<td>Bananas (3lbs)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Blueberry (2lbs)</td>
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<td>Watermelon</td>
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<td>Juice Gallon</td>
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<td>12.85%</td>
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<td>4 Juice Concentrates</td>
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<td>Total Cost</td>
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<td>100%</td>
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<td>Amount Spent Per Person</td>
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APPENDIX K

PARTICIPANT FOOD BUYING BEHAVIOR

Number of Varieties Grown vs. Amount Spent of Produce

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Family #</th>
<th>Number of produce varieties purchased</th>
<th>Total number of foods purchased</th>
<th>Amount spent on produce ($)</th>
<th>Total amount spent ($)</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jorge</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>9.46</td>
<td>82.69</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ana</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>46.07</td>
<td>149.65</td>
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<td>Cecelia</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>47.45</td>
<td>217.53</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lupe</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>19.60</td>
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Percent of Available Monthly Income Spent on Food Per Person

<table>
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<th>Family #</th>
<th>Available Monthly Income Per Person</th>
<th>% of avail. Monthly Income spent on food per person</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jorge</td>
<td>675.00</td>
<td>12.25</td>
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<td>Ana</td>
<td>187.50</td>
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<td>Cecilia</td>
<td>75.00</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lupe</td>
<td>143.75</td>
<td>13.53</td>
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* Use of SNAP
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