

A MODEL GUADALUPAN: DEVOTION TO THE VIRGIN OF GUADALUPE AND
PSYCHOSOCIAL STRESS AMONG MEXICAN IMMIGRANTS
TO THE SOUTHERN UNITED STATES

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ABSTRACT

This project measures the buffering effect of devotion to Our Lady of Guadalupe on psychosocial stress among Mexican immigrants to Scott County, Mississippi. Rural Scott County is home to the largest percentage of Hispanic immigrants in Mississippi. The Virgin of Guadalupe is considered an icon of Mexican identity, and the flexibility of this “master symbol” allows her to adapt to the needs of devotees in the context of immigration. This project takes a biocultural medical anthropological approach to immigration by considering Guadalupan devotion as a way of coping with the stressors of immigration.

The study explores the following hypotheses: 1) there is a culturally-shared model of Guadalupan devotion among Mexican immigrants in Scott County, Mississippi, and 2) cultural consonance in that model “buffers” the effects of immigration stressors. Results from key informant interviews and participant observation are combined to describe life in Scott County. The cultural model of Guadalupan devotion is elicited, and individual variance in consonance with the model is measured using cultural consensus and consonance analysis. Quantitative results are analyzed using correlation and regression analysis.

Results establish that there is a shared cultural model of Guadalupan devotion, consisting of such things as: keeping her image in the home; lighting her candle; being humble; attending her celebrations; sharing her message with others; and being more devoted in diaspora. Residual agreement analysis further indicates salient agreement among members of the smaller

community of Morton, and reveals a patterned divergence in agreement among members of the larger community of Forest. Results also indicate that high consonance in the cultural model moderates the effects of immigration stressors on health. Among parents, high consonance in the cultural model additionally moderates the effects of immigration stressors on satisfaction with life.

Ideologies reinforced by Guadalupan devotion (the nation, the family, the Church, and even the immigration experience) appear to be part of a larger identity that serves as a “complete package” of coping strategies. By subscribing to the model, Mexican immigrants, and especially parents, are lessening the impact of psychosocial stressors often associated with the immigration experience.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

n	sample size
df	Degrees of freedom
α	Cronbach's Alpha
sd	Standard Deviation
sig	Probability associated with the occurrence under the null hypothesis of a value as extreme as or more extreme than the observed value
r	Pearson product-moment correlation
t	Computed value of <i>t</i> test
>	Greater than
<	Less than
=	Equal to
PSS	Perceived Stress Scale
ISS	Immigration Stressor Scale
VG	Very Guadalupan
CCS	Cultural Consonance Score

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Devotion to Our Lady of Guadalupe is well-documented among Mexicans, religious and non-religious. In 1946, Pope Pius XII declared Our Lady of Guadalupe* patroness of all the Americas, and since then, her devotion continues to grow among Mexicans and non-Mexicans, Catholics and non-Catholics, alike. According to her narrative, in December of 1531, the Virgin appeared to Juan Diego, a Mexican native and recent Christian convert, on Mount Tepeyac in Mexico. She instructed him to go to the bishop of Mexico and tell him to build a church in her honor at Tepeyac. Juan Diego was turned away twice by the bishop and instructed not to return until he had proof of the apparition. When he encountered the apparition on the third day, the Virgin told Juan Diego to gather the roses that had bloomed on top of the cold, barren mountain and take them to the bishop. When Juan Diego opened his cloak in front of the bishop, the roses tumbled out, and on his cloak was an image the Virgin of Guadalupe. Recognizing the miracle, the bishop built a cathedral on Mount Tepeyac. The image on Juan Diego's cloak remains on display today in the *Nacional Basílica de Santa María de Guadalupe* in Mexico City.

Despite her title as Patroness of the Americas, this dark-skinned manifestation of the Virgin Mary remains an icon of Mexican identity (Poole 1995). While her origin can be traced to a statue in a Spanish shrine whose veneration was brought by Cortez's army around 1500

* The titles "Our Lady of Guadalupe" (*Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe*) and "The Virgin of Guadalupe" (*la Virgen de Guadalupe*) are used interchangeable throughout the document, with both titles referring to the same figure of the Virgin Mary. Our Lady of Guadalupe may be considered a more formal title and is the title most often used by the Catholic Church, while The Virgin of Guadalupe is the more popular title.

(Turner and Turner 1978), her appearance to an indigenous peasant upon Mount Tepeyac, the former site of the temple of a pre-colonial Mexican goddess (Brenner 1929) paves the way for her acceptance by both mestizo and indigenous, alike. As a result of the rich history that this icon shares with the nation, Mexican devotion to Our Lady of Guadalupe is something more than religious devotion to the Virgin Mary. In reviewing the historical record of Guadalupanism, Brading (2001) found that for nearly every generation since the mid 1700's, something notable has been written about the Virgin of Guadalupe. She has been described as a "master symbol" that has historically represented a wide array of socio-political relationships encompassing the family, the nation, and the Church (Wolf 1958). Devotion to Our Lady of Guadalupe provided her followers with a sense of empowerment, protection, and maternal support (Elizondo 1997, Rodriguez 1994). She provides her Mexican followers with a feeling of national pride, a sense of history, and a reminder of the past struggles of the people (Hall 2004). Her Basilica in Mexico City is visited by 10 million people annually, and Guadalupan devotees are found in communities around the world that are destinations for Mexican immigrants (Pescador 2009). Public processions celebrating her feast day provide a forum for Mexican immigrants to express their group solidarity, national pride, and political empowerment in the face of racism, poverty, and alienation (Matovina 2003).

The following study considers Guadalupan devotion in the context of immigration to the rural Southern US. Since the 1990s the Southern US has emerged as a destination area for Hispanic immigrants, primarily from Mexico. The ability to settle into year-round jobs and to earn steady wages makes employment in the meat and poultry industry an appealing alternative to seasonal farmwork. Migration to rural areas of the South without the social, educational, and

public health infrastructure commonplace in urban settings adds an additional set of disparities to those already faced by migrants (Jensen 2006). Non-traditional receiving communities struggle to handle the additional strains on housing, school systems, and social services. In addition, dangerous working environments, language barriers, barriers to healthcare, a lack of transportation, and barriers to obtaining legal status can quickly compound the already stressful experience of immigration (Kim-Godwin and Bechtel 2004).

Study Objectives

By viewing immigration through a biocultural lens, the following study considers devotion to the Virgin of Guadalupe as a potential way of coping with the daily life stressors associated with the immigration experience. A biocultural approach that focuses on health risks and outcomes associated with immigration is capable of accommodating institutional, social, cultural, and behavioral variables (McElroy 1990). By focusing on psychosocial stressors and ways of coping, the immigration process is considered holistically within a single framework. This approach takes into account conditions in the sending community, as well as short-and long-term conditions faced during the immigration process.

Worthman and Kohrt (2005) called for biocultural paradigms with greater specificity, and which are able to identify the processes and pathways by which resilience is increased and health is maintained. Cultural consensus and consonance analysis, as part of a larger mixed-methods study design, delivers this specificity. By operationalizing culture, consensus and consonance analysis allow for a systematic investigation of the forces that motivate individual thoughts and behavior (Strauss and Quinn 1997). In this study the cultural domain of Guadalupan devotion will be defined and operationalized using cultural consensus and consonance analysis. Specifically, the study will explore the following Hypotheses: 1) there is a culturally shared

model of Guadalupan devotion among Mexican immigrants in Scott County, Mississippi, and 2) high consonance in that cultural model will have a buffering effect on psychosocial stress associated with immigration.

Towards testing Hypothesis 1, cultural consensus analysis will be performed to determine if there is a culturally shared model of Guadalupan devotion. Consensus analysis reveals how knowledge of a cultural domain is both shared and differentially held by individuals within a group (Romney et al. 1986). An advantage of consensus analysis is that it uses ethnographically sensitive methods that do not rely on pre-defined models or instruments but instead on participants to reveal the content of a particular domain in their own words (Borgatti 1999).

Hypothesis 2 will be tested by operationalizing the cultural model of Guadalupan devotion to create a measure of individual consonance in the model. Cultural consonance analysis measures the degree to which cultural domains are expressed in the beliefs and behaviors of individuals (Dressler et al. 2007). Dressler and colleagues (Dressler and Bindon 2000, Dressler et al. 2007, Dressler et al. 2004, Dressler et al. 1999) have demonstrated that low consonance across a variety of cultural domains is linked to poor physical and psychological health. The results will be used to perform consonance analysis, and psychosocial stressors will be measured primarily using the Immigration Stressor Scale, as well as a number of other transnational variables, including: time in the US and in Mississippi, Mississippi driver's license, comfort speaking English, return trips to Mexico, border crossings, birthplace of children, and frequency of communication with family in Mexico). The effects of immigration stress will be measured by the perceived stress scale, self-rated health, reported illnesses, and life satisfaction.

Chapter Summaries

Chapter 2 considers Mexican immigration through the lens of biocultural medical anthropology. The chapter serves as both a literature review as well as a discussion of the theoretical framework of the study. The chapter begins with a review of the various historical waves of Mexican migration, as well as the theoretical approaches that have been used to explore them. Previous literature that has considered the immigration experience from a biocultural perspective, including rapid culture change and cultural incongruence, will be discussed, as well. The chapter will pay homage to the Mexican village as a context from which recent immigration flows to the Southern US have originated. This review of Mexican households, religious traditions, medical traditions, and culture of migration will set the stage for a closer look at more recent trends of immigration to the South. Topics typically associated with the immigration experience, including: the family, the workplace, health, acculturation, and religion, will be considered from a biocultural perspective, specifically from the framework of psychosocial stressors and ways of coping.

Chapter 3 similarly serves as both a literature review and a discussion of the theories that have guided the study. Here, the discussion focuses on the historical and cultural significance of the Virgin of Guadalupe. A brief history of Marianism within the Catholic Church leads to a more focused discussion of Marian devotion in the New World, and eventually to the origins and the development of the Cult of Our Lady of Guadalupe in Mexico. Recent studies exploring Guadalupan devotion both in Mexico and among Mexican immigrants demonstrate the themes associated with her symbol. The chapter closes with a consideration of Guadalupe as a master symbol, and how that understanding, reframed as a cultural domain, can be advanced through the theoretical and methodological approach of cultural consensus and consonance analysis.

Chapter 4 provides an overview of the study design and outlines the methods for data collection and analysis that will be further discussed in the preceding chapters. The overall objectives of the study, the hypotheses, and the design of each study phase are described in this chapter, along with a brief description of my motivation for selecting the study sites and my approach to entering the field and conducting fieldwork.

In Chapter 5, the communities are described in detail, along with an ethnographic analysis of relevant events and activities. Results from key informant interviews, participant observation, and informal discussion are all combined to paint a portrait of life in the communities of Forest and Morton. While this ethnographic description aims to describe some of the day-to-day activities of Mexican immigrants, it is especially focused on those key occurrences and events, ranging from police roadblocks to December 12th celebrations, that will support a broader understanding of the preceding methods and interpretation of findings.

Phase 1 of the study, the first of three phases of structured data collection, is described in Chapter 6. The aim of Phase 1 was to collect qualitative descriptions and lists of attributes associated with Guadalupan devotion, secondary domains of religious devotion and immigration stress were also explored. Both list and narrative responses were coded using text analysis, and frequently recurring themes, both within and across items are presented. Phase 1 data was analyzed independently, considering the most salient themes of each domain, but analysis is also extended to consider similar themes across the three domains. Responses to the Guadalupan items are converted into a set of comprehensive statements that are used in Phase 2 to form a cultural consensus instrument.

Chapter 7 describes Phase 2 data collection and analysis. The goal of Phase 2 was to test study hypothesis 1, that there is a culturally shared model of Guadalupan devotion among the

Mexican immigrants in the communities of Forest and Morton. The cultural consensus interview schedule is developed using results from Phase 1. A group of Guadalupean Committee members are recruited to perform a pile sorting exercise towards developing the cultural consensus instrument. The consensus instrument is then administered to a second group of participants. Cultural consensus analysis is performed and the results are discussed in detail. Results are found to support hypothesis 1, and residual analysis additionally indicates the presence of residual agreement.

In Chapter 8, the final data collection phase, Phase 3, is described and results are presented. The aim of Phase 3 is to test the study hypothesis 2, that cultural consonance in the model of Guadalupean devotion is correlated with lower psychosocial stress. Consensus results from Phase 2 of the study are used to build a cultural consonance instrument. The consonance instrument is combined with an Immigration Stressor Scale, a perceived stress scale, and reported health and life satisfaction, along with family history variables to form the Phase 3 interview schedule. Results of Phase 3 data analysis do not support the study hypothesis 2, but other key results are presented.

Finally, Chapter 9 revisits the study hypotheses and considers findings relating to each hypothesis in more detail. Beyond discussing the hypotheses, the chapter revisits other key findings from each phase of the study, drawing connections across findings when possible, and discussing them in the broader context of the overall study and positioning conclusions within the theoretical framework of the study. Study limitations are considered, and suggestions are made for future research directions based on the findings of the study.

CHAPTER 2
MEXICAN IMMIGRATION TO THE SOUTH:
A BIOCULTURAL PERSPECTIVE

Introduction

In the 1990's, Massey et al. (1993) noted that, although immigration had been emerging as a major world force since the 1960s, there was still no single cohesive immigration theory. At that point there were only partial theories, formulated in isolation and often segmented by discipline. Massey and colleagues recognized that investigating a process as complex and multifaceted as contemporary migration could not be achieved by the tools of a single discipline or a single level of analysis. They called for a sophisticated theory that incorporates multiple perspectives, levels, and assumptions. The following chapter will demonstrate how a biocultural perspective is capable of achieving this. A biocultural approach that focuses on health risks and outcomes associated with immigration takes into consideration a wide range of factors. A stress and coping model allows for the immigration process to be considered holistically within a single framework. This approach takes into account conditions in the sending community, as well as short-and long-term conditions faced during the immigration process. A model that considers immigration in terms of psychosocial stressors and coping mechanisms allows for a wide range of factors to be considered as advantageous, disadvantageous, or sometimes both, to one's health and well-being. Towards this goal, the following chapter will briefly review immigration theories and consider the contribution of a biocultural approach. The chapter will brief review the

cultures of Mexico from the perspective of the anthropology of the Mexican village, and will review of Mexican immigration to the US and the South, focusing specifically on those issues that frequently emerge in the literature relating to challenges faced by Hispanic and Mexican immigrants, and will consider them from the perspective of immigration stressors and ways of coping.

Theories of Migration

The lack of a cohesive immigration theory is made evident in Kearney's 1986 review of anthropological contributions to the study of immigration. Migration, as Kearney points out, is literally the movement of people across space, and thus is the natural domain of demographers. Anthropological approaches to immigration tend to take the form of, "immigration and ____," and he identifies three major theories that had thus far been applied to the anthropological study of immigration since its emergence in the 1960s.

Modernization theory, favored in the 1950s-60s, considers immigration and urbanization, with economic opportunity as the primary factor in an individual's decision-making model, and Redfield's (1941) folk-urban continuum lingering in its framework. The individual migrant is the unit of analysis, who has "decided" to migrate, and research focuses on how well he assimilates, often by following him from his rural community to his new urban setting. Over time, it became evident that individual migrant's experiences did not capture the realities of most migrant communities, and also that the migrant was not acting simply as an individual, but maintaining close kin and social ties (Kearney 1986).

Recognizing that economic factors, alone, fail to capture the complexities of the migration realities, dependency theory, emerging in the 1970s, considered the impact that immigration has on both sending and receiving economies, as well as historical and structural

causes of immigration (Kearney 1986). Less concerned about individual decision making processes, dependency theory and its offshoot, world systems theory, take a macroeconomic approach by considering the nation as the unit of analysis. To some degree, dependency theorists simply reversed the rural-urban continuum by positioning the rural as the central economy, with an inflow of remittances that would improve its underdevelopment as a result of colonialism. This approach proved to be less suited for the anthropological framework because of its application to mid-to large-sized economies, which is not easily applied to local communities.

As a part of the “new economics” of migration, articulationist theories, associated with the late 1970s and 1980s, reject the existence of a global capitalist system and focus on household and community modes of production, including the role of women migrant workers. Because articulationist theory identifies and isolates domestic communities, it is more aptly suited for anthropological fieldwork. In doing so, it also theorizes how these communities are situated into larger historical and economic systems, thus communities are not seen as isolated or as dependent entities (Kearney 1986).

By the 1990’s the world had aggressively turned its attention to globalization, and with it a need to understand immigration in this context. Communities can no longer be thought of as discrete units that are rooted in particular territories (Monsutti 2009). Transnational migration theories emerged in the early 1990s and have been honed over the past thirty years by a number of immigration scholars (Notable examples include: Glick Schiller et al. 1992, Appadurai 1996, Kearney 1995, and Ong 1999).

Transnational immigration theory emphasizes the inseparability of the local and the global (Adler 2008). Specifically, Ong (1999) defines transnationality as, “the condition of cultural interconnectedness and mobility across space, which has been intensified under late

capitalism (4).” Whereas globalism is more concerned with corporate strategies, transnationalism is concerned with culturally specific responses to globalism. Kearney’s 1995 review illustrates the extent to which the field of anthropology, along with the broader field of immigration studies, whole-heartedly embraced the concept of transnationalism as a way to distinguish between the broader forces of globalization and those particular to the receiving and sending nations involved in the immigration process.

A weakness of transnational research is the lack of clarity and consistency across studies about the various forms and dimensions that should be discussed under the blanket of transnationalism, as well as the social spaces and social structures it generates (Levitt and Jaworsky 2007). For example, Ong’s elaboration of transnationality as “interconnectedness and mobility across space” fails to emphasize the extent to which interconnectedness and mobility need not necessarily be physical. Ong actually takes issue with the idea emphasized by Appadurai (1991) that electronic media aids in the production of “imagined communities” and “virtual neighborhoods,” pointing out that not all people have equal ability to take advantage of modern communication channels. However, two decades later, in the midst of the technology era, modern communication devices have become attainable by an increasing number of people. It is now easy for people to live and work abroad for years at a time and maintain constant contact with their network back home.

Nonetheless, it seems impossible to consider immigration today without incorporating a transnational perspective, even as scholars continue to make efforts to clarify the concept. Levitt and Glick-Schiller (2004) point out the level of fine-tuning that the concept has undergone due to repeated application over recent years. Yet they also demonstrate that concepts still retain a level of vagueness as they suggest that few migrants participate in “regular and sustained”

transnational activities (Levitt and Jaworsky 2007). Levitt & Glick-Schiller suggest that only those who engage in behaviors and thoughts that cross borders on a daily basis are exhibiting a transnational way of *being*. When an individual consciously acknowledges this and accentuates their behavior, they are exhibiting transnational ways of *belonging*. Further, to simply interact with people from one's place of origin does not require a person to act transnationally, but when a person has sustained interactions with governments or institutions from their place of origin they cross into the realm of transnational interaction.

To more fully understand the immigration experience, we must consider not only *ways* of being and belonging in spaces, but the *effects* of being and belonging in these spaces. By considering immigration stressors and ways of coping we are able to understand ways of being and belonging as well as their effects. When migrants, carrying a specific understanding of how the world works, are then confronted with a system within which that understanding may not work, they must try to successfully adapt. The effort to adapt can be stressful and costly, the effects of which is inscribed upon the body in terms of physiological and psychosocial health (Dressler 2010).

As early as 1960, Cassell and colleagues (Cassell, Patrick, and Jenkins 1960) recognized the need for a more useful model to understand disease in contemporary society, a model that incorporated biochemical, physiological, psychological, social, and cultural factors at a group level. The cause and effect of all these factors can be united under the umbrella of the stress model, drawing on Seyle and Wolff's early definitions of stressors as a variety of noxious stimuli, physical as well as psychological, that cause a bodily state. In addition to this definition, Cassell (1976) further suggests that psychological processes are likely acting as "conditional" stressors that increase susceptibility to noxious stimuli by altering the endocrine balance. More

recently, the concept of allostatic load has been applied to the effect on the body of repeated or chronic stress, and the act of achieving balance through physiological and behavioral change as allostasis (McEwen and Wingfield 2003). Cassell and colleagues (1960) noted the effects of status incongruity that comes with immigration. They noted that sociocultural change from rural to urban migration can cause incongruity between the migrant culture and their new social situation, placing an excessive burden on social groups in which migrants interact and on the personality system of individual migrants, increasing rates of psychological, somatic, and social health problems.

Baker, Janes, Bindon, and McDade's work among Samoans made significant contributions to our understanding of the consequences of modernization and migration on physical health, social adjustment, and psychological well-being. Janes (1990) explored differential stress responses to role expectations and status expectations among Samoan migrant males and females, and found that blood pressure increases with increased *external* status incongruity among males, and with increased *internal* status incongruity among females. Bindon and colleagues' (Bindon et al. 1991) investigation of the thrifty genotype emphasizes the profound effect of dietary shifts combined with more sedentary lifestyle in the face of modernization and immigration, but in the process, they called attention to the difficulty of researching rapid culture change, which is how to operationalize the term "modernization." They found the variable "lifestyle incongruity" to be an effective means of gauging individual stress levels in response to culture change, and their study results showed that high status incongruity is correlated with high blood pressure. McDade's (2001) research found that even adolescents are not immune to the effects of social inequality. He found that if a household's lifestyle exceeded

its socioeconomic status (SES), then household members between the ages of 10-20 experienced lower immunity and increased levels of psychosocial stress.

The findings relating to lifestyle incongruity and rapid culture change are sometimes counterintuitive, though. McDade's (2001) study of adolescents also found that social support had an inverse effect among youth. Those with a larger social network were more susceptible to immunodeficiency as a result of their family's lifestyle incongruity. Adler and colleagues (1994) found that the correlation between SES and health appear not only at the bottom of the SES hierarchy, but even emerge at the upper levels of the hierarchy. Similarly, Dressler (2004) noted that as status increases, status incongruity can also increase, as does the need to consume material goods, and the need for goods to show higher status.

Socioeconomic status incongruity, lifestyle incongruity, social inequality, and rapid culture change may be experienced in the face of immigration, and will be discussed in the following sections from the perspective of immigration stressors. Commonly reported stressors among Hispanic immigrants span all aspects of the immigration experience, including: separation from family or friends; long, labor intensive work hours; undocumented legal status; instable employment and housing; financial constraints and poverty; language and communication barriers; lack of transportation; exploitation by employers; lack of daycare or educational resources for children; geographical isolation; limited access to medical care; ethnic discrimination; and acculturating to new environment (Magaña and Hovey 2003, Kim-Godwin and Bechtel 2004).

The Mexican Village

A more complete understanding of psychosocial stressors associated with immigration should start in the sending community. Mexican immigration flows to the South are increasingly

originating from rural sending communities in South Central Mexico. The Mexican village is a classic milieu among anthropologists. While modernization, globalization, and commercialization are certainly real forces in rural settings, traditional ways and regionally-specific practices appear more pronounced than in more populated regions. Scholars like Redfield, Lewis, Wolf, and Foster contributed to the early anthropology of the Mexican village. Redfield's (1941) rural-urban continuum represents an early attempt to classify communities. By the 1950s, the cultural ecological map of the Mexican countryside was defined by 'levels of interaction' within rural and urban settings. Lewis (1951) demonstrated the limited use of Redfield's rural-urban continuum of classification, when his follow-up study of the same village noted significant changes. Wolf's (1957) "open" and "closed" dichotomy of peasant communities was also applied to the Mexican village, and Foster's (1965) work laid out a cognitive orientation of peasant society which he coins "image of the limited good," in which all desired things in life (land, wealth, health, friendship, love, manliness, respect, status, power, security) are in short supply.

Mexican villages are generally classified as agricultural, patriarchal, patrilocal, and family centered. Lewis's classic (1951, 1959, 1960) longitudinal studies of the Mexican village of "Tepoztlan" offer a general description of a subsistence based agricultural community with some degree of bartering and some level of engagement in the monetary economy. He describes the community as poor, with low literacy rates and high death rate. Likewise, in 1972, Kearney describes the inhabitants of Ixtepeji, Oaxaca as subsistence farmers of mainly corn, beans, and other staples. Residents speak varying degrees of Spanish and Zapotec. Social life and hierarchy followed the cargo system, with the having the most cargo responsibility holding the title of *presidente* and considered the formal head of the *municipio*.

Contemporary portraits of rural Mexican villages may not look very different, depending on which village is considered. Hirabayashi's (1993) study focuses on the three Zapotec villages of Lahoya, Ralu'a, and Villa Alta. He describes the more rural village of Lahoya as being conservative, Zapotec speaking, maintaining a religious cargo system, having low education rates, maintaining residual beliefs in witchcraft, and having a general feeling of stagnation. In contrast, Hirabayashi describes the neighboring larger towns of Ralu'a and Villa Alta as more developed, with fewer Zapotec speakers, higher rates of education, and growing economy. This struggle between maintaining traditions and moving towards 'development' continues to be a central theme among studies of Mexican villages.

Indigenous and Traditional Heritage:

In Kemper's (1974) account of fieldwork among Tzintzuntzan peasants who migrated to Mexico City for work, he follows previous work by both of Foster and Lewis to explore how well Tzintzunanos have adapted to urban life. Kemper begins his account in the sending community, describing how modernization had already affected village life by the 1970s. Health and sanitization programs fostered a rapid population growth in the community, followed by road, radio, rail, television, and tourism that all brought national and international awareness to the community, along with improved standard of living. Kemper describes modernization as progress with obvious advantages, and traditional ways as sources of tensions and forces of resistance. Improved standards of living are met with distrust and envy, and community betterment is slowed by a lack of cooperation by villagers, and it is this "backwards" attitude of villagers that Kemper seems to associate with the desire of many within the community to experience the big city.

In contrast, Good's (2011) focuses on the positive aspects of "resistance" efforts by Mexican communities against recurring threats to their cultural survival. As one Nahuatl village shifted its source of livelihood over time from farming, to selling crafts, to immigration, core elements to the Nahuatl way of life were threatened, but actions were taken in order to strengthen the community. Women in the community refused to give up the labor-intensive work of farming, even when it became easier to purchase produce with money generated from the profitable craft industry. They viewed farm labor as "my work," and as something to be enjoyed and shared with neighbors, and therefore assigned it a greater value than that of the dollar.

Another means of resisting threats to traditional ways of life is through political engagement. Nagengast and Kearney (1990) examine the meaning of indigenous tradition, a definition that becomes especially important as more indigenous groups engage in political struggles to preserve such traditions. They highlight the struggle over definitions of "real" ethnic identity, and what actions should be taken to combat the second-class status of Mixtecos in Mexico. Folk festivals and museums that pay homage to the ancient Mexican people stand in sharp contrast to present-day prejudices held by some mestizos towards what they consider to be second-class citizens and "backward, simple" people. By dismissing the idea that ethnicity is an essential category, it can be understood as one of many ways in which people define themselves and others.

Marianismo, Machismo and the Family:

The terms *machismo* and *marianismo* (Stevens 1973) have often been used to describe Mexican gender roles. The classic Mexican novelist, Octavo Paz (1961) describes the strong façade of the Mexican male and the stoic, saintly female:

The ideal of manliness is never to crack, never to back down. Unlike other people we believe that opening oneself up is a sign of weakness or a betrayal... The Mexican

macho- the male- is a hermetic being, closed up in himself, capable of guarding both himself and whatever has been confided in him. Manliness judged according to invulnerability to enemy and outside world. Stoicism is the most exalted of our military and political attributes. (29, 31)

On the Mexican concept of feminine modesty, which is shaped by masculine vanity inherited from both the Spanish Senor and the Indian chieftain: in a world made in man's image, a reflection of masculine will and desire. When passive, she becomes a goddess, a beloved one, a being who embodies the ancient, stable elements of the universe: the earth, motherhood, virginity. When active, she is always function and means a receptacle and a channel. Womanhood, unlike manhood, is never an end in itself. (37)

Machismo and *marianismo* often emphasize a dominant male and a strong, but submissive female. The term *macho*, often applied to the Mexican male, is seldom treated as a positive trait, but is more often associated with problematic or dangerous attributes (Padres 1971). These concepts are increasingly being questioned by scholars. Mexican ideals of gender and family have often been discussed as a monolith, attempting to apply a Mediterranean-based "honor and shame" model to a multitude of ethnic and cultural groups. Guttman (2006) dispels many stereotypes about what it means to be macho, and shows that the term is quite flexible. The concept of being a man means different things at different times. Hirsch (2003) noted a shift in the spousal roles which have been influenced by US bound migration as well as overarching global trends.

Perez (2007) found that increased political and economic involvement of female ceramic artisans in Oaxaca has had both positive and negative outcomes. As these women moved into the role of primary or equal income provider, their expected role as mother and homemaker did not shift accordingly. Perez describes the conflict between economic and biological production for the women, with a higher value often being assigned to their economic production by the family, the community, and the state. Browner (1986) also demonstrates the influence of the family and the community on women's reproductive decisions. Browner describes how the national population planning program was perceived in a rural indigenous Oaxacan community during the

1980s. Although many women in the village reported a desire to limit their number of offspring, few women took advantage of the state-provided birth control services. Those whose records indicated that they had sought information from the state-run clinic denied having this knowledge, and were even reluctant to admit having any knowledge about herbal or pharmaceutical methods of birth control. The women failed to act on their reported desire for a smaller family in favor of a sense of community loyalty and duty to produce many children and preserve indigenous heritage. There was a general feeling that the state-level effort to control the national population was actually aimed at reducing uncooperative indigenous groups. Browner concluded that the existence of state-supported services actually made it more difficult for women to utilize family planning, since they were under even more suspicion than before. Interestingly, when Browner later explored reproductive knowledge among men in the same village (Browner and Purdue 1988), she found that men possessed specific knowledge about reproductive-limiting remedies that women did not.

Religious Traditions:

Traditional religious practices in Mexico that combine indigenous and Christian elements are often referred to as “folk” or “popular” religion. Correa (2000) notes that Mexican popular religion is not conservative or static, although it does retain core elements and beliefs that blend Catholicism with pre-colonial indigenous practices. Around these central elements, religious beliefs are continually created and recreated, transmitted orally and ritually, and constantly being adjusted in response to internal and external changes. The historical mixing and reworking of post-conquest Catholicism with pre-conquest indigenous beliefs found in Mexican popular religion lends support to Correa’s argument. He concludes that this particular blend of traditions

has perpetuated over centuries, in one form or another, quite simply because of the co-residence of several generations in the same household.

It can be quite difficult to distinguish between religious and secular aspects in Mexican communities, where boundaries between the sacred and profane or even public and private are blurred. For example, Foster (1963) found that the patron-client relationships in a Mestizo village in Michoacán is extended to both human and supernatural beings. One's relationship with local employers, politicians, god parents, priests, and other leaders is reaffirmed by the title "*mi patron*," which implies certain obligations. Similarly, supernatural patrons, including God, Jesus, the Virgin of Guadalupe, and village saints, are also treated with a patron-client relationship which entails mutual obligations and contracts. Requests for help in times of need or for daily protection are entered into as contracts in exchange for prayers, gifts placed at altars, and vows to perform specific duties. Each family member within the same household may have his or her own patron saint besides those that are seen as obligatory to all, such as the Virgin Mary and Jesus.

Lastra et al. (2009) note the role of annual feast day celebrations which place the community, the people, and the saint on display. These celebratory activities, seemingly religious in nature, serve to reaffirm family and community ties by bringing the community and households together on a regular basis to perform obligations. The complex organization of the fiesta reinforces a sense of duty, reaffirms social and ritual structure, and unites the present with the historical past. To understand how rural Mexican communities have managed to maintain these types of ritual traditions in the face of culture change, Correa (2000) looked to the families of San Miguel de Allende. When a large dam was built in the town in 1960, the original community was relocated and many residents were dispersed. In the face of the disruption of the

community and over the years to follow, extended family members transmit traditions and beliefs with a distinct Otomí worldview, which includes both Catholic and pre-Christian elements, such as: crosses, Saint Michael, Saint James, the cardinal directions of the wind, sacrifice, military conquest, and ancestors.

Since the 1970's, rural and indigenous Mexicans are increasingly adopting Protestantism (Dow 2005). Census records show that 2.2 percent of the nation reported Protestantism as their religion in 1970, 4.9 percent in 1990, and 7.3 percent by 2000. Data show significant variation from state to state, with a rate as high as 18 percent in the state of Tabasco, and as low as two percent in Guanajuato. Dow suggests that the shift is not, as many believe, a reaction to the Catholic Church, but to the exertion of political and economic power of traditional cargo systems. While it is true that those who are adopting Protestantism are converting from Catholicism, Dow points out that the version of Catholicism that people are converting from is most often not the modern post-Vatican II Catholicism, but rather traditional folk Catholicism with civil-religious hierarchies that are reinforced by public fiestas. In this sense, not only is Protestantism a rejection of supernatural beliefs and village saints, but also of civic authority of village leaders. This pathway to economic freedom becomes more desirable with the shift to a market economy.

Radical Catholic movements have also recently emerged that take a more critical stance on political and social matters than does traditional Catholicism (Guzman and Martin 1997). In the 1990s, Ecclesiastical Base Communities (CEBs) rose in popularity in Jalisco with a platform of liberation theology and a mission to serve the faithful, especially the poor and underserved. While CEBs in other Latin American countries are clearly diverting from religious traditions, Guzman and Martin argue that CEBs in Mexico are as much a continuation of religious

traditions as a departure from them. Similar to the cult of Guadalupe, universal catholic symbols are appropriated and transformed into symbols of Mexican national identity. Napolitano (2002) also argues that CEBs, the so-called new churches, are actually very similar to the traditional ones, noting that seemingly progressive social movements can actually be composed of subtle forms of expressing traditional, conservative ways.

Approaches to Illness:

Biomedicine and folk medicine are both sought and valued in Mexican culture. In 1982, Young and Garro compared treatment choices in two rural Mexican communities of Pichataro and Uricho, the former having limited access to physicians, while the latter having easy and cost-free access. They found that, although Uricho residents were twice as likely to seek physician services for illnesses, there was no significant differences in illness beliefs between the two villages. The increased exposure to biomedicine did not change illness beliefs among Uricho residents.

Coronado's 2005 study highlight the struggle between Western and traditional medical systems within village settings. In a Puebla village, alternative health models that are widely held by the Mexican population are assigned an inferior and even problematic position among national health policies that favor western medical models. Organizations such as the *Instituto Nacional Indigenista* attempted to bridge the gap between Western and indigenous health practices during the 1980s and 90s, and one outcome was a hospital that offered both traditional and Western medical services. While it was expected that a hybrid model might emerge after a decade of operation, the perceptions of staff contributed to the two systems remaining separate, even under the same roof.

Grieshop's 1997 study of the influence of transnational immigration on Mixtec health belief systems utilized participants in both Oaxaca and California. By focusing on Locus of Illness Control and beliefs in omens, Grieshop identified significant variation between national and transnational illness beliefs. Transnational migrants were significantly less likely to believe in omens and were more likely to report having less internal control over illness. Bade (1994), however, draws on data from the same research to demonstrate how Mixtec women and their families move between distinct healthcare systems, or as Bades terms it, "transmedical" healthcare. This type of flexibility, rather than a slow and steady shift, is also echoed in an earlier study by Chavez (1984) among Mexican immigrants in California.

The Culture of Migration:

Within a number of communities across Mexico, there has become a "culture of migration (Kandel and Massey 2002)." Especially for men, migration has become a normal part of the life course, something of a rite of passage into manhood, and even transmitted across generations of aspiring migrants. In addition, household, local, and regional economies are increasingly dependent on financial remittances. According to Kandel and Massey, young men who do not participate in migration are seen as, "lazy, unenterprising, and undesirable as potential mates," and absent migrants are "always present" in local social, political, and cultural life (2002:982).

Cohen (2004) also refers to migration in rural Oaxaca as a 'culture of migration' because it is an everyday experience and a means to economic well-being. At the same time, he describes migration as one option that households may choose as a potential way to earn a living. He states that Oaxacans do not think of migration as "a silver bullet" that will resolve all inequalities. Mutersbaugh (2002) calls attention to the strong agency of people united within a Oaxacan

sending community that may contradict, or at least complicate, the “culture of migration” theory. In this case, villagers strongly oppose uncontrolled migration, even going so far as to strip the village rights from men who take part in extended migration. The villagers acknowledge the benefits of remittance income for both family and village, but they also take seriously the disruption of leadership and labor duties created by migration. Mutersbaugh suggests the need for a theoretical framework of immigration that attends to both the influence of, and the variation among, local political forces. Gabarrot and Clarke (2010), examining the role of social capital in sending communities in Oaxaca, also consider the important role of non-migrants in shaping migration outcomes on a community level. They similarly conclude that it is important to consider site of origin along with site of destination when evaluating the effects of migration on development.

Poveda’s (2007) investigation of migration from the state of Veracruz found that migration to the US was considered a more widely available, but a more costly alternative to migration within Mexico. Migration to the US has a greater impact, both positive and negative, on production and reproduction of families. Financial prosperity is traded for various degrees of disruption to the family and the community. Napolitano (2002) also notes that migration is both a process of self-empowerment and loss of power. The ‘double-edged-sword’ of US migration is illustrated in the ongoing and complex debate about whether or not remittances are actually beneficial for communities, with evidence suggesting that they have varying costs and benefits across family, community, state, and national levels (also see works of Rose and Shaw 2008, Stark et al. 1989, Roberts and Morris 2003).

Mexican Immigration to the US

All too often, Mexican immigrants are treated as a homogenous group (Fox 2006), overlooking their differing origins, but over the past two decades Mexican migrants have become increasingly multi-ethnic, ranging from Oaxacan Afro-Mexicans to Mayans of the Yucatan and Chiapas (Adler 2008). Today, Mexican migrants include a significant number of indigenous groups, for many of which Spanish is not their first, or even second, language. Mexico-US migration flow generally stems from three distinct sources (Fussell 2004): 1) the oldest stream from rural *mestizo* communities in central-western Mexico; 2) a more recent stream from urban areas in central Mexico; and 3) a smaller, continuous stream from the border region around Tijuana. Fussell also distinguishes between two streams of migration into the US. The traditional rural central Mexican migration stream is mainly made up of undocumented men seeking low-skilled agriculture labor in the US, and a second stream consists of internal migrants whose destination is Tijuana, but make trips, usually undocumented, across the border to the US.

Throughout most of the 20th century, the majority of Mexican immigrants were heading to the “gateway states” of Texas, California, Arizona, and New Mexico. The ebb and flow of immigration can be broken into four key historical periods (Durand et al. 2004): 1) the *classic era* of the 1920’s with restrictive immigration policies; 2) the Bracero era of the nationally sponsored temporary work program from 1942-1964; 3) the era of undocumented migration running from the end of the Bracero era to the passing of the Immigration Reform and Control Act in 1986; and 4) the post-IRCA era spanning from 1987 to the present period of government efforts to suppress immigration. After the US passed the 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act, migration took a major shift southward with even greater numbers of immigrants arriving from the South Central region of Mexico (Jones 1995).

Rural Destinations:

The growth of Hispanic population in rural areas of the US started in the 1980s, and by the year 2000, nearly half of all non-metro Hispanics lived in non-traditional areas outside the Southwest, making Hispanics the most rapidly growing demographic in rural and small-town America (Kandel and Cromartie 2004). Hispanic growth, as well as more permanent settlement, in non-metro areas of the Northwest and Southeast US can be explained by three overlapping trends (Kandel and Parrado 2005): 1) The urban out-migration thesis- a weak economy and saturated labor market in urban areas drives migrants to seek employment elsewhere; 2) The policy perspective- recent border enforcement policies have dispersed migrant settlements along the border and made it more difficult for migrants to participate in *de facto* guest worker programs, causing many migrants to extend their stay and eventually bring their families; and 3) Corporate recruitment- active recruitment by low-wage industries in non-metro areas, including meat/poultry processing, carpet manufacturing, oil extraction, timber harvesting, construction, and fish processing.

Rural destinations without long established Hispanic populations often lack the social, educational, and public health infrastructures commonplace in traditional receiving communities. Local residents of these communities may have little experience with people of different cultural and linguistic backgrounds (Kandel and Cromartie 2004). As a result, “newcomers speaking a different language, eating different foods, attending different churches, and rearing children differently can spark fear, hostility, and indignation in rural populations that have remained stable for generations (Jensen 2006:8).” Seemingly this should become less of an issue over time, but as we move well-past the two-decade mark of new immigrant destinations, political agendas and economic instability are contributing to a persistently unwelcoming climate.

Gray and Woodrick's (2005) work focused on the rural Midwestern town of Marshalltown, has helped the community leaders develop ways of embracing the revitalization that the new population has brought. Grey's "welcoming new Iowans" program served as a platform for consulting with community leaders about how to make the New Marshalltown "work," even going as far as sending the Mayor and chief of police to the sending community of Villachuato, Mexico. While this approach may bring some success to rural areas of the Midwest, rural Southern communities offer a distinct set of challenges that make cooperative effort to welcome newcomers seem less likely to succeed.

Immigration to the South:

Since the 1990s the Southern US has emerged as a destination area for Hispanic immigrants, primarily from Mexico. During the 1990s alone, the Hispanic population in rural areas of the South grew by nineteen percent. The ability to settle into year-round jobs and to earn steady wages makes employment in the meat and poultry industry an appealing alternative to seasonal formwork. Kandel and Parrado (2005) describe four central processes that have led to industrial restructuring of the meat/poultry industry and fostered Hispanic migration to the rural South: 1) changing consumption patterns have increased demand for convenience foods, spawning processing technology to lower cost and increase variety; 2) monopolization of the meat industry to a handful of firms has weakened labor/management relationships, job stability, and benefits, making jobs less appealing to non-migrants; 3) firms relocating to rural areas to reduce transportation cost and associated loss of livestock, as well as reducing the likelihood of unionizing; and 4) physically demanding work conditions lead to exceptionally high turnover rates, exhausting local labor sources and spawning recruitment of immigrants.

Smith and Winders (2008) examine the friction experienced by immigrants to the South as they mark their place as permanent community members, while at the same time recognizing their place in the system of flexible labor and militarized borders. They suggest that immigration studies of the South should not treat this region as exceptional or make Southern-specific arguments, but rather see the South as a strategic research site where tensions, processes, and relations found in many places are made more stark. While it is true that the tensions, processes, and relations found in the US South can be generalized, to some extent to other settings, the especially ‘stark’ nature of these experiences in the South makes this region ‘exceptional’.

To date, research efforts focusing on Hispanic immigrants to the South remain heavily concentrated on larger population areas like Georgia, North Carolina, and Florida (Murphy et al. 2001, Fink 2003, Smith and Furuseth 2006), with few studies considering rural Southern receiving communities outside of these key destinations. A large number of rural Southern receiving communities are classified by the Department of Agriculture as “persistent poverty counties (Stack 1998).” Immigrants to these communities have a visible impact on political, economic, and symbolic dynamics that have been stable for many years and in many cases, even reversing the pattern of population drain. Their presence can be seen not just in the labor market, but in school attendance, Spanish-language newspapers and radio stations, a sudden boom in Catholic church attendance, soccer leagues, new businesses, new food choices, and even new ethnically mixed marriages (Zuniga and Hernandez-Leon 2005). Nonetheless, these newcomers to the South are often unaware of the historical stage upon which they have become actors. The South has a deep and colorful history, from which has emerged a number of factors that lend themselves to a unique “Southern” immigration experience.

As Smith and Winders (2008) point out, large portions of the South remain poor, rural, non-unionized, and steeped in the shadows of slavery. Political rhetoric about “what the poor need” fuels the ideological fires of the very people who have never been very concerned about the well-being of unemployed and needy citizens in the first place (Stack 1998). Duchon and Murphy (2001) describe the good-ole-boy network that has dominated the South for generations, ensuring that a powerful individual and his handful of cronies maintain control, and any opposition faces harsh punishment. Because the good-old-boy network is based on personal relationships, it may appear from the outside to be relaxed and casual, but the reality is that it is very difficult to become part of a system based on years (or even generations) of personal contact. In this system, misbehavior and even corruption is tolerated from its members, while ideas and actions of newcomers are politely resisted.

Legal and social discrimination, in its most extreme form, can look a lot like old-fashioned Southern racism. In the mid 1990’s, recent immigrants to some communities in rural Georgia were met with white supremacy and Ku Klux Klan rallies (Sabia 2007). As Stack (1998) puts it, “the new Old South isn’t the old Old South, but distrust, hostility, and fear persist (101).” From the other end of the Southern racial dichotomy, another form of anti-immigration sentiment and discrimination occurs in Southern communities (Marrow 2011, Stuesse 2009). Immigrants to rural areas of North Carolina and Mississippi report feeling more hostility from the African-American community than from the Anglo community. Some Hispanic newcomers reported having better interpersonal relationships with whites than with blacks, and some reported perceiving greater discrimination from blacks than from whites. Stuesse found that racial and ethnic group divisions among Mississippi’s poultry workers were manipulated by state and corporate actors to impede collective movements for change within the industry. In her study

among Mexican immigrants in Tuscaloosa, Alabama, Szurek (2011) reports several testimonies from participants who have experienced similar racial and ethnic tensions.

Immigration Stressors and Sources of Coping

The following sections will look more closely at the interaction among various immigration stressors and ways of coping by focusing on specific topics commonly addressed in Mexican immigration literature, including: 1) separating and reuniting family; 2) occupational hardships; 3) physical and mental health risks; 4) acculturation; 5) social support; and 6) religious coping.

Separating and Reuniting Family:

The family often plays a central role throughout the immigration process. Concepts of transnationalism, originally focusing more on the extent to which immigrants were economically linked to both sending and receiving communities, is increasingly being expanded to describe the relationships maintained with families and communities in the face of immigration. Terms like “transnational families” and “transnational communities” are being utilized to describe the intense connections immigrants are able to maintain through new technologies of communication (Falicov 2007).

Often cases, the decision to migrate in the first place, and which individuals will migrate, is a family-level decision. Factors that go into the decision to migrate include the family’s assessment of entry cost, expected returns, and risk (Winters et al. 2001). Grzywacz et al. (2006) examined the competing norms of family responsibilities that accompany the decision of the head of household to migrate or to stay home. Psychological tensions are created by the push to go (no work, family to support, poverty) and the pull to stay (leaving family members behind, economic vulnerability of family during initial migration period). These contradictions can lead

to increased levels of anxiety even before more commonly discussed immigration stressors come into play. In fact, migrants who faced difficult and contradictory decisions to leave vulnerable family members behind are more strongly affected by negative immigration experiences they encounter in the future.

Family and community networks are an important source of information about the decision to migrate. Winters and colleagues (2001) found that well-established migrant networks allowed family members, like women, children, and grandparents, to migrate who normally would be unlikely to participate. Family and community networks provide recent arrivals with housing, transportation, and food assistance. These networks also play a key role in employment and settlement patterns. It is common to see a large number of people from the same sending communities residing in the same receiving communities (Grey and Woodrick 2005, Striffler 2007). As Chavez's 1994 article on "imagined communities" demonstrated, a major factor in immigrant's decision to settle is their ability to see themselves as part of a community.

Grey (2001) noted a contradictory settlement pattern between legal and illegal migrants. While legal immigration promotes a "military model of immigration" with single men and women living in dormitory settings separate from their families and moving with the cycle of jobs, illegal immigration, on the other hand, is more encouraging of a settled family life including community activities such as church and school attendance. Although such factors as poultry industry employment and legal status lead migrant workers to establish more permanent roots in areas like the rural South, they often do not give up their ties with Mexico. Instead, as Striffler (2007) found, the "transnational migration circuit" is simply being reconfigured. Striffler joined a group of migrant workers living in Arkansas, all from the same small village in Mexico, as they caravanned home for an annual visit. In the previous years of out-migration,

only men migrated, and only as far as California. Now the circuit has been reconfigured and extended as far as Arkansas. Striffler also notes how the village of Santo Domingo may be destined to become a “ghost town” or a “retirement community” with the core of its residents only able to make annual visits.

When the family is thrown off balance by migration, it becomes a major source of immigration stress. Some challenges frequently faced by immigrant families include such things as: financial difficulties, language and cultural barriers, physical health and mental health needs, legal and documentation issues, and discrimination. When families settle in the rural South, both the families and the receiving community are met with a variety of new challenges. The educational system, especially, has had to adjust to an increased enrollment of schoolchildren without English language skills (Sabia 2007). The demand for long and inflexible work hours for both parents means that their children are left unattended, and overworked and undereducated parents are unable to assist children with schoolwork. If the two parents are working separate shifts, then the home becomes especially fractured (Millard and Chapa 2004). Boehm (2008) notes the irony in which a primary motivation for migration is often to benefit the children, yet the children are placed in threatening situations as a result. One extreme example being children who are left to face the consequences of one or both parents being suddenly arrested and deported as a result of such mass-efforts as roadblocks or workplace raids. The number of children affected by workplace raids is roughly half the number of adults arrested (Capps et al. 2007).

When families are able to reunite in the immigration process, even the added challenges they face as a migrant family appear to be outweighed by the benefits of restoring the family unit. Parra-Cardona et al. (2006) used schema theory to identify common themes from interviews

about the experiences of migrant families. One theme, “satisfaction with life” indicates a resilience found in being able to meet the needs of one’s family. Although participants reported dissatisfaction with working conditions and health benefits associated with their jobs, they reported overall life satisfaction from earning an income that allowed them to cover their families’ basic needs. Other common themes included: working hard; experiencing discrimination and exploitation; moving up in life; and being all together. This final point further emphasizes the importance of family and community in Hispanic cultures, even, or perhaps especially, during the immigration process.

Despite job dissatisfaction, many immigrants do not see their situation as one of exploitation, but of upward mobility, especially concerning the opportunity for their children to enter the educational system (Guthey 2001). Many workers he interviewed indicated that they were content in North Georgia, and would not be likely to return to their countries of origin unless forced by INS. Besides educational and financial opportunities, reasons cited for their willingness to stay in the South included: feeling that their needs were met; seeing the poultry jobs as the best available at the moment; and dissatisfaction with the Mexican government.

Occupational Hardships:

Until the recent shift in immigration patterns and meat/poultry industry policies (Stull and Broadway, 2003), the majority of studies addressing Hispanic migrant workers focused on agricultural farmworkers, primarily in California and primarily of Mexican origin, who earn a living by planting and harvesting seasonal crops. While study outcomes pertaining to migrant farmworkers in gateway states must be generalized cautiously to poultry workers in the rural South, there is considerable overlap among the sociocultural, physical, and psychological challenges faced by these groups of workers. When migrant farmworkers in the Midwest, for

example, were asked to self-report sources of stress in their lives, five of the top ten stressors were work-related, including: rigid work demands, work and housing instability, low wages, hard physical labor, and exploitation by employers (Magaña and Hovey 2003).

Job-related injuries are high among both poultry plant workers and farmworkers, and few employees have health insurance, unemployment compensation, or disability protection (Sabia 2007, Pew Hispanic Center 2004). While there are some differences, there is significant overlap in the most frequently reported injuries among meat industry employees and farmworkers.

Grzywacz et al. (2007) identify five specific sources of injury associated with work in poultry processing factories, including: 1) assembly-line style production requiring workers to stand and conduct rapid repetitive movement for long periods of time, leading to musculoskeletal injuries; 2) working in close proximity on the production line and handling sharp tools leading to high rates of cutting accidents; 3) inability to control work speed associated with assembly-line production, and pressure to increase production creating high-stress environments; 4) chronic noise creating stressful work environment as well as hearing damage; and 5) communication barriers due to ethnically-diverse workforce increasing the risk of injury or accident. In comparison, the most common sources of occupational injury and illness among farmworkers include repetitive motion injuries, accidents using ladders and equipment, and immediate or delayed injury from pesticide exposure (Arcury and Quandt 2007).

While the steady, year-round wages of the poultry industry may be preferred over seasonal farmwork, the industry's history of stagnant wages, high turnover rates, and high injuries makes it undesirable work for even the poorest of U.S. citizens. As the industry has increasingly relocated its plants to sparsely populated rural areas located close to poultry farms in order to reduce transportation costs, the jobs have become even more difficult to fill with native

workers. This, along with the extreme physical demands, low wages, and deplorable working conditions in dark, wet, and noisy factories, has helped spawn labor recruitment from abroad. Increasingly, the industry has relied on undocumented Hispanic immigrants to perform these physically tiring, repetitive, and injury-prone jobs (Kandel and Parrado 2005). Jeffers and Millard (2004a) found that Hispanic factory workers may use a different set of criteria to rate the desirability of a job. In their study, participants considered a particular processing plant to be a ‘good’ place to work if it paid better than the others, while categories such as working condition and treatment by management were not very salient points of comparison.

Striffler’s (2002) inside account of the operations of a Tyson poultry plant in Arkansas provides a rare portrait of the life of a poultry worker. By taking a job as a line worker in a plant alongside Mexicans, Salvadorans, and Vietnamese, he experiences first-hand the unbearable sounds and smells, the relentless speed at which the production line moves, and the way in which workers are at the mercy of incompetent management. The ultimate insult comes when management rewards the workers for an especially hard-days-work by providing them with lunch, *fried chicken*, and the final indignity, as Striffler describes, is that as they complain, they eat it.

In the non-unionized South, workers are especially expendable, and they are well-aware that there are always others waiting to take their places as evidenced by turnover as high as 300 percent annually in some places (Stuesse 2009). This knowledge, coupled with an unauthorized work status, prevents many migrant workers from filing complaints, accident reports, or from taking time off for illness, a practice encouraged by management. In an atmosphere like this, the idea of organizing for change is unrealistic, even dangerous. Fink’s 2003 account of Mayan workers in Morganton, North Carolina as they organize a labor strike against a poultry

processing company is a rare instance of “organized labor” in the South. As Fink points out, North Carolina is the least unionized state in the country. The lack of fondness for labor unions in the South actually draws companies to the regions.

Physical and Mental Health Risks:

Besides work related illness and injury, migrants are a high risk group for a number of physical and mental health issues. Many of these illnesses are a result of, or at least exacerbated by, healthcare barriers. Cristancho and colleagues (2008) explored the concept of vulnerability by conducting focus groups with Hispanics in the rural Midwest to discuss perceived barriers to healthcare. Common perceived barriers include: lack of health insurance; high cost of health services; communication issues with providers; legal discrimination; and lack of transportation. Immigrants to rural areas face these same obstacles, in addition to those long faced by rural residents, such as a limited number of healthcare facilities (Arcury and Quandt 2007). A 2004 Pew Hispanic Center study found that Hispanics who primarily speak Spanish are more likely to be uninsured, to experience communication problems with health care providers, and to encounter ethnic discrimination when accessing healthcare, as compared to Hispanics who primarily speak English.

Concern over legal status can be a major stressor as well as a barrier to seeking healthcare, and it is well-known that a large number of Mexican migrant workers to the South are undocumented (Murphy et al. 2001, Pew Hispanic Center 2011). According to Berk and Schur (2001), “lack of documentation—and the fear associated with it—is a powerful deterrent to people obtaining care and services they need (155).” They found that thirty-nine percent of undocumented Hispanic immigrants were afraid to seek medical services due to their undocumented status. Concern over legal status is not only a direct barrier to seeking healthcare,

but high levels of anxiety related to legal status and deportation issues can affect overall wellbeing. Sullivan and Rehm, in their 2005 review of literature relating to mental health of undocumented Mexican immigrants, identified several themes specific to undocumented immigrants which would have physical and mental health implications, including: failure in the country of origin; dangerous border crossings; limited resources; restricted mobility; marginalization/isolation; stigma/blame and guilt/shame; vulnerability/exploitability; fear and fear-based behaviors; and stress and depression.

Although undocumented immigrants face constant threat of deportation, legal residents are not necessarily immune. As Chavez (2008) points out, the Mexican is still considered to be the prototypical “illegal alien.” Finch and colleagues (2000) found that participants in their study reported high levels of stress associated with being subjected to questions about their legal status from law enforcement and immigration officials despite the fact that these stresses should not be a concern for U.S. citizens. Additionally, Hispanic immigrants who are in the country legally may have family members in the U.S. who are undocumented (Sabia 2007). Indeed, a Pew Hispanic Report (2007) found that over half of all Hispanics in the U.S. worry that they or a friend or family member could be deported.

Another major barrier to healthcare among migrant workers is a lack of health insurance (Chavez et al. 1992, Arcury and Quandt 2007). The Pew Hispanic Center reported in 2004 that, among all ethnic groups, Hispanics are the least likely to have health insurance, with nearly one-third uninsured. In Mississippi, 29 percent of native-born, and 74 percent of foreign Hispanics are uninsured. The enormity of this statistic is realized when compared to the 15 percent non-Hispanic whites and 22 percent of non-Hispanic blacks who are uninsured.

A lack of public transportation is a common dilemma for many rural residents, a dilemma which is made even more difficult for immigrants who may lack the legal documents required to obtain a driver's license (Cristancho et al. 2008). This results in a large number of people driving without a license, which can lead to arrest and deportation. A lack of transportation to hospitals or clinics results in untreated illnesses and injuries and missed appointments. In rural areas, transportation to the nearest hospital or clinic may be a significant distance, and affording gas or paying a friend or neighbor with a vehicle may not be possible. Hubbell (2006) found that rural Hispanic women have a reduced chance of surviving breast cancer than women in other ethnic populations. He attributed this increased risk, in part, to the lack of transportation. Without transportation, they were unable to carry out preventive behaviors against breast cancer. Children of migrant workers face similar problems. Lack of transportation is the most commonly reported barrier to healthcare for migrant children in rural areas (Arcury and Quandt 2007).

A study by Villalba (2007) compared differences in health disparities among rural and urban Hispanic adolescents in the South. The study found that adolescents in rural settings were more likely than their urban peers to suffer from medical problems resulting from a lack of routine healthcare, such as: ear infections, ADHD, poor dental care, and lapsed vaccinations. Urban adolescents however were more likely to experience complex and severe medical issues, such as, physical and sexual abuse, sexually-transmitted diseases, and obesity. However, both urban and rural adolescents are susceptible to poor vision care and high pregnancy rates. These conditions, to various degrees, can directly impact school performance. Without access to treatment and counseling, children can quickly fall behind. Something as basic as lapsed vaccinations can create a chain reaction of set-backs.

The South is not only experiencing the fastest increase of Hispanic immigration, but also consistently leads the nation in reported cases of HIV, gonorrhea, Chlamydia, and syphilis (Rhodes et al. 2007). HIV research still tends to focus on urban Hispanics even though Hispanics in the rural South are disproportionately affected by HIV in comparison to non-Hispanic whites. Attributes that put migrant farmworkers at higher risk for HIV and STDS including poverty, limited education, mobility, and isolation (Arcury and Quandt 2007). A study by Rhodes et al. (2007) exploring the sociocultural determinants of sexual risk among non-English-speaking Hispanic men living in North Carolina found that barriers to accessing sexual health care include: lack of knowledge about services and eligibility, fear of loss of confidentiality, and need for male interpreters. Sexual risk is often promoted by sociocultural norms and expectations of masculinity, including: a need to continually prove manhood and immigration as a threat to masculinity. In a similar study by Knipper et al. (2007), the central role of the family again emerges. They found that those who had close interactions with family members and who consulted family members about health-related activities were more likely to report practicing safe sex and condom use.

Food insecurity can be a significant health concern among recent immigrants to the U.S. Immigrants are distinguished from other groups at risk for food insecurity because they face unique pressures, including obligations to send money to family in their country of origin, and fear of being deported if they seek assistance because they lack legal documents. Quandt et al. (2006) found that from 35 to 42 percent of the immigrant families she sampled across North Carolina could be classified as “food insecure” without hunger, compared to 13 percent in the US in total. A study by Himmelgreen and colleagues (2000) highlights risk factors and consequences associated with food insecurity among Hispanic immigrants including: loss of job;

gaining household members; household members with illness; lack of transportation; living in areas with limited food outlets; lack of health insurance; and lack of access to food stamps. Once the insecurity period is overcome, a new set of nutritional challenges arise. In the face of acculturation, dietary shifts combined with more sedentary lifestyle can have profound impact on health (Gordon-Larsen et al. 2003, Szurek 2011). Upon arrival to the US, immigrants tend to show few signs of diabetes, obesity, or cardiovascular disease, but the longer they spend in the US, the more they begin to suffer from these diseases. Second-generation immigrants are especially at risk. Lifestyle and diet differences between foreign born and US born Hispanic adolescents appear to account for significant differences in weight.

In addition to barriers to seeking health services in general, a major barrier to seeking mental health service is the stigma associated with mental illness. A study by Pincay and Guarnaccia (2007) found that Mexican immigrants feared they would be considered *loco*, or might indeed be found to be crazy if they sought mental health care. Several participants also pointed out the lack of sensitivity that they received from service providers. There was a tendency to view depression as a consequence of difficult life circumstances, not as a mental illness. Even when help is sought, a “talking” treatment is strongly preferred over medication. In a similar vein, Lackey’s 2008 investigation of depression among Mexican immigrants emphasizes the importance of cultural competence among clinicians to successfully treat depression, and a need for researchers to understand clearly the concept as it is used by participants. Mexican immigrant men believed depression to be caused by: separation from family; harassment and discrimination; long hours and multiple jobs; lack of job or finances; social isolation, and; increased drug and alcohol use. Suggested remedies included: family reunification; professional help; increased socialization; and occasionally, drug and alcohol use.

Acculturation:

Acculturation and acculturative stress are also frequently tied to the well-being of immigrants. However, the concept of acculturation, often simplistically defined by variables such as language skills, time in the US, and interaction with local networks, provides an incomplete picture of the immigration experience. In addition, acculturation tends to assign a positive value to a process that can also have disadvantages, and often fails to address the new set of stressors that come along with adopting new values and habits. A broad consideration of immigration stressors and ways of coping captures the same elements that are variously discussed in the acculturation literature, but in a more comprehensive manner.

Acculturative stress basically refers to stressors that directly result from the acculturative process (Hovey and Magaña 2000). In other words, the daily life stressors of immigration related to being an outsider, or newcomer to a culture. These stressors include such things as poor language skills, different values and norms, and weak social networks. Acculturation, then, attempts to gauge the degree to which people have overcome these stressors by adopting behaviors, like improving their English or adopting US values and knowledge (Torres and Rollock 2006). From this perspective, weaknesses of the measure of acculturation become clear. The term ‘acculturation’ implies that the only way to deal with these stressors is to adopt the new behaviors. Acculturation literature tends to overlook the various ways of coping that do not require adopting the values and habits of a new culture, such as maintaining religious traditions, or establishing strong co-ethnic social networks (Allen 2009).

In some cases, less acculturation actually leads to better outcomes. A series of studies by Finch and colleagues (Finch and Vega 2003, Finch, Frank, and Vega 2004) found that physical health is negatively associated with acculturation, and Araujo and Borrell (2006) found evidence

that low acculturation serves to protect Hispanics from internalizing discrimination. Perceived discrimination has been identified as a mental health risk and a barrier to seeking healthcare. A series of studies by Franzini and Fernandez-Esquire (2004, 2006) investigating the “Hispanic paradox” further suggests the advantages of low acculturation on overall health. When compared to non-Hispanic whites, Hispanics have higher levels of poverty, lower levels of income and education, and less access to healthcare. They appear, however, to enjoy similar or better health, especially regarding mortality and life expectancy. One explanation for this paradox is that Hispanic cultures are protective of health, and this protection deteriorates with increased integration in to US culture.

Additionally, a study by Peek and colleagues (2010) that explored ethnic variations in allostatic load found that foreign-born Mexicans had lower allostatic load, as measured by a combination of biomarkers, compared to US born Mexicans, non-Hispanic Whites, and Non-Hispanic Blacks. The difference between allostatic load among foreign-born Mexicans and US-born Mexicans could not be accounted for by acculturation, lending further support to the “healthy immigrant hypothesis” suggesting that newly arrived immigrants are healthier and over time they may lose health-protective cultural associations. Kastner and colleagues (2009) also relied on measures of allostatic load to conclude that exposure to chronic stressors could lead to ‘unhealthy assimilation’ that increased with time in the US.

Social Support:

Inadequate social support is frequently reported as a major source of stress among Hispanic immigrants. In their study among Hispanic immigrants to the Midwestern U.S., Hovey and Magaña (2000) found a significant relationship between ineffective social support and high scores on anxiety scales, and their findings suggested that establishing effective support systems

may aid in coping with anxiety. In a follow-up study, Magaña and Hovey (2003) found that Hispanic immigrants perceived sources of stress in their lives to be factors related to a lack of social support, including: being away from friends and family; geographical isolation; lack of daycare for children; and worries about socialization of children. Villalba (2007) also identified loss of social support system from one's country of origin as a significant stressor for Hispanic adolescents in rural North Carolina. Likewise, Worby and Organista (2007) found that Hispanic immigrants without strong social support or a close kin network in the US face significant emotional stressors compounded by such things as: the high cost of living in the US; the strain of remittances; and adapting to a new language and culture.

Religious Coping:

Even religious devotion, under certain circumstances, can be a source of stress, as opposed to a source of support for immigrants. Religious congregations may attempt to exclude new immigrants (Williams and Mola 2007, Grey 2006). Jeffers and Millard (2004b) describe the tension found in a particular church in the Midwest among Hispanic and Anglo members over the display of a statue of Our Lady of Guadalupe. They also noted that the efforts to offer services in both English and Spanish could contribute to the divisiveness of the congregation. Some Anglo members felt that the Hispanics did not want to attend service with them, that they prefer to attend their own services in Spanish. The authors noted the complete absence of any bilingual services in the area, seeing this as a barrier to uniting a multinational community.

More often, though, religious devotion is recognized as a means of coping with stress. Religious coping is an especially dynamic process, which upon close consideration, demonstrates the complex interaction of various ways of coping, including social support, material support, and personal resilience. To some extent the 'key' to the effectiveness of

religious coping may be that it combines these various source of coping. Early approaches to understanding the role of religion in the lives of immigrants (Handlin 1973) paid close attention to cultural continuation and psychological benefits of faith, but as Hirschman (2004) points out, did not give due importance to the socioeconomic role of religious institutions and their associated networks. Studies have suggested that religious involvement may affect health by sanctioning healthy behaviors, providing material and social resources, and promoting personal coping mechanisms (Bhugra 2004, Franzini and Fernandez-Esquire 2004). Research suggests that some individuals are more resilient to chronic stress despite low socioeconomic status, and study participants often credit their own positive physical and psychological health to religious coping (Bay et al. 2008, Folkman 2010, Sapolsky 2004). Private religious devotion provides an additional level of coping with situations that may seem to be beyond one's control (Ebaughm and Chafetz 2000, Levitt 2007).

The positive association between religious attendance and health can be associated with a sense of belonging to a community. Finch and Vega (2003) found that reliance on instrumental social support as well as religious support moderated the effects of discrimination on physical health. They found that a significant number of peers and family members in the US, combined with a strong reliance on religious coping mechanisms, decreased the likelihood of self-reporting poor health. New immigrants often seek out co-ethnic social networks through religious congregations. From this community comes a wealth of informal material aid, information, and emotional support in addition to the formal programs provided by the religious institutions (Ebaughm and Chafetz 2000).

Disenfranchised people with limited means of negotiating problems, and limited power to speak out against social injustices they may experience in their daily lives often rely on religious

coping as a source of material, social, and emotional support (Hagan 2008, Pargament et al. 1988). In addition to spiritual guidance and charity, local churches provide English language instruction, assist in attaining legal documents and legal representation, provide transportation and translators for medical appointments, and tutor children after school (Odem 2004). Religious institutions, such as the Catholic Church, may also provide spaces to incorporate culturally-specific religious practices such as displaying images or holding celebrations for regionally specific saints or Marian figures (Marquardt 2005, Sullivan 2000a, Sullivan 2000b). Religious petitioning to culturally-specific saints or Marian figures is a form of private devotion that has been reported as an important form of coping. Among Mexican immigrants, religious petitioning takes the form of *promesas* or vows to the Virgin Mary or a patron saint for granting a favor or answering a prayer (Pescador 2009).

Chapter Summary

One common theme that unites the majority of issues relating to immigration is that of stress and coping. From this point of view, it also becomes clear that the immigration experience is not black-and-white, with new stressors and ways of coping emerging as individual circumstances change over time. More often, stressors are not resolved, but simply replaced by new ones. The concept of allostasis (McEwen and Wingfield 2003) is called into mind as the line between sources of stress and sources of coping becomes blurred, it becomes a delicate balancing act with individuals constantly making adjustments. Pressures in the sending community that drive migration in the first place; compromises that come along with the decision to migrate; difficulties of being a new arrival; the physical and emotional toil of work; health vulnerabilities made worse by barriers; and even the additional concerns that emerge as family members reunite in *el Norte* are all part of the immigration experience. As this chapter

demonstrates, a topic with such tremendous breadth as immigration can be very difficult to consider holistically. At the same time, a theory of immigration must take into consideration, at least to some extent, the entire immigration experience. A sophisticated biocultural approach can accommodate the multi-method and multi-disciplinary efforts which are necessary to further our knowledge of the immigration process.

CHAPTER 3
OUR LADY OF GUADALUPE:
FROM A MASTER SYMBOL TO A CULTURAL DOMAIN

Introduction

Any investigation surrounding Guadalupan devotion must start with a review of the historical, political, and cultural forces that have shaped her identity over time. Towards this goal, this chapter provides a brief introduction to the Catholic Church and its treatment of Marian devotions, before tracing the origins and history of the Virgin of Guadalupe, from a narrative circulated throughout colonial Mexico, to an official Mexican national symbol, to a central Marian figure for the Catholic Church. The chapter will then review current literature relating to Our Lady of Guadalupe with an eye towards positioning the current study within a broader context. In addition, this chapter will also frame the current study's theoretical approach to the understanding of Guadalupan devotion by elaborating on the advantages of considering Our Lady of Guadalupe as a cultural domain.

Marian Devotion in the Catholic Tradition

Catholicism:

Catholicism may be considered the most successful religion in human history, especially in terms of number of baptized (1 billion), access to resources, geographic distribution, and longevity (Murphy 2008). This scale of success, however, would not be possible without a measure of flexibility that seems to contradict the conservative reputation and structured

hierarchy of the Church. One reason behind the success of the Catholic Church is that it operates simultaneously on three layers of religious culture: the *universal*, or the “official” constructs of the Vatican; the *regional* practices of nations geographical regions, such as Irish or Mexican Catholics; and the *local* expressions that are particular to regions or communities (Murphy 2008).

The versions of Catholicism found across Latin America and in Mexico is often referred to as “vernacular” or “folk,” Catholicism” because it incorporates many regional elements (Elizondo 2000). These pious practices centered on the veneration of a sacred object, “but which are not considered by the Church to be part of its official liturgy” may also be referred to as “popular” (Carroll 1983:7). Forms of public worship that have been approved by the Church as being “directly relevant to the Sacraments and the celebration of Mass” are considered “liturgical.” It should also be recognized that, while both Vatican-endorsed and popular versions of 16th Century Spanish Catholicism were inserted onto Mexican religiosity, these often came in the form of selective or stripped-down versions that are associated with “Conquest culture” (Foster 1960).

With roots in Spanish Catholicism Latin American Catholicism is often noted for its intense, public, vibrant religious and spiritual expressions, especially in contrast to the more rigid and stark approach to religious worship typical of US. Catholicism, which mostly stems from the Irish Catholic tradition (Goizueta 2004). The Latin American Catholic faith is rich with symbol and ritual, and celebrations are frequently conducted in the streets and town squares, “breaching the boundary between private life and public life (Goizueta 2004:127).”

The Role of Mary:

Religious devotion to the Virgin Mary is central to the Catholic tradition, even to the extent that followers may often report feeling a closer relationship to Mary than to they do to Jesus. It is this prominent place of the Virgin Mary that most distinguishes both official and folk Catholic practices from that of Protestant practices (Murphy 1992). At the heart of the Catholic interest in the Virgin Mary is the belief that people can gain “special privileges or graces through devotional exercises which express or help establish a special relationship” with Mary (Zimdar-Swartz 1991:10). The extent of this belief is evidenced by the various Marian shrines that are frequented by pilgrims, and which often become the focal point of communities across the world. The Marian figures or Saints who occupy the shrines are treated like “very special people” or guests to the community (Christian 1977). Both people from within the community and abroad devote their attention, love, and veneration to the images, often in the form of vows or *promesas* made in exchange for answered prayers or miracles, “and in return, as if in compensation, the image is seen to reciprocate with comfort and, at times, practical help (Christian 1977:72).”

Throughout its history, the Catholic Church has capitalized on this close attachment that so many people feel to the figure for the Virgin Mary. After the Council of Nicea in the year 787, the Church took a shift towards more traditional practices embracing icons, including Marian figures (Brading 2001). The Church’s stance on intercession and apparitions has contributed to the great success of the religious institution. Intercession is seen as a way to gain “special privileges or graces through devotional exercises which express or help establish a special relationship with the Virgin Mary (Zimdar-Swartz 1991:10).” There is an established protocol that officially recognizes some apparitions of the Virgin Mary, and turns a blind eye to non-official apparitions. Before an apparition can make it to the point of investigation by the Church,

visions must first be judged credible by the wider social audience (Murphy and González 2011). If a vision moves from the popular to the mainstream, then it may merit an investigation by the Church, which in very few cases leads to an official declaration of authenticity.

Our Lady of Guadalupe's appearance to Juan Diego must be understood in terms of a long tradition of such Marian apparitions, and is one of a very few that has successfully moved from mainstream to official recognition. Of the hundreds of apparitions that have been reported to the Roman Catholic Church in the past two-hundred years, only seven have been officially investigated and approved; these seven apparitions include sightings in: Rue de Bac, France, in 1830; La Salle, France, in 1846; Lourdes, France, in 1858; Pontmain, France in 1933; Fatima, Portugal, in 1917; Beauraing, Belgium in 1932; and Banneux, Belgium, in 1933 (Zimdar-Swartz 1991:11). Christian (1984) notes that of the large number of people who experience visions, very few manage to gain public interest, prompting Murphy and González to suggest the need for an investigation of the "specification of those socioeconomic processes that cause some to inspire the multitudes while the vast majority do not (2011:4)."

The Cult of Mary:

The cult of the Virgin Mary, with apparitions at its nucleus, has been used for "conquest, evangelization, revival, and agitation" throughout the history of the Church (Brading 2001). Perry and Echeverria (1988) recount the central role that the cult of Mary has played within the Church for many centuries, contributing more to institutional growth and zeal than any other Catholic cult or devotion. As early as the 4th century, the figure of Mary has been embraced by the Church as a voice of orthodoxy and a means of revealing and explaining sacred mysteries to the people, such as Theodokos (Mary as the Mother of God). In the 13th century, where the emphasis of the age was on the sins of the flesh and pride as the root of evil, the hierarchy relied

heavily on Marian piety to encourage obedience, humanity, and patience in its flock. At the same time, the cult of Mary remained linked to papal indulgence, as the Church and the Crown collected steep taxes and erected elaborate chapels and Marian shrines through the practice of allowing people to buy forgiveness for their sins.

By the 14th century, the controversy of Immaculate Conception, which deems that Mary was conceived without sin, was fueled by a new series of visions and revelations supporting this concept. Messages during this period emphasized Mary's position side-by-side with her son. During this period, the tradition of praying the rosary also emerged. The belief that Mary was conceived without sin remained outside of canonical dogma for centuries to come, but was increasingly imposed with strong condemnation of those who spoke against it. It was not until 1850 that she was officially declared Immaculate by Pope Pius IX, when he publically announced that the Virgin Mary, "was revealed by God and therefore is to be firmly and steadfastly believed by all the faithful (Perry and Echeverria 1988:116)." He then delivered a stern warning against anyone who may think on the contrary, that they "are condemned by their own judgment," "have revolted from the unity of the Church," and, "subject themselves to lawful penalties if they dare signify what they think in their hearts (Perry and Echeverria 1988:117)."

From the 1400s onward, the Church put a significant effort into its rapidly growing Latin American followers. During his pontification in the late 1800s, Pope Leo XIII declared Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception as the patroness of Latin America, and promoted the concept of *Hispanidad* to encourage a sense of fraternity among the peoples of the New World and Mexico. Techniques like creative assimilation (the sacralizing of local customs), indigenization (incorporating cultural forms that are native to the local community into Catholic liturgy), and dynamic equivalence (replacing an object from the Roman Catholic tradition with something in

the local culture that has equal meaning or value) had an especially strong impact on Latin American Catholicism (Angrosino 1994). The melding of indigenous elements with the orthodox traditions of the Church contributed to the distinct and strongly “popular” form of Catholicism that is associated with the Americas. Rituals and images endorsed by the Church were adapted by lay people as a way to perpetuate, or at least pay homage to, pre-Conquest ideas. The Church also positioned edifices atop pagan shrines or used stones from native altars in the construction of churches.

Especially in Mexico and Peru, there was already a strong presence of a sacred feminine, and the conquistadors, followed by the clergy, were aggressive in their efforts to refocus this devotion to the Virgin Mary. Perhaps they understood the idea that, “once idols get behind altars the human psyche may shift its devotion to what is in front and most visible (Hall 2009:83).” What eventually emerged were new manifestations of Mary that incorporated indigenous features, many of which have come to be endorsed by the Church. Most notable of these is the dark-skinned Virgin of Guadalupe with traces of Aztec goddesses.

The Formation of a Mexican Master Symbol

The historical significance of Our Lady of Guadalupe is not only important as a background for the framing the current study, but it makes clear the ways in which key elements of her narrative, and the events surrounding her appearance, are often emphasized by Guadalupan devotees. Three elements, 1) the timing of her appearance; 2) the location of her appearance; and 3) her physical appearance, are equally as important as the narrative, itself, in forming the foundation of the widespread devotion seen today. At the time that she appeared to the indigenous peasant, Juan Diego, Mexico had just been colonized and native Mexicans were being pressed to convert to Catholicism, yet they were not given an equal position within the

Church as the *criollo* with Spanish blood. The place where she appeared, upon Mount Tepeyac, was home to an ancient Mexica temple for the mother goddess, Tonantzin. Her physical appearance was that of a dark-skinned woman who wore a cloak of stars, a sash denoting pregnancy, and stood upon a crescent moon. All of these elements, along with her declaration to Juan Diego that she was *his* mother and the mother of *all*, contribute to her association as a symbol of indigenous Mexico, as well as a loving mother to all humanity. Some interpret these symbols as a sign of the birth of a new era for the Church and for Mexico (Elizondo 1999).

Of the various manifestations of the Virgin Mary, this unique history surrounding Our Lady of Guadalupe especially positions her as a mediator between the Church and the people. Poole describes Guadalupan devotion as, “one of history’s outstanding examples of the union of religious devotion and nationalism (2014:271).” Juan Diego’s vision of the Virgin legitimized the Cult of Mary for indigenous people, and vice versa, her appearance to the humble peasant legitimized the native Mexican’s position within the Church (Westerfelhaus and Singhal 2001).

The Origins of Our Lady of Guadalupe:

A statue of a Madonna known as Our Lady of Guadalupe presently resides in a Spanish monastery near Extremadura, Spain. Although there are varying accounts of its exact origins, the first written account of the Statue of the Spanish Guadalupe dates to the sixth century when Pope Gregory the Great is said to have been in possession of it. Pope Gregory sent the statue to a chapel in Seville, and there it remained for a century until the Moorish invasion. At some point, it was apparently placed in a cave in a mountainside where it remained for some time until it was discovered by a cow herder (Garcia 2001). One of his cows went missing, and he searched for three days before he found it dead in front of a cave near the Guadalupe River. Suddenly a lady appeared and said that she was the Virgin Mary. At this moment the dead cow rose to its feet,

and she instructed the cow herder to remove the stone where the cow was lying and open the cave. She instructed him to retrieve the statue from within the cave and to erect a chapel in memory of her.

Devotion to Guadalupe of Estremadura was popular throughout Spain during the time of the Mexican conquest, and would likely be a familiar reference in Mexico well before the Mexican narrative originated in 1531. The first written records of the Mexican narrative were published in 1648 by Miguel Sanchez, and in 1649 by Luis Laso de la Vega in the Nahuatl text *Nican Mopohua* (Here is Recounted). Sousa, Poole, and Lockheart (2006) offer a detailed translation and analysis of the *Nican Mopohua* in their text, "Luis Laso de la Vega's *Huei tlamachuicotica* of 1649." The following excerpts from Poole's (1995) text, "*Our Lady of Guadalupe: The Origins and Sources of a Mexican National Symbol, 1531-1797*," summarize the narrative, as follows:

Juan Diego was a recently converted Nahua who lived in the town of Cuauhtitlan... On a Saturday in early December 1531, on his way to Tlatelolco, he passed the hill of Tepeyac, where he heard the sound of birds singing... On the hilltop he saw a resplendent vision of a woman who identified herself as the Virgin Mary, "the mother of the great true deity God, the giver of life, the creator of people, the lord of the universe, possessor of heaven and earth." Addressing him tenderly, she told him to go to the bishop of Mexico and inform him of her wish that a church be built to her on the site... Juan Diego went immediately to the bishop's palace in Mexico City... The bishop put him off, and Juan Diego realized that his words had not been believed. Sorrowfully, he returned to Tepeyac, where he found the Virgin waiting for him. He told her of his lack of success and asked her to send other messengers who would be believed. She, however, directed him to return to Zumarraga on the following day... This time the bishop asked for a sign to prove the truth of the communication... Very early on Tuesday morning, while it was still dark, Juan Diego left for Tlatelolco. On reaching Tepeyac he took a different route around the hill in order to avoid the Virgin and go directly for the priest. She found him, nevertheless, and he explained the reason for his detour. She replied, "Know, rest very much assured, my youngest child, let nothing whatever frighten you or worry you. Do not be concerned. Do not fear the illness or any illness or affliction. Am I, your mother, not here?..." The Virgin directed him to the top of the hill where he would find "every kind of precious Spanish flower" in a place where flowers did not grow and at a time when they would be out of season." He did as directed and brought the flowers to the Virgin, who placed them in his cloak. She told him to go to Zumarraga and open it only in his

presence... When he unfolded his tilma, the flowers fell to the floor, and imprinted on the cloak was the picture of the Virgin. Zumarraga and those with him fell to their knees... He then made plans for the immediate erection of the chapel at Tepeyac... There the entire city came to venerate it for "no person on earth had painted her precious image (1995:26-28)."

Both the narratives of the discovery the statue of Guadalupe in Spain, as well as the apparition of Our Lady of Guadalupe to Juan Diego in Mexico, fit within a narrative tradition known as *el ciclo del pastor*, or the shepherd's cycle. With ninth to thirteenth century European origins, these narratives describe miraculous sightings of the Virgin Mary by shepherds, herders, and farmers (Fuente 1879, Turner and Turner 1978). Frequently, the shepherd is led to the location of the image through a dream or vision. Some of the distinctive features found in these medieval European narratives include: mysterious light, doubts and vacillations by the chosen shepherd, incredulity by the townspeople when the vision is reported, return to site of the image two or three times, and resolution to build a church.

A parallel version of the history of Guadalupe in Mexico is that she is the return of the *Mexica* goddess, Tonantzin. Indeed, the hill upon which Our Lady of Guadalupe appeared, Mount Tepeyac, was once home to the goddess's temple. The similarities between Guadalupe and Tonantzin can be drawn even further. The name Tonantzin means "our mother," as she was considered to be the mother of the gods, just as Mary is considered the *theotokos*, the mother of God (Brenner 1929:150). Tonantzin was said to wear a skirt of stars, similar to the cloak of Guadalupe. The sash around her waist is interpreted as a symbol of pregnancy, either indicative of Tonantzin's association with fertility or as the impending birth of Catholicism in Mexico. Even the name Guadalupe is said by some to be a mistranslation of the *Nahua* name "Tequantlanopeuh" which translates to, "she who originated from the summit of the rocks (Leatham 1989:30)."

As one pilgrim to her shrine in Mexico explains, “Our Lady of Guadalupe looks like the Aztec, not like their European oppressors, she is dark-skinned, beautiful, like our mother, *tu* instead of *usted* (Westerfelhaus and Singhal 2001:105).” Thus, she is embraced by both Catholics and *Indigenista*, religious and non-religious. Embodying both Spanish and Mexican origins allows her to maintain a measure of ambiguity and to be utilized as a symbol for various causes throughout Mexican history. Her image has served as both a symbol of Spanish conquest and rebellion against Spanish rule. She has served as both a symbol of Catholicism and a banner for liberation from the Church (Brading 2001).

There remains debate about whether the 1531 vision of Juan Diego initiated her devotion, or whether the narrative was later created later to promote devotion to a figure and image that already existed, in other words, was it the chapel or the narrative that was first constructed. While the actual origins of the narrative or the image of Guadalupe are not relevant to the current study, a recently published debate by two widely-recognized Guadalupan scholars is worth mentioning. Matovina (2014a, 2014b) and Poole (2014) engage in a back-and-forth that is initiated when Matovina refutes (with little new or convincing evidence) Poole’s 2006 argument that the narrative was most likely created after the building of the basilica. Poole reiterates his claim that existing documentary evidence suggests the chapel at Tepeyac was founded around 1555 by the second archbishop of Mexico, not in 1531 by archbishop Zumarraga, and was originally dedicated to the Nativity of the Virgin whose image resembled the Spanish statue of Guadalupe of Extremadura, and thus assumed the name “Guadalupe.” He additionally concludes that the image was considered miraculous because of reports that it worked miracles, not because of its miraculous origins. Thus, Poole is of the mind that the story of Juan Diego’s sighting, falling easily into the European apparition tradition, originated with the 1648 publication by

Miguel Sanchez and was followed by a strong *criollo* following for years afterwards, but was more slowly embraced by indigenous peoples (Poole 2014).

Devotion to Mary Immaculate, including Guadalupe, were especially strong in specific Franciscan and Augustinian regions during the 16th and 17th centuries. Among them, the Virgin of Guadalupe gained an even wider following, but more so among creole clergy than indigenous villagers. A growing number of devotees and an increase in patronage to the shrine at Tepeyac led to the building of a larger shrine in the year 1622 near the original construction (Matovina 2014). It was nearly thirty years later that the 1648 Spanish version and the 1649 Nahuatl version of the narrative were first published.

Taylor (1987) finds that the cult of Guadalupe likely originated in the region around Mexico City, and slowly diffused into the countryside. The banner of the Virgin of Guadalupe was used in three Mexican conquests: first, the Spanish military conquest of 1519; second, the “Spiritual conquest” of religion into colonial rule; and third, the “Reconquest” of Independence in the early 19th century, when Hidalgo’s forces carried Guadalupe’s image on their battle flags (Taylor 1987). In 1910, Zapata’s forces also carried her image in the Mexican Revolution. Historically, the name “Maria” has been consistently more popular in Mexico than “Guadalupe,” with both being more popular among the creoles than the indigenous, but by the 19th century the cult of Guadalupe had gained strength as a popular devotion among disenfranchised people. This history remained largely unwritten until the late 1800s when a biography of Fr. Zumarraga, archbishop at the time of the apparition, was published with no reference to Guadalupe, as would have been expected. This event stirred a controversy and led to a series of historical investigations (Poole 2014).

By the 20th century her symbol has been reinterpreted in a manner more recognizable as a mother figure for all Mexicans (Peterson 1992). Wolf encapsulates her transformation, arguing that Guadalupe eventually became a master symbol that:

Validates the Indian's right to legal defense, orderly government, to citizenship; to supernatural salvation, but also to salvation from random oppression. . .the promise of life held out by the supernatural mother has become the promise of an independent Mexico, liberated from the irrational authority of the Spanish father-oppressors and restored to the Chosen Nation whose election had been manifest in the apparition of the Virgin on Tepeyac. The land of the supernatural mother is finally possessed by her rightful heirs. The symbolic circuit is closed. (1958:37)

Refusing to contain the success of the cult of Guadalupe within the borders of a single nation, the Church officially named Our Lady of Guadalupe “Patroness of the Americas” in 1999. The same year, Pope John Paul II made the journey to Mexico for the official canonization of Juan Diego. Beatty (2006) describes the timing of the event as a “strategic move against the resurgent Latin American Protestantism and a nod to nativism (325).” The canonization played out over three days of public ritual and media coverage, geared toward furthering the faith and embedding various meanings, symbols, and messages. This was especially geared towards the recognition of indigenous Mexican groups, with the event translated into six native languages and the canonization of two Zapotec martyrs. Thus, the brown-skinned virgin’s alter-identity as Aztec goddess is further validated by the Church. Beatty also demonstrates how the symbol of Guadalupe was used by various groups to serve their own political interests, including the Vatican, the Mexican government, indigenous groups, and even the media. This exemplifies the ways in which the symbol has been used as a cultural resource to address social and political issues throughout her history.

Folk art and objects of devotion tell the history of waxing and waning popular devotions over time, especially throughout regions of Mexico and the Southwestern US. In the broader

context of Mexican popular devotion Our Lady of Guadalupe has remained in good company, but she seems to always emerge at the apex of devotion over a pantheon of local and regional saints. Picture narratives painted on tin dating from shortly after the Conquest to present-day are referred to as *retablos*, *milagros* (miracles) or *ex-votos* (vows) (Durand and Massey 1995, Tunali 2006), a tradition that can also be traced to Spanish roots (Becerra and Soto 1980). *Ex-votos* are painted in homage to an event in which the devotee appealed to the Virgin for assistance and she intervened to protect them. In return for the miracle, the devotee vows to commission an *ex-voto* to be painted by a local artist visually depicting the event, with a brief narrative description of the event below the image. Events range from illnesses and accidents, to attacks by bandits or robbers, to border-crossing dangers, and even to vengeance upon of unfaithful spouses. The narrative often includes the date, location, and the name of the devotee, as well as a reference to Guadalupe with endearing language such as “*madrecita*” and “*virgencita*.” These objects left at shrines have been analyzed, inventoried, and archived and both the historical and modern-day versions of these artifacts demonstrate the ever-popular devotion to the Virgin of Guadalupe, and serve as a historical record of her devotion as well as a record of the experiences of devotees in Mexico and on their journeys as immigrants (Roque and Schwartz 2004).

Scholarly Attention to Guadalupan Devotion

At some points in their long scholarly careers Wolf, Turner, and Taylor are all led to visit the phenomena of Guadalupe in Mexico. Wolf’s (1958) description of Guadalupe as a Master Symbol will be discussed in detail in the succeeding section. Turner and Turner’s 1978 text on pilgrimages as rites of passage applies Turner’s concepts of *liminality* and *communitas* to pilgrimages to the shrine of Our Lady of Guadalupe. As discussed in the previous section, Taylor’s (1987) research contributed to our understanding of the growth of the cult of Guadalupe

by tracing both her role in major military conflicts and the popularity of the name “Guadalupe” throughout Mexico. Additionally, there have been many scholarly studies from fields ranging from anthropology, history, and theology that have made theoretical contributions to the understanding of devotion to Our Lady of Guadalupe both within Mexico and in diaspora. Studies which focus on Our Lady of Guadalupe in current-day settings move beyond historical discussions and reveal the ways in which this “master symbol” continues to be manipulated and adapted to serve the needs of her devoted.

A 1989 study by O’Connor provides a description of the celebration of the feast day of the Virgin of Guadalupe within a Mexican village. O’Connor uses Our Lady of Guadalupe as a lens through which to explore ethnic identity in a village in the Mexican state of Sonora, where two ethnic groups, the Mestizo and the Mayo, utilize the celebration of Our Lady of Guadalupe to both reaffirm their separate ethnic identities and to symbolically reunite their community. The celebration of Our Lady of Guadalupe is the only event that involves both Mestizo and Mayo in this particular village. Mestizo and Mayo celebrants conduct the first stages of the celebration with separate ritual performances, but during the final stage of the celebration, they join together in a final Mass that ceremonially reunites the community.

In Matovina’s (2002, 2003) research on the celebration of Our Lady of Guadalupe in San Antonio, Texas, he describes how the public procession flows into the streets, reminding both participants and onlookers that “the sacred is present even in the midst of the racism, poverty, and alienation (2002:15).” Matovina connects Juan Diego’s humiliation and rejection by the bishop of Mexico with predominately working-class Mexican-American parishioners experiences of, “polite disdain or outright hostility they have met in their dealings with sales clerks, bosses, co-workers, teachers, police officers, health care providers, social workers,

government employees, professional colleagues, and civic and church leaders (2003:10).”

Matovina describes how the San Fernando parish emphasizes Our Lady of Guadalupe as the mother of all the Americas, and her association with human dignity, ethnic pride and group solidarity.

In the community of Tortugas, New Mexico, Wessel (2008) also focuses on the annual three-day celebration of the festival of Guadalupe. Wessel pays special attention to preparation of the meals in the community kitchen, *la Casa de Comida*, as a central, though less visible, part of this celebration. Volunteers take part in a celebration by preparing traditional recipes and sharing a devotion to the Virgin. Preparing meals for the fiesta provides more than sustenance for the event, it also provides an outlet for passing down traditional recipes that link the past and the present. The fiesta, in fact, is seen to have three separate outlets for devotion to the Virgin: dancing, cooking, and pilgrimage to the local shrine. The volunteers who prepare the meal at the *Casa de Comida* make a promise to the Virgin to forgo the pilgrimage and dancing in order to work in the kitchen, because by serving food, “the women serve the Virgin by serving her devotees (2008:6).”

Peña’s (2008) research in the neighborhood of Des Plaines, Chicago, examines the transnational sacred space of the “Second Tepeyac of North America,” a community center beside a replica of the shrine on Mount Tepeyac in Mexico where Our Lady of Guadalupe first appeared to Juan Diego. *Guadalupanos* in Des Plaines, from Mexico, El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras, are all united in their “allegiance to Our Lady of Guadalupe and their determination to rise above the xenophobic realities of life in *el Norte* (2008:723).” Peña echoes Turner’s concept of *liminality* as a state of being neither here nor there (Turner 1967, 1968) when describing how the community transforms a “place” into “sacred space” by creating

“multicultural and multilingual environments thriving under a singular vision (Peña 2008:744).” Although ethnic, class, generational, and citizenship differences abound at Second Tepeyac, the *Guadalupano* community recognizes, respects, and celebrates differences by creating, “a space in which devotees may retain their individual affiliations” and combat social issues like “securing workers’ rights, health care, and legal documentation (2008:744).”

Galvez’s 2010 text on the Virgin of Guadalupe in New York is an analysis of how immigrants have embraced the symbol of the Virgin of Guadalupe to “envision community, develop modalities of collective organization, reimagine their own identities, and turn these to the task of broadening their rights (3).” Her focus is on the role of the *Association Tepeyac de New York*, the association that, among other activities surrounding immigration rights, organizes the *Carerra Antorcha Guadlaupana*, the annual torch race from the *Nacional Basílica de Santa María de Guadalupe* in Mexico City to the Saint Patrick’s Cathedral in New York (discussed in more detail in Chapter 5). Galvez sees engagement in politics and activism as an important part of the process of becoming part of the state and the society of the US, as well as providing a sense of well-being.

A 1994 study by Rodriguez combines theological, anthropological, and psychological approaches to explore Mexican-American Catholic women’s perceptions of the Virgin of Guadalupe. Her findings illustrate how individual relationships with the Virgin of Guadalupe provide a sense of empowerment and sociopolitical resistance. Rodriguez analyzes written reflections on the feelings of participants in her study when looking at the image of Guadalupe. In addition, when presented with a standardized checklist of 300 descriptive terms, participants selected those that they felt best describe the Virgin of Guadalupe. Themes that emerged from Rodriguez’s study include the Virgin of Guadalupe as: a mother-type; someone to pray to;

someone who brings comfort and peace; and someone strong, who gives strength. Additionally, Rodriguez identified two clusters within the themes, the first cluster contained attributes that described the Virgin of Guadalupe, including: maternal; supportive; accepting; inclusive; and stable. The second cluster contained three attributes that did not describe her, the attributes of: conforming; subordinate; or critical. Participants also see the Virgin of Guadalupe as possessing opposing elements of meekness and strength, of independence and dependence, of assertiveness and shyness.

Odem's (2004, 2009) work has focused on Mexican immigrants and the Virgin of Guadalupe in the South. She explores the *Misión Católica de Nuestra Señora de Las Americas*, formed by Latin American immigrants in an Atlanta suburb. The immigrants in the community wanted a space where they could practice their faith in a welcoming and familiar environment, and where they could access material, social, and spiritual support. Many in her study, especially men, report being even more involved with the *Misión Católica* than they were with religious institutions in their home countries. She also notes that Our Lady of Guadalupe is the most popular devotion among migrants in the community, with the December 12th feast day as the apex of public celebration. She describes the history of the grassroots development of the *Misión Católica*, which was met with resentment from the wider community and some members of the Catholic Church along the way. Odem speculates that in light of current immigration patterns and laws, ethnic religious institutions like the *Misión Católica* "will continue to be an important means of community building and empowerment for Mexican and Central American immigrants" across the county (2004:52).

The current review also uncovered a single study tying devotion to the Virgin of Guadalupe to health outcomes. Cuadrado and Lieberman (2009) explore a model for substance

abuse treatment that incorporates the practice of *juramentos*, or pledges made to the Virgin of Guadalupe to abstain from drinking for some specific period of time. The authors note the specific cultural barriers to treatment that make Hispanics much less likely to seek help for substance abuse than Whites and Blacks. *Juramentos* are frequently used in Mexico, and have been adopted for use with Mexican and Hispanic patients in Florida, as well. Cuadrado and Lieberman find that *juramentos* provide social control in two ways: they provide spouses with a way to pressure the abuser to keep sober by keeping the vow, and they provide a respected means for the abuser to refuse the pressure from peers to have a drink. They also found that the length of time a patient vowed to stay sober tended to increase with each successfully completed *juramento*.

A Master Symbol as a Cultural Domain

In Wolf's (1958) classic essay, he summarizes the history encapsulated in the symbol of Our Lady of Guadalupe:

Mother; food, hope, health, life; supernatural salvation and salvation from oppression; chosen people and national independence --all find expression in a single master symbol. The Guadalupe symbol thus links together family, politics and religion; colonial past and independent present; Indian and Mexican. It reflects the salient social relationships of Mexican life, and embodies the emotions which they generate (38).

Wolf recognizes the multi-dimensionality of Our Lady of Guadalupe as a master symbol which links a wide array of socio-political relationships that encompassed the family, the nation-state, and the Church. The current study, along the way to testing the main hypothesis, revisits Wolf's concept of Our Lady of Guadalupe as a master symbol in the current age of globalization and especially in the face of long periods of Mexican immigration to the US and elsewhere. By considering devotion to Our Lady of Guadalupe as a cultural domain, and by utilizing the cultural consensus model to define the domain of Guadalupan devotion, this study offers a

renewed, and more precise exploration of this enduring master symbol, and the way that she operates in the lives of her followers.

On the surface, the term “master symbol” seems apt for describing the enduring and multi-faceted nature of a symbols such as Our Lady of Guadalupe. It is the language, however, used by Wolf in his explanation of the term that becomes problematic. Wolf prefaces his essay by stating that he *does not imply* a universal Mexican belief in the symbol, and that Guadalupe *is not* an element of Mexican national character. This prefaced precaution, however, is contradicted not only by his title, “The Virgin of Guadalupe: A Mexican Master Symbol,” by the bulk of his essay, which positions “the nation” as his unit of analysis, and is laced with language like, “a way of talking about Mexico (38),” a “collective representation of Mexican society (38),” and a symbol that enshrines “the major hopes and aspirations of an entire society (34).”

In thinking about what exactly Wolf means by the term “master symbol” it is useful to consider his description alongside Turner’s “dominant symbol” (1969). Turner achieves a more functional definition of dominant symbols, by identifying attributes such as multivocality and bipolarity (1967), and by elaborating on their function of expressing values and concerns of a group and transforming the actions and motivations of a group. Turner, however, tends to focus on the ritual processes and ceremonies that are limited to specific groups of peoples (1974). By focusing on “the nation” a master symbol can be understood, in contrast, to have a much broader application across various groups of people, as well as across various social, religious, and political contexts.

Peterson (1992) criticizes Wolf’s description of Guadalupe as an unchanging, single master symbol when one considers how Our Lady of Guadalupe has been used alternatively, and even interchangeably, as a symbol of liberation and a symbol of conquest. The Virgin Mary has a

long history of reverence as both a mother and a warrior. Again and again, the overarching message associated with the Virgin Mary, especially the Virgin of Guadalupe, is one which enables her to be endeared by so many over the ages: her ability to change with the needs and circumstances of her devotees allows her to be, at times more of a mother, and at times, more of a warrior (Hall 2009). An understanding of Guadalupe as a master symbol must place this these diverse understanding at its forefront.

Still, there is merit in Wolf's concept of a master symbol as well as his explanation of how it operates in a society. He explains that nations, as complex societies, must possess "cultural forms and mechanisms" that the interconnected groups within a society can use in their "formal and informal dealings with each other (Wolf 1956:1065)." These "cultural forms and mechanisms" develop historically alongside other nation-forming processes, and provide the "cultural idiom of behavior and ideal representations" through which interconnected groups within a society "pursue and manipulate" their different fates within a framework. This description of how master symbols operate within culture is akin to a cognitive understanding of culture as sets of domains containing the knowledge which individuals need to know in order to get by within a particular society (Goodenough 1996).

Just as Wolf points out that he does not intend to imply that *all* Mexicans believe in The Virgin of Guadalupe, a scholarly approach must at least acknowledge that every person who identifies as Mexican or as Guadalupan does so in the context of their own experiences and ideals, which may be differentially shared with others who identify as Mexicans or as Guadalupans. Contested meanings can be expressed in a multitude of ways and are far from static. Murphy (1994) demonstrated this in his investigation of how modes of dress among pilgrims to the shrine of the Virgin of Rocío represent contradictory meanings associated with

her meaning. Dress as an index of social class actually became less salient by the final stages of his investigation.

To acknowledge that culture is not uniformly shared is one matter, but to actually incorporate this acknowledgement into an analysis of culture is a real challenge. It calls for an analytical approach that enables us to explore these degrees of individual and collectively-held understandings around something as complex as a “master symbol” which is often understood to represent an entire group. Although the symbol may be accessible to the entire group, that does not imply that members of the group interpret its meaning in a similar way. The cultural consensus model allows for a quantitative exploration of this meaning by empirically defining the degree to which meaning is shared (Romney, Weller, and Batchelder 1986). Because cultural consensus analysis is not restricted to a single theme, such as the public celebration or home altars, Guadalupan devotion can literally be described in terms that devotees see fit.

Chapter Summary

In light of the complex history of the Virgin of Guadalupe and the literature on Guadalupan devotees, it becomes clear that there is much to be gained from considering Guadalupan devotion as a cultural domain. Particular themes from the narrative and its context have been incorporated into the formation of a national symbol. Devotees have used this symbol in what often seems like contradictory ways over the centuries. Scholarly explorations of the symbol of Guadalupe and her devotees have shown that her flexibility remains a key part of her popularity, with her central roles as a mother figure and as a voice of resistance remaining consistent over time. What is missing from the literature, however is a more systematic understanding of the Virgin of Guadalupe as both a Mexican and an international master symbol. Simply to gain an emic understanding of what Guadalupan devotion means for a group of

Mexican immigrants in a rural Southern setting is of interest, but to be able to further this understanding with a structured set of methods that considers how the cultural model is shared and differentially held by individuals sheds light on broader questions of individual coping mechanisms, how we consider religious devotion, as well as the fluid state of Guadalupean devotion.

CHAPTER 4

METHODS OVERVIEW

Introduction

The following chapter outlines the details of the current study design. Both the study hypotheses and the research methods are strongly guided by a biocultural framework, which considers the immigration experience as a series of stressors that can lead to poor health and diminished wellbeing. Research methods follow a cognitive anthropological approach, which allows devotion to Our Lady of Guadalupe to be empirically defined and explored, illuminating the relationships among individual behavior, collective beliefs, and health outcomes. Through these theoretical and methodological lenses, the research design is geared toward exploring the central study hypotheses that 1) there is a culturally shared model of Guadalupan devotion among Mexican immigrants in Scott County, Mississippi, and 2) that consonance in the cultural model buffers psychosocial stress associated with immigration, as measured by the perceived stress scores, immigration stress scores, reported health, or life satisfaction.

Overall Study Design

The overall project design, including research goals, methods, and data analysis follows a mixed-methods approach. Quantitative and qualitative structured and semi-structured data collection techniques were used across this study to address the study hypotheses that there is a culturally shared model of Guadalupan devotion within the communities, and that cultural

consonance in the cultural domain of Guadalupan devotion provides a buffer against the stressors of immigration. Towards testing the study hypotheses, the primary research goals were to determine if there is a shared cultural model of Guadalupan devotion among Mexican community members in Scott County, and then to determine the effects of consonance in that model on the stress and health variables.

While cultural domain analysis consists of a number of sequential steps, the current study is divided into three research phases in addition to initial interviews and ethnography that preceded data collection and continued throughout each phase. The first phase is geared towards populating the domain of Guadalupan devotion, as well as the domains of religious devotion and immigration stress. Phase 2 focuses on cultural consensus analysis, and Phase 3 tests hypothesis 2. In the process, a number of secondary research goals are illuminated by specific data collected during each phase of the study. These secondary goals will be discussed briefly below within the summaries of each study phase, but are more extensively described in their corresponding chapters.

As is the expectation with any true mixed methods approach, parallels are constantly being drawn between qualitative and quantitative results. I strive throughout the study, and especially in the final analysis, to demonstrate the extent to which quantitative results are interpreted in the context of qualitative findings, and vice versa, qualitative results are more specifically honed by the support of quantitative findings. In the end, results are incorporated into a broader theoretical framework to shed light on the health consequences of immigration and the role of Guadalupan devotion.

My approach to fieldwork is to maintain a level of flexibility, even to the point that interview schedules, response formatting, and some data collection approaches are not rigidly

“fixed” in the beginning of the study and may be adjusted within the range of the overall study design as dictated by experiences in the field and preliminary analyses. As Pigg (2013) notes, “ethnographers are trained to revise their ideas of how they are coming to knowledge as the people with whom they spend time facilitate or thwart the ethnographer’s imagined plan (127).” In one particular case, key informant interviews, participant observation, and preliminary results all indicated that there may be a difference between those who identify as being Guadalupan devotees and those who would be considered extremely devoted, or “very Guadalupan.” As a result, succeeding phases were adapted to further explore this possibility. This inclination for a more flexible approach to fieldwork is complimented by cognitive anthropological data collection methods. These methods require the researcher to continuously respond to feedback from participants, yet the methods provide systematic rigor that can produce precise qualitative and quantitative results.

The University of Alabama Institutional Review Board approved the study protocol in the fall of 2011 (Appendix A), and the study took place in over a period of 26 months (October 2011-December 2013). The ethnography portion of the study actually draws from a much broader time period, however, beginning with my initial entry in to the field in 2006 leading up to the current project, and includes participant observation from this time, as well. Although I am competent in both written and conversational Spanish, all study materials were reviewed by a native Spanish-speaker to insure accuracy. Legal status of participants was not inquired about nor recorded during any phase of the study. Results were analyzed using CDC EZ-Text Version 4.0 (Carey et al. 1998) software for qualitative data, UCINET (Borgatti et al. 2002) for cultural consensus analysis, and SPSS for Windows version 13.0 for all other quantitative analyses.

Study Site

The communities of Forest and Morton are located in rural Scott County, approximately fifty miles east of Jackson, the capital of Mississippi. Within the last 20 years, Scott County experienced a rapid increase of Hispanic immigrants, primarily from Mexico, but also Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, Peru, Brazil, Venezuela, Argentina, and Colombia (Stuesse 2009). As a result, Scott County has the largest percentage of Hispanic residents in Mississippi at more than ten percent of the population. A majority of immigrants to Scott County are employed in the poultry processing industry, with others finding employment in the timber and construction industries.

I began conducting research in Scott County during my master's studies. At that time, my entry into the field was made especially easy as I was already somewhat of an insider before starting my research. While studying abroad in Mexico, I became fascinated with the elaborate and visually rich form of Catholicism displayed in the small chapels and large cathedrals across the country. This was a stark contrast to the more minimalist, subdued, post-Vatican II Catholic Churches that I attended with my family in Mississippi. Conveniently, this interest was brought to my own turf when one of the churches in the parish that my mother and grandmother attended began to be overwhelmed by a rapid increase of Hispanic migrant attendance. When I began my master's research, it was clear that I had a unique opportunity to study Mexican Catholicism in the very unique setting of two rural, Protestant-dominated, small Southern towns in the midst of what may be considered to be a Hispanic "invasion." For that reason, when I entered the community, I was not a stranger to the Church staff. They knew me as "Brenda's daughter" and under that title, I was always welcomed. Even some of the Mexican parishioners in the

community who are especially active in the Church knew my mother because they occasionally traveled with the priest to the church in Paulding, Mississippi.

Yet, even with this slight advantage, I had to gain rapport and trust within the Mexican community; it is one thing to recognize someone and another to submit to their endless questions. Overall, I found the Mexican community to be especially welcoming usually willing to participate and to help me out with my research. They seemed to appreciate that someone from the University was interested in their lives. They especially seemed to appreciate my rusty Spanish skills, as few locals speak their native language. I also believe my interest in the Virgin of Guadalupe, my love of Mexican cuisine, and my regard for their country as one of the most beautiful places I know gave them a sense of connection with me.

The location of my field site was about a two-hour drive from The University of Alabama in Tuscaloosa, therefore I was able to maintain my residence at the University and make regular trips to the community. It was essential that I remain in residence so that I could complete my coursework and maintain my position as a Graduate Teaching Assistant. This gave me the advantage of being able to conduct fieldwork over a much longer period of time than if I had opted for the more traditional approach of a year of uninterrupted fieldwork. The trade-off was that I essentially became a “weekend and holiday” fieldworker. In some cases, this could be perceived as a weakness, but a couple of factors countered this effect. First, as I have emphasized, my long-term steady presence in the community provided me with insights and advantages that could not be gained from a year in the field. My steady presence in the communities actually began in 2006 when I was preparing to begin my fieldwork for my Master’s research, continued throughout my Master’s studies, and again as I conducted a series of pilot studies in preparation for the current study. Second, the very hectic schedules of the

majority of the community members made it very difficult to interact with people during weekdays. People often devote a single day or half-day to activities and errands, and I quickly realized that that the majority of my fieldwork, especially recruiting and interviewing participants, had to be done on those “free” days or half-days. On some occasions, I spent Monday through Friday in the field and only spoke with two or three people, and if I returned the following week, I would likely see those same people again. In contrast, on a typical Sunday, I could talk to countless people, and conduct interviews with as many as eight people in the same day.

Sampling and Recruitment

Because potentially undocumented migrant workers are a hard-to-access population, non-random convenience and snowball sampling techniques (Bernard 2006) were used to recruit a total of 125 participants and nine key informants. Recruitment activities focused on two types of locations in the community: 1) the Catholic Church and its associated organizations, and 2) secular, public venues, such as laundromats and *tiendas*. I recruited participants surrounding scheduled activities at the churches, such as weekly services, baptisms, and Bible classes. I chose not to recruit from local Protestant churches, since my aim was not to conduct a comparative study. However, any religious diversity that I encountered by recruiting at secular venues was welcomed. As it turned out, the vast majority of participants identified as Catholic, regardless of where they were recruited. Anyone age 19 or older who self-identified as a Mexican immigrant or migrant to Scott County was considered eligible for participation. Participants were often asked if they knew of anyone else who met the criteria and may be willing to participate. In all cases, this led to participants suggesting locations or events where I could find other Mexicans, or if the interview was taking place during an event, participants would identify others who were

present who I may want to ask to participate. Sample sizes varied with each instrument, and attempts were made to recruit different people for each phase of the study, but there were a small number of cases of participation in more than one phase. While this is not preferable, considering the different aims of each instrument, it should not be seen as a problem to the validity of the data.

People were nearly always willing to participate, but having the time to participate was another story. The vast majority of people I approached who were of Mexican origin agreed to participate, with a final sample across all phases of 125 participants, and those who did refuse (n= 5), did so because of lack of time. A number of Hispanic community members I approached were not of Mexican origin. It was indeed tricky to distinguish between the various nationalities represented in the communities. I became rather adept at distinguishing the Guatemalans by the end of my research, but the Indigenous features of the majority of the Guatemalans in the community were sometimes easy to confuse with the physical appearance of Indigenous Mexican community members. Likewise, the Mexican community members with more *mestizo* features were difficult to distinguish from other Hispanic nationalities in the community. I quickly learned to approach individuals with the questions like “Where are you from?” “Are there any people here from Mexico?” and, “Are those people over there from Mexico?”

Ethnography and Key Informant Interviews

The preliminary phase of this project focuses on ethnographic research including semi-structured key informant interviews, structured participant observation, as well as informal interviews with community members and unstructured participant observation of daily activities around the community. Bernard (1994), on the necessity of participant observation, notes that it is the way by which nearly all anthropologists collect primary data and the way by which we

build rapport, which allows us to do things such as “collect life-history documents, attend sacred festivals, talk to people about sensitive topics, map the land holdings of informants, trek with a hunter to count the kill, and interview women traders formally and informally about how they cover their losses in the daily market (5).” This phase was also geared toward establishing, or reestablishing, my presence in the community. It was helpful to enter the community as a familiar face and to be welcomed by those people who have maintained a permanent presence over my years of fieldwork.

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with nine key informants, and in most cases, these included a number of follow-up interviews. Key informants consisted of two nuns from Saint Michael’s in Forest, two nuns from EXCEL in Morton, and five members of the Mexican community who have been in Forest and Morton, respectively, for many years. I chose these key informants because they all interact extensively with the Hispanic community on a regular basis, and I knew that they would be accessible and willing to meet with me throughout the project. These interviews in the early stages of the project helped me understand the most current concerns faced by the community and also helped inform any final adjustments to the interview schedule for Phase 1. Later, the key informants offered additional thought and insights about a number of things that were emerging from preliminary data and clarifying some questions that emerged from observations.

In addition, ongoing participant observation activities have been key in developing a broader ethnographic understanding of the historical context, political climate, social structure, and daily patterns of the community. This type of ethnographic understanding was vital in informing decisions during each phase of the study as well as during the analysis and interpretation of final results. Over the years, specific participant observation activities that I

engaged in included spending time as a volunteer at a community center in Morton, attending Masses in Forest and Morton, and attending special events such as the *Antorcha Guadalupan* and the December 12th celebration of the Feast Day of the Virgin of Guadalupe.

Phase 1

Phase 1 of the study represents the first steps of cultural domain analysis by eliciting a formal description of the cultural domain of Guadalupan devotion. Cultural domain analysis is a systematic approach to empirically studying culture. Culture can be thought of as sets of domains containing the knowledge which individuals need to know in order to get by within a particular society (Goodenough 1996). Borgatti (1999) defines a cultural domain as “a set of items, all of which a group define as belonging to the same type (116).” Without even realizing it, people carry in their minds all the knowledge of countless cultural domains. It is the task of the researcher to uncover the internalized model by the process of domain analysis. Cultural domain analysis is especially emic because the researcher relies primarily on the participants to define the cultural domain in their own words. Through a structured set of techniques, the researcher elicits the descriptions of the structure the domain, the positions of items within the domain, and the extent to which the domain is shared.

Domain analysis has been used to explore a wide range of cultural realms. Spradley (1972) examined specialized knowledge among people in jail. In another study, Kempton et al. (1996) use cultural consensus analysis to see how the domain of environmental values is shared by groups of Americans ranging from environmental activists to sawmill workers. Dressler and colleagues (Dressler et al. 2007) explored the domains of lifestyle, social support, family life, national identity, and food among Brazilians to see how consonance in these domains was related to health.

Research methods for Phase 1 are equivalent to a free-listing task. Free listing is used to elicit the elements of a cultural domain. To elicit freelists, the researcher asks informants to list all the content of a domain with questions like “what is a mango?” and further probing may be needed with questions like, “what other kinds of fruits are there?” (Borgatti 1999:121). The content of participants’ freelists will differ, but there will be some core similarities. These core terms are considered to be more salient, and they tend to appear higher on the list and with more frequency across lists. The number of people needed to establish the content of a domain depends on the amount of consensus within the domain, indicated by how quickly responses become repetitive in each phase (Romney, Weller, & Batchelder 1986). For example, if all participants freelist the same terms, then there is clear consensus and the number of participants needed will be fewer.

Phase 1 Design:

The primary goal of this phase was to elicit qualitative descriptions of themes associated with the cultural domain of Guadalupan devotion within the community. These statements would then be used in Phase 2 for cultural consensus analysis. Instead of utilizing a basic free-listing task, where participants are asked to list specific items related to a domain, I relied on 23 open-ended questions. In the case of the complex and meaningfully rich domain of Guadalupan devotion, I could not rely on general questions like “what kinds of fruits are there?” I instead developed 23 open-ended questions that prompted participants to list or discuss various themes surrounding Guadalupan devotion, such as “describe someone in the community who is a Guadalupan devotee:” “how would you identify someone who is a Guadalupan devotee?” and; “What are all the things people here ask Guadalupe for?”

The secondary goals of Phase 1 were: 1) to consider overlapping themes within the domains of religious devotion and Guadalupean devotion, 2) to generate a freelist of immigration stressors for use in Phase 3 of the study, 3) to consider overlapping themes within the domains of Guadalupean devotion and the immigration experience. Towards these goals, a set of items about religious devotion were added to the instrument following the same format as the Guadalupean questions. Additionally, two freelist questions were added relating to immigration stressors. Development of the Phase 1 instrument (Appendix B) is discussed in detail in Chapter 6.

A total of 16 participants were interviewed for Phase 1, with recruitment and sampling following the overall approach discussed in the previous section. I especially wanted to maintain a conservative sample size in this first phase of interviews since greater numbers of participants would need to be recruited as the study proceeded. For that reason, once additional responses ceased to generate new themes, data collection for phase 1 was ended. Recruitment and sampling followed the overall strategy described above, with efforts to recruit equally from both communities, and across age and gender, as well as to recruit from a variety of locations. The Phase 1 instrument was especially lengthy and the items addressed somewhat abstract concepts that were not easy for many participants to work through. A final sample of 16 completed interviews was determined to be sufficient, as there appeared to be some general consensus around most responses. Despite the difficulty of the instrument and the small number of participants, the results provided a large number of very descriptively rich qualitative responses.

Phase 1 data analysis was primarily conducted using CDC EZ-Text software (Carey et al. 1998), which allowed themes to be identified both across and within responses to each item. Statements were coded for single or for multiple themes per response. For example, a statement such as, “they keep her image in their house” was coded as “image” and “house.” Once coded, it

was possible to distinguish which themes occurred more frequently. The cutoff point for reported frequency was any theme mentioned by more than 18% of the interviewees in response to individual items, and any theme mentioned by more than 30% of the sample across all items. Themes from the “being religious” and the “being an immigrant” question sets were similarly reported, and then common themes across domains were identified. Statements about immigration stressors were also compared to those statements included in the previously piloted immigration stressor scale, and any new and relevant themes were identified as potential new items for revising the scale. Details of the Phase 1 data collection and analysis are discussed in Chapter 8.

Phase 2

Phase 2 of the study proceeds with cultural consensus analysis. Cognitive schema that are intersubjectively shared by a group are referred to as cultural models (D’Andrade 1984). With the cultural domain representing a set of items that a group sees as belonging together, then the cultural model is like a cognitive map of the belonging. These simplified cognitive representations of cultural domains are used by people to construct meaning and are easily shared with other individuals (Shore 1996). Cultural consensus measures the degree of sharing of a cultural domain to understand how knowledge is differentially held by individuals within a group (Romney et al. 1986).

Cultural consensus analysis is a means by which a cultural model can be empirically elicited. It is a way of exploring exactly what knowledge is shared and how it is shared. Consensus analysis calculates an eigenvalue ratio, which indicates whether there is a single culturally agreed upon model, with a larger ratio suggesting that the majority of agreement is contained in the first factor. Output also includes a cultural answer key which provides the

“culturally best set of responses” that is most likely to be provided by members of a particular group (Dressler et al. 2007:199). The answer key is essentially an average of each participant’s response to each question, but each response is weighted according to agreement. Consensus analysis also calculates each participant’s cultural competence coefficients, an indication of how their own responses align with the cultural answer key.

Phase 2 Design:

The second phase of the study utilizes the qualitative description of the cultural domain of Guadalupan devotion from the Phase 1 and proceeds with cultural consensus analysis to determine if indeed there is a cultural model of Guadalupan devotion within the communities. A second goal of this phase is to determine if there may be sub-domains, or separate models within the larger domain of Guadalupan devotion. This phase will also further analyze the cultural consensus results by plotting the loadings on the second factor against the cultural answer key to identify residual agreement. Towards these goals, two sets of participants were recruited to perform two separate tasks, one set completing a pile-sorting task and the other responding to the cultural consensus instrument. Results of the consensus interviews were used to conduct cultural consensus analysis. Consensus analysis results were further analyzed to determine if there is a cultural model of Guadalupan devotion, and to analyze the content of the model.

Data collection for Phase 2 consists of two stages that utilized two separate sub-samples. Stage 1, the committee exercise (Appendix D), was a constrained pile-sorting exercise involving eight members of the Guadalupan planning committee, made up of residents from both Forest and Morton. Participants were given a list of 30 terms and asked to place terms under one of two categories, either something that could be associated with all Guadalupans, or something that is associated with those people who are “very Guadalupan.” Those items most frequently chosen

for each list were converted into statements for the cultural consensus instrument for Stage 2. A total of 20 statements using 4-point Likert agree/disagree responses were included in the consensus instrument (Appendix E), which was administered to 32 participants from both communities of Forest and Morton. Recruitment for Stage 2 followed the overall strategy of equally recruiting men and women from both communities.

Consensus analysis was performed using UCINET software to determine the degree to which participants agree with the content and layout of the cultural domain (Romney et al. 1986). If there is sufficient agreement (indicated by a high eigenvalue ratio), then there is a cultural model. The eigenvalue ratio for a study of this nature, considering a complex and somewhat abstract domain, can be expected to be lower than that of more straightforward cultural models, like types of fruits. An analysis of the loadings on the second factor are also used to explore any residual agreement that was not explained by the first factor. Details of the Phase 2 data collection and analysis are discussed in Chapter 7.

Phase 3

Phase 3 of the study is geared towards testing hypothesis 2, and towards this goal, cognitive methods are expanded to include cultural consonance analysis. Cultural consonance is the degree to which an individual's beliefs and behaviors align with those beliefs and behaviors prescribed by the shared cultural model. Dressler and colleagues have developed the theoretical and methodological approach of cultural consonance to examine how "culture in the aggregate" is expressed in the beliefs and behaviors of individuals (Dressler et al. 2007: 195). The degree to which individual behaviors align with salient cultural models, their level of cultural consonance, has been shown to be associated with physical health and emotional well-being, including blood pressure, weight, and depression. Cultural consonance recognizes that people may be well aware

of a particular cultural model, but may be unwilling, or more often, unable, to act according to it, commonly due to economic constraints. In the case of Guadalupan devotion, it is possible to have a solid understanding of the cultural domain, but not be particularly devoted either by choice or by circumstance.

Phase 3 Design:

The Primary goal of Phase 3 was to test the second study hypothesis that cultural consonance in the domain of Guadalupan devotion will have a buffering effect on stressors associated with the immigration experience. The secondary goal of this phase includes exploring any other significant correlations among variables using correlation and regression analysis. Towards these goals, a sample of 60 participants were recruited to complete the Phase 3 interviews, with special attention to recruiting a balance of males and females from both Forest and Morton.

Data collection for Phase 3 consisted of a 5-part interview schedule (Appendix F), consisting of: 1) personal history questions, 2) health and wellbeing questions; 3) the cultural consonance in Guadalupan devotion scale; 4) the Immigration Stressor Scale; and 5) the Perceived Stress Scale. These multiple types of data allow the association among cultural consonance, immigration stressors, perceived stress, and reported health to be measured.

In addition to demographic information, a number of questions were geared towards collecting personal histories and family histories relating to immigration, such as: time spent in the US; frequency of visits home; family members in the community; frequency of communication with family in Mexico. Another set of questions were geared toward health and wellbeing, including such things as: times sick in past month; health insurance status; overall health rating; current satisfaction with life; and satisfaction with life before immigrating.

To test cultural consonance, a 17-item scale was developed from the results of consensus analysis. The scale consisted of inventory and Likert responses that were phrased to measure the extent to which participants' own beliefs and behaviors align with the cultural model as indicated by the Phase 2 cultural answer key. The more closely they comply, the more culturally consonant they are.

The Immigration Stressor Scale (ISS) is a quantitative assessment of an individual's exposure to specific stressors associated with immigration. The ISS is a modification of the 30-item ISS used in a previous study I conducted in the community of Forest, Mississippi (Read 2009). I adapted the first version of the ISS from the 41-item Hispanic Women's Social Stressor Scale (Goodkind et al. 2008), adjusting the wording of items for use with both men and women. In preparation for its use in the current study, I piloted a 10-item version of the ISS. Three items, based on Phase 1 results, were added to the previously piloted 10-item scale to address legal, sociocultural, racial, and family-related fears and concerns frequently reported by immigrants in the community. An additional "parental stressor" item was also added as a separate variable that would only apply to parents. Further details about the ISS are discussed in Chapter 6. Whereas the ISS addresses exposure to specific stressors, Cohen's (1983) Perceived Stress Scale measures perceived stress that an individual reports in their lives. The questions are more general, as the scale is designed to be a "global measure," and the scale has been widely used across various cultures, including Spanish-speaking groups.

Consonance scores were calculated by weighting each consonance item by the cultural answer key produced in Phase 2, therefore giving higher weight to behaviors and beliefs seen as being more important. All items were then summed for an overall consonance score after recoding items that were reverse coded. Perceived stress scale responses were also summed after

recoding items that were reverse coded for an overall perceived stress score. ISS responses were summed for an overall immigration stressor score. Correlation analysis and multivariate analysis were performed on these and other covariates using SPSS to determine any significant interactions. Details of the Phase 3 data collection and analysis are discussed in Chapter 8.

Final Analysis

The final portion of the study will focus on drawing conclusions across all phases of the study. Interpretations of key findings will be discussed in detail and will be placed in larger context with regard to the broader literature, the ethnography of the community, qualitative descriptions, quantitative results, and the theoretical framework. Study limitations will be discussed, as well as suggestions for future studies based on findings from the current study. A detailed discussion of final results can be found in Chapter 9.

Chapter Summary

The current chapter serves as an overview of the study methods used to address the research hypotheses: 1) there is a culturally shared model of Guadalupan devotion among Mexican immigrants in Scott County, and 2) that consonance in that cultural model provides a buffering effect on psychosocial stress associated with immigration. These hypotheses are tested from a biocultural perspective that considers psychosocial stress as measured by perceived stress scores, immigration stressor scores, reported health, and life satisfaction. Cultural consensus and consonance analysis are used to uncover the shared model and to measure how individual behavior and beliefs align with that model. The study utilizes extensive ethnographic research, as well as three phases of structured data collection using both qualitative and quantitative data allowing for triangulation of results.

CHAPTER 5

ETHNOGRAPHY: INSIDE THE COMMUNITIES

Introduction

The following chapter serves as an ethnographic description of the lives of the Mexican immigrants in Scott County. Results from key informant interviews, participant observation, and informal discussion are all combined to depict life in the communities of Forest and Morton, with special attention to the daily activities of the Hispanic community. The chapter focuses on those activities and occurrences that are especially relevant to the current study, including: the local political climate and how it is experienced by immigrant community members; the organizations and services that serve immigrants; and key events that are associated with the Virgin of Guadalupe. The ethnographic portion of the study is a core anthropological method in itself, but is also key element in understanding the succeeding methods and results and in interpreting the overall findings.

Mexicans in Scott County

The communities of Forest and Morton are located in rural Scott County (pop. 28,250), both within a 40-minute drive from the state capital of Jackson, Mississippi (Figure 5-1, image courtesy Wikimedia.org). According to the 2010 census, Scott County is home to the largest percentage of Hispanic residents in Mississippi at 10.7 percent of the population, as compared to 2.9 percent for the entire state of Mississippi (U.S. Census, 2010). Twenty-three percent of Forest's residents (population, 5,700) reported being of Hispanic origin on the most recent

census, with twelve percent being of Mexican origin. Nearly 26 percent of the neighboring, smaller town of Morton's 3,500 residents reported being of Hispanic origin, with 16 percent reporting Mexican origin (U.S. Census, 2010).

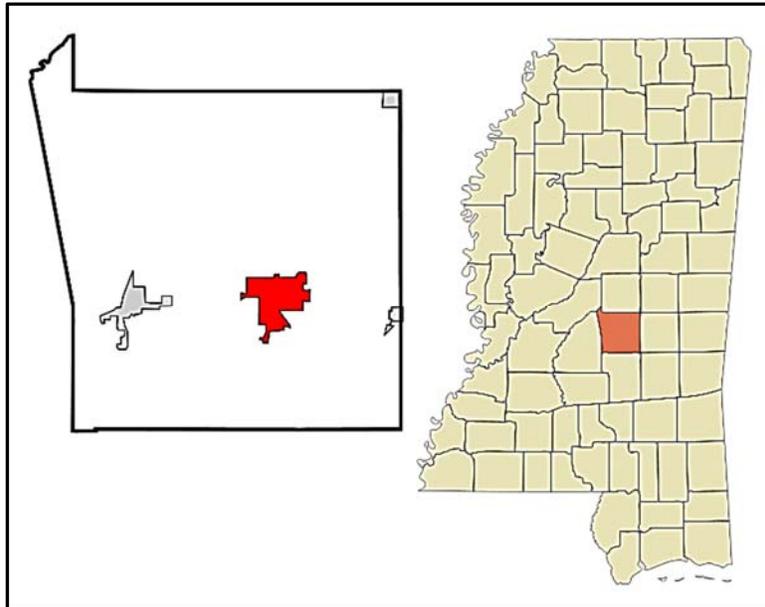


Figure 5-1: Map of Scott County, MS, with inset indicating Morton (left) and Forest (right).

It would be inaccurate to label the Mexican population of Scott County as either immigrants or migrants. In both communities of Morton and Forest, the residential status and the length of time in the community varies greatly among individuals. Men may come alone at first and then bring their families, while some may remain alone. There are a number of families who could be considered long-term immigrants, as some have resided in the community for fifteen to twenty years and have children who may have never visited their parents' country of origin. At the same time, there remains a steady inflow and outflow of short-term residents. There are often new arrivals to the communities, just as there are often people leaving the communities to find work elsewhere. One key informant who has lived in Morton for the past twenty years explained how she has seen the Hispanic community grow, but now a lot of people are leaving. Many are

still coming, but others seem to just “disappear overnight,” she explained. They may be gone for some time and then reappear. Some go to other states for temporary jobs.

Economically, there is also variation. Like the general Hispanic population in Scott County, the majority of Mexicans are employed in the poultry industry, filling various positions both in the farms and in the plants, such as: vaccinating chickens, collecting eggs, hanging chickens, and deboning chickens. Others have found employment in various other industries. For men, construction work is a common source of employment, as well as farming and timber. For women, housekeeping is a common alternative to the poultry industry, as well as baking. The service industry also offers employment for both men and women, with a limited number of jobs in local restaurants, groceries, or retail clothing stores. The long-term community members are visibly more established, driving relatively new trucks and SUVs, living in comfortable homes, and putting their children on the path to higher education. A number of Mexican community members have established their own small businesses, including groceries, auto repair shops, bakeries, and even building chicken houses. At the same time, a large number of participants were currently without jobs, or had a spouse who was without a job.

Life in the Communities:

Although Forest and Morton cannot be considered as one community, they are not fully independent of each other, either. People in the two communities share in particular events, commute from Forest to Morton for work in the poultry plants, or travel from Morton to Forest for groceries and dining out. Both towns of Forest and Morton are too small to sustain an entire ethnic neighborhood like those that are often found in larger suburban or urban areas. As a result, both communities have a contrast of whites, blacks, and Hispanics all occupying the same space but interacting within separate realms. In Forest, the Mexican *tienda* is only a block down from

the predominantly white Protestant Church and just in front of a street where mostly black residents live. On the weekends, the laundromat in Forest is filled with Hispanic, black, and a few white patrons. In Morton, the Hispanic Catholic Church is right next door to an Anglo family-owned hardware store. When church is over, the Hispanic parishioners, on their way to the neighborhood *tienda*, walk by the white Protestant Church-goers on their way to the local diner. I never saw a white or black person enter any of the *tiendas*, even though HonduMex sells some of the most delicious homemade cheeses and fresh baked breads anyone could wish for, and Maria's Mercado serves the closest thing to authentic tacos and tostadas to be found in all of Mississippi. Similarly, the Catholic Church in Forest is home to white, Hispanic, and Vietnamese parishioners, but they operate on different schedules with little overlap. Of all the time I spent at St. Michael's, I saw white and Vietnamese parishioners only in passing, and only on a few occasions.

During the weekdays, the streets of the towns are especially quiet, and there are few outlets for social or public activities. Like many small Southern towns, the retail markets of Forest and Morton offer little beyond the basics. Other than Walmart and a few fast-food chain restaurants in Forest and the Sonic in Morton, there are only a few family-owned venues where people may dine, shop, or socialize. In addition, a frequent theme among the people I interviewed was a general lack of free time, especially during the week. People often allocate the majority of their household activities, like cooking, cleaning, and shopping, to a Saturday or Sunday. At the most, people can devote a single day or even a half-day to social activities. On some Sundays, I noticed especially slim turn-outs at church and few people around town, in general. Some of the community members explained that this was always the case when there was a major event on the previous day. Sometimes there were local soccer tournaments, and

sometimes there were concerts organized by one of the local churches to raise money, and occasionally the Mexican or Guatemalan consulate held on-site immigration clinics for renewing visas and passports. Making time to participate in these activities meant not participating in other activities, like attending church.

Fears and Concerns

As discussed in Chapter 2, there are a number of stressors associated with being an immigrant, and especially an undocumented immigrant. The following section will discuss some specific fears and concerns that were often present within the community, and will also demonstrate how these fears and concerns often did not resolve themselves with time, but were simply replaced with new forms of old problems. This is especially true of the national, state, and local political issues.

Political Fears:

The contemporary immigration experience appears to have entered a new era, equally affected by political, historical, and economic events. The establishment of the Department of Homeland Security in 2001, a persistently poor economy, and high unemployment rates has perpetuated anti-immigration sentiment. Chavez (2008) points to the irony (revealing deeply rooted prejudices) that even as the nation wages its “war on terror,” Mexican immigrants are positioned as America’s most serious threat to national security. After Arizona recently paved the way for extreme anti-immigration legislation, several Southern states followed suit with similar sets of laws that blatantly target Hispanics, with the main goal of making their daily lives so uncomfortable that they would choose to “self-deport.”

Because I spent time in and out of Scott County over the past several years, I have been able to observe the shifting directions of the fears and concerns of the immigrant community as

they are fueled by the political climate. During the Bush administration, as a result of the Homeland Security Act, concerns within the community were focused on workplace raids. This fear became a reality in August 2008 when the nearby immigrant community of Laurel, Mississippi, experienced one of the largest workplace raids in US history, resulting in the arrest of 600 employees. In the communities of Forest and Morton, families were making action plans in case one or both parents did not come home from work one day. EXCEL community center coordinated a workshop on community preparedness in case of an immigration raid. “Right after the raids, we were asking ‘how does a community get ready?’” one of the staff at EXCEL explained, “We hosted a workshop with help from local school personnel and pastors on community preparedness, should an immigration raid occur.”

The threat of workplace raids subsided with time, but 2010 and 2011 saw a wave of anti-immigration bills come before both the State Senate and the House although they fell short of being passed. In the communities, local police began to take immigration law enforcement into their own hands by setting up weekend roadblocks surrounding activities like church attendance. Police roadblocks and checkpoints are common in Mississippi, and especially in Scott County. I personally passed through a couple of roadblocks driving along the highway that connects Forest and Morton. Typically police roadblocks are a way to catch people with no license, an expired license, no insurance, outstanding fines, or driving under the influence. Since undocumented immigrants, and even some legal immigrants, do not have the proper paperwork to acquire a driver’s license, the roadblocks represent a constant threat and commonly result in arrest and deportation.

By 2012, the scale of the police roadblocks had grown to include not only local police, but also immigration enforcement officials. In August of 2012, Immigration and Customs

Enforcement (ICE) set up a weekend-long roadblock that resulted in deportation of 40 people. That was the first time in the history of the community that an ICE roadblock was held in Forest. ICE began coming regularly to the communities, even knocking on doors of apartments where migrant workers live. As one key informant explained at the time, “the past couple of weeks, ICE has been actually coming to homes, knocking on doors, and entering homes. They come with photos of someone they are looking for, some ‘criminal’ and ask the people if they have seen him. When the people open their doors the police come in and ask them for documents.” Within the communities, people again started making action plans, making sure their children have someone to take care of them if their parents do not return home one day or are carried off in the middle of the night. The Catholic Church in both Forest and Morton responded by distributing pamphlets informing people of their rights, like the fact that they do not have to open their door to the police, and once they let them in, they may search the premises.

The effects of successful anti-immigration laws, first in Arizona, and then Alabama, were also felt in Scott County. Forest and Morton become a *safer*-haven for those fleeing Alabama’s harsh HB 51 immigration law. Several Alabama families arrived suddenly with all their possessions loaded into vans and cars. Some of them settled there, and some have moved on. As one of the Sisters at Saint Michael’s recalled, “one evening a caravan of vans showed up at McDonalds carrying about 20 people with all their belongings strapped to the roof and piled in the back. Many did not speak Spanish. The Catholic Church put them up in a local hotel for the night, and they used the parish hall to cook meals. They had all they needed for cooking with them. The next morning at Sunday Mass three more vans were waiting in the church parking lot.”

Not surprisingly, Alabama's success in passing their extreme anti-immigration law, coupled with the election of a new governor in Mississippi, has refueled the fires of Mississippi's anti-immigration efforts. By February 2012 the state congress had introduced HB488, Mississippi's version of an Alabama-style bill. One community member noted that even the possibility or rumor of a new law is enough to stimulate fear, leading some to leave and others to make plans to do so. In response, both Mississippi Immigrants' Rights Alliance (MIRA) and Catholic Charities organized Civic Engagement Days at the State Capitol where they met with members of the Senate and Congress to urge them to oppose anti-immigration and anti-worker laws. Religious leaders were present to speak on behalf of those who were unable or unwilling to make the trip to Jackson. One of the nuns who participated in the events in Jackson explained that, "as for the immigrants, themselves, there is no way they would speak out; they would lose their jobs." Catholic charities asked her to bring along some immigrants to speak on behalf of the community at their upcoming meeting in Jackson. She said, "There is no way that anyone would come; they don't go to Jackson, and they would not go for this. It would be different if they had documents."

The February 2012 issue of Mississippi Catholic, a monthly newsletter distributed to all members of the Mississippi Catholic Community, encouraged readers to contact their representatives and to urge them not to support anti-immigration laws, even including a template letter and the mailing addresses of all state officials. The following are a number of headlines and quotations from articles featured in that edition: 1) "Mississippi Bishops oppose anti-immigration legislation;" 2) "Dignity of human person– If we follow this, everything else falls into place;" 3) "Love Thy Neighbor impels us to work for laws that foster human good;" 4) "Vote 'no' on immigration legislation that adversely impacts residents of Mississippi" and; 5)

“Laws like SB2090 and SB2284 hinder the religious freedom of Mississippians by criminalizing charity and kindness to undocumented immigrants.”

The Police:

For reasons described above, the police were a constant topic of discussion among the immigrant community. Police activity seems to come in waves, partly sparked by political pressure, and partly spurred by a need to bring in revenue. At times, there appears to be some unspoken understandings between the police and the Hispanic community. For instance, a community volleyball tournament was held in Morton one weekend and the Hispanics played against the police team and everyone had a great time. Sister Yesenia at Saint Michael’s recalled another instance: “Everyone was at Church on Sunday afternoon and word spread that there was a roadblock right down the road, and everyone was afraid to leave. I called someone to go by and check it out. He said there were two police cars stopped beside a store, talking to each other. I decided to go down there myself and ask them if they were planning a roadblock. They said that they were just talking and that there were no roadblocks planned for this weekend. I asked them if they could talk somewhere else; they agreed.”

The Workplace:

Aside from politics and police, there are also fears and concerns associated with the workplace. I heard about women who were taken advantage of in the workplace. Even if they are documented, they have to worry about their parents or siblings who may not be. I met one young woman who was sexually harassed by her manager at one of the poultry plants. She, herself, was a legal resident, but the manager knew that other family members were not. She quit the job and remained unemployed for some time with a small child to support and her own college tuition to pay. Her entire family struggled to help until she was able to find another job.

People may secure employment by buying social security numbers of legal residents, and sometimes the social security numbers they obtain belong to men with child support automatically docked from their pay, as much as \$100 a week. They run into problems because they are employed using this name, and if they change names and buy new documents they have to quit their job and find a new one. One lady who did this got a complete make-over and dyed her hair, so that they would not recognize her. Once a reporter for the local paper was taking photos at a church event at Saint Michael's. She wanted names to put in the caption of the photo, but nobody would give her their names. Sr. Yesenia told her to just put "members of the Hispanic community." The reporter could not understand why they would not want their names in the paper; everyone loves to have their name in the paper. People often use one name at church and another name at work, and if they were noticed, they could lose their job.

Undocumented Children:

Even in the midst of concerns about workplace raids and roadblocks that could lead to deportation, parents are preoccupied with preparing for their children's futures. I had the chance to attend a special workshop one evening at EXCEL that was designed for parents whose children were preparing to enter college. The organizer, an immigrant from Peru who had successfully guided her own children through college, explained the basics of gaining admission, learning about grade point average and ACT score requirements; financial aid options; and the costs associated with attending universities and community colleges. I met a number of young people who were attending college or about to graduate from high school. Throughout my time in the field, I avoided asking any person about their legal status, but the young people often described barriers to continuing education that were clearly related to their legal status. One high school senior said that she was planning to join the military upon graduation, a common path for

undocumented youth. Another young woman was attending the local community college and working to pay her tuition. On at least one occasion, she had to take a semester off to work full time when her mother lost her job. Her brother was attending one of the state universities, but did not qualify for financial aid or scholarships because of his status, and his entire family worked to pay his tuition. Another young man told me about how he “discovered” that he was undocumented when he reached the age to obtain a driver’s license. He had lived nearly his entire life in Mississippi, enjoyed a comfortable lifestyle provided by successful parents, and did not see himself as any different from his classmates and peers. He was currently taking advantage of the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) program to attend one of the state universities.

DACA, introduced by the Obama administration in August 2012, is intended to give undocumented people who arrived in the US as young children an opportunity to gain temporary “lawful status (uscis.org).” The program does not offer a pathway to permanent residency or citizenship, but is intended to offer an opportunity for those who arrived as children to avoid deportation, to obtain financial aid and qualify for in-state tuition to attend college, to obtain a driver’s license, and to obtain jobs. It was introduced as a temporary alternative to the Dream Act, a pending proposal that would permanently provide similar benefits. DACA’s two-year duration and uncertain future, coupled with the fact that applying for deferred action status requires undocumented people to identify themselves to the USCIS, raised much suspicion on a national level. However, I did not encounter anyone in the communities who expressed concern about the long-term consequences of the program.

The Role of the Church

While the Catholic Church is taking an active role in advocating for immigrant's rights at a state level, they are constantly struggling to meet the needs of the immigrant community on a local level. In small, rural communities like Forest and Morton, immigrants often turn to religious institutions for help with both routine and emergency needs. Besides a few other Protestant churches (Methodist, Baptist, and Pentecostal) that serve the Hispanic community, there is a general lack of social services in the communities. One thing that distinguishes the Catholic churches from the Protestant denominations, according to the staff at Saint Michael's, is that the Catholic Church will assist anyone in need, regardless of their denomination. Other churches may expect the person to make a commitment to their institution before they can seek assistance.

The Catholic community of Scott County responded to the influx of Hispanic immigrants some fifteen years ago, and service to the Hispanic community continues to be at the core of their activities. Few resources are allocated to the small parish that includes Forest and Morton, so they make do with one full-time priest who resides in Forest and delivers mass to the English, Spanish, and Vietnamese communities, a second priest who resides in Morton and delivers Mass to the Spanish speaking community on Sundays, two nuns from Mexico who reside in Forest, and three non-Hispanic nuns from Iowa who reside in Morton and operate EXCEL community center. When the Hispanic community first started growing in Forest and Morton, a new priest was assigned to the diocese. Father Rich spent time in Saltillo to learn Spanish so he could better serve the Hispanic community in Scott County. He also requested a Mexican nun come to assist the community, and Sister Yesenia was sent from the *Misioneras Guadalupanas del Espiritu Santo*.

Eventually, Father Rich was reassigned to a Parish in North Mississippi, and Father Joe, a priest from New Orleans is now serving the community. Sister Yesenia was joined by Sister Lourdes, also from *Misioneras Guadalupanas*. Sadly, Sister Yesenia recently transferred to the Dominican Republic, leaving Sister Lourdes to fill a tremendous void, and to await the arrival of a new Sister from Mexico. In Morton, Sister Camilla along with other Sisters of Saint Francis in Iowa have served the community and operated EXCEL for nearly 20 years. She is planning to retire this year, but will likely continue her services with nearly the same rigor. So, much like the immigrant community, there are long-term and short term residents among the Catholic staff.

These few members of the staff are frequently called upon for a number of services, including translating documents, teaching English classes, and negotiating the legal system in cases ranging from renewal of paperwork to dealing with car accidents to helping families going through arrests or deportations. Very often, the sisters will accompany individuals to doctor's visits in the nearby state capital of Jackson. If people don't have transportation, then the sisters will drive them to Jackson. They also act as a translator during the visit not only for the doctor and the patient, but also for the process of establishing payment plans and following directions for treatment.

As mentioned above, the Sisters are involved in immigration reform efforts, to some extent, and are a valuable source of information for the immigrant community regarding new legislation. On a State level, they serve as representatives for the community when key immigration reform bills have gone before the State Legislation, organizing trips to the capital to advocate for human rights. On a local level, they negotiate the tenuous relationship between the police and the immigrant community. They hold an influential and "secure" position that allows them to speak out on behalf of the community members who may fear exposing themselves, all

while maintaining a level of diplomacy. I asked Sister Yesenia about the possibility of political activism in the community. She said that you can't be a political activist, or the door would be closed. One thing Father Rich made clear to her in the beginning is that even the leaders, like themselves, have to walk a line between helping the immigrants and keeping peace with the authorities; they have to play both sides.

Saint Michael's:

Saint Michael's was nearly always my first destination when entering the community. Along Interstate 59 en route from The University of Alabama in Tuscaloosa, Scott County is a 140 mile drive. Taking a short-cut along a small highway offers a faster, and more direct route to the east outskirts of Forest, where Saint Michael's Catholic Church is located. Like many Catholic churches across this region, Saint Michael's has existed to quietly serve a small, aging community of predominately Anglo Catholics in a Protestant dominated community. As with other Catholic Churches in this region, Saint Michael's was revitalized by the influx of Hispanic immigrants over the past 15-20 years. In 2006, Saint Michael's began offering a Spanish-language mass, and by 2009, St Michaels incorporated a second Spanish Mass on Sunday, due to the small capacity of the church (seating for about 100 people) and the growing number of Spanish speaking attendees.

There have also been lingering plans to build a larger church, but the diocese expects the local community to match their contribution before they agree to build. This is something that the Hispanic congregation has been very active in trying to make a reality. Each Sunday, around the 11:30 and the 1:00 Mass times, parishioners take turns volunteering to prepare and to sell home-made meals such as tacos, tamales, *tortas* (Mexican-style sandwiches), *mole* (chicken seasoned with a cocoa-based sauce), all types of sweets, *chicharones* (fried pork snacks), and

orchata (sweet rice-based drink) or *atole* (sweet hot corn-based drink) outside the church. I spent a lot of time with the weekly volunteers, and their regular presence provided me with a rare opportunity to talk for extensive lengths of time with people other than my key informants. The weekly food sale also gave people a reason to linger before and after Mass, which was especially helpful for my recruiting efforts throughout the various stages of interviewing.

Even in the absence of church attendees, inside of Saint Michael's there are visual signs of the influence of the Mexican community in the parish. In the front of the church is the typical Catholic altar setting with the Crucifixion in the center. To the right of the altar is an image of Saint Michael, and to the left, typical to Catholic churches, is a statue of Mary and Joseph, but further to the left is an image of the Virgin of Guadalupe. This image is adorned with decorations the week of December 12th. The photo in Figure 5-2 was taken during the week of the 2012 Feast day of Our Lady of Guadalupe. Here, the image of the Virgin of Guadalupe sits atop a recreation of Mount Tepeyac, the place where Guadalupe appeared to Juan Diego. The image has been adorned with roses and flags representing all the nationalities of the parishioners. Notice how the flag at the top is that of Mexico, tucked behind it is the flag of Guatemala, and then the US and other nations. One of the nuns recalled how some who were in charge of decorating wanted to place a much larger Mexican flag atop the image, and how, each year, she reminds the Mexican parishioners that Guadalupe is not just for Mexicans, but for all people.



Figure 5-2: Display in St. Michael's for Dec. 12th Guadalupean celebration

The first thing that may strike visitors as they enter the doors of Saint Michael's is the smell of burning candles and melting wax coming from the small chapel to the right just at the entrance of the church. The shrine is always accessible, and people visit at all hours of the day or night, men and women. The chapel has evolved over time, and today the space is dominated by symbols of Guadalupe. The below images (Figure 5-3) taken in 2008, 2012, and 2014 illustrate how the shrine has evolved over time. The chapel originally held the images of Christ and the Vietnamese Mary, Our Lady of La Vang. Upon the request of a parishioners, the Cuban Virgin of *Caridad del Cobre* and San Lazlo were added. Over time, the central image of the Virgin Mary became that of Guadalupe. Later, a large statue of Our Lady of Guadalupe appeared in the chapel, and no one is sure where it came from. With the arrival of the large Guadalupe statue, the crucifixion became repositioned to the back corner of the space. The number of votive candles

and the particular saints on the candles change over time as people leave them according to their needs, along with bouquets of flowers. The last time I visited the chapel there were 6 burning candles, three of Guadalupe and three of Saint Jude.

When the candles first started appearing in the shrine, they were placed on the floor, on a small shelf, and on a table. Sister Yesenia recalled how some of the Anglo parishioners expressed their concern to her that the unattended burning candles could result in a fire. They suggested replacing them with “fake” candles with flames that ran off batteries. She explained that this would not work, as it would not provide the same smell and atmosphere of real candles. An initial solution was to place the candles tin buckets filled with cat litter so that even if they did fall over or break, they would not cause a fire. She told me that members of the Anglo community then complained that it looked “ugly.” Now, the planters have been replaced with a metal candelabra designed specifically for the large glass votive candles.



Figure 5-3: Images of chapel in St. Michael’s from 2008, 2012, and 2014.

Saint Martin's:

A ten-minute drive along Highway 80 leads to Morton. Approaching “downtown” Morton you pass some of the chicken plants. It’s easy to drive right past downtown, a single road where the highway intersects with Main Street. Main Street runs for about three blocks and makes up the bulk of the town. There is a bank, police station, hardware store, restaurant, and a laundry, but my main stops in downtown Morton, aside from HonduMex Grocery and Maria’s Mercado, were Excel Community Center and Saint Martin’s Catholic Church.

Until recently, the only Catholic Church in Scott County was Saint Michael’s in Forest. In 2007 a “satellite” church was established in Morton to serve the Hispanic community, offering Spanish-language Mass once a week. Saint Martin’s was set up in a vacant store front on the main strip of the town. Parishioners enjoyed a recent move in 2011 to the newer, nicer location in an upgraded storefront around the block. The establishment of Saint Martin’s, as well as its relocation to a larger space, is evidence of the depth and breadth of the Hispanic community in Scott County. The need for a second parish resulted not only from the large crowds attending Mass in Forest, but also from the difficulties people in Morton experience traveling the 15 miles to Forest to attend Mass. Like Saint Michael’s, the image of the Virgin of Mary in Saint Martin’s is that of the Virgin of Guadalupe. Her large portrait hangs right beside the crucifix and these two are also accompanied by an image of Saint Martin de Porres, the church’s namesake and an especially popular saint in South America.

EXCEL:

EXCEL community center is operated by the Sisters of Saint Francis who came to Morton from Iowa as part of their mission to “listen, live, and learn” in communities across the US with large low-income populations and lack of resources. Towards this goal, they established

EXCEL in 1996 to provide the entire community with a number of services and programs, like after school tutoring, English as a Second Language (ESL), Spanish-language classes, and they also periodically host workshops like knitting, painting, CPR, and anything else that may be needed or that can be made available. They offer basic services like faxing and copying, and they are often visited by members of the immigrant community who need help with practical things like setting up utilities, communicating with bill collectors, and renewing documents. Outside of the normal work day at EXCEL, the sisters may often accompany members of the Hispanic community to doctor's appointments where they assist with translating and negotiating paperwork. The Sisters of EXCEL are constantly struggling to increase involvement and to find volunteers and funds to meet the needs of the community, such as additional Spanish translators and basic computer classes for English and Spanish speakers. One of the biggest struggles of EXCEL is funding. One of the Sisters compared the situation of EXCEL as equivalent to that the immigrant community, just barely getting by.

EXCEL also operates a thrift store out of the front of the building, where they sell donated household items and clothing. The thrift store stays surprisingly busy considering the quiet streets of Morton. The times I met with Sr. Camilla, there was nearly always someone coming and going from the store. The transitory nature of the Hispanic community is reflected in the thrift store sales. Mostly people just come for necessities like pots and pans, baby clothes, linens and comforters. Decorative items are not so popular, unless they are religious statues. Sister Camilla mentioned a woman whose husband got angry at her and broke all her altar statues. She came to EXCEL to try to find more and asked the Sister if she could get some for her. Sister Rita, another one of the sisters at EXCEL, when discussing the items sold in the thrift store, said that whenever they get images of Guadalupe in the thrift store they sell instantly. She

also noted that Guadalupe seems most popular among Central Americans, but not much among South Americans, thus, she noted, her claim to be patroness of the Americas does not hold very true.

When I was first beginning my Master's studies in 2006, and had chosen to focus my research on the communities of Forest and Morton, I started volunteering in the office of EXCEL. I volunteered a couple of times a week for about 6 months. During that time, I mostly helped members of the Hispanic community who came in needing assistance with their bills or other services. Some of them may have received letters from bill collectors or banks and needed help understanding exactly what was being requested. Others needed me to make phone calls on their behalf to communicate with service providers. Many people stopped by to inquire about the after-school tutoring and to get their children enrolled in the program as well as other classes offered. At that time, there was no thrift store in the front of the building, but the space was occupied by MPOWER, the poultry worker's justice organization, a short-lived program established to serve the needs of people employed by the local poultry companies (for information about the history of MPOWER, as well as an extensive description of the poultry industry in Scott County, see Stuesse 2008, 2009). EXCEL had also just begun offering Spanish classes to the local English-speaking community. Because they are one of few Spanish classes in the region that do not require college enrollment, they have always remained well-attended by local business owners, educators, and others who interact with the Hispanic community on a regular basis.

Later in 2008, as I was completing my Master's research (Read, 2009), I again started regularly visiting EXCEL at the same time that a new Sister, Sister Rita, had just arrival to the community. One of her main goals upon arrival was to start teaching English as a Second

Language (ESL) classes; she was learning Spanish at the same time that she was developing the class. Today, the ESL class has become part of the regular services offered by EXCEL, and Sister Rita has perfected her Spanish-language skills and her ESL teaching approach. When I last met with her in 2012, she had just completed two sessions, each lasting two months and meeting two weekday evenings each week, and she was preparing to teach a level-two course for the next session. She has about 10 people in each class, but two of her students were arrested and deported in the middle of the session. This was very upsetting to her; they were such diligent students. The problem she most often encounters with her ESL classes is the small number of people who can make the commitment to attend the classes regularly. While many people express interest in the classes, and my own study results indicate a collective need to improve English-language skills, the reality is that setting aside the time to do so is very difficult or impossible for most.

Celebrating Guadalupe

Feast Day of Our Lady of Guadalupe:

One advantage of my long-term engagement with these communities is that I have been able to attend several of the annual celebrations of the Feast Day of the Virgin of Guadalupe. The first celebration that I attended was in 2005, and I have since attended the 2006, 2008, 2011, 2012, and 2013 celebrations. Photos and a write-up from my attendance of the 2005 (Figure 5-4, 5-5) celebration were published in a later issue of *Anthropology News* (Read 2008). Looking back over the trajectory of the annual celebrations that I have attended over the years, the 2005 celebration was the “high point” from which subsequent celebrations have slowly moved further away. Granted, part of this may be due to personal bias (that tendency to see the first as the best), but there have been some real changes that have occurred, notably, the gradual shift away from

the large scale vehicle and walking processions of the Feast Day of Our Lady of Guadalupe, to a fully indoor venue, and slowly back to a smaller-scale foot procession.



Figure 5-4: People gathered at Forest courthouse for 2005 feast day of Our Lady of Guadalupe.



Figure 5-5: Images from the 2005 celebration of the feast day of Our Lady of Guadalupe.

In a previous section, I discussed the tenuous relationship between the Hispanic community and the local police. This has also shaped the December 12th celebration over the years. Although the street procession had been an annual occurrence for over a decade, nearly without fail, the police interrupt the procession, either in response to traffic, noise disturbance, or the absence of parade license. In the early years, the December 12th procession would begin in Morton, where people would decorate their vehicles and drive along the highway from Morton to the courthouse of downtown Forest. In 2008, the police interrupted the celebration to complain that the procession was blocking traffic, saying that even the police could not get around the parade in case of an emergency (Figure 5-6). Not wishing to endanger anyone, the Guadalupe planning committee decided to terminate this leg of the celebration in 2009, moving the starting point to the courthouse in Forest.



Guatemalan children dressed as Juan Diego and the Virgin of Guadalupe



Mexican children, one in native dress, one as the Virgin, and one as Juan Diego



Saint Michael's set up for an outdoor Mass upon arrival of the procession



Police confront Sr. Yesenia about traffic caused by the vehicle procession, and no parade license

Figure 5-6: Images from the 2008 Guadalupean celebration.

For the 2009 celebration, the event began with everyone gathered in front of the courthouse in downtown Forest, where they then walked behind a series of decorated automobiles, and walked from the courthouse to Saint Michael's Church at the outskirts of town for an outdoor Mass in front of the Church. Bad weather in 2010 disrupted a similar plan, and forced activities to be relocated to a civic center only a few blocks from the courthouse. Seeing

all their hard work lost to the weather, people grew discouraged, and in 2011 they simply planned the entire celebration at the indoor venue. The dancing, native dresses, and decorations seemed less extravagant than they were in the past years. In 2012, the traditional foot procession from in front of the courthouse to the civic center made a reappearance, but this time only as a walking procession with no vehicles (Figure 5-7). The police also appeared in response to complaint, but did not raise any issues.



Figure 5-7: Walking procession during the 2012 Guadalupe celebration.

In 2013, the celebration was planned similarly to the previous year, but perhaps even growing a bit more elaborate than the preceding years (Figure 5-8), although this year's walking procession was cancelled due to cold, rainy weather. The dancing, the native costumes, the food, and the children's performance, were especially impressive this past year. Still, there is no talk of a return to the grandeur of the early years with the car procession from Morton to Forest, and the boy and girl selected to represent Guadalupe and Juan Diego.



Figure 5-8: Images from the 2013 Guadalupean celebration.

Antorcha Guadalupana:

Forest has also become a regular stopping point for the *Carrera Antorcha Guadalupana*, an annual torch relay race starting in Mexico City and ending in New York City, where participants carry a message of equal rights for migrant workers in the US. Surprisingly, this

remarkable event has garnered nearly no scholarly recognition (see Fox 2006 and Galvez 2010 for brief discussions). Due to the event nearly always falling during the week of the American Anthropological Association annual meeting, I was only able to attend once, in 2005.

The *Carrera Antorcha Guadalupana* (Guadalupan torch race) is sponsored by a grass-roots organization, *Asociación Tepeyac de New York*, and passes through communities with large Mexican populations. The torch is lit at the *Basilica de Guadalupe* in Mexico City (in 2006 it was lit on October 9th) and is scheduled to arrive in New York on December 12th. The *antorcha* travels 3,868 miles to highlight the human rights of undocumented immigrants. The runners carry a message that all Mexicans are united under the Virgin of Guadalupe, even though they may be living far from home as migrants in the United States. Their slogan is, “*Mensajeros por la Dignidad de Un Pueblo Dividido por la Frontera*,” which translates to “messengers for the dignity of a people divided by the frontier.” They began holding the races around the year 2000, and plan to continue as long as Mexican migrant workers struggle for their rights in the United States.

In 2006, the torch left Hazlehurst, Mississippi, on Friday morning and arrived in Forest on Friday evening at about 5:30. The caravan of five to six vehicles and several people on foot were escorted through town by police. Along with the torch, they carried a Mexican flag and two huge images, one of the Virgin of Guadalupe and one of Saint Juan Diego. The runners were welcomed at Saint Michael’s by a Mass in Spanish and a Mexican-styled dinner of grilled chicken, tortillas, pinto beans, rice, and potatoes. The runners stayed with locals who volunteered beds for the night. They were scheduled to leave Forest for Meridian at 8:00 am the next morning.

Some of the runners had been traveling with the caravan since it left Mexico, others came down from New York, and others met up with them along the way from nearby cities like Memphis, Tennessee. Some of the runners were from Forest and were running only as far as the next stop in Meridian, Mississippi. They take turns carrying the torch by foot at a pace of 15 miles per hour, and they take several breaks along the way. A van and an RV with Tepeyac.org logos escort the runners, and other vehicles with local runners follow along, too. When they were not passing through a town, a single person carries the torch on foot, but when they approach town they are joined by many other runners celebrating their arrival (Figure 5-9). The torch and images of the Virgin and St. Juan Diego are brought out when they near their next destination (Figure 5-10), and when they reach their destination, the runners set up a table with items to sell to support themselves along the way. They sell t-shirts, bracelets, prayer cards, small images of the Virgin, and videos among other things.



Figure 5-9: The 2006 *Carrera Antorcha Guadalupana* arrives in Forest, MS.



Figure 5-10: *Carrera Antorcha Guadalupana* racers holding images of Guadalupe and St. Juan Diego.

Chapter Summary

This chapter is an ethnographic description of the lives of the Mexican immigrants in Scott County through a combination of key informant interviews, participant observation, and informal discussion, some conducted over several years. The chapter describes the communities of Forest and Morton, focusing locations and events in each community that are most relevant to the current study. The chapter describes events that are sources of stress, including: the local political climate, work related concerns, and issues specific to undocumented parents and children. The chapter also describes how the Catholic Churches, their affiliated organizations and services serve the immigrant communities. The chapter closes with descriptions of two annual events related to celebrating Our Lady of Guadalupe.

CHAPTER 6

PHASE 1: DESCRIBING GUADALUPAN DEVOTION

Introduction

The goal of Phase 1 of the study was to begin to formally elicit a description of peoples' perceptions of Guadalupe devotion and devotees within the communities. Towards this goal, I developed and administered an interview schedule to generate salient themes within the cultural domain of "being Guadalupe." The interview schedule also included a set of questions aimed at exploring the more broad domain of "being religious," as well as a set of questions about "being an immigrant," as potentially having overlap with the domain of Guadalupe devotion. The Phase 1 interview results will be used in the formation of the Phase 2 cultural consensus instrument. Responses from the Phase 1 interviews are also considered both within and across the domains of religion, immigration, and Guadalupe devotion.

Phase 1 Interview Schedule

One approach to eliciting the content of a cultural domain is to generate an inventory-style list of attributes, referred to as freelist data. This approach works well for domains that are easily describable, such as kinds of fruits (Borgatti 1999). For a complex and meaningfully rich domain like Guadalupe devotion it did not seem to be a sufficient or feasible approach. An alternative is to create a list of concepts describing a domain using open-ended interview data and identifying themes using narrative analysis. I chose to use a combination of both inventory and open-ended questions.

I developed 23 open-ended questions around specific aspects of “being Guadalupan” which could be answered either with descriptive statements or with single word responses (Appendix B). The wording of each question encouraged participants to name or list “all they ways” that they could think of when responding. The same strategy and structure, following the same rationale, was applied to developing a set of eight questions relating to “being religious.” Exploring the domain of “being religious” allows me to consider the extent to which this more general domain may encapsulate the domain of Guadalupan devotion. When hypothesizing what the domain of Guadalupan devotion may look like, questions emerged regarding the extent to which Guadalupan devotion could be described as “religious” devotion, as opposed to cultural, national, political, or something additional.

Finally, two questions were included in the Phase 1 interview schedule to elicit a list of stressors associated with immigration. The questions were included to inform any changes or revisions that may be needed for the Immigration Stressor Scale before it was to be included in the final phase of the study. As discussed in Chapter 5, sources of stress can shift in response to local and national current events. The complete Phase 1 interview schedule with all three question sets can be found in Appendix B.

Phase 1 Sample

The sampling goal for Phase 1 was to interview 15-20 participants, with the precise number depending on how much variation there was among participants’ responses, ceasing recruitment once responses started to become redundant. I especially wanted to maintain a conservative sample size in this first phase of interviews since greater numbers of participants would need to be recruited as the study proceeded. Recruitment took place at the Catholic Churches, as well as *tiendas* and other businesses around the communities.

In the field, the interview schedule proved to be quite lengthy and challenging for participants. On my initial run with this interview schedule, I realized that many of the questions required a considerable amount of reflection from participants. The questions required participants to think about complex concepts concerning religion and devotional practices that people may seldom reflect upon. In addition to the difficulty level, the time that most participants could spare for an interview was always a challenge, but especially for this lengthy interview schedule. In some cases it took well over an hour to get through an interview. In other cases, we quickly pushed through the questions in an effort to complete the interview with the limited time the participant could spare.

Sixteen participants completed the interview, and five participants started, but were unable to complete it and were thus removed from the study. The sample included two nuns from the Catholic Church, both of whom are of Mexican origin, and are appointed by the Church to serve the Hispanic community. While there is a potential that these individuals may have a different understanding of Guadalupan devotion than other community members, they also are intimately familiar with the behaviors and practices of the community. A comparison of their responses to the others suggested that they weren't drawing on a different set of knowledge, but a more detailed understanding of the same knowledge as other participants. Any themes that were introduced by the nuns that were not supported by others would naturally "fall out" of the analysis. For example, the nuns were among the few who made specific reference to praying the rosary, a practice that is associated with the Church and the Virgin Mary *writ large* more so than with Guadalupe, in particular. However, during the December 12th street procession, rosaries are distributed to everyone along with an accompanying book of prayers specific to the Virgin of Guadalupe, and the act of reciting the *Rosario Guadalupano* is central to the procession (Figure

6-1). Nonetheless, the theme of the rosary was not given enough weight by participants in this analysis or in subsequent analyses to become a central theme of Guadalupano devotion.



Figure 6-1: Participants in the December 12th Procession Reciting the *Rosario Guadalupano*.

The final sample of 16 participants (Table 6-1) contained a balance of males and females (50% each), and a slightly higher number of Forest participants (56%) than Morton participants (44%). The average age of the sample was 28.5, with ages ranging from 19 to 45 years. The sample contained a high percentage of unmarried participants (44%), explained by the inclusion of the two nuns, as well as the slightly low average age of participants. Only two participants (the two nuns) had education beyond high-school, with 25 percent reporting education up to the sixth grade and 44 percent reporting education up to ninth grade. The majority of participants were Catholic (88%), and 25 percent of the sample reported being unemployed. The majority of employed participants worked in the poultry industry (19%), followed by the timber and construction industries (13%). The average monthly household income was \$1,600 with 50 percent reporting single income households, and 12.5 percent households reporting no income.

Table 6-1: Demographic characteristics of Phase 1 interview sample (n=16).
Gender: 50% male 50% female
Age: Mean: 28.5 years Standard Deviation: 8.2 years Range: 19-45 years
Community: 56% Forest 44% Morton
Years living in Community: Mean: 4.4 years Standard Deviation: .5 years Range: 1-12 years
Education: Mean: 9.6 years Standard Deviation: 3.1 years Range: 6-16 years
Religion: 88% Catholic 6% Baptist 6% Non-practicing
Marital Status: 50% Married 44% Single 6.2% Widowed
Employment: 25% Unemployed/Not working 19% Poultry 13% Timber 13% Construction 13% Clergy 6% Landscaping 6% Housecleaning 6% Welding
Monthly Household Wages: Mean: \$1600 Standard Deviation: \$824 Range: \$0-2800

Being Guadalupan

The Phase I interview schedule contained 23 items relating to Guadalupan devotion, including: public and private acts of devotion; devotional objects associated with her; activities associated with honoring her; situations in which one would or would not pray to her, petitioning her and showing thanks for answered petitions; and when and where to pray to her. Table 6-2 presents the most frequently mentioned themes across all “being Guadalupan” questions. This includes all themes mentioned by more than 30 percent of the respondents. Column two indicates the percentage of participants whose responses to at least one question corresponded with each code. The third column also shows the number of times each theme was mentioned across all questions by all participants. Note that the totals of column three vary from the percentages in column two because some themes were mentioned by participants in response to more than one question. A detailed description of each theme can be found in Appendix C.

Table 6-2: Most frequently mentioned themes from “being Guadalupan” question set, including the number of times theme was used in response to either question by any participant.		
Theme*	% participants mentioning the theme	# times theme used across all questions
Her Image	93.8	38
Mexico/ Back home	93.8	25
Praying	81.3	39
Church	81.3	35
Faith/Believing	81.3	30
Her Portrait	75	20
House/Home	75	19
Guatemala	75	12
December 12 th	68.8	22
Health	68.8	15
Clothing	68.8	14
Family	62.5	17
Safety/Wellbeing	56.3	13
Work	56.3	11
Her candle	50	16
Flowers	50	13
Her medal/chain	50	12
Traveling/Crossing over	43.8	12

Respectful	43.8	7
Community	37.5	11
Traditions	37.5	8
Kind/Good	37.5	8
Jesus	37.5	7
Her Care	37.5	6
Humble/Simple	37.5	6
Money/Material goods	37.5	6
Problems	37.5	6
Activities/ Involvement	31.3	10
Asking/Petitioning her	31.3	9
Talk about her	31.3	7
Altar (home or church)	31.3	6
Her keychain	31.3	6
Private	31.3	6
Songs	31.3	6
Peace	31.1	5

“Being Guadalupe” Analysis:

Analysis of qualitative results from the “being Guadalupe” question set, as well as the “being religious” and “being an immigrant” question sets, was conducted in EZText software (Carey et al. 1998). This software is specifically designed for semi-structured qualitative datasets, as opposed to single-item responses. It allows multiple codes to be assigned to a single response. Once all responses were coded, a coding frequency report was generated reporting number and percentage of individuals who used a particular theme for each question as well as the number of times a particular theme was assigned to each question, and the number and percentage of times a theme was used across all questions along with confidence intervals.

Themes across “Being Guadalupe” Questions:

Given the high number of usages of the themes and the large percentage of participants who used a number of the themes, even among a small sample size, there appears to be agreement as to what it means to be a Guadalupe. A total of 35 themes were mentioned by over

30 percent of respondents, with a total of 17 themes used by 50 percent of participants, and eight themes used by 75 percent of participants. The most cohesive themes (“her image” and “Mexico”), were mentioned by over 93 percent of respondents, and the second most salient themes (“praying,” “church,” and “faith/believing”) were mentioned by 81 percent of respondents. When considering the total number of times a theme was used, the themes of “praying,” “her image,” “church,” “faith/believing,” “December 12th,” “her portrait,” and “Mexico” were all used more than twenty times across all questions.

Themes within “Being Guadalupan” Questions:

Table 6-3 presents the most frequently mentioned themes for each of the 23 “being Guadalupan” questions, along with English translations of sample responses. Although the more narrative nature of the responses was not structured in a manner that would allow for collecting saliency scores, two questions clearly generated notably salient responses. When asked to describe a Guadalupan (question 2), “Mexican” was the first trait mentioned by 68 percent of the participants. When asked what other groups besides Mexicans are devoted to Guadalupe (question 8), “Guatemalans” were the first group mentioned by 75 percent of participants, acknowledging not only the large size of the Guatemalan community, but also the extent to which they participate in the December 12th celebration.

When considering the responses to individual questions, there are twelve themes that were mentioned by more than 50 percent of participants in response to a single question. When asked to describe a Guadalupan, (question 2) the theme of “Mexican” was mentioned by 75 percent of respondents, referring to Guadalupans being primarily from Mexico. In response to the question about ways people publicly show devotion, (question 3) the theme of “December 12th” was mentioned by 43.8 percent of respondents, referring to participating in her feast day

on December 12th. When asked about other groups besides Mexicans who are devoted to Guadalupe (question number 8) 75 percent of respondents referred to the local Guatemalan community. In response to the question about things that people pray to Guadalupe for (question 11), 50 percent of respondents mentioned themes of “family” and of “health.” The theme of “praying” was mentioned by 62.5 percent of participants in response to ways people ask for help from Guadalupe (question 13). Likewise, 62.5 percent of respondents mentioned “church” as the place where people usually talk to or pray to Guadalupe (question 16). In response to the question about the kinds of Guadalupe-related objects people keep their homes (question 17), the theme of “her image” was mentioned by 87.5 percent and, more specifically, “her portrait” by 62.5 percent of participants. Her image was also mentioned by 56.3 percent of participants as an item people carry with them when they travel (question 18). When asked how their devotion had changed since arriving in the community (question 23), 50 percent said it was the same.

Table 6-3: Most frequently mentioned themes from the “being Guadalupean” question set, by question, with sample responses.			
Question	Theme	Freq.	Sample Responses
1. What are some ways that you could identify a person in this community who is devoted to Our Lady of Guadalupe?	Her image	37.5	They have her image in their car/clothing
	Dec. 12	31.3	They celebrate the birthday of the virgin
	Home	25	They keep her image in their house
	Medal	25	They wear a necklace with her image
	Talk about her	18.8	They talk about the virgin
2. Describe a person who is a Guadalupean?	Mexico	75	100% Mexicans
	Humble/Simple	37.5	Humble; very simple dress/ language
	Respectful	31.3	Respectful; Speak with respect
	Kind/Good	31.3	Good people; Get along with others
3. What are all the ways that people in this community publicly show their devotion to Our Lady of Guadalupe?	Dec 12	43.8	Celebrating her on December 12 th
	Church	31.3	Going to church
	Clothing	18.8	Wearing clothing with her image
	Her image	18.8	Some Mexicans put images on their car
	Street	18.8	Pilgrimages in the street
4. What are all the ways that people in this community privately show	Praying	37.5	Praying at home
	Home	31.3	Keeping her altar at home
	Candle	18.8	Lighting her candle
	Asking	18.8	Asking for her blessings

their devotion to Our Lady of Guadalupe?			
5. How do people honor Our Lady of Guadalupe differently here than in Mexico?	Same Community Dec. 12 Praying Song	25 18.8 12.5 12.5 12.5	No difference, same as in Mexico The community is less united/too busy The way they celebrate December 12 th Praying to her The songs are different
6. What are all the ways that the churches here support devotion to Our Lady of Guadalupe?	Dec. 12 Mass Her Altar	18.8 18.8 18.8	Hosting the December 12 th celebration Mass in her honor Keeping her altar/ image in the church
7. What other things could the church do to support devotion to Our Lady of Guadalupe?	Education	31.3	Teaching her message/ her miracles
8. Besides Mexicans, what other people in this community are devoted to Our Lady of Guadalupe?	Guatemala El Salvador Honduras Peru US	75 31.3 18.8 18.8 18.8	Guatemalans Salvadorans Hondurans Peruvians Americans/Mexican Americans
9. What are the different ways that people who are not from Mexico show their devotion to Our Lady of Guadalupe?	Same Church Dec. 12th	31.3 18.8 18.8	The same as Mexicans Going to church Joining in her Celebration on Dec.12 th
10. Do men and women show their devotion to Our Lady of Guadalupe in different ways? If yes, what are the differences?	Same Women Faith/Believe	43.8 25 18.8	It's the same Women are more detailed; put flowers Women believe more; pray more
11. What things do people in this community ask Our Lady of Guadalupe for?	Family Health Peace Safe/well Work	50 50 31.1 31.1 31.1	Wellbeing of the family Health; health of family Peace; no suffering That nothing happens; safety of family That they have work
12. What things do people NOT ask Our Lady of Guadalupe for?	Bad Money	25 18.8	For something bad/ violence Money/material things
13. What are the ways that people ask for help from Our Lady of Guadalupe?	Praying Church Asking Private Candle	62.5 25 25 18.8 12.5	Praying to her Going to church Asking for protection/ health Talking to her alone; private prayers Putting candles by her image
14. What are the ways that people show thanks for her help?	Candle Flowers	37.5 37.5	Lighting her candle Bringing her flowers

	Church	31.3	Going to church more; visiting her at church
	Praying	31.3	Praying to the virgin; kneeling
15. When do people usually pray or talk to Our Lady of Guadalupe?	Always/Daily	31.3	Every day; all the time; at any moment
	Needs	31.3	When they need help/ are in need
	Problems	25	When they have a problem
	Health	18.8	When someone is sick
	Sad/Lonely	12.5	When they are alone and sad/ feel sad
	Travel	12.5	When they travel
16. Where do people usually talk to/pray to her?	Church	62.5	In church
	Home	50	At home
	All places	50	Everywhere; real Guadalupans always pray
17. What kinds of objects related to Our Lady of Guadalupe do people in this community keep in their homes?	Her image	87.5	Candles/medals/key chains with her image
	Her Portrait	62.5	Little prints; framed portraits
	Clothing	31.3	Her image on a blanket/cloth
18. What kinds of objects related to Our Lady of Guadalupe do people in this community carry with them when they leave home or travel?	Her image	56.3	Her image on a card
	Her portrait	43.8	A print of her image
	Her medal	31.3	A medal/chain
	Keychain	18.8	A keychain
19. When people come to this community, do they pray to her more, less, or the same as before?	More	43.8	More, they know they will need her
	Same	43.8	Same, if they are Guadalupan
	Travel	12.5	For arriving safely; they're far from home
20. When people come to this community, do they pray to her for different things than before? If Yes...What things?	Family	31.3	Family in Mexico; family crossing border
	Travel	31.3	For keeping them alive on the road
	Getting caught	25	That you're not arrested/deported
	Safe/Wellbeing	25	A safe arrival; a safe return to your family
	Work	25	That we have work to sustain our family
21. Besides Guadalupe, who else do people in this community petition?	Jesus	37.5	Jesus; Infant Jesus
	Saints	37.5	Other saints they believe in; Saint Jude
	God	25	God
	St. Martin	12.5	Saint Martin de Porres
	Other virgins	12.5	Immaculate Conception for Nicaraguans
22. Do you consider yourself a Guadalupan, Why/why not?	Yes	81.3	I have a lot of faith in her; I'm Mexican
	Faith/Belief	31.3	Because I believe in the Virgin
	Somewhat	18.8	More or less; A little
23. How has your devotion changed since coming here?	Same	50	My devotion is the same/ has not changed
	Busy	12.5	I have less time; no time to go out to pray
	Pray	12.5	Praying for new things I'm given

“Being Guadalupan” Discussion:

While many of the responses to the “being Guadalupan” questions are fairly straightforward, and do not require elaboration, other questions become more meaningful when placed in context of ethnography and/or existing literature. In response to the inquiry of things people would *not* ask Guadalupe for (question 12), the majority of responses fall under the two themes of 1) money/material possessions, and 2) something bad. The concept of not asking for “bad things” to happen may very well be a common-sense response to any question about what one should not pray for, but it is worth noting that there are particular saints and virgins that are associated with malevolent acts. Carroll’s (1992) text “Madonnas that Maim” describes Marian figures taking on rather unorthodox meanings across Italy. Derks and Hessel (2011) describe devotion among some women in Quillacollo, Bolivia, to the Virgin of Urkupiña. One way that the women cope with the extremely high levels of physical violence they experience from their husbands is to petition the Virgin of Urkupiña to intervene and bring about the downfall of their spouse or ex-spouse. Women report their enemies being struck with illnesses, accident, even death, when the vengeful Virgin of Urkupiña answers their prayers.

Perhaps more relevant is devotion to Santa Muerte, the saint of death, which has been rapidly gaining popularity among Mexicans and Mexican Americans in the last five to ten years (Chestnut 2012). Although commonly associated with drug gangs and prisoners, Santa Muerte’s paraphernalia, like votive candles printed with the phrase “death unto my enemies” is now commonly sold along the US/Mexican border. Her association with financial blessings has made her a favorite among some small business owners and those suffering from the current economic downturn, evidenced by the number of gold candles left at her shrines.

In response to the question about other saints or virgins that people are devoted to in the community (question 21), there was no mention of Santa Muerta. Participants did not specifically mention any “local” saints that could be tied to particular sending communities in Mexico, although some people responded that devotion to other saints depended on the individual, and whichever saints they may believe in. Jesus or the Infant Jesus (El Niño Jesus) was the most frequently mentioned other devotion. Two other frequently mentioned devotions were Saint Martin de Porres and The Immaculate Conception. Knowledge of these followings reflects the other dominant nations of origin represented in the community. Saint Martin is the patron saint of Peru, and is also the namesake of the recently established Catholic Church in Morton (Chapter 5). There are a number of Peruvian immigrants in the community of Morton, and many of them have been residents of the community for well over a decade. The Immaculate Conception, another Marian figure, is the patroness of Nicaragua, Nicaraguans also being strongly represented in the community.

For the few times that differences in devotion were mentioned across questions, these differences were often associated with the lack of free time that people have. In response to how people honor Guadalupe differently here than in Mexico (question 5), some associated the differences with people being too busy or the community not coming together as often as in Mexico. While half of the participants reported that their devotion to Guadalupe was the same since arriving in this community as it was before (question 23), those who reported being less devoted said it was due to having less time. This theme of being too busy or a lack of time together as a community was brought up on other occasions by members of the community. As mentioned in Chapter 5, Sister Yesenia associated the decline in the December 12th decorations, planning, and performance to the fact that people were too busy to get involved. On another

occasion, a participant in a latter phase of the study explained that he felt he was less devoted to Guadalupe since coming to Mississippi because the community here does not participate in activities to the extent they do in Mexico.

While the majority of participants reported that there was no difference in devotion among men and women (question 10), 25 percent of participants said that there were differences. Of the four participants who reported differences, all of them agreed that women were more devoted than men, either that they believed more, had more faith, or were more detailed. Two participants explained that women often leave flowers for Guadalupe, and one of them added that men may prefer to leave a candle.

That there are people who may be considered *more* Guadalupan than others, and that there are different behaviors that distinguish them, was suggested by some responses. In response to the question about where people pray or talk to Guadalupe (question 16), one participant reported that “real” Guadalupans always pray. In response to the question about whether people pray to her more, less, or the same as before coming here (question 19), one participant explained that people pray the same if they are Guadalupan, but not as much if they are not very Guadalupan. Even when informally speaking to community members about my project, some people would tell me that if I want to know about the Virgin of Guadalupe, then I must talk to a particular person. My key informants also identified specific people they considered especially devoted to Our Lady of Guadalupe. Essentially, they were identifying people who they felt were “very Guadalupan.” Yet, all participants considered themselves to be Guadalupans (question 22) if not completely (81.2 %), then at least somewhat (18.8%). The idea that there are varying degrees of “being Guadalupan” will be explored further in the succeeding chapter (Chapter 7).

Being Religious

A set of eight open-ended questions were developed around the concept of “being religious,” and were geared towards exploring multiple aspects of religiosity, with a specific focus on personal behavior; social activities; church attendance; and services the churches offer. By having a description of the domain of religion, it becomes possible to consider ways in which Guadalupe is encompassed by general religiosity, and the extent to which it may be more specific or distinct.

Themes Across the “Being Religious” Questions:

Table 6-4 presents the most frequently mentioned themes across all questions. This includes all themes mentioned by more than 30 percent of the respondents. Column two indicates the percentage of participants that used each code in response to at least one question. The third column also presents the number of times each theme was mentioned across all questions by all participants. A detailed description of each theme can be found in Appendix C.

A total of 18 themes were mentioned by over 30 percent of participants, with a total of six themes used by at least 50 percent of participants. The most salient themes, “praying” and “religion,” were mentioned by 68.8 percent of participants, and the second most salient theme, “God”, was mentioned by 62.5 percent of participants. Across all questions, the theme of “God” and “church” were most often used, at 17 times and 16 times respectively.

Table 6-4: Most frequently mentioned themes from the “being religious” question set, including the number of times the theme was used in response to either question by any participant.		
Theme	% participants mentioning the theme	# times theme used across all questions
Praying	68.8	12
Religion	68.8	11
God	62.5	17
Speaking	56.3	12
Faith/Believing	56.3	12

Church	50	16
Community	43.8	9
Bad	43.8	7
Catholic	43.8	7
Behavior	37.5	9
Support (social/spiritual)	37.5	9
Home	37.5	7
Education	37.5	7
Needs	37.5	7
Mass	37.5	6
Food	31.3	5
Holy Week	31.3	5
Work	31.3	5

Themes within “Being Religious” Questions:

When considering the responses to individual questions (Table 6-5), there were two themes that were mentioned by more than 50 percent of participants in response to an individual question. When asked how a religious person privately shows devotion (question number 3), the theme of “praying” was mentioned by 62.5 percent of respondents, referring to praying to oneself or praying at home. In response to the question about ways a new arrival to the community would decide what church to attend (question 6), the theme of “religion” was mentioned by 56.3 percent of respondents, most often with the explanation that a person would continue to practice the same religion. All other themes were mentioned by less than fifty percent of participants in response to each question.

Table 6-5: Most frequently mentioned themes from the “being religious” question set, by question, with sample responses.			
Question	Theme	Freq.	Sample Responses
1. What are some ways that you could identify a religious person in this community?	Church	43.8	They come to church a lot
	Speech	37.5	Their language; the way they speak
	Behavior	25	The way they act; their behavior
	God	25	Always talk about God; Speaks of God
2. What are some ways that you could identify	Bad	43.8	Troublemakers; look for problems
	Faith/Believing	37.5	Say they don’t believe in any religion
	Church	31.3	They don’t go to church

someone who is NOT religious?	Speaking God	31.3 25	They say they don't believe in God
3. What are some ways that a religious person would privately show devotion?	Praying Home	62.5 25	Saying their prayers at home
4. What are all the religious activities that happen in this community?	Holidays Holy Week Mass Dec. 12th	31.3 31.3 31.3 18.8	Christmas; Easter Holy week Mass; Gong to mass on Sunday Day of the Virgin of Guadalupe
5. For someone who recently arrived in this community, what are some reasons they may go to church?	Community God People Closeness	37.5 37.5 31.3 25	To ask God to protect them always To get to know people; make friends To be closer to God; united with God
6. For someone who recently arrived in this community, what are some ways that they would decide which church to attend?	Religion Catholic	56.3 25	Depends on their religion They are Catholic
7. What are all the ways that churches help immigrants in this community?	Information Emergencies Food Immigration Legal Money/materials Translation	25 18.8 18.8 18.8 18.8 18.8 18.8	If disaster occurs; help with emergencies Help with people's needs, like food Alert us of notices about immigration Find lawyer if someone's arrested Economic help; clothing; money Translating in hospitals/paperwork
8. What other things could the churches do to help immigrants in this community?	Immigration Support	18.8 18.8	Help us with immigration reform More support with the children

“Being Religious” Discussion:

Especially in rural communities with few other resources, immigrants consider the churches a primary source of social and material support, and choosing which church to attend may be strongly driven by this factor. It is also worth noting that the policy of the Catholic Church is to serve those in need regardless of their religious affiliation. As one nun pointed out, other local churches may require that a person join before receiving help. While the theme of material and social support was not the primary response to the question of why a recent arrival

would attend church (question 5), the theme of “community” was mentioned by 37.5 percent of participants as well as the theme of “God”, with the first referring to things such as: being welcomed into the community; getting to know the community, being part of a faith community, and; integrating the children into the community, and the latter referring to things such as: being united with God; knowing the word of God; and asking God for help and protection. Other responses included such things as: getting to know people; receiving support and guidance; or simply because the person is religious. In response to the question of how new arrivals decide which church to attend (question 6), the majority of responses (81%) stated that it depends on their affiliation before coming to the community, or specifically because they are Catholic.

Participants were especially vocal in response to items regarding services that churches offer by the church (question 7) or that should be offered by the church (question 8). Among ways that the churches help immigrants, participants most frequently (25%) mentioned “information,” referring to: information about changes in immigration laws; information about where to find work; and information about immigration services. A number of other ways in which the church helps immigrants were mentioned by 18.8 percent of participants, including: helping in the face of emergencies or disasters; seeking a lawyer if someone is arrested or has an accident; translating documents or serving as translators during doctor’s visits; and providing clothing, food, or economic support.

Specific references to Mass, being Catholic, and religious activities associated with the Catholic Church illustrates the Catholic majority of the Mexican community. When naming specific religious events that occur in the community, besides major holidays of Christmas, Easter, and New Year’s, participants also mentioned Holy Week, December 12th, and Mass. When referring to reasons why people choose to attend particular churches, some mention

specifically that it is because they are Catholic or because of their Catholic faith. One participant summarized “being religious” with the following response, capturing the difficulty of defining such a concept:

What does it mean, that you go to church? A lot of people say they are religious because they go to Mass, but you can be a good person and not go to church, and be religious... and there are people who go to church but are not good people. Are they religious? Their behavior is how you can tell, their manner, their way of seeing things and how they see other people, is how to tell. Behavior towards others. And especially if they are humble. If you are in charge of something at church and you treat the people you are working with different... treating all people the same no matter how important you are.

Comparing Domains of “Being Religious” and “Being Guadalupan”

When comparing the domain of “being religious” to that of “being Guadalupan”, some notable observations can be made. Three that will be discussed below include: 1) the differences in saliency, 2) generality/specificity; and 3) similarities and differences among themes.

Saliency:

There is much less saliency among participants regarding the themes contained in the domain of “being religious” in comparison to themes in the domain of “being Guadalupan.” Across all “being religious” questions, only six themes were mentioned by fifty percent or more participants (Table 6-4) in comparison to seventeen themes in the “being Guadalupan” set (Table 6-2). The most salient themes in the “being religious” question set (praying and religion) were mentioned by 68 percent of respondents, whereas the most salient themes in the “being Guadalupan” set (“her image” and “Mexico”) were mentioned by 94 percent of respondents. The average percentage of participants using all themes across all “being Guadalupan” questions was 33 percent, versus 22 percent across all “being religious” questions.

When considering the responses to individual “being religious” questions (Table 6-5), the frequency with which themes are mentioned is also low in comparison to the “being

Guadalupan” responses (Table 6-3) with only two themes being mentioned by more than fifty percent of respondents. In response to the question about ways that a religious person would privately show devotion, (question number 3) the theme of “praying” was mentioned by 62 percent of respondents, referring to the concept of praying at home or praying silently. In response to the question about how a new arrival to the community would decide which church to attend, (question number 6) the theme of “religion” was mentioned by 56 percent of respondents, most often referring to the idea that it depended on the person’s religion before coming to the community, and that a person would continue following the same denomination. All other themes were mentioned by less than fifty percent of respondents, and in many cases, by 25 percent of respondents or fewer.

Specificity:

A number of themes that emerged from the domain of “being religious” seemed vague and generalized when compared to the specific and descriptive themes that emerged from the domain of “being Guadalupan.” Themes of behavior, speaking, religion, church, and support come up in the “being religious” responses with little references to specific types of behaviors. In the “being Guadalupan” responses, participants consistently describe very specific behaviors such as being kind, treating others well, being respectful, and being humble. It must be taken into account that there were nearly three times as many questions in the “being Guadalupan” question set as there were in the “being religious” question set, but even when looking at responses to a similar question from both sets, the generality/specificity contrast is clear. When asked how to identify a Guadalupan, responses included: they display her image on their cars or their clothing; they celebrate December 12th; they keep her image or her altar in their homes; they wear a medal with her image; and they talk about the Virgin. When asked how to identify a religious person,

responses included: they come to church a lot; they talk about God; by the way they speak; and by their behavior or the way they act.

This could be interpreted as suggesting that “being Guadalupan” is simply a more specific form of “being religious,” where people are able to more easily and accurately talk about specific forms of religious devotion than they are able to talk about the broad concept of “being religious.” However, when other themes emerging from “being Guadalupan” are taken into account, it seems that simply describing Guadalupan devotion as a form of religious devotion overlooks other meanings contained within the domain.

Similarities and Differences:

When comparing the types of themes that emerge from the domains of “being religious” and “being Guadalupan” there appears to be some overlap, but there are also clear differences. There are a few common themes that emerge from both the “being religious” and the “being Guadalupan” responses, including: praying; religion; church; faith/believing; home; clothing; work; community; and problems. The context, however, in which some themes emerge vary from one domain to the other, for example: clothing in the “being religious” sense most often refers to material support that the church may provide, whereas with “being Guadalupan” it most often refers to people wearing clothing with her image on it. The theme of Faith/Believing would relate to faith in God in relation to “being religious,” and it would refer to believing in Guadalupe in relation to “being Guadalupan.”

A number of themes emerge exclusively from the “being religious” responses, including: God; mass; support; education; and food. That “God” and “religion” do not appear in the top “being Guadalupan” themes is interesting, especially since the theme of “Jesus” does appear. While a number of themes relating specifically to Guadalupe emerge from the “being

Guadalupan” responses which would not be expected to emerge from the “being religious” responses (such things as her image, candles and flowers, and December 12th), other themes that are less specific to Guadalupe emerge exclusively from the “being Guadalupan” responses. These themes, including: Mexico; health; family; safety and wellbeing; traveling and border crossing; care; and peace, appear to be more closely related to Guadalupe’s role as a maternal figure who protects and cares for the family, and to the fears and concerns that are associated with being an immigrant than they are related to general religiosity.

Being an Immigrant

Two questions relating to immigration stressors were included in the Phase 1 questionnaire. Following the same rationale as with religious devotion, a description of the domain of immigration, it becomes possible to consider ways in which Guadalupan devotion may contain themes that are also associated with the immigration experience. The results will also be used to inform any need to adjust the Immigration Stressor Scale for use in the current study (Details about the development and piloting of the Immigration Stressor Scale can be found in Chapter 8). Results were analyzed in the same manner as the responses to the “being Guadalupan” and “being religious” question sets.

Themes across “Being an Immigrant” Questions:

Table 6-6 presents the most frequently mentioned themes across both questions. This includes all themes mentioned by more than 30 percent of the respondents. Column two indicates the percentage of participants whose responses to at least one question corresponded with that particular code. The third column also presents the number of times each theme was mentioned across both questions by all participants. A total of four themes were mentioned by over 30 percent of respondents. The most salient theme, “getting caught” was mentioned by 62.5 percent

of respondents, and the second most salient theme, “work,” was mentioned by 43.8 percent of respondents. The theme of “getting caught” was also the most frequently used theme across both questions by all participants, being used in twelve responses.

Table 6-6: The most frequently mentioned themes from the “being an immigrant” question set, including the number of times the theme was used in response to either question by any participant (n=16).		
Theme	% participants mentioning the theme	# times theme used across all questions
Getting Caught (arrested/ deported)	62.5	12
Work	43.8	8
Family	37.5	6
Driving	31.3	7

Themes within “Being an Immigrant” Questions:

Table 6-7 presents the most frequently mentioned themes for each of the two “being an immigrant” questions, along with the English translations of sample responses. When considering the responses to individual questions, the theme of “getting caught” was mentioned by the largest number of participants (37.5%) in response to both the question about stressful situations for immigrants in the community (question 1) and the question about situations that have personally been stressful (question 2). “Driving” was among the second most frequently assigned theme for both questions, at 25 percent and 18.8 percent, respectively. When asked about stressful situations for immigrants in the community, being undocumented was also the second most frequently assigned theme (25%). The themes of “family” and “health” were mentioned by 18.8 percent of participants. When asked about situations that had been personally stressful, “driving,” “family,” and “work” were all mentioned by 18.8 percent of participants.

Table 6-7: Most frequently mentioned themes from the “being an immigrant” question set, by question, with sample responses (n=16).			
Question	Theme	Freq.	Sample Responses
1. What are all the situations or problems may be stressful to immigrants in this community?	Getting Caught	37.5	police will stop you; migration will catch you
	Driving	25	Driving a car without a license; roadblocks
	Undocumented	25	Being undocumented; getting deported
	Family	18.8	Not being near family
	Health	18.8	Serious illness; health of parents in Mexico
2. What are all the situations or problems that have been stressful to you recently?	Getting Caught	37.5	Last time roadblocks caught many people
	Driving	18.8	Roadblocks on every corner
	Family	18.8	Being far from my loved ones
	Work	18.8	Looking for work

“Being an Immigrant” Discussion:

The results of the “being an immigrant” question set indicate a need to expand the Immigration Stressor Scale to include additional items that address, or in some cases more accurately address, particular themes which emerged. While the immigration stressor scale contains items related to deportation, police harassment, and being concerned about family in Mexico, the previously piloted immigration stressor scale did not contain an items relating to looking for work, economic constraints, or health. It also did not contain an item that specifically refers to the risk associated with driving. Revisions to the immigration stressor scale will be further discussed in Chapter 8.

The theme of “getting caught” was chosen to describe being arrested by police, being stopped by the police while driving, being caught by ICE, or being deported. Within their responses, some participants referred to this using the verb *agarrar*, literally meaning to “grab.” Any specific mention of being illegal or being undocumented was coded under the theme of “undocumented.” Any mention of driving, including encountering roadblocks was coded under the theme of “driving.”

The risk surrounding driving was often mentioned as a source of stress. Undocumented immigrants have no way of obtaining a driver's license in the state of Mississippi, and the lack of alternative transportation leaves many driving unlicensed. As discussed in Chapter 5, police roadblocks have been a common occurrence in the community, but one fairly recent development within the community are the police roadblocks that were established in cooperation with ICE. Beyond the typical police roadblock, which could result in a fine or an arrest, ICE roadblocks can result in deportation. One participant explained that, "for three months there have been police roadblocks, and we don't know where or at what hour they will be checking," and another responded that "they put roadblocks on every corner where we live like we are delinquents."

Concerns about family focus primarily on the family remaining behind in Mexico. Specific concerns included: the health of ageing parents; being far from family; wanting to return home to one's family; and the death of a grandparent. Being undocumented means that even in the face of a crisis, like the death of a parent or grandparent, people are forced to make a very difficult decision between either returning home and losing everything or not being present at critical times. I remember learning from one Peruvian woman in the community that her grandmother had just died in Peru. Because she, her siblings, and her parents had been living undocumented in the community for decades, their mom was unable to make the trip home to attend the funeral of her own mother. It is common for people to report spending over ten years in the community without a single trip home.

Comparing Domains of "Being an Immigrant" and "Being Guadalupan"

Analyzing responses to the "being an immigrant" question set in the same manner as the domain of "being Guadalupan" allows for any overlap in themes to be identified. When asked

reasons why people may pray to Guadalupe more when they come to the community (Table 6-3, question 19), responses included: “because she helped them get here safely;” “because they are far from their family” and; “because they know that they will need her.” Likewise, responses to the question about different things that people pray to Guadalupe for once they come to the community (Table 6-3; question 20) were centered on concerns, such as the family left behind in Mexico, safely returning to Mexico, being arrested or deported, being able to find and keep jobs, and safely making the trip across the border. These themes are similar to those mentioned in the “being an immigrant” responses, such as: “not being near family;” “being far from loved ones;” “not having papers for work;” “working with great fear;” “roadblocks with immigration;” “that the police will stop you;” “the health of parents back home” and; “getting a serious illness.”

It is notable that one theme associated with undocumented immigration emerges from the “being Guadalupan” responses, but does not emerge from the “being an immigrant” set of questions. Only one respondent mentioned the theme of traveling or making the journey from Mexico to the US in the “being an immigrant” question set, however forty-three percent of respondents mentioned it in reference to “being Guadalupan.” When naming things that people ask Guadalupe for (question 11), as well as different things that people pray for when they come to this community (question 20), respondents often mentioned the theme of sojourning or being a sojourner. One key informant explained that “If someone in the community has a family member traveling across the border, they will go to their home and say special prayers for them, and always mention Guadalupe. People in the community always say that it was Guadalupe who helped them cross the border safely.” People pray to Our Lady of Guadalupe when someone is making the trip from Mexico to the US, they thank her for a safe arrival to their destination, and they ask her for a safe return back home to Mexico. One participant explained, “when you’re

back home you ask to arrive here safely, and when you're here, you ask to return safely back to your family.” Sister Yesenia explained that she can tell how many people have a family member making the journey across the border at any given time by looking at the chapel in the front of Saint Michael’s. People go there and light the Virgin of Guadalupe’s votive candle once someone starts their journey, and they keep the candle burning until they arrive safely to their destination.

Chapter Summary

Phase 1 interviews generated a meaningfully rich set of themes around “being Guadalupan” that will be used in Phase 2 to generate a cultural consensus instrument. Comparing results across the domains of “being religious” and “being Guadalupan” illustrates that it is not sufficient to consider Guadalupan devotion as simply a specific form of religious devotion. From one angle, the data suggest that people may more easily be able to describe something very specific and familiar, like devotion to Our Lady of Guadalupe among Mexicans, as opposed to the more general and implicit concept of general religiosity. However, this explanation overlooks other meanings which arise from a collective description of what can most accurately be described as a “master symbol (Wolf, 1958).” While there are a number of themes that overlap with the domain of “being religious,” specific themes that emerge from the “being Guadalupan” responses also clearly overlap with themes that emerge from the “being an immigrant” responses, but are not found in the responses to the “being religious” question set. Results also suggest that there may be certain levels of “being Guadalupan,” or that there may be two separate categories of “somewhat Guadalupan” and “very Guadalupan.” These variations will be considered in the following chapter, and will have some impact on the design of the final cultural consonance instrument.

CHAPTER 7

PHASE 2: A MODEL GUADALUPAN DEVOTEE

Introduction

The following chapter will describe all processes associated with Phase 2 of the study, including cultural consensus instrument development, piloting and data collection, cultural consensus analysis, and residual agreement analysis. The aim of Phase 2 is to test the research hypothesis 1, that there is a culturally shared model of Guadalupe devotion among Mexican immigrants in Scott County. This is done by continuing the process of cultural domain analysis, towards the final goal of cultural consensus analysis. Themes generated during Phase 1 of the study were used to develop the cultural consensus instrument, which was then administered to sample of the Mexican community in Forest and in Morton during this phase. Following an approach developed by Romney et al. (1986), consensus analysis will be conducted using interview results to determine the degree to which the cultural domain is shared. Results of this phase will be used to produce the cultural consonance scale for the final phase of data collection.

Developing the Consensus Interview Schedule

Results from the Phase 1 “being Guadalupe” items were used to create a list of 30 statements (Table 7-1) summarizing the most frequently mentioned themes that emerged in Phase 1 relating to Guadalupe devotion, and from observation and informal interviews.

Table 7-1: List of statements describing Guadalupans in the community.
1. They talk about her a lot
2. They attend church regularly/are religious
3. They stop by the church or the chapel to visit her
4. They keep her image in their home
5. They wear her image on a chain or carry a keychain
6. They help prepare for her celebrations, like Dec. 12 th or <i>antorcha Guadalupana</i>
7. They attend the various events held in her honor
8. They share their homes for the novenas for the Virgin
9. They sing <i>mañanitas</i> on December 12 th
10. They carry the <i>antorcha Guadalupana</i>
11. They are humble, simple people
12. They are respectful to others
13. They help others and help the community
14. They have found new ways to honor her and show devotion in this community
15. They have less time to pray to her or attend activities because of their job
16. They pray to her for different things when they come to this community
17. They pray to her before everything that they do
18. They pray to her every day, any time and any place
19. They pray to her more often because they are far from home
20. They pray to her by reciting the rosary
21. They ask for her blessings by kneeling in front of her image
22. They ask for her blessings by crying in front of her image
23. They ask for her blessings by lighting her candle
24. They show thanks to her by leaving money by her image
25. They show thanks by bringing her flowers
26. They show thanks to her by going on knees along the aisle of the church
27. They share her celebrations with people from other countries
28. They think it is very important that the church keeps her image beside the altar
29. They think it is very important that the church keeps her statue in the chapel
30. They think it is very important that the church educates people about her

The Committee Exercise:

Typical pile sorting exercises rely on participant to sort terms written on notecards, where participants may be allowed to sort the cards into as many categories as they see appropriate for capturing the similarities and differences among the terms. This approach is often used to sort responses to general free list questions like, “List all the fruits you can think of (Bernard 2006),” in which case, the pile sorting exercise becomes a reflection of the way participants organize

knowledge within a general domain. Since the “being Guadalupan” themes were generated from a number of questions that were aimed at specific aspects of Guadalupan devotion, it seemed redundant to have participants essentially re-sort the themes. Instead, I designed an exercise akin to “constrained” pile sorting using the 30 phrases and the two concepts of “very Guadalupan” and “all people who believe in Guadalupe.”

One thing that emerged from participant observation, informal conversations, and the Phase 1 results was this idea that some people within the community were seen as being “more” Guadalupan than others. This concept was discussed in the previous chapter (Chapter 6) where some responses about Guadalupans included statements, such as: “real Guadalupans always pray” and, “people pray the same if they are Guadalupan, but not as much if they are not very Guadalupan.” Before formulating the cultural consensus instrument, I needed to further explore this concept. I wanted to ensure that the consensus instrument contained items that could be associated with a range of Guadalupan devotion, without excluding or overly including characteristics associated with being “very” Guadalupan. This would be especially important in the final phase of the study where individual cultural consonance would be measured.

I administered the pile sorting exercise to members of the 2012 Guadalupan Planning Committee. This group of volunteers, mostly associated with Saint Michael’s Church, were responsible for organizing that year’s celebration of the Feast Day of Our Lady of Guadalupe. They plan details of the event, such as: date of the event, food, music, children’s activities, and decorations. The committee consisted of a small number of people (n=8). Participants were presented with a numbered list of terms identical to Table 7-1. They were also given a sheet of paper with two separate sets of instructions (Appendix D). First, they were asked to read the list and choose the seven phrases that they felt best described a person who is “very Guadalupan.”

Second, they were asked to read the list again and select ten phrases that they felt could apply to all people who believe in the Virgin of Guadalupe. I limited the number of selections they could make for each of the two categories to encourage people to select the concepts they saw as most important or most common. I also limited the number of phrases that could be chosen for the “very Guadalupan” category to seven, and the number of phrases that could be chose for “all people who believe in Guadalupe” to ten. My intention was to give more weight to the “all Guadalupan” category so that the final consonance scale would not be too heavily geared towards an exclusive group of people who are “very Guadalupan.”

Committee Results:

The results of the Guadalupe Planning Committee exercise support the possibility that there are particular behaviors and activities that are associated with being “very Guadalupan” and other behaviors and activities that are more often associated all people who believe in the Virgin of Guadalupe. There were five statements selected for the “very Guadalupan” list by 50 percent or more of the participants (Table 7-2). Nine statements were placed under the “all Guadalupans” category by at least 50 percent of the participants (Table 7-3). There was no overlap among the most frequently selected statements each list. Those statements that a greater number of people chose to place under the “very Guadalupan” category were completely different from those most often placed under the “all Guadalupan” category.

Statement	% participants selecting the statement
They stop by the church or the chapel to visit her	80
They keep her image in their home	63
They talk about her a lot	63
They attend the various events held in her honor	50
They share their homes for the novenas for the Virgin	50

Statement	% participants selecting the statement
They ask for her blessings by lighting her candle	80
They think it is very important that the church educates people about her	80
They attend church regularly/are religious	63
They help others and help the community	63
They share her celebrations with people from other countries	63
They have found new ways to show devotion in this community	50
They pray to her more often because they are far from home	50
They show thanks by bringing her flowers	50
They think it is very important that the church keeps her image by the altar	50

The results further support agreement among the community members, not only as to the content of the domain, but also the value given to particular aspects of Guadalupan devotion. Even with the small number of participants, those statements most often placed in either of the two lists by the Guadalupan planning committee align with the most frequently mentioned themes in the “being Guadalupan” question set from Phase 1, including references to her image, praying, church, December 12th, her candle, flowers, community involvement, and her altar. Likewise, those statements that were least likely to be placed on the two lists by the Guadalupan planning committee align with themes mentioned by fewer than 30 percent of the “being Guadalupan” respondents, including: being busy, crying, and kneeling.

Constructing the Consensus Instrument

The next step towards developing the cultural consensus interview schedule was to select the final items for the instrument (Table 7-4). The first four statements from the “very Guadalupan” list were included (items 1-4). The statement about sharing one’s home for novenas was omitted because it seemed too narrowly focused on an event that a small number of community members may participate in. Eight of the nine “all Guadalupans” statements were also selected for consensus times (items 5-12). Statements five through twelve represent the most

frequently selected statements for the “all Guadalupans” category. I chose to omit a single statement from this group, as well. The concept of finding new ways show devotion was better captured by items 9 and 10, both of which refer to specific ways that devotion may be “different” or “unique” in this community.

I also considered those statements that were not among the most frequently selected for either of the two Guadalupan planning committee lists, but *were* selected across both lists by four or more participants. Of these, I selected five statements (items 13-17) that seemed to represent important elements of the domain, and would work well as a consensus items. I also incorporated three additional items (items 18-20) that were not included in the list. I added a statement about being Catholic, a statement about gender differences, and a statement about being Mexican, all of which were strongly associated with descriptions of the domain in Phase 1, but were omitted from the 30 comprehensive phrases.

The final item, related to all Guadalupans being Mexican, was included among the list of statements to further explore the lingering question about the extent to which other groups may have embraced Guadalupan devotion in this particular community setting. Although not geared toward addressing the hypotheses of this particular study, it is an important part of the ethnographic landscape of the community and potentially an important element Guadalupan devotion in these particular communities (see Chapter 9 for more discussion on this topic). The statement, however, will not be included in the final consonance measure, since all study participants are of Mexican origin, and thus there would be no variation in consonance.

Table 7-4: Themes selected for the cultural consensus instrument.
1. They stop by the church or the chapel to visit her.
2. They keep her image in their home.
3. They talk about her a lot.
4. They attend the various events held in her honor.
5. They ask for her blessings by lighting her candle.

6. They think it is very important that the church educates people about her.
7. They attend church regularly/are religious.
8. They help others and help the community.
9. They share her celebrations with people from other countries.
10. They pray to her more often because they are far from home.
11. They show thanks by bringing her flowers.
12. They think it is important that the church keeps her image beside the altar.
13. They wear her image on a chain or carry a keychain.
14. They are humble, simple people.
15. They are respectful to others.
16. They pray to her every day, any time and any place.
17. They think it is very important to celebrate December 12 th .
18. They are Catholic.
19. Women are more devoted than men.
20. They are from Mexico

The Final Consensus Instrument:

For the final consensus instrument (Appendix E), the 20 items were reworded as needed to make them suitable as consensus items (Table 7-5). For example, the statement about the importance of the church keeping the image of Guadalupe at the altar was directed more towards the people by adjusting it to read “seeing her image in the church helps Guadalupans feel more at home in this community.” Statements were also carefully worded to place an emphasis on what people within the communities actually *are* doing, as opposed to what they *should be* doing. Additionally, a random selection of questions were reversed to discourage the tendency to fall into a pattern of agreement without considering the statements.

Table 7-5: Final consensus instrument (select statements reversed, as indicated).
1. Guadalupans in this community place flowers in front of her image to show thanks.
2. Guadalupans light her candle to ask for her blessings.
3. Guadalupans do not always attend church. (Reversed)
4. All Guadalupans in this community are from Mexico.
5. Guadalupans only stop by the church or chapel to visit her during Mass time. (Reversed)
6. Celebrating December 12 th in this community is very important for Guadalupans.
7. Seeing her image in the church helps Guadalupans feel at home in this community
8. Being a Guadalupan means sharing her message with people from other countries.

9. Guadalupans live especially humble lives in this community.
10. Guadalupans in this community keep an image of the Virgin in their home.
11. Guadalupans in this community are Catholic.
12. Guadalupans only pray to the Virgin when they have a problem. (Reversed)
13. Guadalupans in this community usually don't have time to help others. (Reversed)
14. Guadalupans are known to be the kindest, most respectful people in the community.
15. It is very important for Guadalupans in this community to attend every celebration in her honor.
16. Guadalupans are less devoted when they come here because they are far from home. (Reversed)
17. Guadalupans in this community carry an image of the Virgin on a necklace, keychain, or shirt.
18. Guadalupans in this community don't speak much about the Virgin of Guadalupe. (Reversed)
19. Guadalupans in this community take time to learn about the Virgin's history and her message.
20. Women in this community are more devotion to the Virgin of Guadalupe than men.

For particular items, qualifiers such as *very*, *only* or *all* were added. By adding emphasis to particular statements, people were encouraged to consider a full range of agreement. For example, people may be more likely to read the statement, “Guadalupans are from Mexico,” and answer “very true,” whereas a statement reading, “*all* Guadalupans are from Mexico,” may cause people to consider an answer of “somewhat true” or “somewhat untrue.” Similarly, the statement that, “it is *very* important for Guadalupans to attend *all* celebrations in her honor” asks participants to consider how important it is to attend *every* celebration, versus *some* celebrations. This act of attending and participating in all celebrations and activities is more strongly associated with those who are “very Guadalupan.”

I instructed participants to indicate if the statements were things that people “around here” would say about Guadalupans in this community. Instead of the typical 4-point agree/disagree answer scale I used a four-point true/untrue scale (0- very untrue; 1- somewhat untrue; 2- somewhat true; 3- very true). Asking people to report whether, and to what extent, a statement was true or untrue proved to be a very effective way to keep participants thinking along the lines of peoples’ actual behavior, as opposed to their own personal opinions (i.e., agree/disagree responses). Giving participants the option of saying that something could be

“somewhat true” or “somewhat untrue” allowed them to express degrees beyond simply “true” and “false.” Participants appeared to find these response categories very easy to work with. At the same time, it allowed me to retain a four-point scale which would provide a more precise analysis.

Consensus Interview Results

Cultural consensus analysis is used to determine if knowledge of the cultural domain of Guadalupe devotion is shared. Analysis was conducted using UCINET 6 for Windows, a software package for the analysis of social network data (Borgatti et al. 2002). Cultural consensus analysis runs a matrix, cross-comparing every participants’ response to each question. Cultural consensus analysis produces outputs, including: an eigenvalue ratio; a set of cultural competence coefficients; a cultural answer key; and loadings on the second factor, each of which will be discussed below.

Sample Characteristics:

The final cultural consensus interview schedule was administered to a total of 32 participants (Table 7-6), with a nearly equal distribution of males and females from both Morton and Forest. The average age of participants was 34.4 years, and the average time spent in the community was 8.5 years. As with the previous interviews, participants were recruited around weekly gatherings, such as Sunday Mass and ESL classes. Others were recruited around town, especially at the local *tiendas*. Participation took anywhere from five minutes to fifteen minutes, depending on how much additional information the participants shared as we covered each question. In many cases, throughout the study, this additional discussion revealed some very important insights that have greatly assisted my interpretation of the results.

Table 7-6: Demographic characteristics of Phase 1 cultural consensus interview sample (n=32).
Gender: 50% Male 50% Female
Age: Mean: 34.4 years Standard Deviation: 8.8 years Range: 19-59 years
Community: 53% Forest 47% Morton
Years living in Community: Mean: 8.5 years Standard Deviation: .5 years Range: 1-17 years
Education: Mean: 9.5 years Standard Deviation: 3.43 years Range: 4-16 years
Religion: 87.5% Catholic 3% Seventh-day Adventist 3% Non-practicing

Eigenvalue Ratio:

The eigenvalue ratio is an indication of agreement among participants, and an indication of the overall fit of the model. In other words, it indicates whether or not knowledge of the cultural domain of Guadalupan devotion is shared. An eigenvalue ratio above 3:1 generally indicates that participants are likely to be describing a single mode (Romeny et al. 1986). For this sample (Table 7-7), the eigenvalue ratio was 3.64, indicating that there is a shared cultural model that participants were referring to when they responded to the cultural consensus items. The 3.64 eigenvalue ratio can be understood in terms of factor analysis, with the first factor explaining 3.64 times more variation than the second factor. Although this is a relatively low eigenvalue

ratio, it is acceptable considering that the cultural model is related to a complex domain and is drawn from two communities.

Table 7-7: Phase 2 consensus analysis results summary.				
Eigenvalue Ratio	# Neg. Competence Coefficients	Mean Competence	Range	Std. Deviation
3.642	1 (-.101)	.577	-.101 to .900	.251

Cultural Competence Coefficients:

Cultural consensus analysis also calculates competence coefficients. These scores indicate how well each participant understands the cultural domain by measuring the degree to which each participants answers tend to match the cultural answer key. In the case of an agreed-upon model, the average competence should be relatively high, and there should be few individuals with negative or very low competence scores. Ideally, average competence should be above .5 with no negative competence coefficient (Weller 2007). The average competence for the group was .577 (sd=.251), and individual competence ranged from as low as -0.1 to as high as 0.9, with only one person having a negative competence coefficient. To further explore competence among the sample, I ran correlation analysis in SPSS between competence coefficient and each of the demographic variables. There were no correlations between competence coefficient and religious affiliation, age, gender, education level, years in Mississippi, or community of residency. Across all of these categories, there is no specific pattern of differentially-held understanding of the cultural model.

Cultural Answer Key

Cultural consensus analysis also produces a cultural answer key (see Table 7-8), which will be used in Phase 3 to inform and to score the final cultural consonance scale. The cultural answer key is the best cultural estimate of what the model looks like. Although similar to the

mean item response, the cultural answer key can be considered more precise since it recognizes that participants may have higher or lower cultural competence, and weights responses accordingly. Note that in Table 7-8, when the cultural answer key is presented alongside the mean item response, the results are similar. There are, however, two items where the cultural answer key indicated a different answer than the mean. Both the statement relating to all Guadalupans being from Mexico and the statement about Guadalupans not having time to help others (statements 4 and 13) had a mean of “somewhat untrue,” but the cultural answer key, weighing responses based on cultural competence coefficients, indicated that the answers to both of these statements were “somewhat true.”

Table 7-8: Cultural consensus item along with cultural answer key and mean responses. (0-0.5 = very untrue; 0.5-1.5 = somewhat untrue; 1.5-2.5 = somewhat true; 2.5- 3 = very true)		
Consensus Statements	Cultural Answer Key	Mean Response
1. Guadalupans in this community place flowers in front of her image to show thanks.	very true (2.85)	very true (2.84)
2. Guadalupans light her candle to ask for her blessings.	very true (2.90)	very true (2.88)
3. Guadalupans do not always attend church. (Reversed)	somewhat true (1.86)	somewhat true (1.91)
4. All Guadalupans in this community are from Mexico.	somewhat untrue (1.44)	somewhat true (1.69)
5. Guadalupans only stop by the church or chapel to visit her during Mass time. (Reversed)	somewhat true (1.68)	somewhat true (1.84)
6. Celebrating December 12 th in this community is very important for Guadalupans.	very true (2.94)	very true (2.91)
7. Seeing her image in the church helps Guadalupans feel at home in this community	very true (2.99)	very true (2.97)
8. Being a Guadalupan in this community means sharing her message with people from other countries.	very true (2.73)	very true (2.53)
9. Guadalupans live especially humble lives in this community.	somewhat true (2.19)	somewhat true (2.16)
10. Guadalupans in this community keep an image of the Virgin in their home.	very true (2.93)	very true (2.91)
11. Guadalupans in this community are Catholic.	very true (2.81)	very true (2.72)
12. Guadalupans only pray to the Virgin when they have a problem. (Reversed)	somewhat true (1.58)	somewhat true (1.75)
13. Guadalupans in this community usually don't have time to help others. (Reversed)	somewhat untrue (1.39)	somewhat true (1.63)

14. Guadalupans are known to be the kindest, most respectful people in the community.	somewhat true (2.23)	somewhat true (2.28)
15. It is very important for Guadalupans in this community to attend every celebration in her honor.	very true (2.96)	very true (2.94)
16. Guadalupans are less devoted when they come here because they are far from home. (Reversed)	somewhat untrue (0.94)	somewhat untrue (1.25)
17. Guadalupans in this community carry an image of the Virgin, like on a necklace, a keychain, or a shirt.	very true (2.60)	very true (2.59)
18. Guadalupans in this community don't speak much about the Virgin of Guadalupe. (Reversed)	somewhat true (1.80)	somewhat true (1.88)
19. Guadalupans in this community take time to learn about the Virgin's history and her message.	somewhat true (2.07)	somewhat true (2.09)
20. Women in this community put more time into their devotion to the Virgin of Guadalupe than men.	somewhat true (2.07)	somewhat true (2.16)

Second Factor Loadings:

Cultural Consensus output also includes a set of loadings on the second factor. Although the eigenvalue ratio confirms the presence of a culturally shared model of Guadalupan devotion, analysis of loadings on the second factor allows us to look beyond the initial agreement explained by the first factor (competence coefficients), and to explore any systematic divergence from the overall consensus by subgroups or individuals (Dressler et al. 2015). By plotting the loadings of the first and second factors, any deviation from the model will be graphically displayed. If there is a systematic pattern of divergence among the deviation, then it is considered to be residual agreement (Boster and Johnson 1989).

Analysis of Residual Agreement

As a first step to investigating this potential presence of residual agreement, loadings on the first and second factors for each individual were graphed (Figure 7-1). Note that a portion of the thirty-two data points, which represent the thirty-two participants, form a large cluster, indicating overall consensus. There are also a number of data points falling along the upper left side of the graph which seem to follow a “systematic pattern of divergence” associated with residual agreement.

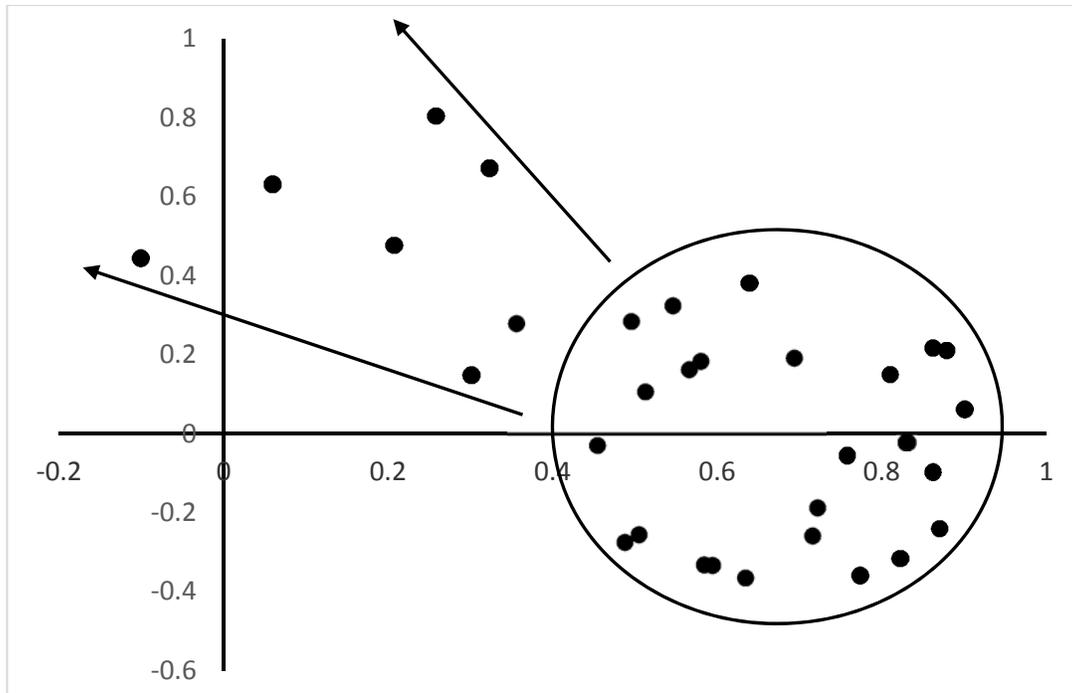


Figure 7-1: Participant loadings on the first (x axis) and second (y axis) factors.

Meaningful Patterns:

As a quick way to identify any commonality among the patterned responses, I ran correlation analysis between the loadings on the second factor and all demographic variables (age, gender, time in Mississippi, education level, and community of residence). When Pearson's correlation coefficients were calculated for each variable, the only significant correlation was community of residence ($r=0.356$, $sig=0.046$), with 12.6 percent of the variance in the loadings on the second factor explained by community of residence. Since the data points represent individuals in the sample, each point can be coded by community of residence, which reveals a clear pattern (Figure 7-2). All participants from the smaller community of Morton (represented by squares) fall within the tightly clustered area, while participants from the larger community of Forest (represented by circles) fall both within this cluster and along the upper left quadrant of the graph.

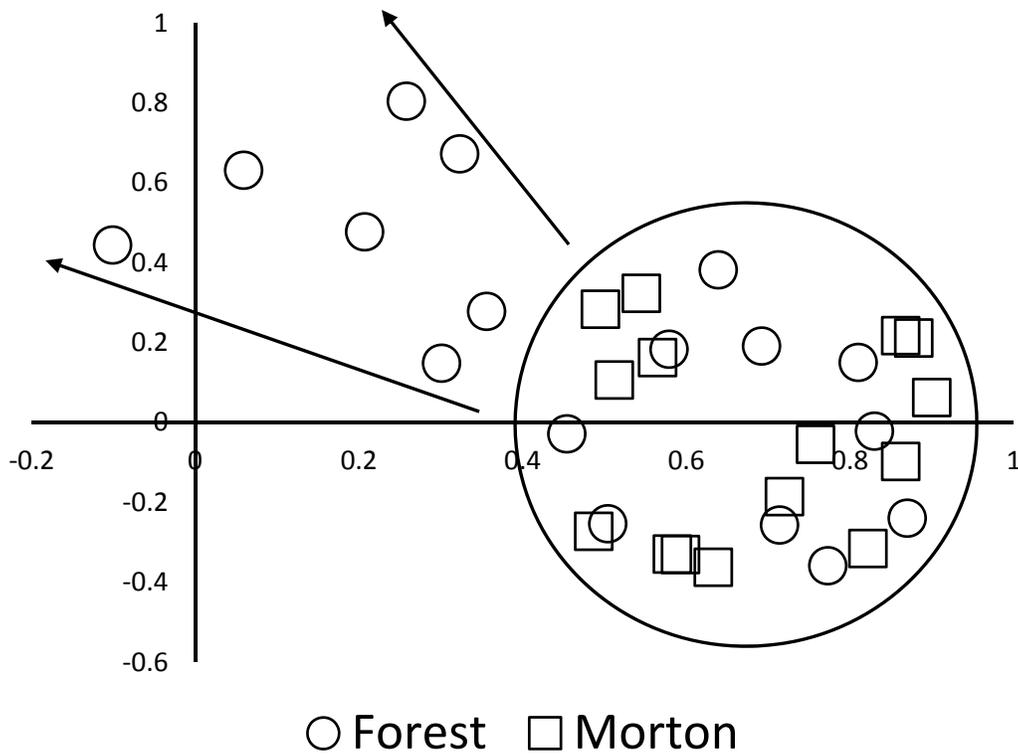


Figure 7-2: Loadings on the first and second factor, by community of residence.

Additional Meaning:

Since there are a number of people from the community of Forest who remain within the main cluster, then it seems that something in addition to community of residence may be driving the residual agreement. To confirm what visually seems to be a significant difference beyond community of residence, I compared the mean scores on the loadings on the first (cultural competence) and second factors for Forest participants from both the main cluster and the residual cluster. There was no significant difference ($\text{sig} = .568$) between the two group's mean competence, which is to be expected. Since there is overall cultural consensus surrounding the model of Guadalupean devotion, there should be no major variation among responses as indicated by the first factor. The two groups differed significantly in the mean loadings on the second

factor (sig= .000), further supporting the observation that residual agreement is being driven by something in addition to community of residence.

Since everyone outside the main cluster falls within the upper left quadrant of the graph, this suggests that they share a similar response pattern to the individual consensus items that is distinct from the main cluster. My next goal was to try to identify what that common response pattern may be. Towards this goal, I used the technique developed by Dressler et al. (2015) to graphically illustrate the cultural knowledge that is captured by residual agreement.

I first divided the data into two groups based on those who fell within the main cluster and those who were in the residual cluster (Figure 7-3). Notice that there remained two participants who did not clearly fall into either cluster, but hovered somewhere in the middle. By omitting them from this particular analysis, I would be able to get a slightly more precise image of the structure of agreement for the two groups.

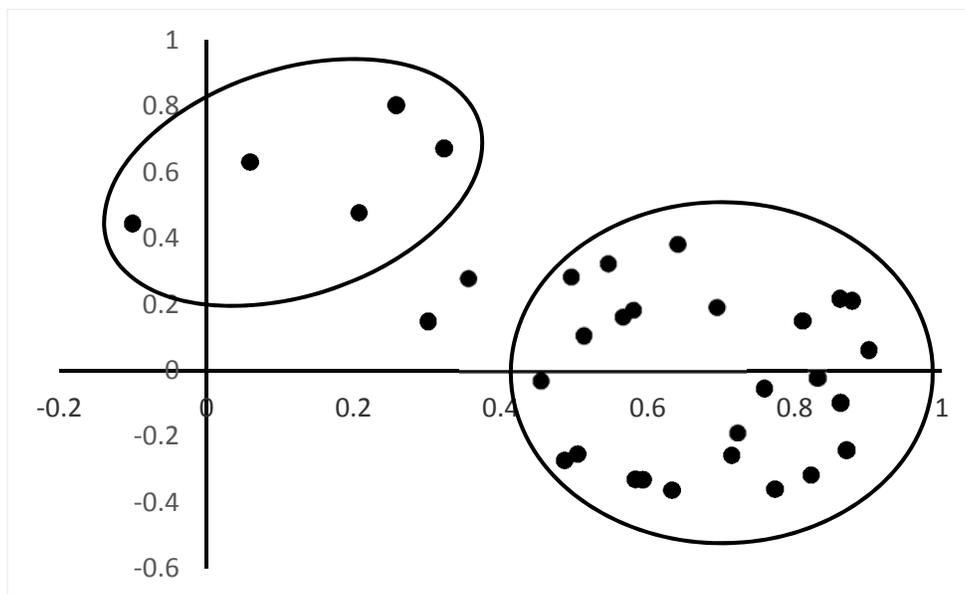


Figure 7-3: Division of participants into residual group and main cluster group.

Then, by subtracting the cultural answer key value from each participant's response per consensus item in the original SPSS dataset, a deviation score is calculated for each participant; this score indicates exactly how much each person's answer deviates from the answer key. The sample is then divided by the main cluster group and the residual group, and an average deviation score for each consensus item is calculated for each group. This results in two separate sets of values for each consensus item, which allows the items to be graphed as data points, just as the participants were graphed in the above figures. Now it is possible to observe how the two groups' responses compare to the cultural answer key for each item (Figure 7-4). Items closest to the origin of the axis (0, 0) are those with the least deviation from the answer key among both groups. The main cluster group's average deviation scores are represented vertically along the y axis, and the residual group's average deviation scores are represented horizontally along the x axis. The farther a point lies horizontally from the origin, the more the secondary group responses deviated from the answer key, and the farther a point lies vertically from the origin, the more the main group deviated from the answer key. Note the very different ranges along the x and y axes due to the maximum deviation for the main group being less than 0.12, and maximum deviation for the residual group at nearly 1.5.

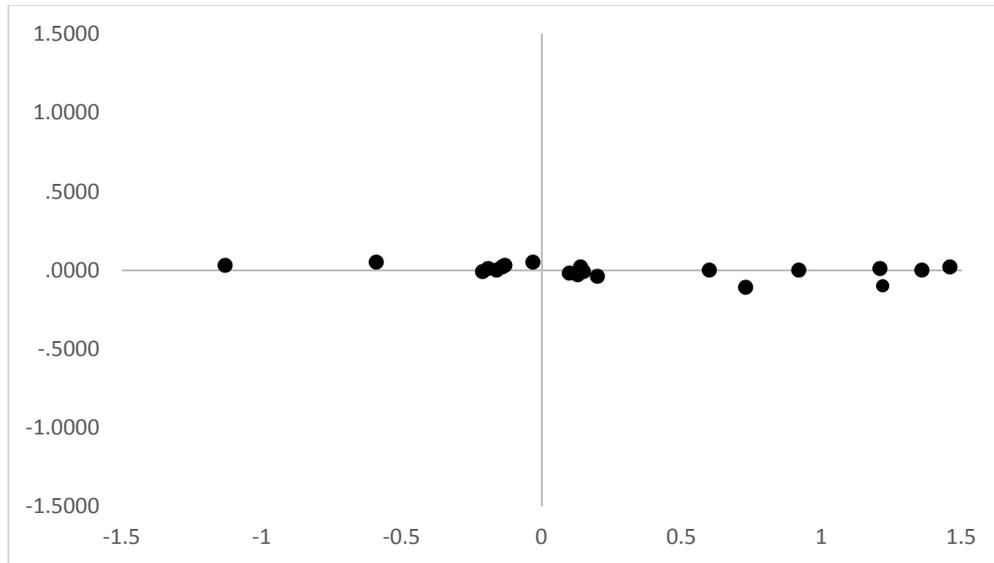


Figure 7-4: Structural representation of residual agreement.

In Figure 7-5, the above graph is re-scaled to allow the distribution of each item to be seen more clearly. All points within the highlighted square represent close agreement by both groups, with a deviation of less than 0.5 from the answer key (which would be less than the range needed to shift a response from, for example, “very true” to “somewhat true”). Each data point has been labeled by its corresponding consensus item.



Figure 7-5: Re-scaled structural representation of residual agreement (each data point labeled by its corresponding consensus item).

Both the residual group and the main group were in close agreement about those things that fall into the category of ritual behaviors or “acts” associated with Guadalupans, even agreeing that the “act” of going to church regularly was not necessarily a central behavior of all Guadalupans. They all *did* recognize the central role of acts such as: lighting candles; leaving flowers; wearing or carrying her image; keeping her image in the home; and attending her celebrations, especially December 12th.

To statistically test what visually appears to be a significant deviation from the answer key by the residual group, a t-test was run in SPSS by calculating a “score” for the nine responses lying outside the square of close agreement, and then comparing the two groups mean scores. Results of the t-test indicate that the residual group responses are significantly different from the main group (sig= .000).

One notable thing about the residual group is that they appear to be slightly more likely to agree with the reversed statements (Table 7-9), which would require them to take a more critical approach to Guadalupans. They were slightly more likely to consider that Guadalupans in the community may not necessarily meet the ideal Guadalupan described in the “being Guadalupan” responses. Therefore, they were more likely to report that Guadalupans may not speak much about her, may only pray when they have problems, may be too busy to help others, may be less devoted when they come here, and may not take time to stop by the chapel outside of regular Mass times. They were also more likely to support the ideas that women put more time into their devotion than men and that Guadalupans are all Mexicans. This more “critical” group was also more likely to agree that Guadalupans in the community live humble lives and that they shared her message with people from other countries.

Table 7-9: Mean responses per consensus item by main cluster group and residual group, in comparison with the cultural answer key (0-very untrue; 1-somewhat untrue; 2-somewhat true; 3-very true)			
**Items with variation in mean responses			
Consensus Statements	Main Cluster Mean Response	Residual Group Mean Response	Cultural Answer Key
Guadalupans in this community place flowers in front of her image to show thanks.	very true 2.84	very true 3	very true 2.85
Guadalupans light her candle to ask for her blessings.	very true 2.88	very true 3	very true 2.90
Guadalupans do not always attend church.	somewhat true 1.88	somewhat true 2	somewhat true 1.86
** All Guadalupans in this community are from Mexico.	somewhat true 1.44	very true 2.8	somewhat untrue 1.44
**Guadalupans only stop by the church or chapel to visit her during Mass time.	somewhat true 1.68	very true 2.6	somewhat true 1.68
Celebrating December 12 th in this community is very important for Guadalupans.	very true 2.96	very true 2.8	very true 2.94
Seeing her image in the church helps Guadalupans feel at home in this community	very true 3	very true 2.8	very true 2.99

**Being a Guadalupan in this community means sharing her message with people from other countries.	very true 2.76	somewhat true 1.6	very true 2.73
**Guadalupans live especially humble lives in this community.	very true 2.24	somewhat true 1.6	somewhat true 2.19
Guadalupans in this community keep an image of the Virgin in their home.	very true 2.96	very true 2.8	very true 2.93
Guadalupans in this community are Catholic.	very true 2.8	very true 2.6	very true 2.81
**Guadalupans only pray to the Virgin when they have a problem.	somewhat true 1.48	very true 2.8	somewhat true 1.58
**Guadalupans in this community usually don't have time to help others.	somewhat true 1.4	very true 2.6	somewhat untrue 1.39
Guadalupans are known to be the kindest, most respectful people in the community.	somewhat true 2.28	somewhat true 2.2	somewhat true 2.23
It is very important for Guadalupans in this community to attend every celebration in her honor.	very true 2.96	very true 2.8	very true 2.96
**Guadalupans are less devoted when they come here because they are far from home.	somewhat untrue .96	somewhat true 2.4	somewhat untrue 0.94
Guadalupans in this community carry an image of the Virgin, like on a necklace, a keychain, or a shirt.	very true 2.56	very true 2.8	very true 2.60
Guadalupans in this community don't speak much about the Virgin of Guadalupe.	somewhat true 1.8	somewhat true 2.4	somewhat true 1.80
**Guadalupans in this community take time to learn about the Virgin's history and her message.	somewhat true 2.04	somewhat true 2.2	somewhat true 2.07
**Women in this community put more time into their devotion to the Virgin of Guadalupe than men.	somewhat true 1.96	very true 2.8	somewhat true 2.07

The question still remaining is why the “critical” group consists only of people from the community of Forest, bearing in mind that there are no other identifiable characteristic that distinguish this group from the other participants. One possible explanation for the variation among the Forest participants takes into account the larger size of the Forest community, with nearly double the population of Morton. A larger community lends itself to more diversity and, thus its members may be exposed to different degrees of Guadalupan devotion within the larger

community. Given that the secondary group seems to have a shared characteristic of being critical, it may be that this small group does not deviate from the model, themselves, but instead are among those who are more receptive to the diversity of the practices within the community and may be drawing on examples of community members whose behaviors they see as not meeting the model. To some degree, they may even be those who would fall into the category of “very Guadalupan”. Meanwhile, in the smaller community of Morton there may be a stronger norm with less deviation from the norm, or alternatively, those sampled from Morton may not fall into that category of “very Guadalupan.”

Chapter Summary

This chapter presents all procedures relating to the cultural consensus portion of the study. Consensus results indicate that the study hypothesis 1 was supported, there is a culturally shared model of Guadalupan devotion among Mexican immigrants in Scott County, Mississippi. Methods used to produce those results are discussed in detail. Further, second factor analysis indicates that there is residual agreement among a portion of the sample, where they have a shared agreement that is slightly different from the main group. These agreement patterns are graphically illustrated and potential patterns are discussed.

CHAPTER 8

PHASE 3: MEASURES OF STRESS AND CONSONANCE

Introduction

This chapter describes Phase 3 interview schedule development, data collection, and analysis of results. The aim of Phase 3 of this study is to test hypothesis 2: devotion to Our Lady of Guadalupe serves as a buffer to the negative health effects associated with immigration stressors among Mexican immigrants to Scott County, Mississippi. Towards this goal, the degree to which participants' actual behaviors align with the collectively shared cultural model of Guadalupan devotion will be determined through cultural consonance analysis (Dressler et al. 2007). Individual exposure to immigration stressors will be measured using the Immigration Stressor Scale, and participants' perceived stress levels will be measured using Cohen's 10-item Perceived Stress Scale (1988). Reported health and life satisfaction will also be measured, as well as other personal and family history variables. Correlation and multivariate analyses will be performed to examine the relationship among cultural consonance, immigration stressors, perceived stress, and reported health.

Developing the Phase 3 Interview Schedule

The Phase 3 interview schedule (Appendix F) consists of five sections: 1) personal history, including: individual and family characteristics, and transnational variables; 2) reported health, including: reported illnesses, self-rated health, and life satisfaction measures; 3) cultural

consonance in Guadalupan devotion scale; 4) Immigration Stressor Scale; and 5) Cohen's perceived stress scale.

Personal History Items:

A series of items that addressed both personal and family history, as well as transnational history were included in the final interview schedule. Personal information collected included: gender, age, education level, place of residence, occupation, income, and religious affiliation. Family history items included: marital status, number of children, ages of children, household size, spouse employment, and spouse income.

Transnational Variables:

A number of personal and family items were included in the questionnaire that I refer to as "transnational variables." These variables are geared toward the transnational immigration experience, in a sense that they address the state of being both "here" and "there" or as some of the items may demonstrate, *neither* fully "here" *nor* "there." These variables include: Mexican state of origin; time in the US; time in Mississippi; comfort speaking English; driver's license status; number of children born in the US or Mexico; number of family members living in the US; last return trip to Mexico; border-crossing experiences; frequency and means of communication with family in Mexico; and health insurance in the US. Combined, these items provide a portrait of the extent to which individuals are maintaining ties back home and are invested in life in the US.

These items also shed light on participants' exposure to stressors associated with immigration, and will be considered in addition to the Immigration Stressor Scale as additional measures of immigration related stressors. Instead of asking about English proficiency, I ask about comfort speaking English. Worded this way, this item becomes more than an assessment

of language skills, but also considers the level of ease and comfort with which one uses whatever skills they have, thus getting a more realistic insight into issues relating to language barriers. The item about being a licensed driver is a rough gauge of legal status, since a Mississippi license can't be obtained without proper documentation. However, even a legal resident may not have access to all the paperwork needed to obtain a license. The question about border crossing addresses, to some extent, difficulties associated with making the journey to the US. The event of border crossing was shown in Phase I to be an important focus of Guadalupan devotion in diaspora, although it does not always come up in interviews about immigration. Birthplace of children can indicate not only legal status of children, but also whether or not they are present with the parents in the US. Even the item addressing health insurance, to some extent, reflects the immigration experience. The major employers of migrant labor in the area do not typically provide health insurance for their employees, a lack of which becomes a major factor in health disparities among disadvantaged groups.

Reported Health Items:

Three items were included in the interview schedule that address health. Long-term exposure to stress has been linked to poor physical health, from chronic conditions such as increased blood pressure to acute conditions such as an increased susceptibility to the common cold (Cohen et al. 1995, Cohen et al. 1993). Two items directly address physical health and illness: one asks participants to report the number of times they have been sick in the past month, and the other asked them to rate their overall health. The final set of items in this section also address psychosocial health and wellbeing, by asking participant to rate their current life satisfaction. As an extension of this question, I also ask participants to rate their life satisfaction before arriving in this community.

The Revised ISS:

The Immigration Stressor Scale was included in the interview schedule as a measure of exposure to potentially stressful immigration experiences. The Immigration Stressor Scale is a 14-item scale inquiring about legal, sociocultural, racial, economic, and family-related fears and concerns often experienced by immigrants. A 10-item version of the ISS was adapted from the Hispanic Women’s Social Stressor Scale (Goodkind et al. 2008) and was piloted in 2010 (items 1-10, Table 8-1). For the current study, responses from the Phase I “being an immigrant” question set were considered for revising the scale. Based on Phase I responses, the original 10 items of the ISS remained relevant; however, additional themes emerged that were converted into three additional questions relating to illnesses, employment, and basic needs (items 11-14, Table 8-1). Responses are based on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from “always” to “never”. An additional parental stressor item addressing opportunities for children is included in this section of the interview schedule, but will be treated as a separate variable.

1. How often do you receive poor service at stores or offices because you are not from here?
2. How often do you feel the need to improve your English?
3. How often do you have trouble understanding U.S. values and culture?
4. How often do you worry that you are losing your values or religion since coming to the U.S.?
5. How often do you worry about friends and family in Mexico?
6. How often do you miss the help and support of friends and family in Mexico?
7. How often do you feel lonely or isolated?
8. How often do you worry that something will happen when you are driving in the community?
9. How often do you worry about being arrested or harassed by the police?
10. How often do you worry that you could be deported?
11. How often do you worry about serious illness or accident?
12. How often do you worry about finding or keeping a job?
13. How often do you worry about meeting the basic needs for your family?
*14. How often do you worry about education or job opportunities for your children?

Perceived Stress:

Cohen's (1983) 10-item Perceived Stress Scale was included in the Phase 3 instrument as an additional measure of stress. While the Immigration Stressor Scale is focused specifically on exposure to stressful immigration-related experiences, the Perceived Stress Scale measures the level of stress that an individual perceives in their daily life. The questions are more general, as the scale is designed to be a "global measure", and has been widely used across various cultures, including Spanish-speaking groups. Internal consistency has been favorably reported among studies using Mexican samples, with Cronbach's alpha coefficients of 0.77, 0.72, 0.83, and 0.80 (Flores et al. 2008, Grzywacz et al. 2005, Ramirez and Hernandez 2007, Weller et al. 2008). The instrument gauges how often, in the past month, participants have experienced emotions or faced situations, such as: feeling nervous or stressed; feeling confident about one's ability to handle personal problems; and feeling angry because things were outside of their control.

The Cultural Consonance Scale:

The 20 items from the cultural consensus scale (see Chapter 7, Table 7-5) were adapted for the cultural consonance interview that will be used to calculate an individual's cultural consonance scores for the final analysis. Unlike the cultural consensus instrument, the consonance scale can consist of various formats of questions, allowing the consensus statements to easily be restructured and rephrased in a way that is most suited for measuring the actual behaviors of the participants. The final cultural consonance scale developed for this study included seventeen items using a combination of an inventory item and Likert response questions, with often/never five-point responses and very true/very untrue four-point responses. Table 8-2 contains the final seventeen items included on the consonance scale.

Table 8-2: Cultural consonance scale.
<p>1. In the last year, did you participate in the following events honoring the Virgin of Guadalupe:</p> <p>December 12th Celebration</p> <p><i>Carerra Antorcha Guadalupana</i></p> <p>Novenas for the Virgin of Guadalupe</p> <p><i>Mananitas</i> for the Virgin of Guadalupe</p> <p>Classes to learn more about the Virgin of Guadalupe</p> <p>Mass in her honor</p> <p>Others:</p>
<p>2. How has your devotion to the Virgin of Guadalupe changed since you have come to this community?</p> <p>More devoted; Same devotion as before; Less devoted</p>
<p>Likert response items: Always; Very Often; Sometimes; Seldom; Never</p> <p>3. How often do you place flowers in front of the image or shrine of Our Lady of Guadalupe?</p> <p>4. How often do you light a candle for Our Lady of Guadalupe?</p> <p>5. How often do you carry an image of the Virgin, like on a necklace, keychain, or in your car?</p> <p>6. How often do you pray to the Virgin of Guadalupe, even when you do not have a problem?</p> <p>7. How often do you find time to help others in the community?</p> <p>8. How often do you take time to stop by the church or chapel to visit the Virgin of Guadalupe?</p> <p>9. How often do you share the message of the Virgin of Guadalupe with people from other countries?</p> <p>10. How often do you take time to learn more about the virgin's history and her message</p> <p>11. How often do you speak about the Virgin of Guadalupe?</p>
<p>True/false response items: Very true; Somewhat true; Somewhat untrue; Very untrue</p> <p>12. I keep an image of the Virgin of Guadalupe in my home.</p> <p>13. I always attend Church.</p> <p>14. Seeing the Virgin of Guadalupe in church makes me feel more at home in this community.</p> <p>15. I live a humble life here.</p> <p>16. I try very hard to be a kind and respectful member of the community.</p> <p>17. Celebrating the December 12th in this community is important to me.</p>

Phase 3 Results

Sampling:

The aim of Phase 3 data collection was to interview a minimum of 60 participants. Participation took anywhere from 10 minutes to 30 minutes, depending on how much additional information the participants shared as we worked through the interview schedule. Especially with these interviews, the range and depth of questions often triggered additional comments or

discussions that would prove useful for interpreting results. As with the previous phases, a number of participants were recruited at the Catholic churches, before or after Sunday Mass and other activities, and a large number of participants were recruited as they came and went from the local *tiendas*. I also found that the laundromat in Forest was an excellent location for recruitment, where Sunday seemed to be the main wash day for members of the Hispanic community both from Forest and Morton. It was an easy task to interview people while they were waiting for their laundry. I was able to have more in-depth discussions with them as we went through the interview schedule, and I was also often able to interview family and friends washing together. When possible, I kept track of husband/wife and parent/child sets among participants, and of the sixty participants recruited for the study, there were eight husband/wife sets and four parent/child sets.

Individual and Family Characteristics:

As seen in Table 8-3, the final sample (n=60) contained a nearly equal distribution of males (51.7%) and females (48.3%) from both Forest (51.7%) and Morton (48.3%). The average age of participants was 35.4 years, ranging from 19-60. The average years of education for the sample was 9.2 years (range= 4-16 years), and the overwhelming majority of the sample (96.6%) identified as Catholic. Sixty percent of the sample were married, and 78.3 percent were parents. Of the parents, the average number of children was 2.6, ranging from one to seven children, and the average reported age of the children was 14.1. Regarding occupation, the greatest percentage of the sample (41.7%) were employed in the poultry industry, with an average weekly salary of 367 dollars and similarly 376 dollars for spouses. The majority of the sample (86.7%) were without health insurance.

Table 8-3: Individual and family characteristics of Phase 3 sample (n=60).		
Gender:		
51.7% Male		
48.3% Female		
Age:		
Mean= 35.4 years	St. Dev.=10.1 years	Range= 19-60 years
Community of Residence:		
51.7% Forest		
48.3% Morton		
Education Level:		
Mean= 9.2 years	St. Dev.= 2.9 years	Range= 4-16 years
Religion:		
96.6% Catholic		
1.7% Protestant		
1.7% Non-practicing		
Marital Status:		
60% Married		
40% Single		
Number of Children:		
21.7% Non-parents		
78.3% Parents		
21.3% 1 child		
36.2% 2 children		
12.8% 3 children		
23.4% 4 children		
6.3% 5 or more children		
Occupation:		
41.7% Poultry		
11.7% Construction		
10% Unemployed		
10% Small business owner		
8.3% Housewife		
6.7% Store employee		
5% Housecleaning or Maintenance		
3.3% Student		
1.7% Hairstylist		
1.7% Farmworker		
Weekly salary:		
Mean= \$367	St. Dev.= \$97	Range= \$120-700
Spouse's weekly salary:		
Mean= \$376	St. Dev.= \$92	Range= \$225-700

Sending Communities:

Participants originate from 11 of the 32 states of Mexico. Figure 8-1 illustrates the Mexican states of origin for the sample, by percentage. As illustrated by the smaller inset in the

image, the majority of the sample originate from central Mexico, ranging from the southernmost state of Chiapas, to the northernmost states of Nueva Leon and Tamaulipas. The majority of participants in the main sample of the study were from the four states of Veracruz (28%), Mexico (15%), Michoacán (10%), and Chiapas (10%), with others from Tamaulipas (8.3%), Guanajuato (6.7%), Hidalgo, Nueva Leon, and Oaxaca (5%), and Jalisco and Puebla (3.3%). While the majority of Mexican immigrants have historically come from the four states of Guanajuato, Michoacán, Jalisco, and Zacatecas, in more recent years, flows have increased from the Southern and Southeastern states, including Chiapas, Veracruz, and Mexico. According to the 2008 Survey of Migration on the Northern Border of Mexico (EMIF), half of all Mexicans moving to the US that year originated from the six states of Chiapas, Guanajuato, Oaxaca, Sonora, Michoacán, and Veracruz, with Mexico and Jalisco close behind (Terrazas 2010).

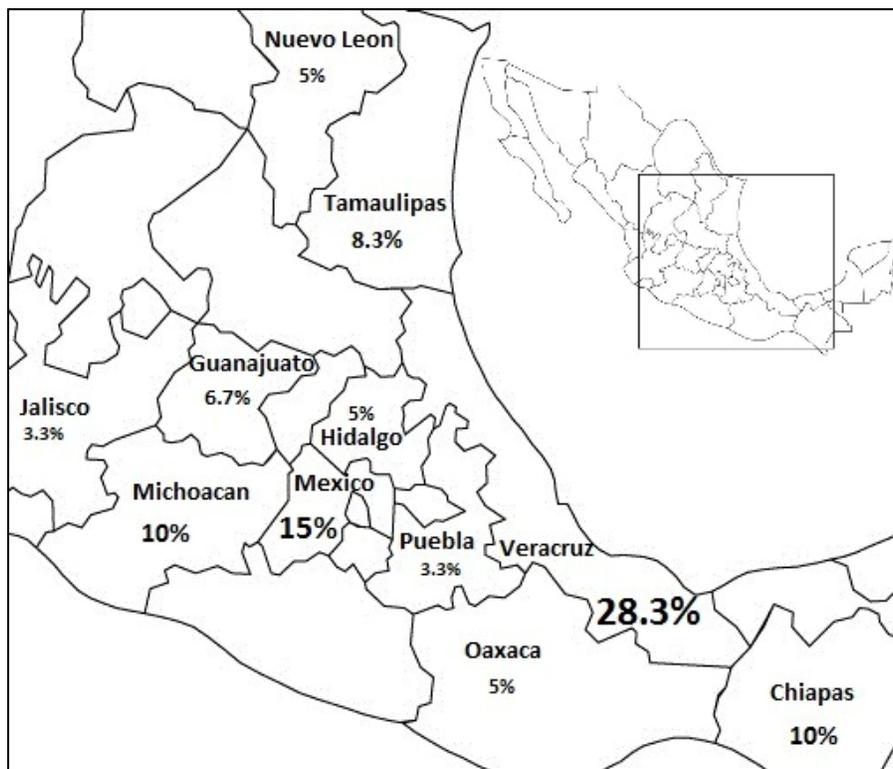


Figure 8-1: Mexican states of origin of Phase 3 participants.

Immigration Stressors

Transnational Variables:

As presented in Table 8-4, the average time spent in the US was 11.75 years and average time in the community was 7.5 years. The majority of the sample (66.7%) reported being “somewhat comfortable” speaking English, while a much smaller percentages reported being “very” comfortable speaking English (18.3%), or “uncomfortable” speaking English (15%). The majority of the sample (86%) reported not having a Mississippi driver’s license. Of those who reported having children (n=47), the average number of children born in the US per parent was 1.26, compared to 2.62 as the overall average number of children per parent. While most participants (70%) had not experienced a failed attempt to cross the border, 30 percent had tried to cross and failed on at least one occasion, with one participant reporting 8 attempts. The majority of participants (60%) have not made a return trip to Mexico since arrival, and for another 13.3 percent they have not been home for over 10 years. Only 8.3 percent of the sample reported visiting Mexico in the past year. Sixty-eight percent of participants are in regular contact with family in Mexico, talking at least once a week. Finally, the results show that the majority of the sample (86.7%) is living without health insurance.

Table 8-4: Responses to Phase 3 transnational variables.		
State of Origin:		
28.3%	Veracruz	6.7% Guanajuato
15%	Mexico City, DF	5% Nuevo Leon
10%	Chiapas	5% Hidalgo
10%	Michoacán	5% Oaxaca
8.3%	Tamaulipas	3.3% Jalisco
		3.3% Puebla
Years in US:		
Mean= 11.75 years	St. Dev.= 7.42 years	Range= 1-40 years
Years in Mississippi:		
Mean= 7.5 years	St. Dev.= 4.7 years	Range= 1-20 years

Comfort speaking English: 15% Not at all 66.7% Somewhat 18.3% Very
Mississippi Driver's License: 86% No 13.3% Yes
Birthplace of Children: 46.8% All children born in US 34% All children born in Mexico 19.1% Children born in Mexico and US
Border-Crossing Attempts: 70% no failed attempts 20% 1 failed attempt 8.3% 2 failed attempts 1.7% 3 or more failed attempts
Last return trip to Mexico: 60% Never 13.3% 10 years or more 6.6% 6-9 years 11.7% 2-5 years 8.3% 1 year or less
Frequency of communication with family in Mexico: 26.3% Almost daily 42.1% Weekly 7% Every two weeks 15.8% Monthly 8.8% Less than monthly
Health insurance: 86.7% Uninsured 13.3% Insured

Immigration Stressor Scale Results:

ISS scores were calculated by summing responses to each immigration stressor item using the following values: 4-always; 3-often; 2-sometimes; 1- almost never; 0-never. A comparison of results from the previously piloted 10-item version of the ISS with the current results of the same 10 items provides some baseline for interpreting the ISS results for the current study. In the pilot study, responses from a sample of 15 immigrants in Forest were compared with responses from a sample of 15 international students from The University of

Alabama. The piloted scale had satisfactory internal reliability ($\alpha = .762$), and results indicated a significantly higher ISS score ($p < .001$) for the immigrant group compared to the students, with a mean score of 14.40 ($sd = 5.5$; range 6-26) for the international student group and 26.1 ($sd = 7.2$; range= 8-38) for the immigrant group, with a maximum possible score of 40. In the current study, the mean score for the same 10 ISS items was 24.43 ($sd = 6.7$; range 8-38), which closely aligns with the mean score (26.1) for the immigrant sample in the pilot study. The 13-item scale had high internal reliability ($\alpha .827$). The scale (Table 8-5) had a maximum possible score of 52, and the average ISS score for the sample was 31.87 ($sd = 8.7$; range=13-46). Figure 8-2 illustrates the frequencies of ISS responses.

Table 8-5: Immigration Stressor Scale results summary.			
Mean Score: 31.8	Median Score: 33	St. Dev.: 8.4	Range: 13 to 46

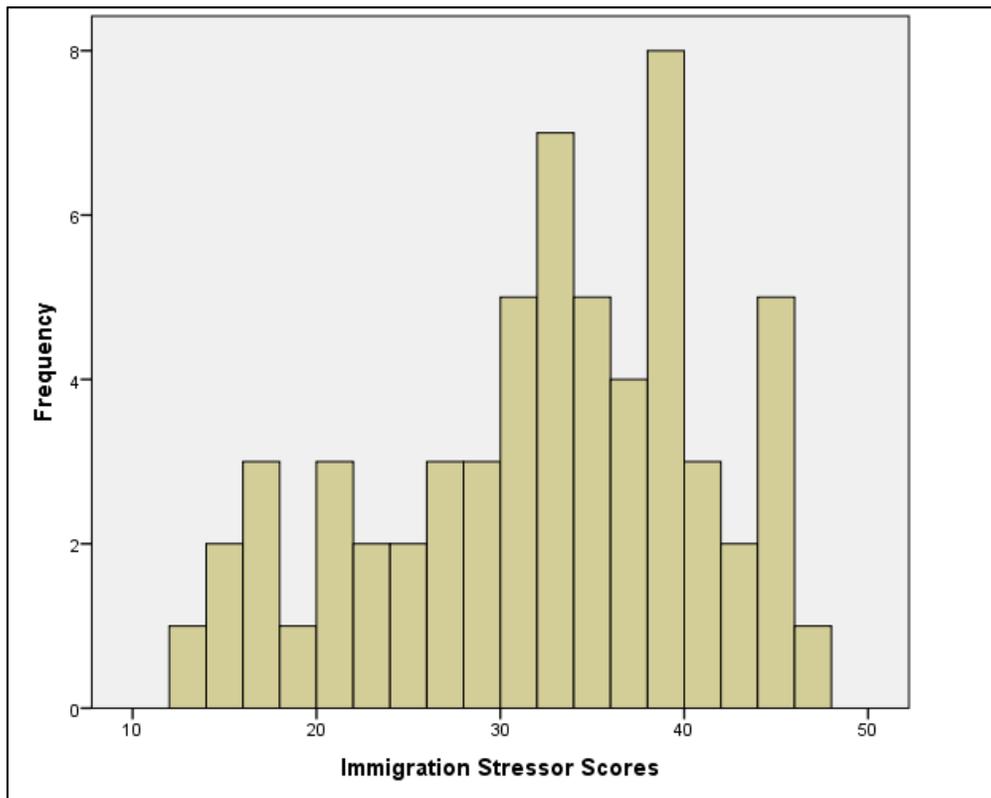


Figure 8-2: Distribution of Immigration Stressor Scale results.

Parental Stressor Results:

For the “Parental Stress” variable (Table 8-6), the majority of the parents (61.7%) responded “always” to the question about how often they worry about education or job opportunities for their children. An additional 12.8 percent responded “often,” 14.9 percent responded “sometimes”, and the remaining ten percent responded either “never” or “almost never.”

Table 8-6: Responses to Phase 3 parental stress item (n=47).	
61.7%	Always
12.8%	Often
14.9%	Sometimes
6.4%	Almost never
4.3%	Never

The Effects of Stress

Perceived Stress Score Results:

Perceived stress scores (PSS) were calculated by summing responses to each perceived stress item, with responses along the scale of: 4-always; 3-often; 2-sometimes; 1- almost never; 0-never. Particular items were reversed as needed, and the maximum possible score for the PSS was 40. With a Cronbach’s alpha of 0.59, the internal consistency for this sample was within an “acceptable” range (Kline 2000). The mean PSS score for this study was 16.5, with individual scores ranging from 4 to 26 (sd= 4.4), as seen in Table 8-7. Figure 8-3 graphically illustrates PSS distribution.

Table 8-7: Perceived stress score results summary.			
Mean Score:	Median Score:	St. Dev.:	Range:
16.5	18	4.4	4 to 26

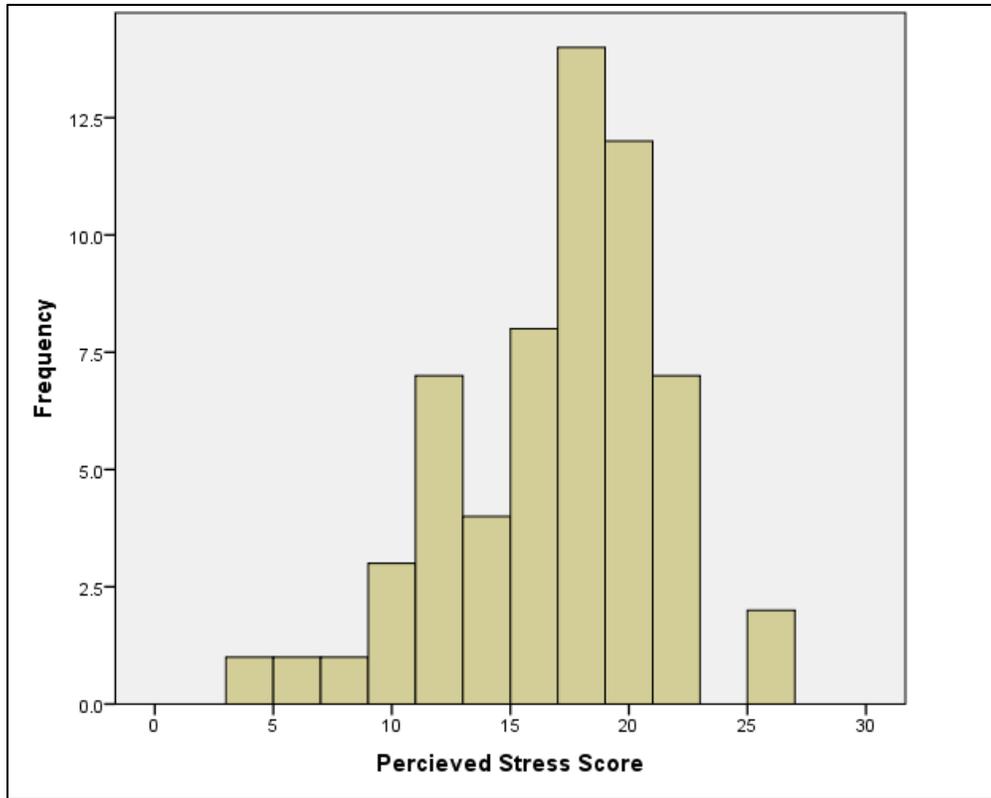


Figure 8-3: Distribution of perceived stress scores.

Reported Health Results:

As seen in Table 8-8, participants were most likely to report their overall health as being fair (41.7%) or good (40%) with only fifteen percent of the sample reporting excellent health and a single participant reporting poor health. The average reported illnesses in the past month was 0.43 illnesses, ranging from zero to three illnesses. Over half of the sample (55%) reported being “satisfied” with life at present and 31.7 percent were currently “somewhat satisfied”, with much smaller percentages reported being “somewhat unsatisfied” (8.3%) or “unsatisfied” (5%). As for life satisfaction before coming to the US, only 33% reported having been “satisfied”, with a slightly higher number (36.7%) reporting being “somewhat satisfied”, and while 13.3 percent reported being “somewhat unsatisfied”, 16.7 percent said that they were “unsatisfied” with life before coming to the US.

Table 8-8: Responses to Phase 3 reported health and life satisfaction items.			
Self-rated health:			
15.3%	Excellent		
40.7%	Good		
42.4%	Fair		
1.7%	Poor		
Reported illnesses (in past month):			
Mean= 0.43	St. Dev.= 0.72	Range= 0-3	
Current satisfaction with life:			
55%	Satisfied		
31.7%	Somewhat satisfied		
8.3%	Somewhat unsatisfied		
5%	Unsatisfied		
Satisfaction with life before coming to US:			
33.3%	Satisfied		
36.7%	Somewhat satisfied		
13.3%	Somewhat unsatisfied		
16.7%	Unsatisfied		

General Wellbeing Variable:

In order to further test the study hypothesis, I calculated a “combined health” variable from the three health “effect” variables (self-rated health, reported illnesses, and current satisfaction with life), by adjusting responses to each item to the same four-point scale, and then summing them for a “general wellbeing” score. As seen in Table 8-9, the mean combined health score was 9.6 (sd= 1.49) with scores ranging from five to twelve. Figure 8-4 graphically illustrates the distribution of combined health scores.

Table 8-9: General wellbeing score results summary.			
Mean Score:	Median Score:	Standard Deviation:	Range:
9.6	10.00	1.49	5-12

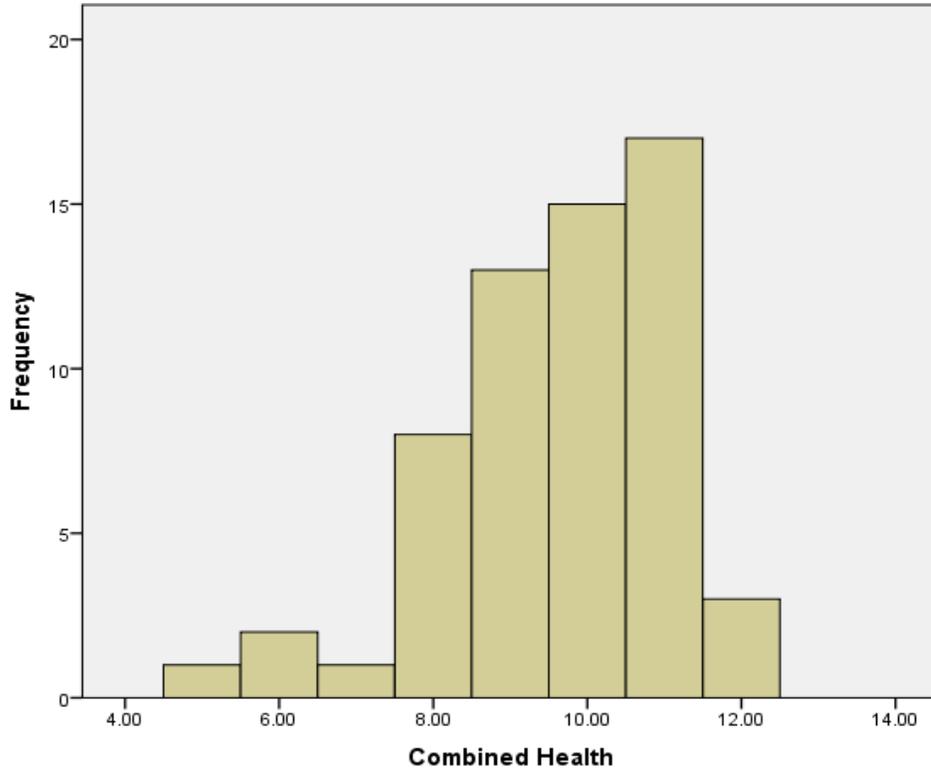


Figure 8-4: Distribution of general wellbeing scores.

Cultural Consonance Results

Cultural Consonance scores were calculated by weighting responses to each item by the correlating cultural answer key item, and then summing individual's responses to each item. For the inventory question, the number of events attended by each participant was simply added for a total score. Since the Likert questions used a combination of three-point, four-point, and five-point responses, all responses were adjusted to five points. Finally, each question was then weighted by the cultural answer key generated by cultural consensus analysis in Phase 2. For example, responses to the item about event attendance were given a higher weight of 2.96 than responses to the item about attending church weighted at 1.14 (the reverse of the answer key value of 1.86, taking into account that this was a reverse coded item). After all calculations, the

consonance instrument had a maximum possible score of 166.5, and internal consistency for the scale was high ($\alpha = 0.835$). As seen in Table 8-10, the mean consonance score for the sample was 101.5, with scores ranging from 31.8 to 145.4 (sd= 23.5). Figure 8-5 graphically illustrates the distribution of consonance scores for the sample.

Table 8-10: Cultural consonance score results summary.			
Mean Score:	Median Score:	St. Dev.:	Range:
101.5	107.66	23.5	31.8 to 145.4

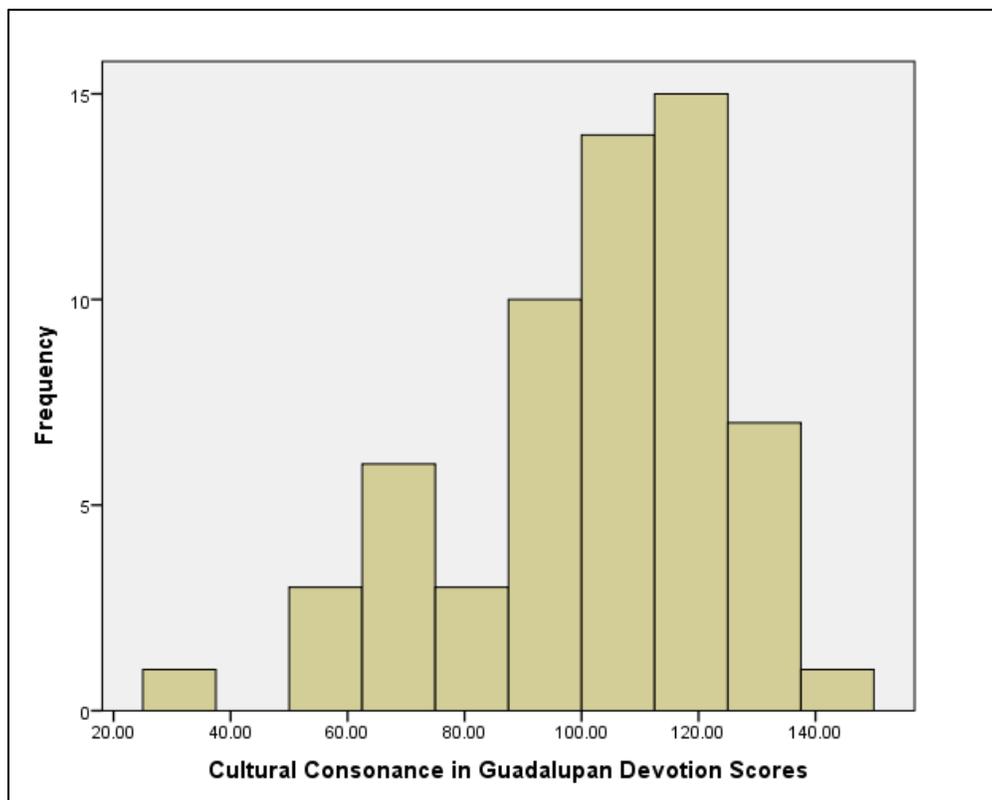


Figure 8-5: Graphical distribution of cultural consonance in Guadalupe devotion scores.

Very Guadalupe Consonance Score:

A secondary “very Guadalupe” (VG) consonance score was also calculated by summing the four consonance items that were selected as characteristics of being “very

Guadalupan” in Phase 2 (see Chapter 7, Table 7-2), including: attending every event in her honor; talking about her a lot; keeping her image in the home; and stopping by the church to visit her image. As seen in Table 8-11, the mean VG consonance score for the sample was 23.1 with a maximum possible score of 40, with scores ranging from 0-36.6 (sd= 7.4). Figure 8-6 graphically illustrates the distribution of combined health scores.

Table 8-11: Results summary for very Guadalupan consonance items.			
Mean Score:	Median Score:	St. Dev.:	Range:
23.1	23.9	7.4	0 to 36.6

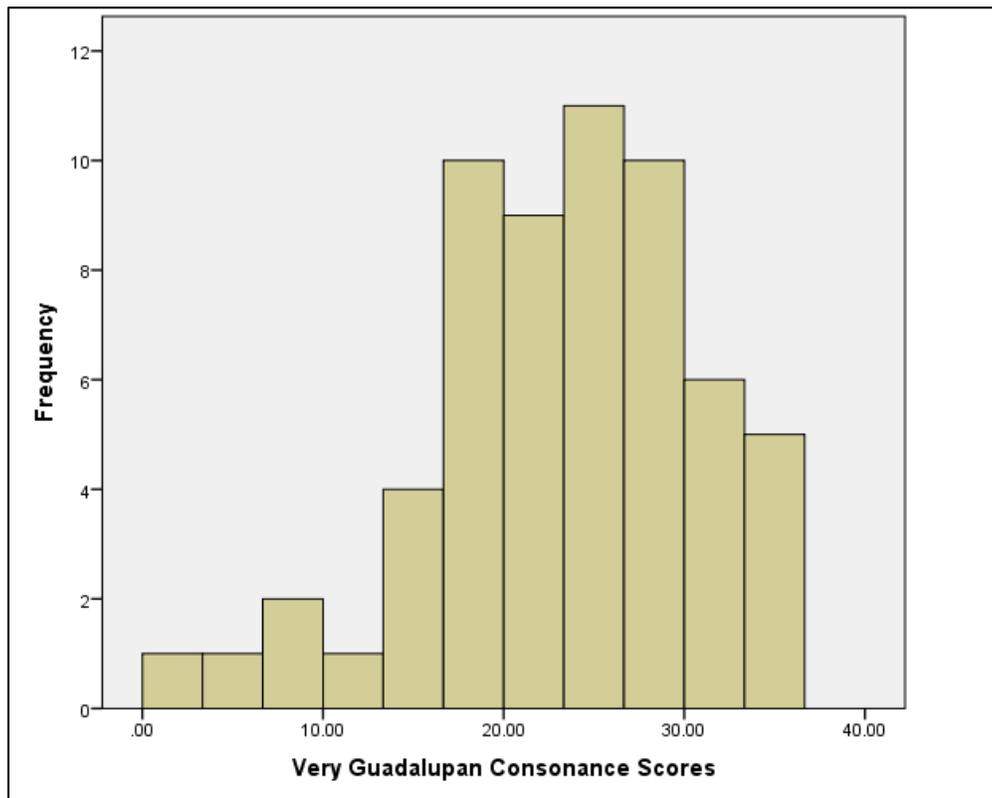


Figure 8-6: Graphical distribution of “very Guadalupan” cultural consonance scores.

Consonance Correlations

As seen in Table 8-12, there was no significant correlation between cultural consonance scores and ISS scores, or with cultural consonance scores and any of the transnational variables. Likewise, there was no significant correlation between consonance and perceived stress scores, reported illnesses, self-rated health, or current satisfaction with life, or with the combined health variable. Among all study variables, including demographic variables, the only significant correlations were between consonance and gender ($t = -2.001$, $sig = .05$), consonance and religion ($r = -.421$, $sig = .001$), and consonance and number of children ($r = .326$, $sig = .011$). Additionally, the correlation with age was slightly over the .05 significance level ($r = .251$, $sig = .053$). Since the sample consisted of only two non-Catholic participants, no further analysis will be conducted using the religious affiliation variable.

Table 8-12: Correlation results between cultural consonance scores and other study variables.		
Variable	Correlation Coefficients	
Immigration Stressor Score	$r = .071$	$sig = .588$
Time in US	$r = .077$	$sig = .559$
Time in Mississippi	$r = .146$	$sig = .265$
Comfort Speaking English	$r = -.047$	$sig = .723$
Driver's License	$t = .337$	$sig = .741$
Birthplace of Children	$r = -.107$	$sig = .473$
Border Crossing	$r = .002$	$sig = .990$
Last return trip	$r = -.007$	$sig = .957$
Communication with Family	$r = -.078$	$sig = .566$
Perceived Stress Score	$r = -.098$	$sig = .456$
Self-rated Health	$r = .060$	$sig = .647$
Reported Illnesses	$r = .224$	$sig = .085$
Current Satisfaction with Life	$r = .190$	$sig = .146$
Satisfaction with Life before Arrival	$r = -.145$	$sig = .268$
Gender	$t = -2.001$	$sig = .05$
Age	$r = .251$	$sig = .053$
Community of residence	$t = .203$	$sig = .840$
Religious Affiliation	$r = -.421$	$sig = .001$
Marital status	$t = .067$	$sig = .947$

Parents	t= -1.038	sig= .304
Number of Children	r= .326	sig= .011
Occupation	r= -.134	sig= .306
Income	r= -.138	sig= .355
Health Insurance	t= .310	sig= .758

Figure 8-7 illustrates the mean consonance among men and women, with women having higher mean consonance than men. The relationship between consonance and number of children will be further explored in a later section of this chapter along with other findings related to parents in the sample.

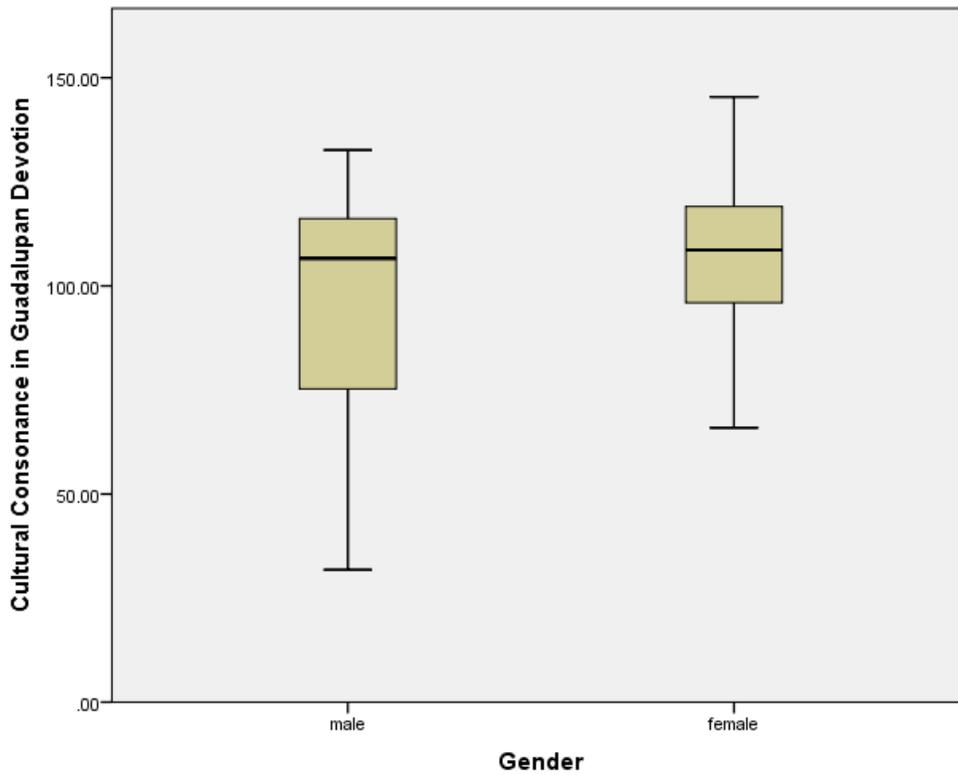


Figure 8-7: Box plot of mean cultural consonance scores by gender.

“Very Guadalupean” consonance scores were significantly correlated with the same three variables of gender ($t = -2.584$, $sig = .012$), religion ($r = -.447$, $sig = .001$), and number of children

($r = .327$, $sig = .011$), and in this case, age ($r = .290$, $sig = .025$). Figure 8-8 illustrates the positive correlation between VG consonance and age.

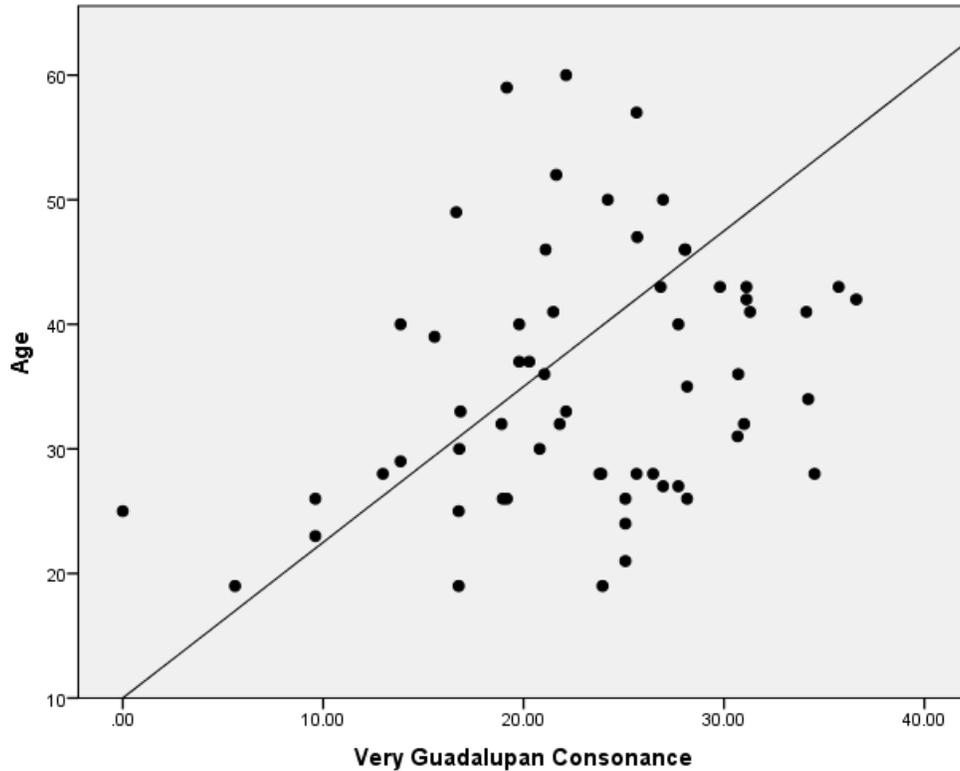


Figure 8-8: Scatterplot of “very Guadalupan” consonance scores by age.

The VG consonance items were also correlated with a single health variable, illnesses in the past month ($r = .295$, $sig = .022$). Figures 8-9 illustrates the VG consonance correlation with reported illnesses, where those who report more illnesses are also more consonant with the VG items. This finding seems contradictory to the study hypothesis that higher consonance buffers the effects immigration stress and to previous literature suggesting that consonance is associated with increased health. However, it is worth noting that there may be a link between illness and devotion, with those who experience more illnesses essentially responding by carrying out more devotional activities (see Gaines and Farmer 1986).

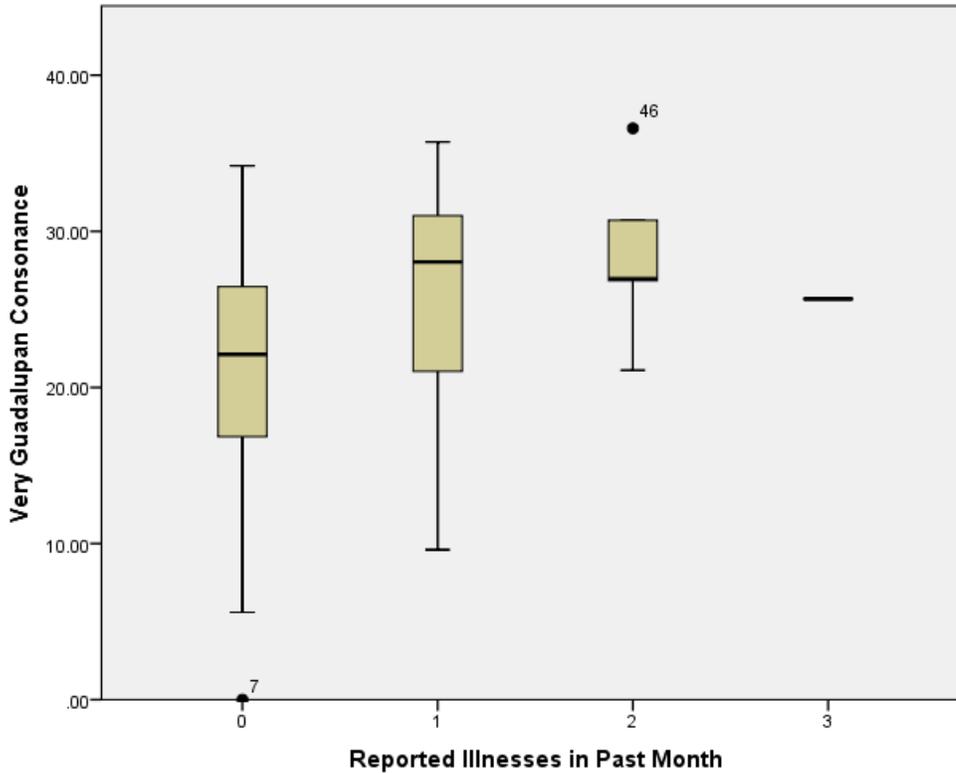


Figure 8-9: Box plot of correlation between reported illnesses and “very Guadalupan” consonance.

Regression Analysis

To test the hypothesis that consonance provides a buffer to the stressors associated with immigration, I calculated an interaction variable (CCSxISS) by multiplying consonance scores by Immigration Stressor Scale scores. Results at $p < .1$ will be considered significant in order to account for a small sample size. Model 1 of CCSxISS with self-rated health, and Model 2 of CCSxISS with satisfaction with life did not have significant explanatory power, and Model 3 of CCSxISS with perceived stress, and Model 4 of CCSxISS with reported illnesses did not contain significant predictors. Model 5 of CCSxISS regressed with the general wellbeing score had both significant explanatory power, and also had significant predictors (Table 8-13).

Table 8-13: Regression model for association between general wellbeing scores and the interaction variable ISSxCSS.			
Variables entered	B	t	sig
Constant	17.746	4.533	.000
Immigration Stressor Score	-.255	-2.203	.032
Consonance Score	-.067	-1.775	.081
ISSxCSS	.002	1.895	.063
R ² = .110			
F= 2.317, sig= .085			

Further analysis indicates that Hypothesis 2 is supported by the interaction effect of immigration stress and cultural consonance on combined health. Figure 8-10 graphically illustrates how cultural consonance in Guadalupan devotion moderates or “buffers” the effects of immigration stressors on health. Here, the study sample has been divided into a low consonance group (n=29) and a high consonance group (n=31) based on the median score. As the downward slope of the regression line for the low consonance group indicates, for people with low consonance in Guadalupan devotion, increased immigration stressors are linked to decreased general wellbeing. For the high consonance group, increased exposure to immigration stressors does not predict poor general health.

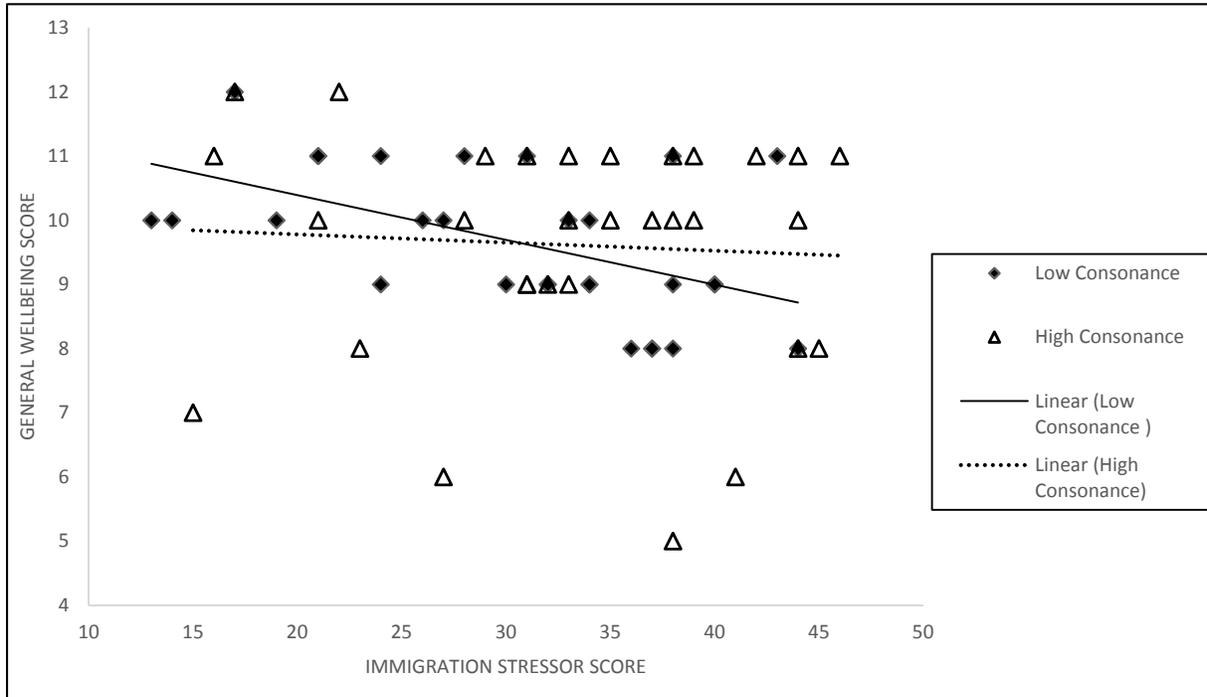


Figure 8-10: Regression interaction between general wellbeing and immigration stressors for both “low” and “high” consonance groups.

It should be noted that these results do not indicate that high consonance in Guadalupan devotion is associated with improved health outcomes. There is not a direct relationship between consonance and health. What it does indicate is that in the absence of consonance, health and stressors are correlated, but in the presence of consonance, that relationship is not present.

Additional Findings

Effects of Stress on Health:

There was a significant positive correlation ($r = .561$, $sig = .000$) between perceived stress scores and ISS scores (Figure 8-11). This strong correlation indicates that these two scales are measuring stress in overlapping, yet unique ways. The ISS acts more as a “stressful life event” inventory, as it gathers information about exposure to stressors. Results indicate that the PSS is capturing the effects of these stressors, by measuring the level of stress actually perceived by individuals (Cohen et al. 1983).

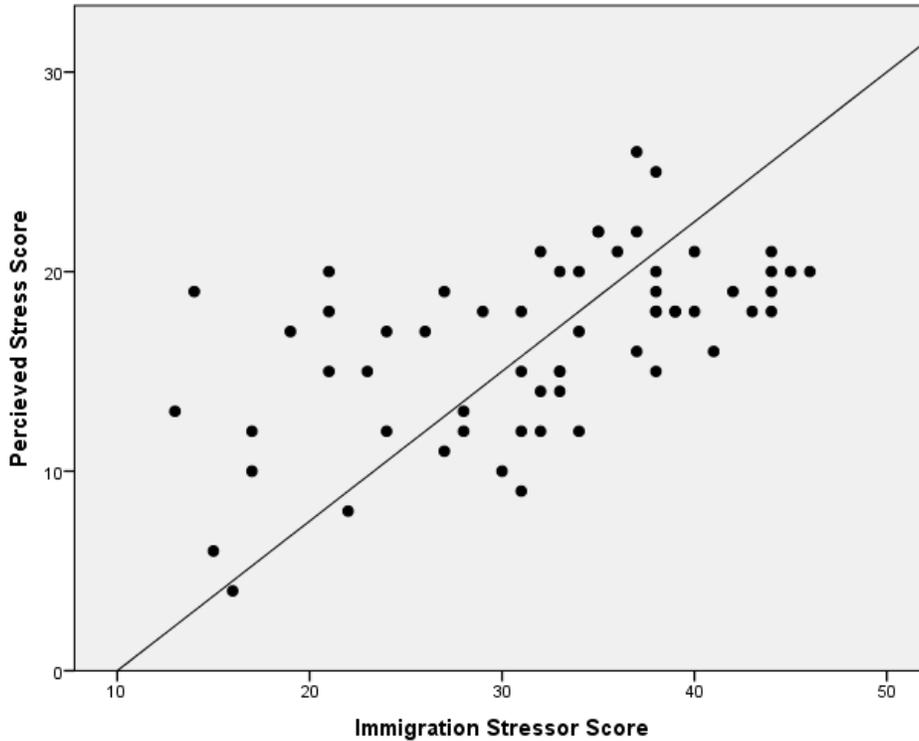


Figure 8-11: Scatter plot of correlation between immigration stressor scores and perceived stress scores.

A similar relationship is seen among the PSS scores and reported health. There is a significant negative correlation between perceived stress scores and self-rated health ($r = -.388$, $sig = .002$), with lower perceived stress being linked to better self-rated health (Figure 8-12). Recall that the largest percentage of the sample (41.7%) report being in “fair” health, followed by 40 percent reporting “good” health, and with few reported being in “excellent” health (15%) or “poor” health (1.7%). Those fifteen percent who reported excellent health also reported the lowest level of perceived stress. This finding is consistent with those of other studies utilizing the perceived stress scale, as well as the stress literature, in general (Cohen et al. 1983, Folkman 2010).

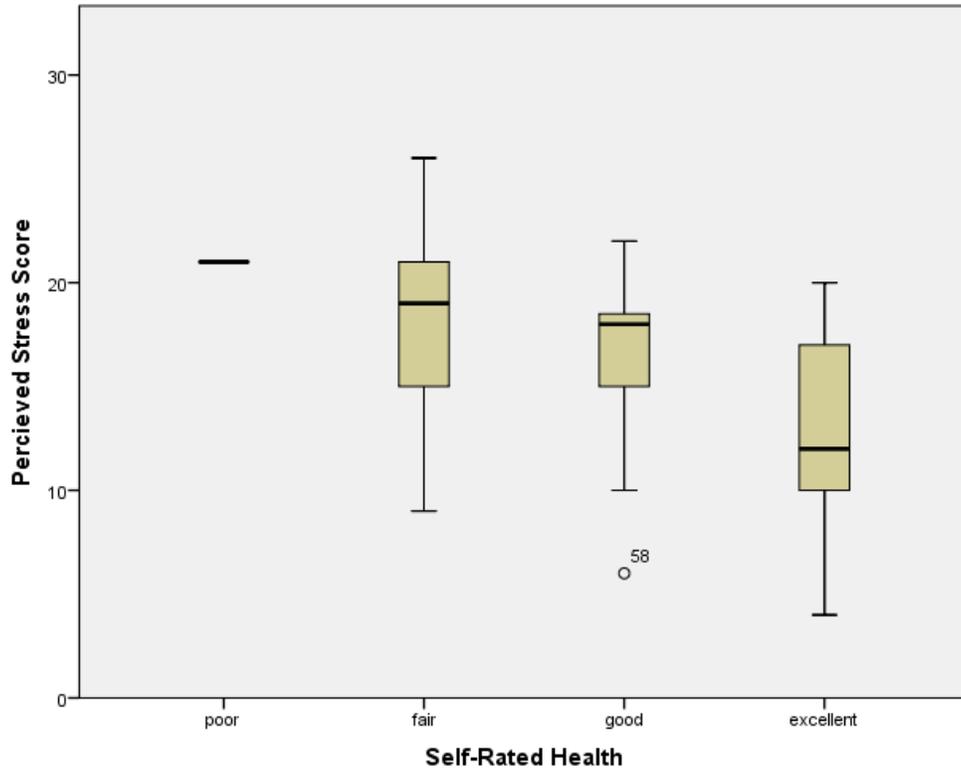


Figure 8-12: Box plot of correlation between perceived stress scores and self-rated health.

Again, a similar correlation is seen between ISS scores and self-rated health ($r = -.265$, $sig = .042$), where those who reported being in excellent health had significantly lower ISS scores (Figure 8-13).

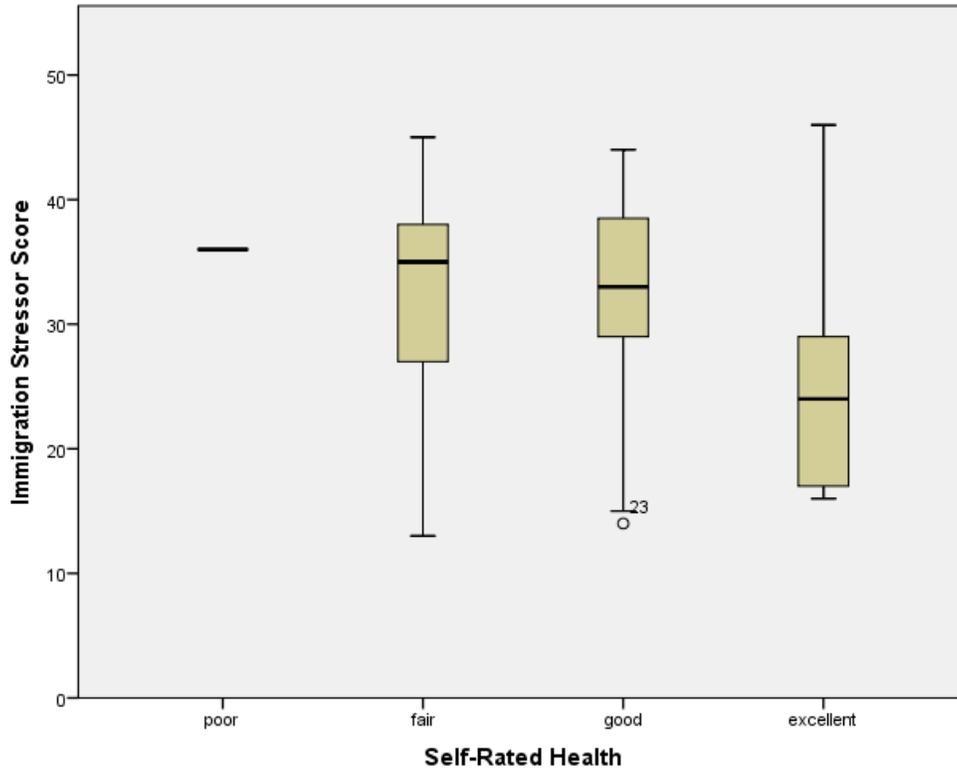


Figure 8-13: Box plot of correlation between immigration stressor scores and self-rated health.

Life Satisfaction:

A paired sample t-test found a significant difference ($t= 3.53$, $sig= .001$) between the samples' reported current satisfaction with life and their satisfaction before arrival. Recall that when participants reported current satisfaction with life as well as satisfaction before arriving to the community, 55 percent of the sample reported being currently "satisfied" with life, as compared to 33.3 percent satisfaction with life before arrival. Likewise, five percent of the sample reported being "unsatisfied" with life at present, while 16.7 percent reported being "unsatisfied" with life before arrival. There was also a significant correlation between life satisfaction before arrival and frequency of communication with family in Mexico ($r= .326$, $sig=.013$), which may be a reflection of the strength of family ties back home or other factors that could be better understood from the perspective of the sending community.

Table 8-14: Responses to satisfaction with life question set.		
Current Satisfaction with Life	55%	Satisfied
	31.7%	Somewhat satisfied
	8.3%	Somewhat unsatisfied
	5%	Unsatisfied
Satisfaction before Arrival	33.3%	Satisfied
	36.7%	Somewhat satisfied
	13.3%	Somewhat unsatisfied
	16.7%	Unsatisfied

Being a Parent

Consonance and Number of Children:

In a previous section, it was reported that cultural consonance was significantly correlated with number of children ($r = .326$, $sig = .011$). When only parents were included in the analysis ($n = 47$), the correlation between consonance scores and number of children increased ($r = .389$, $sig = .007$). Figure 8-14 illustrates the relationship between number of children and consonance among parents in the sample. VG consonance scores were likewise significantly correlated with number of children ($r = .327$, $sig = .011$), but the correlation became weaker when non-parents were omitted from the analysis ($r = .292$, $sig = .047$).

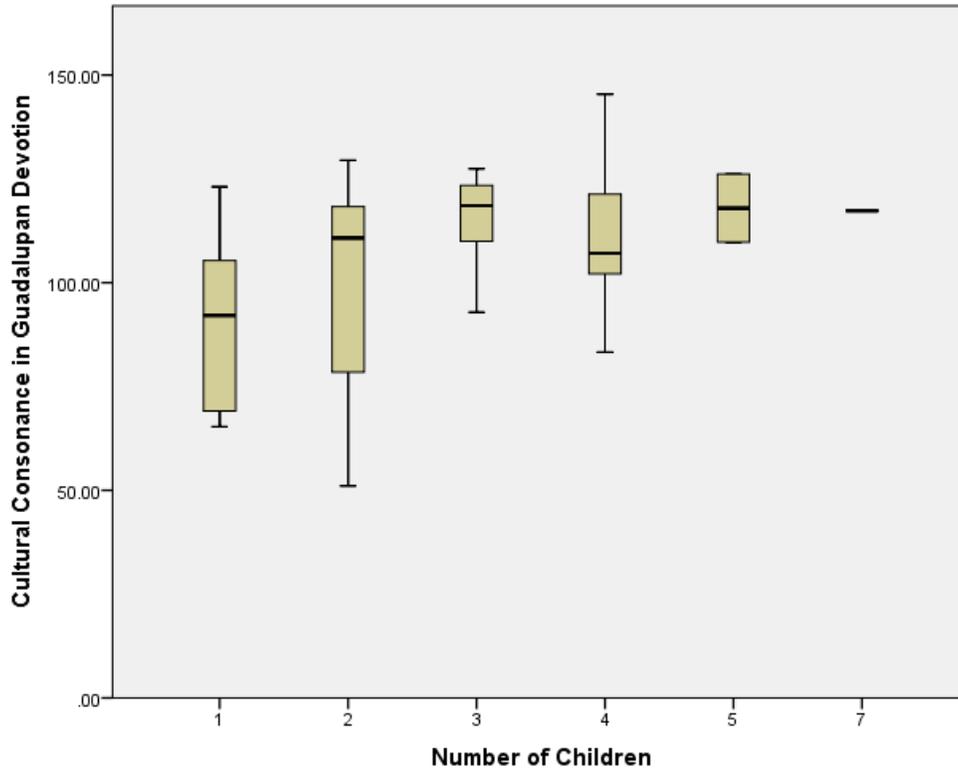


Figure 8-14: Box plot illustrating consonance scores among parents by number of children.

Notably, there was no significant correlation between being a parent and consonance ($t = -1.220$, $sig = .228$), the correlation was only with number of children. Initially I considered that those with more children would be more likely to be involved in community and church activities, therefore participation in social aspects of Guadalupan devotion was driving parents to be more consonant. There is no question that children play a central role in the December 12th celebration, with specific performances designed especially for them, and their presence at church can't be ignored. But this does not account for the seemingly contradictory finding that higher consonance is associated with number of children, but not with being a parent. If higher consonance was driven by those items relating to social involvement, then this should equally apply to parents regardless of number of children. To further explore this, I ran correlation analysis between number of children and each consonance item. It turns out that there was

actually no significant correlation between number of children and number of Guadalupean events attended, nor with church attendance. The individual consonance items that did have significant correlation with number of children (Table 8-15) were those things related to prayer and to her image.

Table 8-15: Cultural consonance items significantly correlated with number of children.
How often do you put flowers by her image (r=.309, p=.016)
How often do you pray to her (r=.379, p=.003)
How often do you put her image in your home? (r=.320, p=.013)
Seeing her image in church helps me feel at home (r=.316, p=.014)

Parents versus Non-Parents:

When only parents are considered in the sample, an additional correlation emerges that was not significant among the total sample. There is a significant positive correlation between current life satisfaction and cultural consonance scores (r= .314, sig=.032) among parents (Figure 8-15), but there is no correlation between consonance and satisfaction before arrival (r= -.042, sig= .780).

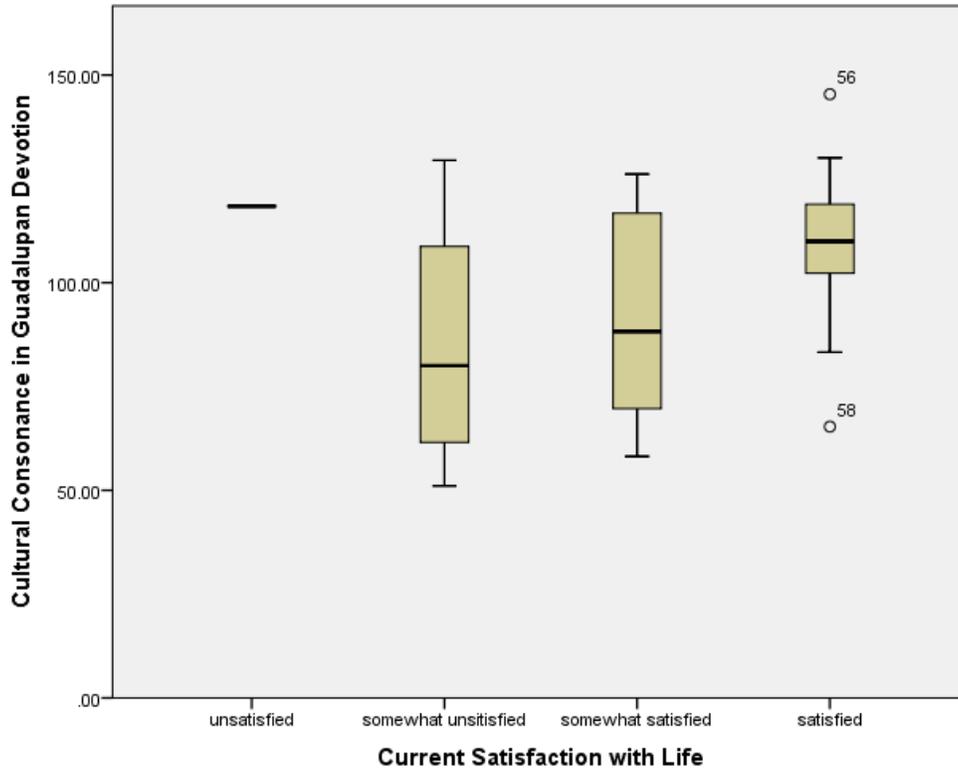


Figure 8-15: Box plot illustrating correlation between consonance and satisfaction with life among parents.

When comparing parents to non-parents, additional findings emerge. Parents were more likely to report being satisfied with life than non-parents ($t = -2.213$, $sig = .031$). There was also a significant difference among the mean perceived stress scores of parents versus non-parents ($t = 2.553$, $sig = .013$), with parents having lower average perceived stress scores (15.7) than non-parents (19.15). Figure 8-16 graphically illustrates this relationship.

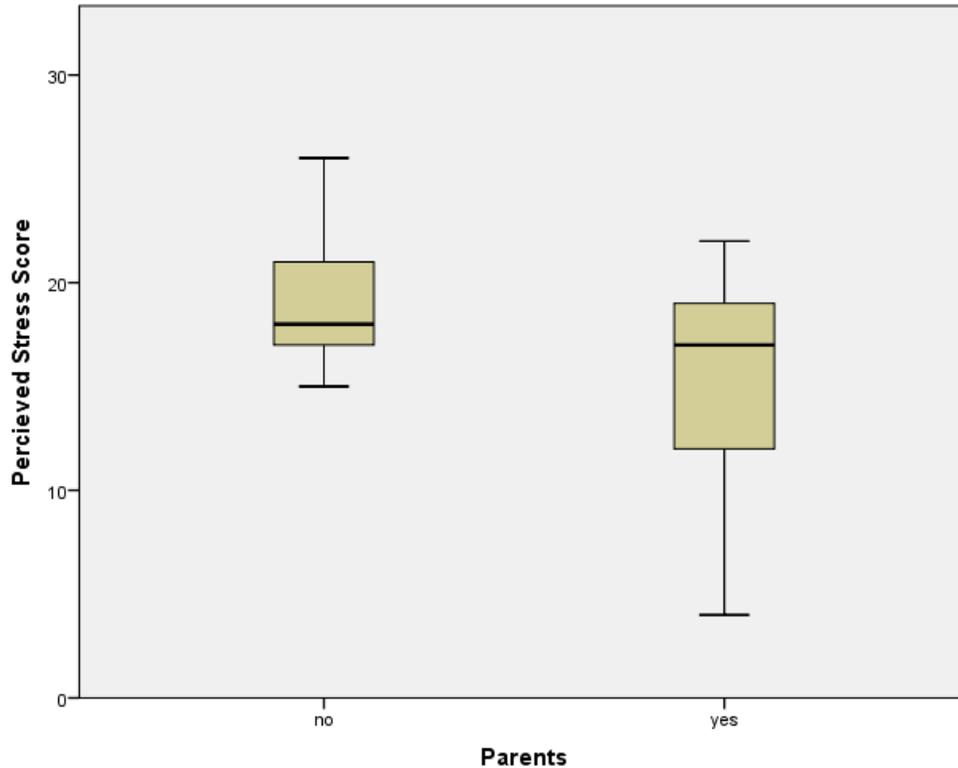


Figure 8-16: Box plot illustrating perceived stress scores among parents and non-parents.

There was no significant difference among mean ISS scores for parents and non-parents ($t = .420$, $sig = .676$). Nonetheless, in response to the parental stressor item, 61.7 percent of parents reported that they “always” worry about education or job opportunities for their children, and an additional 12.8 percent responded that they “often” worry. These findings, considered collectively suggest that parents are experiencing lower levels of perceived stress and higher satisfaction with life in the face of similar immigration stressors as non-parents, even with the additional stressors associated with being a parent.

Parent Regressions:

The above sets of correlations among parents can be further explored through regression analysis. Returning to the ISSxCCS variable, the main study hypothesis that consonance provides a buffer against the effects of stress on health, can be tested among the sample of

parents. Linear regression among the ISSxCCS variable and each of the “effects of stress” variables, including PSS, self-rated health, reported illnesses, satisfaction with life, and the general wellbeing variable indicates a single model with explanatory power. The model of CCSxISS regressed with “satisfaction with life” had both significant explanatory power, and also had significant predictors (Table 8-16).

Table 8-16: Regression model for association between satisfaction with life and the interaction variable ISSxCSS.			
Variables entered	B	t	sig
Constant	7.576	3.766	.000
Immigration Stressor Score	-.163	-2.643	.011
Consonance Score	-.041	-2.122	.040
ISSxCSS	.002	2.752	.009
R ² = .233			
F= 4.342, sig= .009			

Analysis indicates that Hypothesis 2 is further supported by the interaction effect of immigration stress and cultural consonance on satisfaction with life. Figure 8-17 graphically illustrates how cultural consonance in Guadalupean devotion moderates or “buffers” the effects of immigration stressors on health among the sub-sample of parents, in addition to the buffering effect found among the entire sample. Similarly as before, the study sample has been divided into a low consonance group (n=22) and a high consonance group (n=25) based on the median score.

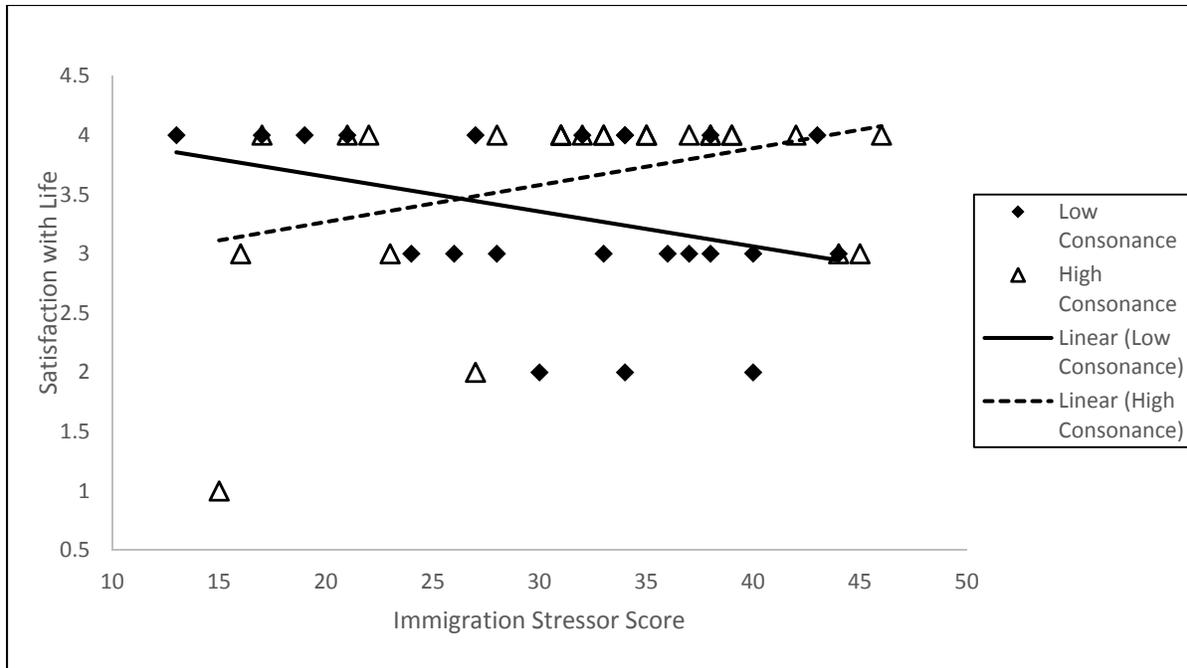


Figure 8-17: Regression interaction between satisfaction with life and immigration stressors for both “low” and “high” consonance groups among parents.

As indicated by the downward slope of the regression line for the low consonance group, increased immigration stressors are associated with low satisfaction with life for parents with low consonance in Guadalupan devotion. For parents with high consonance, increased exposure to immigration stressors is not linked to low satisfaction with life. The positive correlation between consonance and satisfaction with life actually causes a positive slope in the regression line among the high consonance group. Recall that parents reported higher satisfaction with life even in response to the same level of immigration stressors as non-parents; this analysis demonstrates the role that consonance plays in that finding.

Chapter Summary

This chapter described Phase 3 methods, analysis, and results. Analysis demonstrated that hypothesis 2 was supported by the interaction among the general wellbeing and ISS scores with cultural consonance. Exposure to immigration stressors was found to predict general wellbeing

among those with low cultural consonance. Among parents, study hypothesis 2 was also supported by interaction effect of immigration stress and cultural consonance on life satisfaction. Parents with low cultural consonance in Guadalupean devotion, increased immigration stressors are linked to decreased satisfaction with life. Among parents with high consonance, this effect is buffered, resulting in high satisfaction with life regardless of exposure to immigration stressors. Consonance scores were positively correlated with number of children, while being a parent was also correlated with lower perceived stress and higher satisfaction with life, regardless of immigration stressors. These findings will be discussed in more detail in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 9

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Introduction

The final chapter of this study discusses in detail key findings and considers these findings within the broader scope of the study. The chapter begins with an overview of the personal and family histories of the study participants, considering them alongside previous immigration profiles. Results relating to the study hypothesis will be interpreted and discussed in detail. Other key results will be reviewed and discussed, drawing links between both quantitative and qualitative findings that emerged throughout the study. The chapter will also include a discussion of limitations of the current research as well as suggestions for future research.

Profile of Transnational Families

Hirsch (2002) noted that regional identity was a major organizing principle for members of a Mexican community in Atlanta. The shared origins of large portions of the sample may indeed be an important factor in establishing a sense of community and of belonging. While the greatest number of participants in this study (28.3%) were from the state of Veracruz, there is very little literature on sending communities in Veracruz. What is known is that immigration from the state of Veracruz is relatively new, and is being fed by a migration corridor of fifteen *municipios* within the state. Destination patterns for *Veracruzanos* reflect the shift of Mexican migration patterns from the Southwestern to the Southeastern US and Chicago (Monterosas 2003). Immigration from Veracruz began in earnest in the 1990's and increased in the early

2000's in response to the national debt crisis of the 1980s as well as an agricultural crisis that has forced many coffee growers to migrate (Cordova Plaza 2008, Benquet 2003). The state especially felt the impact of the economic shift that came along with NAFTA, which redirected national resources, such as agricultural subsidies, away from the State and region (Poveda 2007). As a result, severe outmigration has caused a rapid transformation of the state's rural societies and severe depopulation.

The overall profile of the Mexican community in Scott County is representative of the post 1970 immigration shift. Whereas pre-1970s immigrants are more likely to be male, traveling without their family, with little education, and primarily migrating to California (Cornelius, 1976), post-1970s immigrants are more likely to be younger; more educated; are increasingly likely to be women and families; and are more likely to originate from Southern Mexico and rural areas around Mexico City. They are more likely to settle in the US, and to settle in communities outside of the Southwestern US (Marcelli et al. 2001, Massey, Goldring, and Durand 1994). This trend is also reflective of the emergence of "transnational families" with a growing number of members, "living some or most of the time separated from each other, yet hold together and create something that can be seen as a feeling of collective welfare and unity, namely 'familyhood', even across national borders (Bryceson and Vuorela, 2002:3)."

Many members of the Mexican community have lived permanently in the community for over ten years (the average for the final sample was 11 years). The more permanent jobs, and the nature of the work, associated with the poultry industry gives both men and women a chance to establish roots, to bring their children to join them, or to start a family in the US. Baptism of new babies was nearly a regular part of the weekly Mass at both Saint Michael's and Saint Martin's. Other parents chose to leave their children behind with family in Mexico, but they appear to keep

close ties through regular communication. I sat with one woman during the 2013 celebration of December 12th, and she was showing me photos on her cellphone that were taken a year ago when she and her family went to the *Basilica Guadalupeana* in Mexico City. She continued to show me photos of her three children who appeared to be between the ages of 10 to 16, and were living what appeared by the photos to be a comfortable middle-class lifestyle back home in Mexico. Another woman ran a *tienda* in Morton, and her adult son regularly traveled from Mexico City to spend time with her and help her manage the store. She also had a teenaged son who had recently come to live with her in Morton and had enrolled in the local high school, although she has been in the community for over ten years.

Although many years may pass without visits home, most people maintain close communication with family back home, often talking to them on a weekly basis (40%), sometimes even daily (25%), and primarily by telephone. Even for the children who have never visited Mexico, this close communication helps them maintain a connection with their family abroad. While waiting around the Church on Sundays, I often had more conversations with children than with adults as they wandered in and out of the church and played on the grounds during Mass. Once I asked a boy, around the age of 10, what he was planning to do for the summer. He proudly announced that he was going to visit his family in Veracruz. I asked him how he liked going there, and he said he did not know since he had never been before, but he was very excited to finally get to visit. His father, standing in the background, was smiling proudly.

That people appear to be settling in the communities of Forest and Morton is evident by the average time spent living in Mississippi (7.5 years), the difficulty of border-crossing leading to sparse return visits to Mexico (60% never), as well as the large number of participants with

children born in the US (66%). The profiles indicate what is apparent on the ground, that many people are heavily invested in the life here, and especially in the futures of their children. Many have young children who are US citizens and are enrolled in the US education system. They are concerned about college and career opportunities for their children, and they imagine those opportunities here in the US. High school graduates are joining the military, working their way through community college, or even attending Universities (even more so thanks to the DACA program).

Hypothesis 1 Discussion

Study hypothesis 1 was supported; there is a culturally shared model of Guadalupan devotion among the sample of Mexican immigrants in Scott County. Cultural consensus analysis demonstrated that participants from both Forest and Morton agreed upon a set of beliefs and behaviors that are associated with Guadalupan devotion.

Participating in Guadalupan Events:

An important aspect of this model is participation in events honoring the Virgin of Guadalupe, the pinnacle of which, as seen in Chapter 5, is her December 12th celebration. The extent to which one may participate varies, and could mean simply attending special Mass on the day of the event. Others may volunteer to help with event preparations, like decorations, while others volunteer during the event by serving food. People may also choose to participate in the event by taking part in the dancing or by helping prepare the children for their special roles during the celebration. Still, there are events other than the December 12th celebration that are associated with the Virgin of Guadalupe, one of which is the *Carerra Antorcha Guadalupana* that was described in chapter 5. There are also special classes offered at Saint Michael's that are dedicated to learning about her message. The community organizes a series of novenas with a

different household hosting the prayers each night leading up to December 12th, and on the eve of December 12th, people gather in Morton to sing *mañanitas* for the Virgin.

More Devoted, and More Catholic:

Being more devoted when far from home is part of the model of Guadalupan devotion, and so is the act of sharing devotion with people from other countries. Because of the flexibility of the Guadalupan symbol, her central meanings are easily adapted to meet the specific situations of the immigrant experience, and as people find themselves facing a multitude of immigration stressors, it is not surprising to find that devotion to the Virgin of Guadalupe would increase when “far from home.” Another key to feeling more devoted in Scott County may be related to the Catholic Church as one of few sources of social or material support. While the majority of Mexicans in the community appear to identify as Catholic, which was also an important aspect of the model Guadalupan, for some, arrival to the community marks their first exposure to a more “orthodox” form of Catholicism and actual church attendance. Still, actual church attendance was not seen as necessary to being a model Guadalupan. Many people in the community reported that they did not attend church regularly, but they considered themselves to be Guadalupans, and they identified as being Catholic.

Mexicans and Non-Mexicans:

Sharing a space with other Hispanic immigrants, and thus sharing devotion to the Virgin of Guadalupe becomes an important aspect of being Guadalupan in Scott County. As a result, the consensus on all Guadalupans being Mexican was somewhat neutral, with people generally accepting that this is not always the case. Recalling Sr. Yesenia’s report of often having to remind Mexican parishioners that Guadalupe was not just for Mexicans, but was the Patroness of all the Americas, it seems that this concept has penetrated into the model. There may also be a

sense of pride and even a missionary approach to teaching others about the message of the Virgin of Guadalupe. During an interview, one participant told me about how she instructed one of her non-Mexican co-workers with a sick child to say prayers to the Virgin of Guadalupe. The woman followed her instructions and her child recovered from the illness. This act of “talking about” the virgin of Guadalupe was also part of the model.

Flowers and Candles at Her Altar:

Among the most salient acts of Guadalupan devotion are the acts of lighting candles and leaving flowers at her altar. This is something that is carried out both at home and in the church. It is essential to at least keep her image in the home, even if it is simply a framed print. Some people keep home altars with statues of the Virgin, and they place lit candles in this space. As described in Chapter 5, the small chapel at Saint Michael’s essentially serves as a shrine to Guadalupe, with a large statue, a small statue, a number of candles with her image steadily burning, and several bouquets of flowers. People visit the shrine at all hours, and it is especially frequented by those who have family making the journey across the border.

Wearing her Image:

Another especially salient act of devotion is wearing or carrying an image of the Virgin. This is most often seen on a piece of jewelry, like a medal on a necklace, or a bracelet. One woman in the community makes bracelets and other types of jewelry with her image and sells it to others in the community. Many people carry key chains with her image on it, and it is common to see stickers of the Virgin on the back window of cars. Someone I interviewed mentioned a CD with her image, and I could not understand what they were talking about, but eventually I saw a car in the community with an old CD hanging from the rear-view mirror that

had been painted with her image on it. These items, as well as tee-shirts with her image can be purchased at the local *tiendas*.

Being Kind, Humble, and Helpful:

Behaviors like kindness, humility, and being helpfulness were also associated with model Guadalupean devotees. Speaking, dressing, and acting in a humble manner are perhaps the least predictable of this set of attributes. Even those more successful community members are not expected to flaunt their success. This approach is in line with the humble lifestyle practiced by both the priest and the nuns within the Church, as well as the more “simple” lifestyle generally associated with small, rural, and relatively poor communities. Not only was there an emphasis on humility, but it was specifically reported that among things people do not ask the Virgin of Guadalupe for is money and material goods.

Residual Agreement:

Even though there was overall consensus about the model of Guadalupean devotion, not all people fully agreed with the above aspects. Residual analysis indicated that, beyond the overall agreement, there was a patterned deviation in agreement among a set of participants in Forest. Beyond community of residence, a commonality among those who subscribe to the residual agreement was not identified. Analysis of the ways in which their collective consensus responses varied from the overall consensus suggested that they see Guadalupeans in the community as not necessarily meeting some of the Guadalupean ideals. Thus, they were *more* likely to say that Guadalupean devotees are 1) not speaking much about the Virgin, 2) only praying when they have problems, 3) being too busy to help others, 4) being less devoted when they come here, and 5) not taking time to stop by the chapel outside of regular Mass times. They also were *less* likely to support the ideas 1) that women put more time into their devotion than

men, 2) that Guadalupans are all Mexicans, or 3) that they share her message with people from other countries.

Whether this variation in responses among the residual group is driven by a more “critical” judgment or a more relaxed understanding of Guadalupan devotion can’t be determined. The suggestions throughout the study that there are some community members who are considered “very Guadalupan” could help explain this variation. That the residual agreement only emerges in one community, the larger community of Forest, may indicate that the residual agreement simply represents the natural diversity that is found in larger populations.

Hypothesis 2 Discussion

Study hypothesis 2 was supported by the interaction effect of immigration stress and cultural consonance on general wellbeing. Cultural consonance in Guadalupan devotion moderates or “buffers” the effects of immigration stressors on health. For people with low consonance in Guadalupan devotion, increased immigration stressors are linked to decreased general wellbeing. For those with high consonance, increased exposure to immigration stressors does not predict poor general wellbeing.

The quantitative findings that Guadalupan devotion provides a buffer against the daily life stressors associated with the immigration experience are further exemplified by qualitative results from the study. It is clear from anecdotal accounts and from qualitative results that Guadalupan devotees often turn to the Virgin as a source of support, strength, and comfort. This will be discussed in further detail in context with other study findings below.

Among parents, study hypothesis 2 was also supported by interaction effect of immigration stress and cultural consonance on life satisfaction. Parents with low cultural consonance in Guadalupan devotion, increased immigration stressors are linked to decreased

satisfaction with life. Among parents with high consonance, this effect is buffered, resulting in high satisfaction with life regardless of exposure to immigration stressors. Another key to understanding the role of the cultural model in Guadalupean devotion is that parents with more children have higher consonance and higher satisfaction with life. Additionally, parents in the sample were more likely to have lower perceived stress, although their ISS scores were not significantly different from those of non-parents. Although it may intuitively seem that parents face a number of additional immigration stressors, since their fears and concerns are extended beyond themselves and to their children, this does not result in a higher ISS scores. In addition, a majority of parents (61%) responded “always” to the question, “How often do you worry about education and job opportunities for your children?”, but even in the face of this additional stressor, parents report lower perceived stress than non-parents.

Guadalupe as a Mother

Regarding the master symbol concept, this study has demonstrated that, fifty years after Wolf applied the term to the Virgin of Guadalupe, she remains a master symbol, perhaps even more so in the context of immigration. In diaspora, Guadalupe appears to maintain her national, familial, and maternal roles, but she also takes on new roles. She becomes a protector for those making the journey across the border and remains by their side until they return home safely; she is a symbol of resistance and equality for those who are seeking immigration reform; and she is able to extend her services to people of all nationalities, to whoever may seek her protection. One notable distinction found in the cultural model of Guadalupean devotion that emerges in this investigation relates to Hall’s (2009) reference to the Virgin Mary as both a mother and a warrior, sometimes more of a warrior, and sometimes more of a mother. When considering the study findings regarding parents, the buffering effect of devotion seems to be “doubly” present

among parents, and increasingly so with more children. It seems that in this current context, the emphasis is on Guadalupe's role of a mother over that of a warrior. Historically, Our Lady of Guadalupe has been associated with equality and resistance in the face of oppression, and this continues to be the case among her followers in the US. Recall the numerous studies that report Guadalupe as a symbol of empowerment, engagement, resistance, and legitimacy (Matovina 2002, 2003, Peña 2008, Galvez 2010, Rodriguez 1994, Odem 2004). It is notable that these types of themes barely emerge in the current study. Only once, among all interviews, was this aspect of the Virgin of Guadalupe mentioned. A nun from Mexico who had only recently joined Saint Michael's mentioned her association with social activism.

A closer consideration of the qualitative findings from this study reveals a community where activism, resistance, and the immigrant voice is not currently a central focus. Consider the shift in the Guadalupan celebration from a large public celebration beginning in the streets of Morton, traveling boldly along the highway and filling the central plaza in front of the Forest Courthouse before eventually ending in front of the Church for an outdoor mass. Today's small foot procession from the courthouse to the indoor celebration at the nearby civic center is a stark contrast to the earlier years. The sociopolitical climate of Mississippi likely contributes to Guadalupe's role as a mother as opposed to a warrior in Scott County. In Chapter 5, I recount Sister Yesenia's comments about the risks associated with activism in Scott County, as demonstrated by the reluctance of members of the migrant community to attend immigration reform events at the state capitol. Stuesse's (2008) work in the same communities recounts the history of racism and the influence of the good-old-boy system, both during the civil rights era and at present. This is a legitimate force in rural Mississippi, and it is designed to leave little room for activism and empowerment. Stuesse and colleagues attempted to establish MPOWER,

an organization advocating for the rights and safety of local poultry workers, but it was short lived once Stuesse's group turned the project over to Mississippians to continue.

I return to the concept of *Marianismo*. Although it is a gendered term that tends to broadly stereotype Latinas (Ehlers 1991), because this particular study deals directly with the Virgin Mary, it seems pertinent. While some understand *Marianismo* as a negative concept where submissive female social roles are promoted by veiling them as moral and spiritual strengths (Stevens and Pescatello 1973; Warner 2013), a holistic understanding of Guadalupans does not paint a portrait of a group of people who are silenced or suppressed by their faith. There was no indication that the women in this study view themselves this way or that they are viewed this way by men in the community, nor do the men or women in this study represent their relationship with the Virgin of Guadalupe and their commitment to their children and families in this light. Instead, they often talked of the support and strength they gain from their devotion to Guadalupe.

One key informant, in describing how people light the candle of the Virgin of Guadalupe when someone is making the journey across the border, also talked about the way people rub the Virgin's candle over the face and body of a sick child before lighting it and appealing to the Virgin for her help. I saw this act of rubbing an unlit candle over a child on several occasions. Another person explained that, as parents, "we relate to Our Lady of Guadalupe because she was human and had the same pain with Jesus. If you put yourself in her shoes, it makes you see your pain easy compared to hers." Another participant, in response to an immigration stressor question about struggling to understand the values and morals of the US, noted the different views towards raising children among the people in the US versus Mexico. She said that people here did not really like children; they show more attention to their pet dogs. A month or so later,

I was struck by a headline in the news reading, “Pope Francis Urges Couples to Raise Kids, Not Cats and Dogs (Rhodan 2014).”

Final Conclusions

These findings are reminiscent of the various studies that demonstrate how acculturation does not equate improvement, and in some cases, a lack of acculturation can actually lead to improved health and wellbeing. Recall the negative impact on health of acculturation as demonstrated by multiple lines of research (Bindon et al. 1991, Gordon-Larsen et al. 2003, Finch and Vega 2003, Finch et al. 2004), as well as the suggestion of a Hispanic Health paradox, made less paradoxical when acculturation is considered (Franzini and Fernandez-Esquire 2004, 2006). Mexican cultural ideals of parenthood, the same ideals promoted by the Catholic Church, are often portrayed in the US as being in conflict with a “modern” lifestyle. Yet, they appear to be embedded in the model of Guadalupan devotion, and are also linked to lower perceived stress and higher life-satisfaction. Parra-Cardona et al. (2006) demonstrated that overall life satisfaction among Mexican immigrants was more closely linked to the family than to workplace. In this light, it could be considered that the cultural model of Guadalupan devotion may be serving as an alternative model to acculturation. By maintaining the values associated with concepts of family, and particular elements of Guadalupan devotion, people are lessening the impact of lifestyle incongruence that is often associated with migration (Cassell et al. 1960, Dressler 2004). It would also seem that parents are achieving this to a greater extent.

Chavez (1994) used the phrase “imagined community” (Anderson 1991) to describe the power of “imagining oneself as a part of a local community” as a factor in decisions to stay. The ideologies reinforced by Guadalupan devotion (the nation, the family, the Church, and in this case, the immigration experience) may be seen as important parts of a larger identity that serves

as a “complete package” of coping strategies. They are both ways of belonging and effects of belonging. The cultural model of Guadalupan devotion, then, becomes an important way of sharing the knowledge of the imagined community.

Limitations

The study would have benefitted from the inclusion of biomarkers. Biomarkers could have shed more light on the relationships between stress and reported health that were indicated in the results. More extensive health profiles, along with measures of physiological health could shed more light on the impact of immigration to rural areas on overall health. Chronic daily stressors like those associated with immigration can cause the stress response to remain engaged and can result in long-term disruption in the diurnal patterns of cortisol, a corticosteroid hormone released by the HPA axis in response to a stressor. These disrupted diurnal patterns, as well as consistently elevated levels of stress hormones, contribute to “allostatic load,” the wear and tear that the stress response places on the body (McEwen and Wingfield 2003). Allostatic load has been linked to illnesses such as heart disease, high blood pressure, diabetes, immunodeficiency, and gastrointestinal disorders (Dressler et al. 2007, Ice 2005, Sapolsky 2004). It was part of the original study design to include salivary measures of cortisol. However, a lack of funding required this element of the study to be removed. A secondary plan to include blood pressure measures in lieu of cortisol measures was piloted with a small sample of participants, but field conditions and time constraints, also compounded by a lack of funding which would have secured a research assistant, made this equally unfeasible. Still, I consider this project to be a biocultural investigation even without the inclusion of biomarkers since both Guadalupan devotion and the immigration experience are considered within a biocultural framework to demonstrate the complex relationship between cultural experiences and physiological responses.

As is typical of anthropological studies, preferring investigations at the community level, sample sizes are small. Although the samples were small, they were within the ideal range for consensus analysis, but statistical analyses could have been strengthened with a larger final sample. The samples were also non-random, which can limit the generalizability of findings to other settings; again, this is more of an issue with the statistical results than the descriptive data. Werner and Bernard (1994) note that ethnographic samples are by nature not random samples, and therefore we cannot make statistically sound generalizations from them, but they emphasize that this by no means suggests that findings are of no importance. “Good ethnographic samples are focused on establishing the range of phenomena, not on establishing the proportions of traits in a population at large (8).” The goal therefore should be to maximize variation (i.e., women/men, rural/urban, young/old), which was achieved across all samples in the study.

Variation was not achieved in regards to religious affiliation. Despite efforts to recruit in locations besides the Catholic Churches, the samples were overwhelmingly Catholic. Upon further reflection, though, while having more non-Catholics in the sample would have allowed for some additional analysis, it was not central to the study. Furthermore, purposefully including a sample of non-Catholics into the study could have weakened the consensus results to the point that hypothesis 1 was unfairly rejected, since Guadalupe devotion is much more strongly associated with the Catholic faith than with Protestantism.

Future Studies

I initially considered including other Hispanic nationalities in the study. Indeed, it is remarkable how the December 12th celebration has become a multinational celebration and how immigrants from other nationalities have embraced the Virgin of Guadalupe. Indeed, the multinational fabric of the immigrant community in Scott County could support a number of

additional research questions. But in the end, that is precisely why other Hispanics were not included in this study; addressing these questions requires separate studies.

The Guatemalan community is especially large in Scott County, and some members are known to pay homage to the Virgin of Guadalupe. They have also brought to the community their own charismatic style of Catholicism. I conducted some pilot work that included Guatemalans, and even included a couple of exploratory questions in the current study design. Two particular items were geared towards gauging how the Mexican community thought about other Hispanics as Guadalupan devotees. Seventy-five percent of Phase 2 participants mentioned Guatemalans as other people besides Mexicans who were Guadalupan devotees. A smaller number of people also mentioned that Guadalupan devotees may be from El Salvador, Peru, Honduras, and the US. For the consensus statement that “all Guadalupans are from Mexico,” the cultural answer key indicated that this was somewhat true, and the mean response indicated that it was somewhat untrue. Anecdotal reports from the field suggest a level of competition between the Mexicans and Guatemalans with the Mexicans feeling a stronger sense of ownership of Guadalupe. These findings merit further investigation into the way in which other nationalities adopt Guadalupe in diaspora, as well as the ways in which Mexican immigrants *share* Guadalupe in diaspora.

A multi-site study focusing on often-overlooked, smaller Hispanic communities could shed additional light on some key findings in the current study. The setting of the rural community, like the Mexican village, is suited for observing a more concentrated, holistic portrait of culture change. Simply by studying two neighboring communities, residual analysis in this study demonstrated how there was no residual agreement among the sample from the smaller community of Morton, but there was some pattern of residual agreement that appeared to be

shared by particular members of the larger community of Forest. There is still much to be understood about the sociopolitical forces that play a hand in “shape-shifting” a master symbol like the Virgin of Guadalupe, and this is also something that further investigation from the perspective of smaller, more recently formed migrant communities could shed more light on. Most of the studies of Guadalupans in the US focus on large urban or suburban communities, where there are plenty of avenues social activism as well as an abundance of media outlets for vocalizing humanitarian causes. It is possible that future studies like this one, focusing on smaller, more rural populations may also find that Guadalupe’s role as a mother is given more emphasis than her role as a warrior.

Chapter Summary

This chapter elaborates upon key findings from the study, including findings in support of hypothesis 1 and hypothesis 2. Other key findings include the theme of family and children that emerged across multiple results, including its association with high consonance and low perceived stress, and the specific understandings of Guadalupe that emerged from consensus and consonance analysis. Study limitations are discussed, including those associated with sampling. Future research suggestions are geared towards a better understanding of the way in which other nationalities adopt Guadalupe in diaspora, as well as the ways in which Mexican immigrants *share* Guadalupe in diaspora, and a multi-site study to explore residual agreement and the shifting roles of the Virgin of Guadalupe.

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APPENDIX A IRB APPROVAL LETTER

October 10, 2013

Office for Research
Institutional Review Board for the
Protection of Human Subjects

THE UNIVERSITY OF
ALABAMA
R E S E A R C H

Mary Read
Department of Anthropology
College of Arts & Sciences
The University of Alabama

Re: IRB # 11-OR-326-R2 "Stress and Religious Coping among Mexican Immigrants to Mississippi"

Dear Ms. Read:

The University of Alabama Institutional Review Board has granted approval for your renewal application.

Your renewal application has been given expedited approval according to 45 CFR part 46. Approval has been given under expedited review categories 3 and 7 as outlined below:

(3) Prospective collection of biological specimens for research purposes by noninvasive means.

(7) Research on individual or group characteristics or behavior (including, but not limited to, research on perception, cognition, motivation, identity, language, communication, cultural beliefs or practices, and social behavior) or research employing survey, interview, oral history, focus group, program evaluation, human factors evaluation, or quality assurance methodologies.

Your application will expire on October 9, 2014. If your research will continue beyond this date, complete the relevant portions of the IRB Renewal Application. If you wish to modify the application, complete the Modification of an Approved Protocol Form. Changes in this study cannot be initiated without IRB approval, except when necessary to eliminate apparent immediate hazards to participants. When the study closes, complete the appropriate portions of the IRB Study Closure Form.

Please use reproductions of the IRB approved informed consent form to obtain consent from your participants.

Should you need to submit any further correspondence regarding this proposal, please include the above application number.

Good luck with your research.

Sincerely,



358 Rose Administration Building
Box 870127
Tuscaloosa, Alabama 35487-0127
(205) 348-8461
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toll free (877) 820-3068


Carpanito T. Myles, MSM, CIM
Director of Research Compliance & Research Compliance Officer
Office of Research Compliance
The University of Alabama

APPENDIX B
PHASE 1 INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Religión:

1. ¿Cuáles son algunas maneras que usted podría identificar a una persona religiosa en esta comunidad?
2. ¿Cuáles son algunas maneras que usted podría identificar a una persona NO religiosa?
3. ¿De qué maneras cree usted que una persona que es religiosa manifiesta de manera privada su devoción?
4. ¿Cuáles son todas las actividades religiosas hay en esta comunidad?
5. Para alguien que acaba de llegar a vivir a esta comunidad, ¿cuáles son las razones que esas personas tienen para asistir a la iglesia?
6. Para alguien que acaba de llegar a vivir a esta comunidad, ¿cuáles son las razones que ellos tomaran en consideración para decidir a qué iglesia van a asistir?
7. ¿Cuáles son todas las maneras que usted conoce en que las iglesias ayudan a los inmigrantes en esta comunidad?
8. ¿Qué otras cosas considera usted que las Iglesias podrían hacer para ayudar a los inmigrantes en esta comunidad?

La Virgen de Guadalupe:

1. ¿Cuáles son algunas maneras que usted podría identificar a una persona religiosa en esta comunidad devota de la Virgen de Guadalupe?
2. Describame por favor a una persona que sea un Guadalupano/a. (Ejemplo: ¿de dónde son?, ¿cómo son, o cómo se ven?, ¿cómo hablan?, ¿de qué manera conviven con otras personas?)
3. ¿Cuáles son todas las maneras en las que la gente de esta comunidad demuestra en público su devoción hacia la Virgen de Guadalupe?
4. ¿Cuáles son todas las maneras en las que la gente de esta comunidad demuestra de manera privada su devoción hacia la Virgen de Guadalupe?
5. ¿Cuáles son todas las maneras que las personas que están aquí, le hacen honor de manera diferente a la Virgen de Guadalupe de como lo hacen en México?

6. ¿Cuáles son todas las maneras que las iglesias de aquí apoyan a la devoción de la Virgen de Guadalupe?
7. ¿Qué otras cosas podría hacer la iglesia para apoyar la devoción a la Virgen de Guadalupe?
8. Además de los mexicanos, ¿qué otras personas de esta comunidad son devotos de la Virgen de Guadalupe?
9. ¿De qué maneras muestran su devoción hacia la virgen de Guadalupe las personas que NO son de México?
10. ¿Cree que los hombres y las mujeres demuestran su devoción a la Virgen de manera diferente? Si sí... ¿Cuáles son todas las diferencias?
11. ¿Cuáles son todas las cosas que la gente de esta comunidad le pide a la Virgen de Guadalupe?
12. ¿Cuáles son las cosas que la gente de esta comunidad NO le pide a la Virgen de Guadalupe?
13. ¿De qué maneras la gente de esta comunidad le pide ayuda a la Virgen de Guadalupe?
14. ¿De qué maneras la gente le da gracias por su ayuda la Virgen?
15. ¿Cuándo cree usted que la gente le reza o le ora a la Virgen de Guadalupe?
16. ¿En donde lugares cree usted que la gente le reza o le ora a la Virgen de Guadalupe? (Ejemplo: en su casa, en todos lados, solamente cuando vista la iglesia, etc...)
17. ¿Qué clase de objetos con la imagen de la Virgen de Guadalupe, la gente de esta comunidad guarda en sus casas?
18. ¿Qué clase de objetos con la imagen de la Virgen de Guadalupe la gente de esta comunidad carga cuando van de viaje?
19. ¿Cuando la gente llega a esta comunidad, ellos le rezan a la Virgen más, menos o igual que antes de llegar aquí?
20. ¿Cuando la gente llega a esta comunidad, ellos rezan por cosas diferentes que las que rezaban antes de llegar aquí? Si sí... ¿Cuáles son las cosas diferentes?
21. Además de a la Virgen de Guadalupe, ¿a quién más le reza la gente para pedir ayuda en esta comunidad? (Ejemplo: ¿hay algún otro santo, alguna otra virgen que la gente sea devoto?)
22. ¿Se considera usted mismo un Guadalupano? Si sí... ¿Por qué se considera usted un Guadalupano?

Si no... ¿Por qué no se considera usted Guadalupano?

23. ¿Era usted un Guadalupano/a antes de llegar a esta comunidad? ¿Cómo ha cambiado su devoción a la Virgen desde que llego aquí?

24. ¿Cómo ha cambiado su devoción a la Virgen desde que llego aquí?

Estrés:

1. ¿Cuáles son todas las situaciones o problemas que pueden ser estresantes para los inmigrantes en esta comunidad?

2. ¿Cuáles son todas las situaciones o problemas que han sido estresantes para usted recientemente?

Historia Personal:

1. ¿Qué tan religioso se considera usted mismo?

- No religioso
- Un poco no religioso
- Un poco religioso
- Religioso
- Bastante religioso

2. Sí usted va a iglesia... ¿Cual iglesia usted atienden por lo general?

6. ¿Cuál es su fecha de nacimiento?

7. ¿Hasta qué grado escolar estudio?

8. ¿Cómo cómodo usted se siente comunicándose en inglés?

- Bastante no cómodo
- No cómodo
- Un poco no cómodo
- Un poco cómodo
- Cómodo
- Bastante cómodo

9. ¿Cual ciudad usted se viven aquí en Mississippi?

10. ¿Cuántos años/meses ha vivido en esta comunidad?

11. ¿Cuántos años ha vivido en los Estados Unidos?

12. ¿De dónde eres en México?

Estado: Ciudad/Pueblo:

13. ¿Tiene un/a esposo/a?

14. Si tiene hijos... ¿Cuáles son sus edades?

15. ¿Cuántos miembros de su familia viven con usted aquí in Mississippi?

16. ¿Qué tipo de trabajo(s) hace?

17. ¿Cuál es su salario a la semana?

18. ¿Cuántas horas trabajo/a a la semana?

Si tiene esposa/o...

19. ¿Qué tipo de trabajo(s) hacen su esposa/o?

20. ¿Cuál es el salario a la semana de su esposa/o?

21. ¿Cuántas horas trabajo/a su esposa?

APPENDIX C
DETAILED DESCRIPTION OF PHASE 1 THEMES WITH EXAMPLES

Theme	Description	Examples
Activities/ Involvement	Taking an active role in community or church activities	being active in celebrations for the Virgin; participating in church activities
Altar	Home altar or church altar	having an altar in their home; putting her image on the altar
Asking/Petitioning	Asking or petitioning the Virgin of Guadalupe for something	asking for protection; they ask for her blessings
Bad	Reference to bad persons, bad things, or bad behavior	they don't ask for something bad; troublemakers
Behavior	Any reference to general behavior	Seeing things the person does and the way they act; their behavior
Busy	Reference to being busy, not having time, working too much	people don't have time here; here people work all the time
Her candle	Specific reference to votive candles with the image of the Virgin of Guadalupe	lighting her candle; placing candles by her image
Her care	Any reference to the Virgin of Guadalupe taking care of people, or asking for her care	that she cares for your children; to take care of our family, mainly
Catholic	Specific mention of being Catholic of the Catholic faith	the Catholic practices are the same here; because they are Catholic
Church	Any specific mention of church or attending church	going to church to show her thanks; when someone comes to church a lot
Clothing	Any mention of clothing or cloth	shirts with her photo; image of the Virgin on a shirt
Community	Any reference to the community, including unity and gathering	in this community we are not together much; to get to know the community
December 12 th	Any reference to the December 12 th Feast day of the Virgin of Guadalupe and its related celebrations	celebrating the birthday of the Virgin; sharing all the times and activities celebrated for the Virgin

Driving	Any reference to driving, including danger of driving unlicensed	not having a driver's license; roadblocks with immigration
Education	Reference to learning, teaching, workshops, or education	teaching people who don't know what the Virgin says; teaching us to read and write
Faith/Believing	Reference to having faith, believing either in God or the Virgin of Guadalupe	I have a lot of faith in the Virgin; people who don't believe in anything or anyone
Family	Any mention of family, here or in Mexico	praying for their family; that the family is well; not being near family
Flowers	Reference to flowers or roses for the Virgin of Guadalupe	putting out flowers for the Virgin; those who bring her roses
Food	Any reference to food	they help them with their needs, like food; the church could help new arrivals with food
Getting Caught	Any reference to being arrested by police or being caught by immigration, being deported	the last time roadblocks caught many people; that you are deported to your country
God	Specific mention of God	when someone speaks of God; because she is the mother of God
Guatemala	The local Guatemalan community	Guatemalans; some Guatemalans
Health	Any reference to health, including illness (not wellbeing)	when a family member is sick; to be in good health
Home	Any mention of the home or of a house	they have photos of the Virgin in their home; finding a place to rent
Humble/Simple	Any reference to being humble or simple, including speech, behavior, or dress	they are simple; humble
Her image	Any mention of the image of the Virgin of Guadalupe	they keep her image in their house;
Jesus	Any mention of Jesus, Christ, or the child Jesus	also they pray to Jesus; our father Jesus Christ
Her keychain	Specific mention of a keychain with the image of the Virgin of Guadalupe	key chains
Kind/Good	Any reference to kindness or goodness as a behavior or description or persons	I do good things that the virgin says; they are kind
Her medal/chain	A chain or necklace with a medal of the Virgin of Guadalupe	chains; a necklace with her image

Mass	Any specific mention of Mass	going to Mass; Mass in her honor
Mexico/Back home	References to Mexico, being in Mexico, or being Mexican	the same as in Mexico; that their family in their country are safe
Money/Material goods	Any reference to money or material goods	they don't ask her for money; donating money in the church
Needs	Any mention of having needs or being needy	they pray when they need her the most; people are needy and they help them with their needs
Other Virgins	Any reverence to other manifestations of the Virgin Mary	other Virgins they believe in; Our lady of Immaculate Conceptions
Peace	Any reference to peace, no violence, harmony	no war or violence; to bring peace and tranquility
Her portrait	Any specific mention of a photo, portrait, or framed image of the Virgin of Guadalupe	a portrait of the Virgin; photos of the Virgin
Praying	Praying, prayer or worship	through prayer; praying at home
Private	Reference to acts of devotion done in private, silently, or alone	private prayers; talking to her alone
Problems	Any mention of having problems	when we have problems; when they have a worry
Religion	Any mention of being religious or religion	it depends on what religion you are; because it has always been my religion
Respectful	Any mention of respectful behavior, treating others with respect	they know how to respect all people; speak to others with respect
Sad/Lonely	Reference to being sad, alone, isolated	When someone is alone and sad; when they feel sad
Safety/Wellbeing	Any reference to safety, protection, wellbeing	for having arrived safely; wellbeing of family
Saints	Any mention of a saint	a saint; all the saints that exist
Same	Reference to something being the same	my devotion is the same; they celebrate her in the same way
Songs	Singing or songs, including mañanitas	singing the mañanitas in December; folk songs from different Hispanic cultures
Speaking	Any mention of the way people speak	The way they speak; their language
Street	Any mention of street activities, like processions	reciting the rosary in the streets; processions with the Virgin of Guadalupe
Support	Any mention of support or guidance	providing support for our children; spiritual and humanitarian services

Talk about her	Specific mention of talking about the Virgin of Guadalupe	they speak a lot of her; they talk about the Virgin of Guadalupe
Traditions	Any reference to customs, traditions, or regional beliefs and practices	It depends on the belief of different countries; different forms of devotion according to different cultures
Traveling/Crossing	Any reference to traveling, including crossing the border, trip to or from Mexico	a safe trip; a safe arrival to the place they are going
Work	Any mention of work or jobs	looking for work; that we have work to sustain our family there

APPENDIX D
PHASE 2 COMMITTEE PILE-SORTING EXERCISE

Algunas cosas que hacen la gente de esta comunidad que son Guadalupanos/as...

1. Hablan mucha de ella
2. Asisten a la iglesia regularmente, son religiosos
3. Pase por la iglesia o la capilla para visitar ella
4. Tienen su imagen en sus casas
5. Tienen una cadena o un llavero con su imagen
6. Ayudan a prepararse para las celebraciones en su honor
7. Asisten a los varios eventos en su honor
8. Comparten sus casas por las novenas de la Virgen de Guadalupe
9. Cantan mañanitas en el 12 de Diciembre
10. Llevar la antorcha guadalupana
11. Son gente humilde y sencilla
12. Son respetosos con todas las personas
13. Ayudan a los demás y a la comunidad
14. Encuentran nuevas maneras de mostrar la devoción a ella en esta comunidad
15. Tienen menos tiempo para rezar a ella debido a su trabajo
16. Rezan a ella por diferentes cosas cuando vienen a esta comunidad
17. Rezan a ella antes de todo lo que hacen
18. Rezan a ella todos los días, a cualquier hora y en cualquier lugar
19. Rezan mas rea ella porque están lejos de pías y familia
20. Rezan a ella por recitando el rosario
21. Piden sus bendiciones de rodillas frente a su imagen
22. Piden sus bendiciones con lagrimas
23. Piden sus bendiciones al encender sus velas
24. Dan gracias a ella por poniendo dinero por su imagen
25. Dan gracias a ella por traer flores
26. Dan gracias a ella por lleno de rodillas desde la puerta a la iglesia hasta su altar
27. Comparten sus celebraciones con personas de otros países
28. Piensan que es muy importante que la iglesia mantiene su imagen en la iglesia al altar
29. Piensan que es muy importante que la iglesia mantiene su statuo en la capilla
30. Piensan que es muy importante que la iglesia enseña a la gente acerca de ella

Por favor, lea la lista de 30 frases, luego elige 7 frases que usted se sienta sólo se aplican a las personas que son MUY, MUY Guadalupano/a:

Otra vez, lea la lista de 30 frases, luego elige 10 frases que usted se sienta se aplican a TODAS las personas que creen en La Virgen de Guadalupe:

APPENDIX E
PHASE 2 CULTURAL CONSENSUS INSTRUMENT

Por favor, dígame si las siguientes son cosas que la gente aquí sabe de los Guadalupanos en esta comunidad:

Repuestas: 1- Muy verdad; 2-Poco verdad; 3-Poco falso; 4-Muy falso

1. Guadalupanos en esta comunidad ponen flores en frente de su imagen para dar gracias.
2. Guadalupanos encienden su vela para pedir las bendiciones.
3. Guadalupanos no siempre van a la iglesia.
4. Todos Guadalupanos en esta comunidad son de México.
5. Guadalupanos sólo pasan por la iglesia o la capilla para visitar ella durante la hora de la Misa.
6. Celebrando el 12 de Diciembre en esta comunidad es muy importante para Guadalupanos.
7. Ver su imagen en la iglesia ayuda los Guadalupanos sentirse como en casa en esta comunidad.
8. Ser Guadalupano en esta comunidad significa compartir su mensaje con personas de otros países.
9. Guadalupanos vivir una vida muy humilde aquí.
10. Guadalupanos en esta comunidad tienen una imagen de la Virgen de Guadalupe en sus casas.
11. Guadalupanos en esta comunidad son Católicos.
12. Guadalupanos solo le rezan a ella cuando tienen un problema.
13. Guadalupanos en esta comunidad usualmente no tienen tiempo para ayudar otros.
14. Guadalupanos son conocidos por ser más amables, más respetuosos de la comunidad.
15. Es muy importante para Guadalupanos asistir a todas las celebraciones en su honor.
16. Guadalupanos tienen menos devoción a la virgen cuando vienen aquí porque están lejos de su país.
17. Guadalupanos llevar un imagen de la virgen, como en una cadena o llavero o ropa.
18. Guadalupanos aquí no hablen mucho de la Virgen.
19. Guadalupanos tomar tiempo para aprender acerca de la historia y mensaje de la Virgen.
20. Las mujeres ponen más atención en su devoción a la Virgen de Guadalupe que los hombres.

Información Personal:

Fecha de Nació:	Pías/Ciudad de Origen:	Religión:	Sexo:	Comunidad:	Tiempo en Mississippi:
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APPENDIX F
PHASE 3 INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Gracias por participar en este estudio. Voy a hacerle varias preguntas sobre usted y sus experiencias aquí en Mississippi. Si en algún momento usted no se siente cómodo al responder a una pregunta, o si tiene alguna pregunta para mí, por favor dígame. Primera me gustaría obtener alguna información básica sobre usted.

Historia Personal:

1. ¿Cuál es su sexo: Hombre/ Mujer
2. ¿Cuál es su lugar de origen?
Estado: Municipio:
3. ¿Qué edad tiene?
4. ¿Hasta qué grado escolar estudio?
5. ¿Cuál es su religión?
6. ¿Usted se siente cómodo comunicándose en inglés? Si, muy / Un poco / No
7. ¿Cuántos años ha vivido en los E.E.U.U.?
8. ¿En qué ciudad de Mississippi vive usted?
9. ¿Cuántos años ha vivido en esta comunidad?
10. ¿Tiene usted una licencia de conducir en MS? Si / No

Familia:

1. ¿Tiene esposo/a? Si / No
2. ¿Tiene hijos? Si / No
Si sí: ¿Cuáles son sus edades?
¿Cuántas de sus hijos nacidos en los EE.UU.?
3. ¿Cuánto personas viven con usted aquí? (Esposo/a: Hijos: Otros:)
4. ¿Cuándo fue la última vez que regresó a México?
5. ¿Alguna vez trató de cruzar la frontera pero no pudo? Si / No
¿Cuántas veces?

6. ¿Con qué frecuencia habla con su familia en MX?
(Casi diario/ semanal/ cada dos semanas/ mensual/ menos que mensual/ casi nunca)
¿Cómo se comunica con ellos?

Trabajo:

1. ¿Cuál es su trabajo?
2. ¿Cuál es su salario a la semana?
3. ¿Cuántas horas a la semana usted trabaja normalmente?

Si aplica:

4. ¿Qué tipo de trabaja hacen su esposo/a?
5. ¿Cuál es el salario a la semana de su esposo/a?
6. ¿Cuántas horas trabaja por semana su esposo/a?

Salud:

1. ¿Tiene seguro médico?
2. ¿Cómo es su salud en general?
(Excelente / Bueno / Regular / Malo)
3. ¿Cuántas veces has estado enfermo en el último mes?
4. ¿Qué tan satisfecho está usted con su vida actualmente?
(Insatisfecho / Algo Insatisfecho / Algo Satisfecho / Satisfecho)
5. ¿Qué tan satisfecho estaba usted con su vida antes de venir aquí?
(Insatisfecho/ Algo Insatisfecho/ Algo Satisfecho/ Satisfecho)

Cultural Consonance Instrument:

Las siguientes preguntas se refieren a su participación en las actividades de esta comunidad con algunas preguntas específicas acerca de la Virgen de Guadalupe.

1. En el último año, ¿participó en alguna de las siguientes actividades en honor de la Virgen de Guadalupe:

- _____ 12th de Diciembre
- _____ Carrera Antorcha Guadalupana
- _____ Novenas por la Virgen
- _____ Mañanitas por la Virgen
- _____ Clases para aprender más de la Virgen
- _____ Misa en su honor

¿Que otros? _____

2. ¿Cómo cambio su devoción a la Virgen de Guadalupe desde llegó a este comunidad?

_____ Más _____ Mismo _____ Menos

Por favor, dígame con qué frecuencia usted hacer las siguientes:

(0- Nunca; 1- Casi nunca; 3-A veces; 4-Con bastante frecuencia; 5-Siempre)

1. ¿Con qué frecuencia pone flores en la imagen de la Virgen de Guadalupe?
2. ¿Con qué frecuencia usted enciende una vela por la Virgen de Guadalupe?
3. ¿Con qué frecuencia usted lleva una imagen de la virgen, como en un collar, un llavero, o en el coche?
4. ¿Con qué frecuencia usted reza a la Virgen de Guadalupe, incluso cuando usted NO tiene un problema?
5. ¿Con qué frecuencia usted encuentra tiempo para ayudar a otros en la comunidad?
6. ¿Con qué frecuencia usted toma tiempo para pasar por la iglesia para visitar la Virgen de Guadalupe?
7. ¿Con qué frecuencia usted comparte el mensaje de la Virgen de Guadalupe con personas de otros países?
8. ¿Con qué frecuencia tome tiempo para aprender acerca de la historia y mensaje de la Virgen?
9. ¿Con qué frecuencia se habla de la Virgen de Guadalupe?
10. ¿Con qué frecuencia usted pone una imagen de la Virgen de Guadalupe en su casa?
11. ¿Con qué frecuencia va a la iglesia?

Por favor, dígame cómo verdad o falso las siguientes son para usted:

(0- Muy falso; 1- Un poco falso; 2- Un Poco verdad; 3- Muy verdad)

1. Ver la imagen de la Virgen de Guadalupe en la iglesia me ayuda a sentir como en casa en esta comunidad.
2. Vivo una vida humilde aquí.
3. Trato muy duro para ser una persona amable y respetuosa con los demás en la comunidad.
4. Celebrando el 12 de diciembre en esta comunidad es importante para mí.

Cohen's Perceived Stress Scale:

Las siguientes preguntas son sobre sus sentimientos y pensamientos recientes. Para cada pregunta, por favor dígame con qué frecuencia se sintió o pensó de esa manera.

(0- Nunca; 1- Casi nunca; 2- A veces; 3- Con bastante frecuencia; 4- Siempre)

1. ¿Con qué frecuencia se sintió molesto/a por algo que ocurrió inesperadamente?
2. ¿Con qué frecuencia sintió que no podía controlar las cosas importantes en su vida?
3. ¿Con qué frecuencia se sintió nervioso/a y lleno/a de tensión?
4. ¿Con qué frecuencia sintió confianza en poder manejar sus problemas personales?
5. ¿Con qué frecuencia sintió que las cosas estaban sucediendo de manera favorable para usted?
6. ¿Con qué frecuencia descubrió que no podía hacer frente a todas las cosas que tenía que hacer?
7. ¿Con qué frecuencia pudo controlar los disgustos en su vida?
8. ¿Con qué frecuencia sintió que tenía todo bajo control?
9. ¿Con qué frecuencia se enojó por cosas que estaban fuera de su control?
10. ¿Con qué frecuencia sintió que tenía tantas dificultades que no podía superarlas?

Immigration Stressor Scale:

Las finales 14 preguntas son sobre sus experiencias recientes como inmigrante. Para cada pregunta, por favor dígame con qué frecuencia ha sentido o experimentado las siguientes.

(0- Nunca; 1- Casi nunca; 2- A veces; 3- Con bastante frecuencia; 4- Siempre)

1. ¿Con qué frecuencia recibe mal servicio en las tiendas u oficinas porque usted no es de aquí?
2. ¿Con qué frecuencia siente la necesidad de mejorar su inglés?
3. ¿Con qué frecuencia tiene problemas al entender los valores y la cultura de EE.UU?
4. ¿Con qué frecuencia se preocupa de estar perdiendo su religión o valores desde que llegó aquí?
5. ¿Con qué frecuencia se preocupa por sus amigos y familiares en su país?
6. ¿Con qué frecuencia extraña la ayuda y el apoyo de su familia en su país?
7. ¿Con qué frecuencia se siente solo/a y aislado/a?
8. ¿Con qué frecuencia preocupa que algo va a pasar cuando conduciendo su coche en la comunidad?
9. ¿Con qué frecuencia se preocupa usted de enfermedad o accidente grave?
10. ¿Con qué frecuencia se preocupa que usted pueda ser deportado?
11. ¿Con qué frecuencia se preocupa por molesto o arrestado por la policía?
12. ¿Con qué frecuencia se preocupa usted de encontrar o mantener un trabajo?
13. ¿Con qué frecuencia se preocupan por no tener dinero suficiente para las necesidades básicas?
14. ¿Con qué frecuencia se preocupa por la educación o las oportunidades de empleo para sus hijos?