Exploring food consumption strategies amidst financial constraints among overweight and obese Malaysian women from low-income households: A qualitative study

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ABSTRACT

Introduction: Numerous studies have shown that individuals from low-income households are more susceptible to being overweight or obese, despite financial constraints. This study aimed to explore food consumption experiences of overweight and obese women from low-income households amidst financial constraints. **Methods:** A qualitative study was conducted among overweight and obese women from low-income households in Peninsular Malaysia. In-depth interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed verbatim. Data were coded manually and analysed using thematic analysis based on Braun & Clarke's method. **Results:** A total of 27 Malay women aged 27–52 years old were interviewed. Four major themes emerged from in-depth interviews related to strategies of food consumption during financial constraints at different levels based on the socio-ecological model. **Conclusion:** Multi-level food consumption strategies during financial constraints may contribute to overweight and obesity among individuals from low-income households. Tackling obesity in this demographic requires a holistic, multi-level approach encompassing individual, household, community, and policy interventions.

Keywords: low socioeconomic status, Malaysia, obesity, qualitative research, women

INTRODUCTION

The global prevalence of overweight and obesity (OW/OB) has demonstrated a consistent upward trend since 1975 (NCD Risk Factor Collaboration, 2017). It is a matter of concern because individuals with OW/OB are susceptible to non-communicable diseases (Zatońska et al., 2021), which in turn can lead to an increase in global mortality prevalence (WHO, 2018).

In the past, OW/OB was more prevalent in affluent households (Sobal & Stunkard, 1989). However, in present times, it has become one of the global health issues among people from the low socioeconomic groups (Griffith, 2022). Although the aetiology of OW/OB is complex and multifactorial, it is typically caused by excessive food consumption and low energy expenditure (Meneguetti et al., 2019). Low income is often

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associated with poor-quality diets, such as ultra-processed foods, which are cheap, hyperpalatable, and accessible due to ubiquitous marketing (Kumar, Kulkarni & Rathi, 2022). In Malaysia, the risk of OW/OB among women has been reported to be increasing in impoverished households (Mariapun, Ng & Hairi, 2018).

According to Story et al. (2008), food consumption is influenced by individual factors, social, physical, and macro-level environments, as depicted in the socioecological model. The socio-ecological model allows researchers to explore how financial constraint can affect the food intake of individuals from low-income households. This model has been adopted by Seligman & Berkowitz (2019) to understand how people deal with food insecurity.

To date, evidence food on consumption strategies amidst financial constraints among low-income Malaysian households is still lacking. There is a critical need to explore the coping strategies adopted in response to food insecurity, particularly those related to food consumption, as some strategies may inadvertently increase the risk of OW/OB. In many households, women are primarily responsible for food purchasing and meal preparation. Given their disproportionate vulnerability to OW/OB, it is essential to understand how their food purchasing and preparation are shaped by limited resources and household responsibilities, which may unintentionally contribute to this health risk.

Therefore, this study was conducted to explore the experiences of Malaysian women with OW/OB from low-income households, focusing on how financial constraints influence their coping mechanisms to food insecurity. The socio-ecological model was chosen as the theoretical framework for this study.

MATERIALS AND METHODS

Study design

A qualitative study was conducted among overweight or obese (OW/OB) Malay women from low-income households in Peninsular Malaysia. Ethical approval was obtained from the Human Research Ethics Committee of Universiti Sains Malaysia (USM/JEPeM/17110579).

Study participants

Participants were OW/OB Malay women [Body Mass Index (BMI) of at least 25 kg/m² and above] from low-income households, which was defined as the bottom 40% (B40) of the income distribution in Malaysia or having a total household income of less than RM 3,860 (Economic Planning Unit, 2015). Malay women were selected based on a previous study demonstrating that Malay adults have a higher risk of being OW/OB than other ethnic groups (Nordin *et al.*, 2020).

Participants were recruited from three regions in Peninsular Malaysia: 1) East Coast (Kelantan); 2) Northern (Kedah, Penang, and Perak); and 3) Central (Selangor and Federal Territory of Kuala Lumpur) regions. Data collection was not conducted in the Southern region, Sarawak, and Sabah because data saturation had been reached.

Both purposive and snowball sampling methods were implemented. Participants were purposely selected at the initial stage based on the inclusion and exclusion criteria. Through the snowball approach, participants were then asked after their interviews to suggest other potential candidates who met the criteria and were able to cooperate and participate in this study.

Data collection

Prior to data collection, village headmen and community leaders were contacted to acquire their approval in gathering information from their respective vicinity. They also assisted in identifying women who met the study criteria and had the potential to participate in the study voluntarily. During the initial visit, the study protocol was explained to the women. If they were interested in the study, verbal informed consents were acquired. In order to confirm that they met the study criteria, weight was measured using an electronic flat scale (SECA 872, Hamburg, Germany) and height was assessed with a portable stadiometer (SECA 217, Hamburg, Germany). BMI was calculated.

An appointment was scheduled individually to carry out a face-to-face interview. They were given freedom to choose the interview location where they felt comfortable and had privacy. Written informed consents were obtained from the participants on the day of the interview. Their names were anonymised throughout the data collection process and in publications.

Semi-structured interview guides were used during interviews to maintain uniformity in the answers provided by the participants. Questions and topics outlined in the interview were designed to cover a wide range of themes and perspectives. Three pre-tests were conducted to assist the interviewer in gaining experience, acquiring skills, and testing the effectiveness of the interview guide. The interview guides used in this study are shown in Table 1.

Interviews were conducted in the Malay language and lasted 50-60 minutes each session. Probing questions such as "why", "how", and "can you elaborate further on that" were used to acquire additional information from the participants. Every interview was transcribed verbatim and coded before the following interview. Data saturation was achieved after 27 interviews. At the end of the interview, each participant was given a small token of appreciation.

Table 1. Semi-structured interview guides

Item	Questions
1.	Please tell me about your daily food intake.
2.	How do you spend money on household expenditures?
3.	Have you ever experienced a lack of money to eat food?
4.	What do you do when you do not have enough food or money to buy

The rigour of this study was ensured using credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability, as suggested by Lincoln & Guba (1985). Credibility was enhanced by member checking, peer debriefing, referential adequacy, and triangulation. Member checking was performed by randomly choosing four participants to check the transcripts and asking whether the data coded and interpreted by the researcher matched their thoughts. Peer debriefing was conducted involving two debriefers (a content expert with a nutrition background and a qualitative research expert) to review the transcripts, codes, and themes. The strategy used in the referential adequacy was attaching the interview quotes to the emerging themes. In addition, two types of triangulation strategies proposed by Patton (2015) were applied to enhance the study's credibility. Firstly, the data were triangulated by interviews with the participants and field observation. The other triangulation strategy was investigator triangulation, which involved other research team members in reading, reviewing and coding the transcripts.

In this study, transferability was assured using purposive sampling and providing thick descriptions of the study context. Participants were purposely selected among OW/OB women from low-income households to share their experiences regarding the

Table 2. Characteristics of the participants (N=27)

No.	Name	Age (years)	Highest education level	Occupation	Monthly household income (RM)	States/federal territories
1.	MA	49	Primary	Maid	1,700	Kelantan
2.	KR	38	Secondary	Cleaner	N/A	Kelantan
3.	KN	45	Secondary	Food seller	N/A	Kelantan
4.	KI	40	Secondary	Cleaner	1,100	Kelantan
5.	KA	41	Primary	Homemaker	900	Kelantan
6.	CY	27	Secondary	Homemaker	1,500	Kelantan
7.	KW	38	Secondary	Homemaker	2,800	Kelantan
8.	NB	41	Primary	Food seller	3,000	Kelantan
9.	KH	32	Tertiary	Homemaker	2,500	Kelantan
10.	KS	46	Secondary	Food seller	1,000	Kedah
11.	KL	47	Tertiary	Food seller	N/A	Penang
12.	KZ	47	Secondary	Fish seller	800	Penang
13.	NL	43	Secondary	Masseuse	2,000	Kedah
14.	SS	32	Secondary	Clerk	N/A	Kedah
15.	NK	38	Secondary	Homemaker	800	Kelantan
16.	NA	47	Secondary	Cleaner	1,000	Selangor
17.	AS	38	Tertiary	Cleaner	1,880	Perak
18.	SZ	44	Primary	Cleaner	2,850	Perak
19.	SM	44	Secondary	Cleaner	1,500	Selangor
20.	KU	50	Secondary	Tailor	2,100	Selangor
21.	KF	43	Primary	Food seller	2,500	Selangor
22.	LB	52	Secondary	Food seller	1,500	Selangor
23.	SW	37	Secondary	Homemaker	1,900	Selangor
24.	SJ	30	Secondary	Factory worker	2,500	Selangor
25.	KM	48	Primary	Homemaker	N/A	Selangor
26.	SR	45	Secondary	Homemaker	N/A	Kuala Lumpur
27.	MM	38	Tertiary	Clerk	3,700	Kuala Lumpur

topic of this study; a detailed description was provided regarding participants' characteristics and the data collection process, including its duration and location. The dependability of this study was established through the application of audit trails, where field notes and memos were used to describe the location and community of the study area. The interview transcripts were also accessible to other researchers. Besides that, the procedure was recorded for checking by the research teams to achieve confirmability.

Data analysis

Data were analysed using thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Each interview was transcribed verbatim based on the participants' dialect. Later, the transcripts were read and re-read by the researchers. Braun & Clarke (2006) stressed that this step is important for researchers to immerse themselves in the data and familiarise themselves with the depth and breadth of the text. Notes and ideas for coding were written on the transcripts.

Manual coding was preferred over electronic coding because it helped

Table 3. Themes a	nd sub-themes	emerged from	the interviews
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Themes	Sub-themes
Individual strategies	PreferencesAdditional employment
Household strategies	Home food preparationPurchase of groceriesDelay payment of bills
Community strategies	 Social support
Policy strategies	 Food assistance programme

researchers to familiarise themselves with the data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). It was also suitable for the current study with a small number of participants (Saldaña, 2016). The codes were developed from theory, raw data, research questions, or objectives. Each transcript was read a few times and given as many codes as possible to indicate ideas or concepts.

After the coding process, the codes were sorted into potential themes and organised through a mind map. A thematic map was developed to determine the connection between the codes and themes. Not all codes were used to develop themes; some codes may form sub-themes, be refined, or be discarded. Later, the themes were reviewed by reading all the coded data extracts and the whole data set. After that, every theme was refined with a clear definition and names were generated. Finally, findings from the thematic analysis were reported.

RESULTS

Characteristics of the participants

A total of 27 Malay women were recruited for in-depth interviews. More than half of the participants were aged 40–49 years (n=15), completed secondary education level (n=17), employed in multiple sectors (n=18), and lived in medium-sized households (n=16). The characteristics of the participants are presented in Table 2.

Strategies of food consumption during financial difficulties

Four mutually exclusive themes emerged from the interviews, reflecting the multiple strategies women from low-income households used to consume food during financial constraints. Based on the socio-ecological model, these themes were divided into individual, household, community, and policy strategies. The themes and sub-themes identified from the interviews are summarised in Table 3.

Theme 1: Individual strategies

i. Preferences

Throughout the interviews, most women admitted that they preferred to purchase cheaper foods. They always purchased in bulk because it was more convenient and cost-saving. They exemplified some of the low-cost foods kept at home, such as anchovies, salted fish, and instant noodles. As mentioned by Mrs SW:

"At the end of the month, I will buy Maggi (instant noodles). We will eat Maggi. My husband and our children will eat it with rice." (Mrs SW, 37 years, housewife)

Although women preferred to purchase fresh foods, such as vegetables, they typically bought them in small quantities due to their shorter shelf life compared to processed foods. Moreover, fresh

fruits and vegetables are expensive. As described by Mrs KW:

"Sometimes, vegetables do not last long. For example, if I buy brinjals today, I will cook them today. I do not buy brinjals in large quantities. Never." (Mrs KW, 38 years, housewife)

Some women shared that they would purchase poor-quality or less preferred foods to save money because these types of foods were inexpensive. For instance, Mrs KA claimed that she often bought low-quality foods because it was more value for money.

"When I buy rejected (poor-quality) eggs, I can get 30 eggs for RM 5. We can eat a lot." (Mrs KA, 41 years, housewife)

ii. Additional employment

Some employed mothers, including Mrs NA, confessed that they had to work multiple jobs because their income from a single job was inadequate to meet their budgetary needs. Mrs NA is a cleaner at a public university. She mentioned that she would accept any part-time jobs offered to have an additional income.

"Sometimes, I sell recycled papers. Sometimes, people ask me to clean their houses." (Mrs NA, 47 years, cleaner)

Theme 2: Household strategies
Apart from individual strategies
to consume food during financial
constraints, women also employed
household-level strategies to manage
food consumption.

i. Home food preparation During financial constraints, many women mentioned that they would cook

and eat whatever food that was available at their homes, such as anchovies and eggs. One woman said:

"I always stock anchovies in the refrigerator. If I have nothing to eat, I still have anchovies in the refrigerator. My children do not care what dishes I prepare for them. Rice is a must. If anchovies are available, I cook anchovies. They also eat eggs if I cook eggs." (Mrs KU, 50 years, tailor)

Some women also said that they had to reduce the number and types of dishes prepared during mealtime. In the interview with Mrs NK, she shared her experience of how she prepared food when her family had limited food at home.

"I will only cook one type of dish. For instance, fried eggs. Fried eggs with soy sauce. My children like 'budu' (anchovy sauce). I only cook staple food." (Mrs NK, 38 years, housewife)

ii. Purchase of groceries

During grocery purchasing, some women described that they would plan their expenditure and compare costs across several retailers to get the best deal. They also would purchase products with promotional prices because these were more economical.

According to Mrs KA:

"Sometimes, when I go to X, I will check the price. My eldest son always gets mad. He asked, what do I want to buy? I will check every product. I want to know which one is cheaper. Then, I will look at my shopping list." (Mrs KA, 41 years, housewife)

iii. Delayed payment of bills
Besides that, a few women also
mentioned that they had to postpone
the payment of utility bills and house
rentals when they have a tight budget.
As told by Mrs KI:

"Every two months, I will spend RM 200 on house rentals. Yes, every two months. My house rental fee only cost RM 100. The owner of the house will come to get the money if I do not pay the rental fee after two months." (Mrs KI, 41 years, cleaner)

Theme 3: Community strategies In addition to household strategies, study participants also utilised community strategies to manage food intake when they have limited financial resources.

i. Social support

Living in financial difficulties with uncertain sources of income led some women to seek financial assistance from their relatives and friends. Mrs KS, who is a food seller, admitted that she was left with no choice except to borrow money or food from her relatives or friends. As said by Mrs KS:

"I will ask my relatives to borrow their money. What else am I supposed to do?" (Mrs KS, 46 years, food seller)

A few women recounted that their friends and relatives often gave food or money without expecting anything in return because they understood their financial situation. For instance, Mrs SW described that her neighbours always gave food to her family whenever they had extra food.

"When my neighbours cook food, they will give some to us. For example, yesterday she made doughnuts. She gave it to us." (Mrs SW, 37 years, housewife)

Theme 4: Policy strategies

Women in this study also relied on policy strategies to cope with food insecurity when they experienced limited money to purchase and consume food.

i. Food and financial assistance programmes

Many women stated that their families received financial and food assistance from the Department of Social Welfare and the State Islamic Regional Council. In the interview, Mrs SM described that she received food assistance in the form of 'zakat' (alms) from the Islamic Regional Council. Every month, her family will get a provision of basic foods, such as cooking oil, rice, sugar, and flour.

"Every month, I receive 5 kg of flour, 15 kg of rice, 5 kg of cooking oil, and 3 kg of sugar." (Mrs SM, 44 years, cleaner)

DISCUSSION

This study sought to understand how OW/OB women from low-income households consumed their foods during financial constraints. They were found to apply multi-level strategies (individual, household, community, and policy) in food consumption when they experienced limited financial resources.

Preference for low-cost and poor-quality foods was frequently reported by the participants amidst financial constraints. This finding is in agreement with Zorbas *et al.* (2023), who demonstrated that people from low-income households tend to purchase the cheapest and most affordable foods during financial stress. Individuals from low-income households cannot afford to buy fresh and healthy foods, which are usually expensive (Herforth *et al.*, 2020).

For that reason, they often choose low-cost and poor-quality foods, which are normally higher in calories, sugar and fat (Headey & Alderman, 2019).

Living with financial hardship urged some participants to obtain additional financial resources by doing multiple jobs. A side hustle is one of the coping strategies to improve poverty (Scott, Edwards & Stanczyk, 2020), eventually improving household food insecurity. However, owing to work demands and hectic schedules, many skip meals, have irregular meals or are unable to have mealtimes with their families. These unhealthy dietary behaviours are associated with OW/OB (Saneei et al., 2016).

In this study, home food preparation was perceived to be more cost-effective than takeaway foods. Home-prepared dishes can be considered healthier than takeaway foods because the latter is associated with high trans-fat and poor diet quality (Moveda-Carabaza et al., 2023). However, foods prepared at home do not always translate into healthier food intake. Our findings indicated that financial constraints led participants to prepare low-cost meals, which may still be high in calories and low in nutritional value. Consequently, they are still exposed to the risk of being OW/OB.

Apart from that, amidst restricted participants reduced finances, number and types of dishes prepared during mealtimes as a coping strategy towards food insecurity. However, this strategy possibly hinders them from eating a well-balanced diet. This finding may support a previous study, which found that one in three Malaysian adults from low-income households have eaten an insufficient quantity and variety of foods (Ahmad et al., 2020). This is of concern because a lack of variety in food intake increases the risk of OW/OB in the future (Mulu Birru et al., 2021).

Planning for expenditure good strategy to prevent unnecessary purchases. previous Α study Dubowitz et al. (2015) suggested that using a shopping list was significantly associated with increased diet quality and reduced BMI of individuals from lowincome households. Study participants from this study claimed that they would purchase products with promotional prices. Both planning for expenditure and purchasing promotional products are cost-saving approaches. However, price promotion is common for unhealthy food products (Davies et al., 2023). Thus, it may attract those from low-income households to purchase unhealthy foods and beverages, which are cheaper than fruits and vegetables.

Borrowing money from relatives and friends to buy food was also mentioned as one of the strategies used to consume food during financial difficulties. It is a common coping strategy applied by those from low-income households who experience food insecurity (Biadgilign, 2023). Evidence has shown that being in debt is linked to poor mental health (Amit *et al.*, 2020), which can then lead to excessive body weight (Michels, 2021).

Many women in this study mentioned that they received financial and food assistance from the government. These programmes can help those from lowincome families meet their basic needs and reduce food insecurity. Even so, Smith & Gregory (2023) suggested that these programmes have minimal impact on the nutritional quality of daily diets. A study in the United States discovered that participants of the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP) purchased sugar-sweetened more beverages than non-SNAP participants (Gustafson, 2017). The types and quality of foods received and purchased by using the money from assistance programmes in this country are still unknown.

The socio-ecological model used in this study was beneficial in understanding the food consumption of low-income women during financial constraints. This model acknowledged that food consumption was not merely influenced by individual strategies, but also included household, community, and policy strategies. For instance, during financial difficulties, women did not merely rely on cheaper, processed foods (individual strategy), but also considered home food preparation (household strategy), social support (community strategy), or food assistance programmes (policy strategy) to address food insecurity.

In terms of strength, the current study is considered a pioneer qualitative study in understanding the food consumption of those who have insufficient financial resources for food expenses in the household. The strategies used by the participants to consume food during financial constraints might the main reason for putting on weight despite living in poverty. In addition, the socio-ecological model also allowed researchers to explore multiple strategies adopted by low-income individuals in food consumption, which led to favourable energy-dense foods despite the availability of healthier options.

Nevertheless, this study has some limitations. Participants of this study were Malay women, specifically. Since Malaysia is a multi-ethnic country, the voices of women from other ethnic groups might contribute new knowledge and interesting findings related to food consumption in low-income households.

CONCLUSION

The findings of this study demonstrated that multi-level strategies were applied by low-income women to consume food

when they had insufficient financial resources. Despite these efforts, many were still incapable of having nutritious foods and tended to be exposed to the threat of OW/OB. These findings can information for healthcare provide professionals and policymakers implement strategies and policies that can support low-income women to consume healthy foods. For instance, subsidising healthy foods could help low-income households make healthier food choices. The government could expand existing food subsidy programmes, such as the MyKasih Programme, to include a wider range of nutritious foods and ensure that healthier options are both available and affordable to those struggling with financial constraints. Besides, these findings can also facilitate the design of suitable intervention strategies for individuals in socially disadvantaged groups.

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Authors' contributions

Mohamed NN, principal investigator, led the data collection, prepared the draft of the manuscript, and reviewed the manuscript; Rohana AJ, conceptualised and designed the study, advised on the data analysis and interpretation, and reviewed the manuscript.

Conflict of interest

No conflict of interest.

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