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Seguir Adelante: A Qualitative Exploration of Latino Farmworkers' Work and Non-Work Resources

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by

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Abstract

Precarious work sectors within the United States have relied on Black and Brown labor for many decades. More specifically, Latino immigrant workers have been an exploited community within many dangerous workforces but especially within the agricultural industry. They are a crucial population for the labor and economy of the U.S. (Lopez & Moslimani, 2021; Pew Research Center, 2015; New American Economy, 2020), yet Latino farmworkers report feeling expendable, being discriminated against, and being exposed to hazardous working conditions (Areguin & Stewart, 2022; Flocks et al., 2012; Martinez-Medina & Oregon COVID-19 Farmworker Study, 2022). Due to these experiences, scholars have explored the role non-work resources have in providing support for this community, their social networks being especially beneficial for them (Dueweke et al., 2015; Rodriguez, 2013). However, research on the links between their work and non-work domains and the resources they find valuable is lacking. The current study draws upon qualitative phone interviews conducted with 41 Latino farmworkers in Oregon in 2021. Themes pertaining to both work and non-work resources were uncovered through deductive and inductive thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006) and included how farmworkers lack financial resources, experience mistreatment from supervisors, need legislative labor protection, need a pathway to citizenship, receive support from their proximal communities, are speaking out at work or would like to be, and have poor physical and psychological health due to work. Findings from this study demonstrate the imbalance of resources provided from their microsystems, organizations, and macrosystems, with proximal communities providing much of the aid to farmworkers. Findings make clear that employers and those in legislation must do more

to advocate for Latino immigrant farmworkers and provide resources to better protect Latino immigrant farmworkers' well-being. Findings also demonstrate the need for future research related to: their changes in resources over time; reporting of workplace violations; impact of legislation on their health; what they enjoy about their work and why; the goals and desires of this community; and how information sharing or unionization occurs.

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"Nuestra historia es una historia viva, que ha palpitado, resistido y sobrevivido siglos de sacrificios." - *Rigoberta Menchú*

Chapter 1: Introduction

For many decades, the Latino population has been vital for various work forces within the United States. Industries such as building and grounds cleaning and maintenance, construction and extraction, and food preparation and serving, are reliant on this community for fast production and cheap labor (Duniba, 2021; Rocco, 2016). Within the agricultural sector, Latinos make up 43% of the farming, fishing and forestry industry (Duniba, 2021; Gold et al., 2022) and in Oregon, 174,000 farmworkers contribute to the state's multi-billion-dollar agricultural industry (Oregon Health Authority, n.d.). Although Latino farmworkers have been described as essential because of the importance of their labor in harvesting food for people, they report feeling expendable (Martinez-Medina & Oregon COVID-19 Farmworker Study, 2022). Their work continues to expose them to environmental (e.g., heat), physical (e.g., tasks that require repetitive motions), and chemical (e.g., pesticides) threats (Arcury et al., 2010b; Castillo et al., 2021). Latino immigrant farmworkers also continue to experience racism, discrimination, xenophobia, food insecurity, lack of access to health insurance, lack of access to childcare, lack of voting power, financial instability, housing insecurity, and more (Castillo et al., 2021; Moreno et al. 2015; Sbicca et al., 2020). Due to the ongoing exploitation, poor conditions, and lack of resources from formalized structures (e.g., legislation, government agencies), they experience negative physical (e.g., respiratory illnesses, cardiovascular diseases, and musculoskeletal injuries) and psychological (e.g.,

depression, anxiety, chronic stress) health outcomes (Areguin et al., 2020; Arcury et al., 2021; Boggess & Bogue, 2016; Hamilton et al., 2019; Lopez-Cevallos et al., 2019). In turn, farmworkers resort to their communities within their home and community domains to access beneficial and protective resources that may offset the negative impact of their stressors on their physical and psychological health. Therefore, the purpose of the current study is to qualitatively explore Latino immigrant farmworkers' experiences with resources within their work and non-work domains and expand what our current knowledge is about their resource experiences by uncovering what kinds of resources they find valuable.

Through the decades, farmworkers' social networks have been essential in helping them gain additional resources and improve their well-being. In the 1900s, Asian and Latino populations were the primary sources of labor for farmwork (Equal Justice Initiative, 2014). Similar to present struggles, they faced racism and lacked access to education, housing, and livable wages (Equal Justice Initiative, 2014). As a result of these conditions, the farmworker labor movement began, and Cesar Chavez led the creation of the National Farm Workers Association to improve farmworkers' pay and access to union rights (Equal Justice Initiative, 2014). More recently, their reliance on family, friends, religious institutions, and community organizations for emotional support, information regarding their health, food access, and employment opportunities continues to be evident (Ayón & Naddy, 2013; Bermudez & Mancini, 2012; Campos et al., 2014; Dueweke et al., 2015; Greder et al., 2009; Salgado et al., 2012; Sanchez et al., 2019). This is especially true as the ongoing and increased racism and anti-immigrant sentiment since the Trump administration continues to target Latino communities (Benavides et al., 2021; Canizales

& Vallejo, 2021; Medel-Herrero et al., 2021). For example, during the summer of 2023, hundreds of families and organizers rallied and protested Florida Governor Ron DeSantis passing SB 1718, which includes a mandate for employers to use verification systems to check for the immigration status of workers and penalizes those who do not (ACLU of Florida, n.d.). Through historical and ongoing issues, one can see how Latino immigrant farmworkers' non-work resources such as their social support networks in their home and community domains are essential in calling attention to injustices, spreading information, and providing necessities that governmental and occupational institutions do not (Benavides et al., 2021; Brigham, 2022, Thompson, 2021; Thompson, 2022; Sbicca et al., 2020). Yet, researchers have not explored the depth of how Latino immigrant farmworkers rely on and value resources from various domains that potentially help them improve their working experiences.

Current Study

Scholars have determined the many stressors, negative health outcomes, and importance of various non-work resources (e.g., social networks) among this population of workers, but there is a need for further investigation of how resources play a role in their lives (Kossek & Burke, 2014; McClure et al., 2015). Less explored in this area has been a comprehensive understanding of the resources in various domains that are especially important to them, as well as the relationship between non-work resources and Latino immigrant farmworkers' work experiences, including their psychological health, motivation, acquirement of additional resources, and access to information of their employee rights. The motive of the current study is to qualitatively explore (a) what resources Latino immigrant farmworkers value that would improve their work domain

experiences, (b) how their non-work resources contribute to their motivation and psychological health despite the conditions experienced in their work domains, and (c) how their non-work resources allow them to gain additional resources regarding their work (e.g., knowledge of laws, places to contact if violations occur). For the current study, I will analyze qualitative interviews previously conducted with Latino immigrant farmworkers in Oregon and will thematically code their responses to questions asked about their working conditions and families.

Definitions

I will be using the terms Latino, immigrants, and farmworkers to describe this population and the participants of this study. In recent years, there has been debate and conversations around which terms are most appropriate and inclusive to describe individuals who have a Latin American or Spanish speaking background (i.e., Latino/a, Latinx/e, Chicano/a/x, or Hispanic). Many of these terms have been criticized by scholars due to their connections to racism and colonization (García, 2020; Reynoso, 2018). For example, García (2020) discusses how the term Hispanic has a connection to the heritage of White Europeans, was used to describe those of Spanish speaking background but failed to include Indigenous communities and combines different cultures causing a broader perception of this community. The term Latino describes geographical origin—those who descend from Latin America and the Caribbean (García, 2020; Hayes-Bautista & Chapa, 1987). However, similar to Hispanic, this term has also held criticism due to its continued grouping of disparate cultures, its connection to manifest destiny, and its lack of inclusion for non-binary individuals, hence the emergence of Latinx/e (García, 2020; Hayes-Bautista & Chapa, 1987). Although educators have moved toward using Latinx/e,

these terms have not been fully accepted by the community and continue to face mixed sentiments (deOnís, 2017; Salinas, 2020).

The issues of race and ethnicity within this community are complex and go beyond the scope of this paper; however, ongoing discussions and exploration of collective identity are crucial. I recognize the complications these various ethnonyms pose, especially with their roots in colonization by forcing the grouping of an incredibly diverse community of individuals (Hayes-Bautista & Chapa, 1987). However, for the purpose of this study, I will be using the term *Latino* to describe these individuals given that this is most widely accepted by the community as well as its political linkage – meaning that the term itself and identifying as Latino is inherently tied to our historical, political, and societal context (García, 2020; Hayes-Bautista & Chapa, 1987). Lastly, when referring to previous research on this population, I will maintain the terms originally used by the authors.

Secondly, I will be using the term *immigrant* to describe this population and the participants of this study. Scholars that work with this group of workers will often use various terms to describe these individuals, including "migrant and seasonal farmworkers" (Arcury & Mora, 2020). However, the terms "migrant and seasonal farmworkers" are inappropriate to use in this study because they describe those who establish a temporary home for work and are in agriculture on a seasonal basis (Arcury & Mora 2020; Gold et al., 2022). For example, in the National Agricultural Worker Survey (NAWS; Gold et al., 2022) "migrant farmworkers" includes those who obtain farm work at 75 miles or more from their home during a 12-month period. Although the participants of this study immigrated from Latin America years prior, none of the participants

described themselves as having a temporary home nor having to migrate large distances to work from their current home. They were employed in farm work year-round and maintained residence in Oregon. Therefore, to describe their migration to the U.S. but ongoing residency and occupation in farm work, "immigrant" is the best term suited to describe their perspectives. Further, 85% of farmworkers are settled, meaning they remain located in the same place (Gold et al., 2022). Finally, I will be using the terms *agricultural work/ers,* and *farmwork/ers* to describe those who are "involved in agricultural production including planting, cultivating, harvesting, and processing crops for sale, and caring for animals" (p.16; Arcury & Marín, 2009).

Theoretical Orientation

Although the nature of this study is exploratory, I will be drawing from Hobfoll's (1989) conservation of resources (COR) theory to aid my understanding of the value and nature (i.e., gains and losses) of resources for Latino immigrant farmworkers' motivation and managing their psychological health (e.g., stress, anxiety). Through this, I will provide insight to the tenants within COR theory and more generally to employee resources literature. I will also be drawing from the ecological levels of analysis (Kloos et al., 2020; Rappaport, 1977) to contextualize, expand, and improve the categorization of resources as they are described by farmworkers, which will help scholars build more concrete definitions and examples of the types of resources important to this population. Additionally, it will provide insight as to which environments are or are not providing resources to this community, which will provide practical implications for community organizations, employers, governmental agencies, and policy makers. I will first describe the important tenets of each theory and how they may relate to Latino immigrant

farmworkers. I will then describe my contributions to these theories in the section that follows.

Conservation of Resources Theory

COR theory is a motivational theory that explains how individuals may respond to stressors. It proposes that individuals who lose or are at risk of losing resources will experience stress and are therefore motivated to conserve current resources and acquire new resources (Halbesleben et al., 2014; Hobfoll, 1989; Hobfoll et al., 2018; ten Brummelhuis & Bakker, 2012). Resources have loosely been described in rather general terms that include objects (e.g., car), states (e.g., self-esteem), conditions (e.g., socioeconomic status), energies (e.g., time), and other things that are instrumental and valuable to people (ten Brummelhuis & Bakker, 2012; Hobfoll, 1989; Hobfoll, 2002). However, scholars have criticized this definition, as it may be categorizing resources rather than defining what they are (Halbesleben et al., 2014). More recently, Halbesleben et al. (2014) provided an alternative definition of resources as "anything perceived by the individual to help attain his or her goals" (p. 1338). They argue that this definition provides a clearer understanding of what resources may be and how they may operate to help individuals reach their goals.

For the current study, I will be using both definitions of resources by focusing on the aspects of *how* and *why* people value their resources, which Halbesleben et al. (2014) describe to be a major gap in COR theory and literature. They call for further examination of individuals that may value resources differently, including those from different cultures and nationalities, and also for the identification of more appropriate measures of resources. Furthermore, Hobfoll et al. (2018) assert the importance of other

scholars investigating resources within the context of individualistic versus collectivistic or more familial cultures. I will be contributing to this gap in COR literature by analyzing interviews conducted with Latino immigrant farmworkers and uncovering themes related to the work and non-work resources and how they use these resources. In doing this, I can provide more context for researchers to understand what the goals may be for marginalized individuals in precarious work, what characteristics individuals determine when deciding their value in a resource, and where that resource comes from, all of which could contribute to the development of measures for resources valued among employees, especially those who are Black, Brown, and Indigenous.

Additionally, there are two central principles within COR theory, the first being *primacy of resource loss* – meaning that the psychological impact of the loss of resources is much greater when compared to the gain of resources (Halbesleben et al., 2014; Hobfoll, 1988; Hobfoll et al., 2018). Due to this, individuals will strive to avoid losing resources. For example, among farmworkers, those who rely on housing through their employer have a higher dependency on their employer, which contributes to their feelings of powerlessness when they are taken advantage of (Iglesias-Rios, 2023). It is possible that the first principle of COR theory is at play here: if farmworkers heavily rely on their employer for housing, they may feel more afraid and hesitant to speak out against their employer due to the potential loss of that resource. As noted by Halbesleben et al. (2014), the psychological impact that losing resources has on individuals may motivate them to behave in ways that will help them avoid losing resources. In this example, Latino farmworkers may be engaging in behaviors (i.e., not engaging in employee voice) that will put them at risk of losing their housing.

The second principle of COR theory is *resource investment* – meaning that individuals are motivated to protect and recover from the loss of resources and want to gain new resources, therefore they will invest in resources (Halbesleben et al., 2014; Hobfoll, 1988; Hobfoll et al., 2018). This second principle could be examined through the ways farmworkers invest in their social networks. The importance of farmworkers providing support for their family and friends could potentially be due to the cultural value placed on family, but also because these individuals are incredibly important social resources for farmworkers that provide them with additional resources (e.g., emotional support, rides, money, information). Hobfoll et al. (2018) also provide two additional principles: gain paradox principle and desperation principle, further describing how resource experiences may play out. However, due to the purpose of this study being exploratory in understanding the resource experiences of Latino immigrant farmworkers, I found these two principles to be less applicable.

In addition to these central facets of COR theory, Hobfoll et al. (2018) most recently proposed two additional principles and three corollaries to further understand resource processes. Firstly, Hobfoll et al. (2018) discuss resource caravans and passageways which describe how (a) resources come in caravans, or groups, and (b) exist within ecological levels that will either foster or hinder resources. Additionally, Corollary 1 describes how individuals who already have access to resources are better able to invest in resources, while those who do not have access to resources are more likely to experience losses in resources. Corollary 2 describes that individuals who lose resources are likely to lose future resources, also described as resource loss cycles. On the other hand, Corollary 3 describes the opposite, resource gain spirals where resources gains are

likely to happen when an individual gains resources. Latino immigrant farmworkers are an especially important community to learn from about the many different principles and corollaries presented in COR. Due to their inaccessibility to resources from formalized structures (e.g., documentation, labor protections) but accessibility to non-work resources (e.g., family, community, religious support) there is an opportunity to explore how these different corollaries may play out and how they impact their motivation toward their goals and psychological well-being. Their experiences pose interesting questions about COR theory and how having two competing processes (i.e., resource loss cycles and resource gain spirals) impact people. Through my inductive and deductive approaches in analyzing individual interviews, I will be exploring whether these tenants of COR theory are present and how they may function among racially and occupationally marginalized individuals.

Ecological Levels of Analysis

In addition to COR theory, I will also be drawing from the ecological levels of analysis framework (Kloos et al., 2020; Rappaport, 1977) to expand on COR and situate where resources are coming from to potentially improve upon the definition and categorization of the different resources described by marginalized workers. Due to their resources often being outside of work and from various domains, as well as the broadness of COR theory, it may be beneficial for researchers to identify what resources are important throughout the different environments farmworkers interact with. As noted by Hobfoll et al. (2018), the broader context is important to consider when exploring resource experiences, highlighting how this is often missed by organization scholars. Although several scholars have provided categories of the different types of resources

people find value in, there are several social and cultural contexts that remain missing in these attempts. For example, the value in community and the relationships built in community organizations (e.g., Latino centers or unions) and religious institutions are important to Latinos. However, they are not included in the development of categorizations or definitions of resources. ten Brummelhuis and Bakker (2012) provided an overview of resource theories as they relate to the work-home interface. They discussed Hobfoll (2002) who introduced personal (e.g., physical energy), contextual (e.g., social support from work), and key (e.g., personal traits) resources. Drawing from this, they then provided a framework to further categorize resources as they fall into two dimensions, these being the transience (i.e., volatile and structural) and the source (i.e., contextual and personal) of the resource. They also included macro resources (e.g., social context) as described by Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological systems theory.

However, as mentioned previously, these categorizations may not accurately capture the experiences of employees with different racial and ethnic backgrounds. Based on previous literature, the resources that Latino immigrant farmworkers may express would likely include those that are rooted in community and family. Moreover, Hobfoll et al. (2018) describes that the way resources operate are impacted by the ecological context. Due to the historical and continued oppression of Latino immigrants, context is critical to incorporate when examining resources because without it, the onus of negative health or family outcomes may be placed on these individuals. ten Brummelhuis and Bakker (2012) introduce categories that are in more depth, their model may not be applicable for the purpose of this study. Firstly, their resources model is focused on work-home experiences, although the current study may include aspects of work-home

concepts, I am also interested in exploring environments beyond the home. Relatedly, they distinguish their resources between two sources (i.e., the self or the context), these being work, home, and macro resources. However, because Latino immigrants face competing resource experiences throughout the different levels in which they are embedded in (e.g., home, community, work), it may be important for this study to further break down these sources of resources so that future studies can better examine and hypothesize the linkages between them. Therefore, I will be drawing from the ecological levels of analysis framework to describe the source of resources that are expressed by farmworkers in this study.

The ecological levels of analysis framework includes four different environments that influence people: individuals themselves, microsystems, organizations, and macrosystems. At the individual level, individuals' characteristics impact behavior (Kloos et al., 2020; Rappaport, 1977). An example of this is provided by Sapbamrer and Thammachai's (2020) literature review, in which they demonstrate how demographic factors, perceptions, attitudes, and beliefs determine safety practices among farmworkers. The microsystems level includes environments that people are directly and regularly relating with (Kloos et al., 2020; Rappaport, 1977). For example, among farmworkers this could be their coworkers and supervisors impacting their work safety practices. Kearney et al. (2015) found a significant association between perceived work safety climate and work safety practices with youth farmworkers: if they perceived that their supervisors cared about their safety, they were more likely to wear protective gear.

The organizational level within this framework is similar to the microsystems level; however, these direct and regular interactions are within a more formal structure

(Kloos et al., 2020; Rappaport, 1977). This is demonstrated especially with community organizations or representatives that provide health information for Latino farmworkers. Fleming et al. (2018) evaluated the implementation of a *promotora* (lay health worker)-led cervical cancer education program among Hispanic farmworker women, finding that the program *charlas* (chats) were associated with a gain in knowledge and self-efficacy in participants.

Lastly, the macrosystem level covers the much broader setting that individuals are a part of, which contains all the other levels in the framework (Kloos et al., 2020; Rappaport, 1977). A few examples include policies, legislation, and social norms. For example, Luo and Escalante (2018) revealed that health care services utilization differs among farmworkers, with undocumented farmworkers being 11% less likely than documented farmworkers to use U.S. health care. The legislation around documentation for Latinos prevents many of these individuals from seeking healthcare. Although I describe examples of each of these principles and levels of analysis, to my knowledge, there is limited research that has used COR theory or the ecological levels of analysis framework to categorize, understand, and investigate the resources valued by Latino immigrant farmworkers in multiple environments (for examples see; Kossek et al., 2005; Salazar et al., 2004). This is an important omission because in order to investigate, develop, invest in, and provide culturally responsive resources such as trainings (e.g., safety materials and programs), social supervisor and coworker support, and work policies, scholars must understand what Latino immigrants perceive and experience in each domain. Instead, these resource frameworks have been developed and

conceptualized with the experiences of white collar and white individuals centered which may not apply in the same way for farmworkers or other employees of color.

Contributions

In this study, I am contributing to the literature in three ways. First, I am expanding on COR theory by (a) exploring how the tenets of this theory apply to individuals, especially those from different cultural backgrounds and (b) using the ecological levels of analysis framework to categorize resources and be more reflective of the experiences of Latino immigrants. Second, I am solely focusing on a population of workers that is marginalized, underserved, and understudied due to their race and occupation without the comparison of other groups. Third, I am using qualitative methods and community-based research principles to learn from farmworkers and advocates about the experiences of farmworkers.

To begin with, Halbesleben et al. (2014) note the gap in COR literature in addressing what valuing a resource means given that it is a subjective decision, and also how that may differ based on personal or cultural values. Hobfoll et al. (2018) especially highlight the need for scholars to investigate COR tenants through different communities that may have a more collectivistic value. Both Halbesleben et al. (2014) and Hobfoll et al. (2018) also acknowledge the difficulties in measuring resources and call for researchers to distinguish between the resources individuals value and the resources that are available to them. This population serves as an important community to learn from about how individuals determine what resources they value and how they experience resource loss cycles and gain spirals, given their cultural values in community, the working conditions they are placed in, and the lack of access to resources from

formalized structures. Through qualitative interviews with farmworkers, we can learn how people may determine what a valued resource is, how culture plays a role in that subjective decision, and how valued resources are distinguished from resources that are not valued or are not available.

Additionally, using the ecological levels of analysis framework acknowledges Hobfoll et al. 's (2018) continued call for COR theory to be viewed in ecological context; and it guides the categorization of the resources that Latino farmworkers name, building a foundation for discerning where and how other stakeholders may be failing in supporting farmworkers and can then intervene and draw upon. Specifically, it provides scholars, employers, community organizations, and government officials with a wider array of avenues in which they can create programming, invest resources, and implement culturally appropriate solutions to better reach health equity for Latino workers. Furthermore, the relationships and processes between farmworkers' work and non-work resources remain understudied. By mapping resources onto this framework, I am contributing to knowledge of how individuals' resources from various domains potentially work together or against one another. For example, it is not yet understood why non-work resources (e.g., social support from family and friends, unions, religion, government services) are especially important in shaping their work experiences and helping them cope through the difficult working conditions from a psychological standpoint. Scholars have not fully explored how Latino immigrant farmworkers use these non-work resources to gain information about their work, such as their employment rights, legislation regarding their work, places to contact in case violations occur, and health services that are available to them (c.f., Brigham, 2022; Zlolniski, 2019). I seek to

contribute to COR theory and literature by providing information on (a) how and why resources are valued, gained, and lost among marginalized individuals and (b) how their valued resources from different domains contribute to their psychological health and motivation to achieve their goals.

Secondly, I am contributing to the organizational sciences by focusing on Latino farmworkers without the comparison of other groups of people. I will not center this study on white participants nor white collar work. Scholars in psychology often refrain from using samples that are solely composed of individuals with marginalized backgrounds (e.g., race, ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, work status) because of the racist, white supremacist, and individualistic ideologies that are entrenched in educational structures (Buchanan et al., 2021; Salter et al., 2018). Research in the psychology field is white centered, not only with a concentration on white participants but also white editors and white authors (Roberts et al., 2020). Within industrial-organization (I-O) psychology specifically, there is also an absence of representation of workers that are in blue-collar work. For example, Bergman and Jean (2016) highlighted and compared the U.S. labor market data and the samples within top I-O journals. Their review of published articles demonstrated that only nine percent of them focused on workers "(a) who were not executive, professional, or managerial employees, and/or (b) who were low- to medium-skill, and/or (c) who were wage earners rather than salaried" (Bergman & Jean, p. 89). Bergman and Jean (2016) argued how having an overrepresentation of certain workforces and not accurately representing the U.S. labor force impacts the science that is produced.

The lack of inclusion of workers that are marginalized, whether that be because of their identity, their work status, or both, potentially damages the validity of phenomena in

the I-O field, and more broadly in the psychological sciences. Bergman and Jean (2016) contend that current research practices creates an inaccuracy in the work experiences of people, with a potential loss in external validity and utility that impacts the I-O field. Current models, theories, and psychological constructs in the organizational sciences have not been conceptualized or operationalized in ways that have Black and Brown workers in mind. Although some scholars may argue that current theories are applicable to all individuals (including marginalized communities), research studies do not reflect this. Scholars need to investigate if they are relevant or important to this population.

The silencing of research conducted by Black, Brown, and Indigenous researchers who focus on critical lenses and on populations who are also racially marginalized contributes to the lack of research and understanding on Latino immigrant farmworkers' experiences within the psychological sciences. The exclusion of this population and lack of focus on their general experiences and experiences with resources is a critical oversight because of the clear injustices they continue to face within and outside of the workplace, different cultural values, multiple marginalized statuses, and the known contributions they have in the U.S. Although there is current research on mental health outcomes and potential buffers (outside of the work context), further investigation of their psychological health processes is needed.

Lastly, due to my focus on Latino immigrant farmworkers, it is important that I use methods that are most culturally appropriate when working with marginalized groups. I will be contributing to the literature and to Oregon farmworker communities by using qualitative methods and community-based participatory research principles. Community-based participatory research (CBPR) prioritizes the relationship between researchers and

participants, as well as using the knowledge gathered through the research process for enacting social change (Strand et al., 2003; Minkler, 2005). CBPR aims to incorporate and value the knowledge that community members bring, as they are experts of their lived experiences. It includes community members in all aspects of the research process, including the development of research questions, collection of data, analysis of data, and development of recommendations and initiatives (Strand et al., 2003). In the current study, I will be using data that were previously collected; however, I will be incorporating CBPR principles throughout my analysis and reporting process by practicing reflexivity, engaging in conversations with community members about the codes and themes I see, and disseminating my results to community organizations that support farmworkers in Oregon. I aim to orient this study in a way that will be most reflective of the stories shared by farmworkers, prioritize social justice, and the accessibility of the knowledge produced. Unlike traditional ways of conducting research, I will be contributing to literature by prioritizing the needs expressed by the community and demonstrating how researchers who work with underserved communities can incorporate methods that are community based and social justice oriented.

Given this history of oppression and exclusion in research, current established theories, processes, and constructs may not be sound for different racial groups. It is essential that researchers begin to actively and ethically engage with populations that are exploited and marginalized so that researchers can further provide solutions and resources that will allow those in positions of power in different environments to protect and improve the health and well-being of Latino farmworkers within and outside of the workplace, as well as produce research that is representative and applicable to the

working class of the U.S. I will be contributing to the literature by filling in the gaps of understanding of the value of resources through qualitatively examining the experiences of Latino immigrant farmworkers using community-based research principles and through the lens of my own experiences as a Latina immigrant daughter.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

In the following sections, I will provide an overview of the various components that contribute to the psychological health of Latino farmworkers. I will first discuss the historical and social context that provides acknowledgement and background of how structures in the U.S. are created such that marginalized employees lack power and resources, therefore experiencing negative working and living conditions. Secondly, I will review current literature on the stressors and health outcomes experienced by Latino farmworkers in their work and non-work domains. This will provide context for why exploration of protective factors that are able to offset the impact of those stressors, in this case – resources, is necessary. Lastly, I will explain current resources that Latino farmworkers currently lack and benefit from to understand what is known about these protective factors and the gaps in literature, which will provide context to how the current study is addressing these gaps.

Historical & Social Context

Before diving into current literature informing this study, it is important that I briefly contextualize and acknowledge how racist (i.e., racial prejudice and discrimination; Omi & Winant, 2004) and capitalistic (e.g., value in commodification and competition; Golash-Boza, 2022) ideologies in the U.S. drive oppressive structures resulting in Latino farmworkers experiencing low employment opportunities, negative stressors, poor health outcomes, and lack of resources provided by their employers and the U.S. government (Areguin & Stewart, 2022; Guillot-Wright et al., 2022; Núñez, 2019; Sbicca et al., 2020). Omi and Winant (2004) provide an analysis of the origins and perceptions of race and begin by describing how Europeans focused on biological

differences to justify how people should be treated. They discuss how historically, scholars have followed suit by identifying and ranking people through their cranial differences, shared gene pools, and more recently, intellectual differences. Although scholars have moved away from a biological basis of racial differences, people still attempt to use such arguments, especially when justifying the occupations that Black, Brown, and Indigenous individuals occupy. For example, Harrison and Lloyd (2013) interviewed employers in the agricultural sector and found that many described their employees to be hardworking but not intelligent enough to hold managerial roles, despite farmworkers expressing their desire to move up in their workplaces.

Omi and Winant (2014) then describe shifts in the conceptualizations of race, which now include social and political factors rather than biological ones. In the U.S., racial divisions and hierarchies are rigid and reinforced through media, science, and language, with whiteness being tied to pureness, intelligence, and higher status. Through language, discourse, racist, and capitalistic ideologies, individuals believe there are "innate hierarchical differences that can be measured and judged" (p. 33; Golash-Boza, 2022), and will therefore justify the systems of power that are in place to maintain this hierarchy and exploit marginalized groups especially for their labor in the pursuit of profit. For example, Holmes (2007) examines how farmwork is intricately created with hierarchies, such that those individuals with proximity to whiteness and higher class, privileges of citizenship, and are male are more likely to occupy higher level positions such as managers, receptionists, and drivers. This not only applies at the individual level, where these workers are discriminated against on a day-to-day basis at work, but also at the structural level. Racist and capitalistic ideologies also drive the ways in which

structural systems such as federal and state legislation are created so that marginalized communities like Latino immigrant farmworkers remain a categorized group that is oppressed, therefore maintaining U.S. social order. For some this is described as structural racism, which is complex and intertwines concepts of racism, discrimination, capitalism, and colonialism. Bailey et al. (2017) provide a definition for structural racism stating:

> Structural racism involves interconnected institutions, whose linkages are historically rooted and culturally reinforced. It refers to the totality of ways in which societies foster racial discrimination, through mutually reinforcing inequitable systems (in housing, education, employment, earnings, benefits, credit, media, health, criminal justice, and so on) that in turn reinforce discriminatory beliefs, values, and distribution of resources, which together affect the risk of adverse health outcomes (p. 1454).

As I present previous literature on the stressors, resources, and health of Latino immigrant farmworkers, one can see how structural racism is at play. Due to their intersecting marginalized identities, Latino immigrant farmworkers experience income and housing insecurity, are often threatened with deportation, lack labor protections, are denied safety and health information in their preferred languages or at all, and are occupationally segregated (Arcury et al., 2010a; Castillo et al., 2021; Prado et al., 2017). These experiences mirror Golash-Boza (2022) and Bailey et al's. (2017) descriptions of structural racism, explaining that the allocation (or lack thereof) of these resources establishes and determines the status of marginalized communities and maintains white individuals with access to more power. Through these ideologies, Latino immigrant

farmworkers are controlled and maintained marginalized so that they lack knowledge, power, resources, and are exploited for labor, which deteriorates their physical and psychological well-being.

Iglesias-Rios et al. (2023) further demonstrate this through their investigation of the relationship between precarious employment and labor exploitation among farmworkers. In their study, participants described the work structures (e.g., schedule, compensation, and wage theft), threats (e.g., deportation), and lack of power (e.g., dependency on employer housing) they must contend with. The authors discuss (a) how the work experiences described by participants is beyond precarity and rather exploitative and (b) the importance of incorporating critical race theory and community based participatory research to achieve health equity.

Although I will not dive further into this topic directly in this paper, their work conditions call for further examination of the oppressive structures held within workplaces that damage the well-being of Latino immigrants and more generally that of Black, Brown, and Indigenous workers. Given the historical context and current conditions of Latino immigrant farmworkers, the ongoing exploitation of this community is incontestable. As I describe the current research on this population, and also when I present and discuss the findings from my study, it is imperative to remember this historical and social context of Latino immigrant farmworkers.

Stressors Within the Work Domain

Within their work domain, Latino farmworkers experience numerous physical (e.g., working with pesticides, exposure to extreme weather, repetitive work positions) and psychosocial (e.g., high demands, lack of job control, job insecurity, discrimination,

sexual harassment, language barriers) stressors that threaten their health (Arcury et al., 2022; Hiott et al., 2008; Murphy et al., 2015). Due to the stressors and the lack of access to resources through their work (e.g., employer provided healthcare, fair wages, safety training), many of these workers disproportionately experience ongoing physical health issues such as musculoskeletal injuries, heat exhaustion, respiratory illness, and more (Daghagh et al., 2019; Moyce & Schenker, 2018; Xiao et al., 2013). Further, Latino farmworkers also experience high levels of distress, anxiety, and depression in association with their working conditions (Griffin et al., 2020; Grzywacz et al; 2014; Keeney et al., 2022; Organista et al., 2019).

Physical Stressors

Agricultural work consists of physically demanding tasks. It requires workers to work in fast and repetitive motions and with heavy machinery all while working in extreme temperatures and in proximity to pesticides. Xiao et al. (2013) examined work postures and chronic musculoskeletal pain among Latino farmworkers. Commonly reported work postures include the repetitive use of tools, stooping or bending over, and standing at a counter or machine with the most prevalent chronic pain being back pain. This is further demonstrated by Burke Winkelman et al. (2013), who showed how Latino farmworkers described the pain they felt from the physical stress of their work, which included having to stand all day. These workers expressed how their bodies were tired and hurting, experiencing backaches and headaches. In terms of working in extreme temperatures, farmworkers are on the forefront of the increase in temperatures and forest fires due to climate change (Kearney & Garzon, 2020; Riden et al., 2021). Farmworkers

are often working for long periods in extreme weather while doing physically demanding tasks and taking few or no breaks, all of which contribute to dehydration, heat stress, and heat illnesses. Furthermore, Flocks et al. (2012) interviewed Hispanic and Haitian women in agricultural work that are exposed to extreme heat. They described their worries in having to work in heat especially while working in enclosed spaces. They described feeling dizzy, having headaches, and fainting. This was especially true for those who are pregnant, describing that working in heat made nausea, chills, and headaches worse.

The difficulties in the physically demanding work farmworkers engage in is also seen through their safety and injury experiences. According to scholars, many employers fail to provide safety training, policies, and regulations, much less in their preferred language (Arcury et al., 2010a; Liebman et al., 2016). Samples et al. (2009) found differences between Indigenous and Latino farmworkers in their pesticide exposures and pesticide training. Due to language barriers and inaccessibility of materials by employers, Indigenous farmworkers are unable to take care of their health. Scholars continue to find similar results in regard to their safety training and health more recently. Panikkar and Barret (2021) used surveys and interviews with farmworkers to examine their occupational health experiences, finding that working conditions included dangerous exposures, lack of protective gear, and lack of safety training. Additionally, many farmworkers reported being injured, difficulties with breathing, having itchy eyes, and having headaches. Lastly, Flynn et al. (2015) demonstrated how documentation status negatively impacted the occupational health of these workers.

Pesticide exposure is also a commonly examined working condition of farmworkers. Arcury et al. (2014) demonstrated that Latino farmworkers reported many

occupational pesticide exposures and a greater number of lifetime pesticide exposures when compared to Latino non-farmworkers. Further, in a review by Curl and colleagues (2020), it was found that workers in agriculture are exposed to pesticides, further placing them at risk for negative health outcomes like cancer, neurological disorders, and respiratory effects. Additionally, exposure to pesticides not only impacts their health but also the health of their family members. Given the high rates of asthma among Mexican-American children in California, Schwartz et al. (2015) used photo voice and ethnographic interviews to understand pesticide exposure among children. In discussions with community leaders, parents, and children, they found that housing and schools were located near fields exposing them to the application of pesticides. Schools were also surrounded by agricultural products like cotton, which contained chemicals. There was a lack of places where they could play safely, a lack of storage and containment of pesticides, and families shared their frustrations related to the living conditions of their families with policymakers.

Psychosocial Stressors

Not only is the labor performed in farm work physically demanding, but it is also psychologically challenging. This is often due to the pressure to perform rapidly, being expected to understand materials in English when most workers have low understanding of the English language, and having to deal with discrimination based on their language, race, and gender. First, many farmworkers express the demands of employers to work harder and faster as contributors to their stress (Grzywacz et al., 2010; Sexsmith, 2022). For example, Arcury et al. (2022) examined the organization of work and the health of Latina farmworkers, finding that these women had jobs with high demands, low control,

and low skill variety. Further, Grzywcaz et al. (2014) found that high psychological demand within farm work was associated with an increased risk of fair/poor health and depressive symptoms.

As mentioned previously, language barriers are a prevalent issue within the workplace among this population, given that 62% of farmworkers report Spanish as the language they are most comfortable with (Gold et al., 2022). A plentitude of researchers has determined how Latino farmworkers lack resources (e.g., safety instructions and training, law information) in their preferred language (Baker & Chapelle, 2012; Burke Winkelman et al., 2013; Clouser et al., 2018; Curl et al., 2020; Griffin et al., 2020). Farquhar et al. (2008) conducted focus groups among Indigenous farmworkers, noting that they were often disrespected, discriminated against, and lacked basic health and safety information, especially with a lack of resources provided in their Indigenous languages. Hovey and Magaña (2003) investigated suicide risk, finding that language barriers were the most reported stressor among farmworkers. Similarly, and 10 years later, Keeney et al. (2022) also noted farmworkers' top stressors to include language barriers.

In addition to the high job demands and language difficulties, an especially prevalent psychosocial stressor among farmworkers is facing racism and discrimination in their place of work for their various identities. Areguin and Stewart (2022) describe the workplace for farmworkers as oppressive due to the ways in which they are devalued, disregarded, and mistreated. For Latina farmworkers, sexual harassment is an especially prevalent issue, particularly for those who are Indigenous (Murphy et al., 2015). Interviews with Latina farmworkers reveal examples of harassment and discrimination to

include how men coworkers harass them for "inability" to complete their work and also demean them for their gender (Areguin & Stewart, 2022). Medel-Herrero et al. (2021) also highlight the fueling of anti-immigrant sentiments, xenophobia, and racism toward Latino immigrants by the Trump administration. Through focus groups, they found farmworkers reporting more instances of racism through labor abuse, with participants describing being talked down to and other microaggressions enacted by their supervisors. Similarly, Areguin et al. (2020) investigated environmental microaggressions reported by farmworkers using a critical race theory framework. They found that farmworkers experiencing environmental microaggressions (e.g., exposure to pesticides, lack of resources and information, lack of representation) reported poorer mental health outcomes and lower physical ability. Furthermore, Snipes et al. (2017) investigated discrimination experienced by Latino farmworkers and how it may connect to their workplace injuries and physical health. They found that farmworkers were especially discriminated against by their employers due to their documentation status, English proficiency, and ethnicity. Farmworkers also described how they were discriminated against even when experiencing injuries, noting that U.S. born farmworkers were given more time to recover from injuries.

Stressors Within the Non-Work Domain

Researchers have well documented the many workplace stressors that include both physical and psychosocial stressors. In addition to these stressors, there are non-work stressors such as, but not limited to, food insecurity, housing insecurity, economic difficulties, fear of deportation, and discrimination that contribute to poor psychological health outcomes such as stress, anxiety, and depression (Burke Winkelman et al., 2013;

Gentry et al., 2007; Early et al., 2006). The combination of these stressors and stress responses that Latinos experience during immigration are described as acculturation stress (Gonzalez-Guarda et al., 2021).

Food and housing insecurity and economic difficulties are predominant concerns relevant to the health of this population. According to Gold et al. (2022), 30% of Latino farmworkers live in crowded housing (with about half of farmworkers relying on their employer for housing), they earn an average hourly wage of $13.59 (with 20% of farmworkers having family incomes that fall below the federal poverty line), and half do not have health insurance. Quandt et al. (2004) called for an increase in funding for financial and federal programs for farmworkers due to the increased likelihood that they experience food insecurity when compared to the wider U.S. population, with 47% of their participants having food insecure households. Years later, Kiehne and Mendoza (2015) make similar recommendations that efforts need to be made at multiple ecological levels to help address food insecurity. In their review, they highlighted the higher rates of food insecurity among migrant and seasonal farmworkers within different geographical regions. Further, Arcury et al. (2015) investigated the housing and neighborhood conditions of Latino farmworkers and their families' health, finding associations between stress and those who lacked housing ownership, individual refrigerators, cooking surfaces, and access to outdoor spaces.

Additionally, for many Latino immigrant farmworkers, the fear and stress of deportation due to anti-immigrant legislation has been widespread for years. According to Gold et al. (2022), 44% of farmworkers do not hold work authorization documentation, making this population extremely vulnerable to the dangers of anti-immigrant legislation

and xenophobia. Cavazos-Rehg et al. (2007) conducted a study with Latino immigrants examining the relationship between deportation concern and physical and emotional well-being. They found that those with concerns of deportation were more likely to experience negative physical and emotional states. More recently, the racist rhetoric used against Latino immigrants has further impacted their well-being, as will be discussed below.

Although racism, xenophobia, and anti-immigrant rhetoric have always existed, they have especially been prevalent in the last few years. Trump's administration and other political leaders' aggressive language and passing of legislation that discriminates against Latino immigrants has intensified the stressors experienced and impact on the well-being of this community (Becerra et al., 2020; Medel-Herrero., 2021; Medeiros & Guzman, 2020). Meierotto et al. (2020) found that Latina farmworkers have increased feelings of fear and isolation due to the escalation of immigration policies, especially under the Trump administration with two executive orders that addressed border security and sweeps within the states. Becerra et al. (2020) then connected this legal violence toward Latino immigrants to their mental well-being, with participants reporting personal and family suffering through higher symptoms of depression, anxiety, and stress. Furthermore, Medel-Herrero et al. (2021) reported agricultural workers in California describing how they experienced more racism and discrimination since Trump's election. Through focus groups, they described the ways they fear going out in public because of how others look at them and treat them.

Resources

The many work and non-work stressors experienced by Latino immigrant farmworkers demonstrates the need for and importance of scholars exploring what factors

may serve as buffers, support, or interventions that can adequately address their work-related needs and health inequities. Current literature has had a particular focus on resources that are available within their proximal environment that provide support for them and help alleviate their stressors such as their social support networks, religious institutions, and community organizations (Ayón & Naddy, 2013; Dueweke et al., 2015; Sanchez et al., 2019). Additionally, scholars have determined the many barriers that stop farmworkers from accessing resources within and outside of their workplace (e.g., Burke Winkelman et al., 2011; Hansen & Donohoe, 2003). However, there is much information that remains missing about their resources beyond social support, especially as they relate to their working experiences. I will begin by reviewing the literature on their social resources followed by the barriers experienced in accessing other resources.

Social Resources

Researchers have long identified and theorized social capital as being a beneficial resource for individuals' mental and physical health (Pearson, 1986; Smith & Christakis, 2008). For example, Wang et al. (2018) reviewed research examining loneliness and poor social support, finding that individuals who have poor perceptions of social support have worse outcomes in symptoms, recovery, and social functioning. Additionally, they found some evidence suggesting a relationship between perceived support and mental disorders like schizophrenia, bipolar disorder, and anxiety. Generally, perceived social support is an important resource for any individual, but among Latino immigrant farmworkers, the value of social capital may be an especially important source of support due to their cultural values and the lack of access to other instrumental resources.

Several researchers have found that Latino immigrants heavily rely on their social networks for both emotional and instrumental support (Ayón & Naddy, 2013). More specifically, religious communities, friends with similar identities, and families are especially important for this population (Delgado & Delgado, 1982; Dueweke et al., 2015; Ojeda & Piña-Watson, 2013). For example, Cariello et al. (2022) examined the moderating impact of social support on discrimination and health among Latino immigrants. Indeed, they found that higher levels of social support weakened the indirect effects of discrimination on their health. Rodriguez (2013) explored social support and social isolation among migrant and seasonal farmworkers and found that depression symptoms varied on their perceived social isolation and having access to socially supportive relationships in their area. Additionally, Taylor et al. (2019) used mixed-methods to assess family warmth and children's mental health among farmworking families, finding that perceptions of family support were important for their mental health, further demonstrating the importance of social capital among this community to help alleviate psychological outcomes. In the organizational sciences, investigation of beneficial or social resources among this community is much more limited, with very little addressing these topics, and much less focusing on farmworkers (c.f. Kossek et al., 2005; TePoel et al., 2017; Ojeda & Piña-Watson, 2013). Due to this major gap in literature, Kossek and Burke (2014) specifically call for future research to focus on how to develop resources for farmworkers.

Lack of Resources

Latino farmworkers may especially rely on and benefit from social resources because of the barriers they experience and how employers and government agencies fail

to provide resources for them. Many scholars have demonstrated how language barriers, fear of deportation, and financial constraints experienced by farmworkers are connected to the inaccessibility of resources like safety information, information on worker rights, healthcare, housing, food and more (Burke Winkelman et al. 2013; Harari et al., 2008). For example, Prado et al. (2017) reviewed occupational pesticide-related illness data and literature, finding that farmworkers are underreporting because of language barriers, fear of deportation, and not having access to workers' compensation. Padilla et al. (2014) demonstrate this further by reporting that low English ability among farmworkers was associated with less access to social insurance programs.

Furthermore, documentation status is a major barrier for these workers, with undocumented farmworkers having less access to insurance for unemployment, workers' compensation, and their health; they are more likely to have family income below the poverty line (Gold et al., 2022). This was especially apparent through the COVID-19 pandemic, with Latino farmworkers having to work during the pandemic, experiencing high rates of contracting the virus, not having access to vaccinations, and lacking government stimulus funds that were provided only to documented individuals (Bright et al., 2023; Flocks et al; 2020; Perez et al., 2022; Nicholson et al., 2022). Additionally, Liebman et al. (2013) discuss how worker protections like regulations and policies for agricultural workers' health is limited or nonexistent, even though it is a dangerous work sector, and how this is exacerbated for those who are undocumented. Lastly, Tulimiero et al. (2021) explored other barriers to accessing healthcare, finding that participants described issues related to transportation, cost, and clinic hours. Farmworkers expressed the difficulties in clinics being further away from their communities, health care visits

being costly, and challenges scheduling appointments because of their long working hours and lack of paid time off.

Study Purpose and Research Questions

Given where current research is in understanding resources from different domains and their associations with health outcomes, more research is needed on the motivation, acquisition of additional resources, and access to information about employee rights, especially for exploratory studies to investigate how these constructs interconnect in the lives of Latino immigrant farmworkers. Although previous research has demonstrated that non-work domain resources are coming from farmworkers' social networks, religious institutions, and community organizations, I would like to explore if themes around these types of resources emerge in this study as well, especially when the topic of focus is about their working experiences. Therefore, my first research question is:

> ***Research Q1***: What are the non-work domain resources that Latino immigrant farmworkers find especially valuable?

Current research also demonstrates the lack of resources within the work realm but there is little known about what resources (whether provided through their employer, government agencies, or legislation) Latino farmworkers would like to see implemented in agriculture to help improve their experiences. Therefore, my second research question is:

> ***Research Q2***: What are the work domain resources that Latino immigrant farmworkers describe as potentially improving their working conditions, and which they find especially valuable?

Additionally, current research demonstrates a missing connection between how and why their non-work resources help Latino immigrant farmworkers continue through oppressive working conditions. For example, family may be an important source of support for them, but how might they be demonstrating that support? What are the behaviors that their social networks display to help farmworkers through the difficulties they experience at work? Therefore, my third research question is:

> ***Research Q3***: How do the non-work resources of Latino immigrant farmworkers help them deal with their work stressors?

Similarly, I also aim to investigate how their non-work resources provide them with information and additional resources for their work. Current research is missing an exploration of how marginalized workers come to be aware of information regarding their work. Due to the barriers they experience in accessing other resources, what avenues may provide them with information and resources in regard to their work? Therefore, my fourth research question is:

> ***Research Q4:*** How do the non-work resources of Latino immigrant farmworkers provide them with additional resources regarding information about their work, labor rights, and safety?

Chapter 3: Methods

Researcher Reflexivity

As a Latina immigrant daughter, my upbringing greatly impacts my perceptions, beliefs, research interests, and epistemological and ontological assumptions. Given my background, I highly value alternative ways of conducting and viewing research outside of the positivist standpoint. Storytelling and teamwork were a part of my upbringing and continue to be an incredibly important aspect of my life. I seek to share the knowledge of Latino immigrants in similar ways; hence, my values in conducting qualitative and community-based research. To me, qualitative methods and community-based research can mimic the ways in which I witness my family members passing down knowledge, traditions, and the contributions they each have in our household. Everyone's roles and work are viewed as equally important and integral to our collective well-being. Community-based research reflects these values I grew up with in the ways it acknowledges and prioritizes the knowledge provided by community members. It centers action and collaboration, just like when my family comes together to solve our challenges or provide support for one another. I seek to respect these community values and break the norm that numbers and hierarchies are the only ways to draw conclusions, constructs, and theories on human behavior.

From a young age, I understood that the adults in my life worked incredibly hard and endured many injustices in their work within food, construction, agricultural, custodial, and caregiving industries. Through the ways my parents, tios, and tias expressed their labor experiences, early on I comprehended that their labor and working conditions were often spoken about in ways that were negative and harmful to them. I

continue to witness and hear the stories surrounding the scars, injuries, stress, anxiety, racism, and xenophobia they experience. Therefore, for me, work is often connected with maltreatment and oppression. I have also witnessed the many barriers Latino immigrants, especially those who are undocumented, experience in obtaining healthcare, caregiving, licenses, housing, employment and so on. Coming from a mixed status family, I witness the power that those nine little numbers have in abriendo las puertas para la gente. I witness the power that English acquisition has in getting government officials and those in power to listen to you. Because I have identities of privilege, I have had to assist my family in translating legal documents, bills, calls, and work assignments. These experiences contribute to my personal beliefs that formalized structures within the U.S. continue to take advantage of and fail to protect the well-being of Latino immigrants and their families. Further, I believe that in order to survive, Latinos have to heavily rely on their families, friends, and community organizations. But more importantly, through my upbringing, I understand the strengths and beauties our culture has in connecting and supporting each other through community. Hence my interests in exploring the nature of non-work resources as they relate to working conditions.

I also want to acknowledge that although I helped lead aspects of this project, I worked collaboratively with an additional research assistant, Julissa Castellanos Regalado, who was essential in both data collection and developing our codes and themes. Similar to myself, Julissa is the daughter of Latino immigrants who came to the United States for a better future. Her parents worked in the fields to earn a living to provide for their family and have shared stories of their own experiences in the field—working in extreme weather conditions with no one but themselves looking out for their

well-being. Julissa was aware of the conditions that her parents and family members had to work in, but rarely heard her parents complain about their job or living conditions, always putting a positive spin to ensure that their hard work would pay off. As she pursued higher education, her mother would repeat the phrase, "estudia para que no tengas que pasar por lo que yo pase," referring to the importance of pursuing higher education so that they could provide a better living for themselves and would not have to go through the demanding work conditions of the fields. Through this project, Julissa remembered the words of her loved ones and realized that the stories her parents shared 20 years ago were still prevalent. Today, we hear the same stories of the extreme physical and emotional toll that farmworkers are still experiencing and their ongoing fight for basic necessities such as water, food, housing, and healthcare. As scholars and daughters of immigrants, we remember the sacrifices of our parents that paved the way for us. Now, we see it as our turn and responsibility to ensure that their voices are uplifted in academic spaces.[1]

As expressed by other scholars, the insider knowledge we hold in coming from this community allows us to interpret the research process differently (Dwyer & Buckle, 2009). We can connect with those who hold similar identities, building reciprocity and trust, strengthening our research skills when we are conducting interviews and analyzing data (Ross, 2017). As we worked with community members, interviewed, and analyzed data, these personal experiences came through in the ways we interacted with Latino farmworkers, connected with their stories, and protected what they shared. Understanding some of the fear that comes from being a Latino immigrant because of our parents, we

[1] Julissa's reflexivity statement was written by her and edited by me.

wanted to be mindful of what they chose to disclose and ensure their confidentiality. We reminded them that there was no connection with government agencies nor to their employers to enhance their feelings of safety. When talking with participants and community advocates, we were able to recall instances that we also experienced, being able to affirm and validate them.

While we hold footing in the experiences of the oppressed, we also acknowledge our privileges, positions of power, and outsider perspectives due to our education, citizenship, and language acquisition. Julissa and I both have a bachelor's degree, we are U.S. citizens, and we speak and write English fluently. Our positions as Latinas born in the U.S., place us in an in-between, transient, or partial insider status, in which there is complexity (Adeagbo, 2021; Haarlammert et al, 2017; Roberts, 2018). Although we can understand aspects of the experiences of Latino farmworkers due to our identities as low-income Latinas, we are not immigrants, we are not undocumented, nor are we farmworkers. Although we identify as Latinas, we were born in the United States, making us more Americanized and distant from the language and certain cultural customs practiced by Latino immigrants. Our status as student researchers examining working conditions may have deterred participants and community advocates from sharing their true perspectives, especially as they pertain to governmental agencies and their employers. However, we assured participants that we were not connected to those institutions and shared our personal motivations and reasons for learning from them. It was and continues to be imperative that we practice our Spanish speaking skills, learn about farm work (e.g., structure, issues, language, tasks, geographical locations), and

actively be in spaces with community members so that we can enhance our conversations and build trust, which could provide richer data and analysis.

Throughout this process, we practiced reflexivity through memos and closely working with and listening to farmworkers and community advocates to be able to better analyze and understand what they express in their interviews. It is essential that we also recognize that we do not speak for or represent Latino immigrant farmworkers, but rather we are here to learn from and work with farmworkers and community advocates throughout this process to ensure that we are accurately representing what they share with us.

Data Used for this Study

For the current study, I am using data that were previously collected from a 2021 study that sought to understand the psychological well-being of farmworkers in the midst of the COVID-19 pandemic and environmental threats (e.g., fires, smoke, heat). For transparency of my involvement in this study, I began working with the research team during the interview process and onward. I was not involved during the development of the study design, interview questions, nor recruitment. As such, I will refer to the "research team" when describing the processes I was not a part of, and I will refer to "us" or "we" once I joined the research team in the study.

Participants

The study sampled Latino immigrant farmworkers in the Oregon area, and the only inclusion criteria for the study was that workers be employed within farm work. A total of 45 participants were recruited; however, some participants decided to no longer participate, or the research team was unable to contact them after several attempts. The

final sample size was 41 participants who identified as Hispanic, Mexicano/a, and Latino/a, with two participants choosing not to disclose. Thirty-seven of the participants were from Mexico, one from Nicaragua, and one from Guatemala, with two participants choosing not to disclose. Those from Mexico varied in origin from different areas of the country, including but not limited to Guerrero, Michoacan, Durango, and Oaxaca. The majority of the sample was also composed of female farmworkers with 22 identifying as women and 19 identifying as men. Participants' ages ranged from 34 to 76 years old (*M = 47.42, SD =10.79)*, with one participant not disclosing. Additionally, 39 participants shared having children, ranging from one to 12 in number, with two participants not disclosing.

Procedure

Question Development

Due to the exploratory nature of the original study, questions were developed broadly to cover multiple aspects of farmworkers' perspectives of their working conditions, health, and safety. Interview questions first began with broader questions, asking participants to introduce themselves and describe the work they are currently in. Questions were then asked about their experiences with certain environmental threats such as increase in temperatures, forest fires, and the COVID-19 pandemic. Lastly, the final questions in the interviews touched on how farmworkers manage the difficult aspects of their work and what they would like to see changed to improve their working experiences. The structure of the questions followed Hesse-Biber's (2017) recommendations to have questions that include beginning (e.g., ice breakers), middle (e.g., key questions that follow topic of interest), and ending (e.g., reflection) questions.

A total of eight questions were created. Once questions were developed, subject matter experts reviewed questions to ensure their relevancy and that appropriate language and grammar was used. As a result of this process, several questions were reworded to ensure participants understood the questions. For example, question three asked about the factors that may worry farmworkers if they were to lose their job (see Appendix A); however in Spanish, the translation of the word “factors" did not make sense in the question. To simplify and help with understanding of the question, the Spanish translation of the question replaced factors with things, or *cosas*.

Recruitment

Recruitment of participants for the study was done in collaboration with Pineros y Campesinos Unidos del Noroeste (PCUN), a farmworker union located in Oregon in June of 2021. PCUN’s mission states they aim “to empower farmworkers and working Latinx families in Oregon by building community, increasing Latinx representation in elections, and policy advocacy on both the national and state levels” (PCUN, n.d.). As noted by Minkler (2005), collaborations with community partners in the research process can provide many benefits, including but not limited to an increased trust with community members, which can improve recruitment rates; assistance in developing questions that are relevant to the population of interest; and an enhanced understanding of the data.

Given PCUN’s expertise and work with Latino farmworkers, their knowledge and connection with community members was key in the recruitment and interview process. The research team worked with PCUN employees to recruit participants through word of mouth, distribution of recruitment posters, and phone banking. All materials were provided in Spanish with information about the purpose of the study, the length of the

interview, and the compensation of $50 for their participation. The phone banking that was completed by PCUN staff proved to be the most successful form of recruitment with participants being familiar with them and with the filling of interview slots within a few weeks. During the recruitment process, a shared calendar was created with PCUN to collaboratively schedule participants with four bilingual research assistants. In total, 45 interviews were scheduled, 41 were completed, and four were not completed due to participants deciding to no longer participate or not being able to be reached by interviewers.

Interviews

From July 2021 to August 2021, we conducted individual phone interviews with those who showed interest in participating. Due to the pandemic, working schedules of participants, and lack of access to technology within this community, interviews were held over the phone at the convenience of the participants, with the majority of interviews being conducted in the afternoons and weekends. Most interviews took about an hour, with a few going over an hour. All interviews were conducted by four bilingual research assistants, including myself, who also identified as Latinas. This is important when working with Latino populations, as researchers have suggested how the demographic composition of the research team is vital in adding cultural competence and richness in the understanding of their experiences (Ojeda et al., 2011). Due to the sensitive nature of the topics discussed within the interviews and the intersecting identities of the participants, it was especially important that the research team be composed of predominantly Latino individuals who had knowledge and proximity to Latino culture and spoke the language fluently. For example, during my interviews, I often began

introductions by sharing the commonalities I held with participants. Being Mexican, I described the *aldea* (village/area) my parents grew up in to communicate my upbringing and traditions to build common ground. Additionally, other research assistants would validate and engage with participants during the interviews by saying things like "*si yo te entiendo* (yes, I understand)" or "*mi familia tambien paso por eso* (my family also went through that)" to strengthen the relationship built with participants.

As recommended by Hesse-Biber (2017), we also used an interview guide throughout the interviews, which allowed us to be detailed when providing introductions, obtaining consent, providing conversation guidelines, and asking follow-up or probing questions (see Appendix A). During the interviews, we described who we were, explained the purpose of the study, and reviewed consent information. During the consent portion, we asked participants if they gave their permission for their interviews to be recorded and transcribed. However, due to the fears associated with documentation status and the sensitive nature of topics discussed, we had to ensure participants these recordings would only be accessed by the team. It was crucial to remind participants of their safety and confidentiality. All participants agreed to be recorded. We recorded the conversations using multiple devices including Zoom and memo applications on our cell phones. Interviews were semi-structured, meaning that we asked the eight questions developed in each interview, but if the participant touched on different aspects, we were free to follow participants in that direction. During the interview process, one of the originally developed questions (i.e., what factors make you worried about losing your job?) seemed to be confusing for participants. We convened, discussed potential alternatives, and decided to remove the question from the list, especially since this

question already had issues with translation previously. We would also meet periodically to discuss any similar questions or concerns that they were noticing during the interviews.

Transcriptions & Translations

After interviews were conducted, we saved recordings into a protected shared folder and began the transcription process. Given the limited ability for different software to transcribe recordings in Spanish, we transcribed interviews through traditional methods. Various forms of transcribing took place to best satisfy the ability and preference of those transcribing. Some transcribed by listening to the audio and typing out the interview; others used speech to text tools in Microsoft Word and later revised as needed; and others used a mix of both strategies. Kruger and Casey (2015) describe transcribing as an active process and opportunity to engage with the data. It requires individuals to hear the interviews multiple times and listen attentively, which results in one becoming familiar, paying attention, and thinking deeply about the data (Widodo, 2014). While transcribing, scholars also recommend capturing pauses, sighs, laughter, and other paraverbal behavior to enhance the interpretation of what was shared (Bailey, 2008). Therefore, we noted these aspects of the conversation during the transcription process. However, to reduce clutter in the text and time spent transcribing, smaller verbal interactions such as 'mm' were not included in the transcriptions.

In addition, many participants shared sensitive information that included their name, their employers, community organizations, and government agencies. Given the sensitive information and demographics of the participants, it was important for the research team to handle this information with care. Due to several participants asking to keep their information confidential, sensitive information was highlighted (to flag for in

analysis and write-ups) or was replaced with pseudonyms. However, given the purpose of the study, governmental agencies were left identified by name in transcripts to be able to provide ways in which these organizations can better serve Latino farmworkers. Lastly, since this was a team collaboration with multiple research assistants, I ensured transcriptions were also formatted similarly to ensure their consistency for later use (McLellan et al., 2003). Once transcriptions were completed, they were reviewed by research assistants and myself to ensure interviews were transcribed accurately. In ensuring the quality of interviews throughout the transcription process, the groundwork was set for the following research steps (i.e., translations and analysis) to also be done accurately (McLellan et al., 2003)

After interviews were transcribed, we then translated interviews from Spanish to English. As noted by Clark et al. (2017), the translation process plays an important role in shaping the data. As mentioned earlier, it is important that translators be fluent in Spanish and also be familiar with the culture, topics, and identities of the participants to ensure the data is being accurately represented (Clark et al., 2017). Throughout the translation process, we also met and discussed issues with understanding slang words, language that pertained to agricultural work, or difficulties in translating certain words or phrases. For example, we learned vocabulary like *files* (fields), *campo* (agricultural work), and *mayordomo* (foreman/lead). When there was language not understood by us, we turned toward our families and community members to guarantee the most accurate translations of words or phrases. Additionally, when there were phrases and words that did not directly translate into English or when doing so would change the meaning, they were left in their original form or in parenthesis. For example, farmworkers often described their

work as *pesado.* Although we could use the translation of "heavy work," it does not fully capture what we mean by *pesado,* so we would often leave this in Spanish or in parenthesis. Lastly, we reviewed translations so that there were multiple individuals examining a single interview to flag inconsistencies and ensure the meaning was kept, which followed aspects of Lopez et al.'s (2008) translation method utilizing Brislin's (1970) 7-step translation method.

Chapter 4: Analysis

Given that this data are a part of a larger study, in the beginning of the analysis process, our larger research team originally met to become familiarized with the data and develop the initial codes we noticed from the first few interviews. However, due to schedules and other ongoing projects, Julissa and I became the main coders as we were the two members of the research team who had the most familiarity with the data. We both conducted many of the interviews, transcribed and translated them, and conducted the initial coding, making us incredibly familiar with the stories shared by farmworkers. We analyzed translated transcriptions in Dedoose software, a common software used for qualitative analysis (Talanquer, 2014) using thematic analysis as described by Braun and Clarke (2006) to guide us in this process. The authors define thematic analysis as "a method for identifying, analyzing and reporting patterns (themes) within data" (p. 69). They highlight several benefits to this analytic approach, which include being a good foundational method for researchers to learn; the flexibility with which to use theoretical orientations allowing for flexibility with different theoretical orientations (e.g, both deductive and inductive forms of coding); and its ease and accessibility to use when working with collaborators and sharing with the public. We followed their six-phase guide which includes the following steps: becoming familiar with the data, generating initial codes, searching for themes, reviewing themes, defining and naming themes, and producing a report.

During phase one of the analysis, we continued to familiarize ourselves with the data by actively reading the interviews repeatedly and keeping notes of what patterns and codes we noticed and discussed. For example, during this process I read through my own

interviews and others that I did not conduct and listened to their audio recordings to develop an understanding of the conversations held with other participants and interviewers. I was listening and reading for patterns and commonalities as well as places where stories may diverge. While reviewing the interviews, we also discussed the topics we were noticing to be common across interviews, such as farmworkers talking about the physical demand of working in agriculture, the financial pressure to provide for their families, and their worries during the pandemic.

In phase two, we began to create initial codes and organize the data, meaning that we tried to capture the raw elements of the data into groups. Since we were coding for the broader study from which this research was drawn, we did not only code for resources but rather coded more generally. For example, we began to create codes that reflected various aspects of their work experiences, including working during the COVID-19 pandemic, working during heat and smoke, their physical health, getting exposed to pesticides, and so forth. We organized codes by topics that were similar and created subcodes that we noticed were important. For example, early in the coding process I wrote, "We may need to add a subcode under 'taking care of their body' to discuss how they are unable to go to the doctor because they can't miss work" (see Appendix B). We also met frequently to review our coding, often keeping memos, meeting notes, and saving various versions of our codebook to keep track of our decisions on code changes, definitions, and organization.

During this process, we were also using both deductive and inductive approaches. For example, when coding deductively, we were leaning on our previous knowledge as psychologists to code for support from family, coworkers, and supervisors, creating

subcodes that demonstrated the differences between instrumental and emotional support. On the other hand, when coding inductively, we looked for patterns that were outside of our knowledge. For example, early on we noticed many farmworkers discussing the need to move forward despite the challenges they go through. We coded this as *seguir adelante* (move onward) because farmworkers used this saying or phrases similar to this to describe this particular experience. While we created the code, I wrote what I perceived that they were describing that, "There are no other options but to push through, do what you have to do to survive" (see Appendix B). We also debated whether this was resilience or coping, but we came to a consensus and believed neither construct fit what we were hearing, and we wanted to look beyond our psychology background. A team member wrote:

> I actually think fitting it (*to resilience*) would be really harmful to these populations, and not truly reflect their experiences. I think often of my dad who grew up working on the fields and know that he wouldn't call it a resource/coping mechanism. (see Appendix B)

Once we completed the coding phase, we then moved onto phase three, which is searching for themes. This phase consisted of us arranging codes into broader themes. From the larger codebook we had created, I picked higher order codes that were relevant to resource related topics. For example, I included support, financial, legal, information, and health related codes because the quotes from these codes discussed what currently helps them, challenges in accessing certain resources, and how those experiences impact their well-being (see Table 1 for a complete list of codes included). I also made sure to review subcodes that may have been relevant to resources. For example, I did not include

the higher order code of “experiences of COVID” but did include its subcodes “resources provided/not provided during COVID.” After we decided which codes to include, we worked in a Google jamboard document to help us group the different codes and visually map out how they were connected.

Next, we moved onto reviewing themes (phase four). Braun and Clarke (2006) suggest that each theme should be distinct from one another and that data within a theme should correspond with one another in a meaningful way. To ensure this, we spent time discussing the codes in each theme to confirm there was a pattern that was observable. We also discussed how and why the codes were connected, thinking about examples we recalled from the interviews, and if they reflected what participants shared. During our review process, I made adjustments to the codes to best reflect the theme. For example, the code “no access to information about agencies or working rights” was originally placed under Theme 4 which covered lack of access to resources. However, after reviewing examples of this code, I realized it would be a better fit under Theme 6 because many of the examples from this code related to their fear or inability to speak up. After reviewing and making adjustments where needed, we agreed that our themes finally captured what participants shared with us in regard to their experiences with resources in the ways we perceived them.

After themes had been solidified and reviewed, we began phase five, which is to define and name themes. Braun and Clarke (2006) describe this as “identifying the ‘essence’ of what each theme is about” (p. 92). Each theme requires a detailed analysis, description, and story to demonstrate its importance and relevance to what the data are telling us. Within the document we used to map the codes, we constructed the definitions

of each theme, thinking through examples of what we heard in the interviews. We also decided to name our themes after quotes that were coded and belonged within that theme. We discussed wanting to maintain these quotes in Spanish to keep the voice of the participants and felt that this best embodied the essence and tone of that theme. It was also important to us to do this because of our desire for future dissemination efforts. We would like for farmworkers to be able to understand and see themselves in the overarching points we gathered. Lastly, the final step in this thematic analysis approach is to produce a write-up of the analysis, which is included below in the findings section of this thesis document.

Rigor and Credibility

In qualitative research, rigor and credibility of the analysis may be established through trustworthiness. Nowell et al. (2017) describe trustworthiness criteria to include credibility (i.e., the fit between the researcher's depictions and participants' perspectives), transferability (i.e., providing thick descriptions so that others may transfer the findings), dependability (i.e., research process is traceable and documented), confirmability (i.e., findings are reflective of the data) and audit trails (transparency in the decisions made). As they note, trustworthiness should be established in each phase of thematic analysis. Throughout our analysis of the interviews, we followed Nowell et al.'s (2017) recommendations on establishing trustworthiness including: keeping detailed documentation of our reflections and thoughts on the theories, codes, and themes; debriefing with peers; obtaining team consensus on themes; keeping notes of meetings and decisions made; and describing the analysis in rich detail in my report of the findings.

These processes are described in the previous section outlining our analytic approach and will be detailed through the results sections as well.

Chapter 5: Findings

In total, we found seven themes that reflected the complexities in their resource experiences, showing how essential their proximal and non-work environments (e.g., themselves, microsystems, community organizations) are as resources or in providing additional resources, especially while experiencing minimal to non-existent resources from their more distant and work environments (e.g., work organizations and macrosystems). We found that their most shared sources of comfort, information, and help were often through themselves, their families, and more proximal communities. Their narratives also shed light on the many exploitative and oppressive practices (e.g., not being paid, not being given work materials, not having documentation, abusive management, lack of enforcement) by people in their distal environments such as their employers and government entities that limit farmworkers within their work environment and outside of it. Participants also described the toll that limited resources have on their health, regularly discussing their daily physical aches, injuries, anxiety, and stress. The farmworkers who participated in this study ask that employers and those in government positions improve their conditions by providing resources like a livable wage, documentation, work materials, water, bathrooms closer to their work areas, worker protection laws, and many more.

In this chapter, I will describe the themes and the illustrative examples we found to immerse the reader in the stories that were told to us. However, to help distinguish the different environmental experiences participants described, I will organize the themes through the ecological levels of analysis framework. To begin in the macro, I will first present themes related to their resource experiences in their *distal* environments, followed

by themes related their resources experiences in their *proximal* environments. I will then finish with the final theme that uncovered their physical and psychological health experiences. Later, in my final chapter, I will discuss how these themes addressed my research questions and are related to COR theory and the ecological levels of analysis framework. To protect the confidentiality of participants while also providing the reader with a sense for the variety of participant quotes included, I will be notating their quotes by the interview number they were given (e.g., P01).

Resource Experiences in Distal Environments

Theme 1: "Les cobran por llevarlos a su trabajo, ay no es un robo."

The first theme translates to "They (*employers/contractors*) charge them (*farmworkers*) to take them to their work, oh no, it's theft" (P41), which captures the core of what participants shared about their financial experiences. It was clear to us that one of the most discussed topics with farmworkers was about their financial challenges, with participants commonly talking about how their main source of stress and worry is not knowing if they will be able to provide for their families. This was especially true during the COVID-19 pandemic. Farmworkers lost their work or experienced reduced hours due to people getting sick or production slowing down. While reflecting, Julissa wrote, "Finances were some of the biggest stories that stood out, having to take care of their health, their safety materials, transportation etc. and the ways they were being impacted (*by this*)" (Appendix B). Many farmworkers described how they are not paid enough for the amount of work they do, having to work long hours and on weekends but not being paid overtime, experiencing wage-theft, and not having any paid time off. For example, one participant shared, "Sometimes, it's hard because we barely get enough to pay for

rent, and bills…well, sometimes we do not get enough, and we ask for advancement, like $100, before the next payday, and we go from there" (P28). Another participant shared how difficult it is to ensure they are paid what they are owed, stating:

> And so many times I went, but after so much work in the sun, it is very hard work, walking around, picking quickly, and going to weigh, we have not been paid…I have already sent a message, talked to the person, and we have not been paid. I asked him to send a message to take a picture of the card, and they were going to send me a check, and they didn't send me anything. I mean, just a little bit goes a long way because you go to work and suffer to earn it and it is only fair that they pay you (P26).

We found that many workers are also having to keep track of their own hours and pounds of food gathered because employers, contractors, or supervisors will deny, shorten, or dispute their labor. Participants shared that employers will knowingly do this because they want to get away with not paying overtime, and they know people are too afraid to speak up or do not have the information to report them. A participant shared an example from their coworker:

> Like one of my coworkers told me, "Why does the punch card say we started at this time, and we started at a different time?"…They always deduct an hour, not sure if it's because they do not want to get in trouble, just in case they get required to pay us hourly or something (P16).

According to participants, not only are farmworkers being paid minimally for their labor and being stolen from, but their employers are also expecting them to pay for their transportation (e.g. paying contractors for rides) and work equipment (e.g., scissors,

boots, clothing, masks). To our surprise, many of the farmworkers shared how they are having to spend their own money for things necessary to perform work tasks; and many described that those in more vulnerable situations are even more likely to experience these injustices. One participant shared how people are taken advantage of because they do not have any other options saying, "Now that they took away our licenses and such, many people were left without cars, without driving, many people didn't want to take risks" (P41). This participant also shared how newly immigrated workers are especially taken advantage of stating "And then, for example, the people they bring from Mexico, they charge them for everything. They charge them to change their own checks. They charge them for everything. For everything, for everything" (P41).

As we conducted the analysis, we were especially taken aback by this finding because we had no idea that this was occurring. Many farmworkers described how they have to purchase protective gear that is of high quality because if not, they would be exposed to chemicals or not be able to endure the extreme weather. They also discussed a number of issues with transportation and how *rites* (rides) were an expense they needed to cover just to get to the fields. In reflection, after reading the 28th interview I wrote, "Having to spend money for their materials, similar to the earlier interview that mentioned this, it makes me so frustrated to hear that they are having to provide their own safety materials, it's ridiculous" (Appendix B).

They also shared that despite getting taken advantage of with their pay, they do not have much control over their situation and need to work out of necessity to provide for themselves and their families. One participant said, "…like the people who don't have help from the state, well imagine, they have to work to eat, to pay rent and everything. If

they don't have help for rent, for food, then they have to work no matter what" (P14). It was evident that many farmworkers were upset about being poorly paid and having to stay within this work because they do not have documentation, worker protections, or access to other resources outside of work, which I will discuss further in the following themes.

When reflecting on how their finances were impacted during the pandemic, participants discussed how their hours decreased significantly and had an emotional toll on them. One participant shared, "…then they told me that they were going to lay off a lot of people…And you say, and now? What am I going to do? You have plans to work or just a little bit to get ahead, but working is more complicated. Everything gets more complicated" (P26). Another participant expressed, "It affected us a lot because I was working in a cannery, and they laid us off, and they began to close everything, even the farms did not want many people. I was with no work for three months" (P17). Similarly, another farmworker shared how worried they felt about paying for their expenses saying, "Uh well more than anything bringing food to our home and covering our needs for electricity, rent (*short pause*) uh more than anything the kids because the kids aren't going to school, they're with us so we have to buy more food" (P10).

Lastly, when talking about all of their financial challenges and how their work drove these challenges, participants spoke about how they just wanted their pay to be reflective of their labor so they could provide more to their families. For example, one participant said:

> Even though we work Monday to Friday, sometimes the paychecks come from 11-12 days, so they don't pay us those extra hours (*short pause*) they pay us what

> we usually get for those hours. And, well, it would help us a bit more to contribute to our home (P10).

Another participant shared similar sentiments when asked about what change they would like to see, saying, "…That they (*employers*) also support us with the raise and the money…" (P12). Similarly, another participant joked about the simplicity of being paid more, saying, "Well if they made a change to pay more than it would be fine (*laughs*) it would make my life easier" (P13). They also ask that people who can enforce this must do so, with one participant saying:

> The laws (*short pause*) the rules (*short pause*) whoever checks how the companies are, that they make some changes for the people that work with them because I have seen that they only benefit (*short pause*) and the workers are the ones that get (*short pause*) they are the ones that earn the least. (P01)

Through this theme, we found that participants would value having financial resources from their work domain and wanting wages in agriculture to be raised without the pressure to work fast or with intensity. They would like to receive overtime pay, paid sick leave, and for there to be enforcement of this to make sure that employers provide it. One participant stated, "They should increase the minimum wage, and they should pay farmworkers more, like increase it to $15, $16 per hour, and that would be better" (P28). They made it clear that earning more would improve their own lives and their families.

Theme 2: "Yo me gustaría que los contratistas fueran personas que te ayuden."

The second theme we found translates to "I would like the contractors to be people that help you" (P23), which displays the kinds of perceptions farmworkers had toward their working relationships. When discussing the topic of people at work,

farmworkers would often share with us about the negative experiences they had with their employers, supervisors, and contractors, with only a few participants feeling supported by them. However, with their coworkers, these experiences appeared to be more mixed and given less importance or attention. They often shared that they tried to focus on getting the work done and going home. Overall, participants described both types of relationships as something they needed to overcome at work for different reasons.

When describing what their relationships were like with people in charge of them, participants would often talk about feeling neglected, lacking support, being *maltratado* (experiencing maltreatment), and dealing with conflict. Many participants expressed not being able to rely on their employers, supervisors, or contractors as resources because they are often not looking out for them, especially when it concerns their health or family, and instead are more interested in just getting the work done. For example, one participant said, "Yes and sincerely what happens here is that they utilize us when they need us. But when you can't, they put us to the side, it's the truth. That's the reality" (P11). Another participant stated, "No, they don't listen to you, nobody listens to you…what they think about is only money, they don't think about the people…" (P23). Other farmworkers described how they are also often given fewer hours or work for needing to have flexibility for an appointment or needing to take care of their children. One participant shared, "Well, we all have family, and we all have to miss work sometimes. It's not what we want to (*do*), and if your son gets sick, well you're not going to work anymore" (P36).

Not only do farmworkers feel unheard by people in charge, but many have also experienced abusive employers, contractors, and supervisors. One participant expressed seeing the discrimination and racism between people saying, "Yes, yes, in different job I have seen that, for example, if you are an American um they treat you the best and as a Hispanic you have to do what they say" (P05). Similarly, another participant expressed how people are mistreated because of their background, sharing "…But they try to humiliate the paisano…" (P01). Another participant discussed how abusive their supervisor was to them, sharing, "He gets mad at me or sometimes he is a screamer." They later described not being able to leave saying, "Sometimes you stay there just for the payment or sometimes you think, 'I'm not going to make the rent this month' or things like that" (P33). Another farmworker also shared the need to stay regardless of the mistreatment experienced, saying, "…they take advantage because those managers and supervisors and bosses treat people badly, and the poor people out of necessity, are putting up with it" (P06).

Interestingly, others described how people from the Latino community are also abusive toward farmworkers, with one participant saying, "I'm talking about always going against ourselves, like between the employees, well in between the same race" (P45). Another participant had a negative experience with a Latina supervisor sharing, "I worked with that person who was so stressful…who yelled at us. She was very abusive and Mexican as well" (P21). Several participants shared frustrations with Latino supervisors and contractors who also play a role in the way they are mistreated and expressed a desire for more solidarity among themselves. One participant shared, "It has changed my way of thinking, that there must be unity, that people have to be more aware,

come together, and do everything necessary to take care of themselves…" (P41). Other participants speculated why there may be a lack of unity in the workplace, and they mentioned how people feel afraid to speak up (which I will describe further in theme six) or are having to look out for themselves because of the pressures to survive. One participant spoke about how some choose to stay behind when people try to speak up, saying, "And the one that stays, the ones that work, help their harvest" (P16). Through the interviews, we learned how competitive this work industry is and how farmworkers are pitted against each other for resources.

Although many of the discussions that centered around employers, supervisors, and contractors had to do with them being unsupportive and abusive, it is important to acknowledge that there were a few participants that expressed counter-experiences, sharing that they felt supported and received help from their employers. For example, one participant shared, "They do not mistreat us, they do not say anything, they give us our break…they are good people" (P31). Another participant expressed, "Yes, listen, she is very flexible, like giving you the time to leave your children and then go back to work, it's a very good thing" (P22). Others discussed feeling valued when their supervisors check in with how they are doing, provide water, and listen to their needs.

When talking about their relationships with coworkers, generally, farmworkers seemed to feel less impacted by them and saw them as something that could be not bad or good but rather more normal. One participant casually discussed the different personal conflicts people have with each other at work saying, "That is the most normal thing in the world, almost, no, no. That you already know that you are going to find people like that (*laughs*)" (P02). Similarly, when farmworkers talked about experiencing conflict

with coworkers, they would describe situations that could be found in many other workplaces. For example, when a participant was asked about why conflict arises at work, one participant said, "It's their personality… all of a sudden they arrive with a bad temper…I try not to let their bad vibes get to me *(both laugh)*" (P12). Others did mention feeling tense or a lack of support because of their coworkers. For example, one participant shared, "Ah what is most difficult for us sometimes is dealing with people who have a strong character. That is what causes the most stress…" (P14). Another farmworker said the following:

> There are colleagues who treat you badly. For example, if I work with you, we are working together, so we have to be at the pace of the machine, then you are telling me that this is too much work for me, and blaming me as if I am forcing those people to work harder, so I would go to the office to complain (P39).

On the other hand, some farmworkers also expressed feeling supported by their coworkers. Some individuals talked about their colleagues helping them keep up with their tasks, receiving gifts, foods, or rides when needed. For example, one participant shared, "Yes, we have to pay for the *riters* (drivers), or sometimes we find coworkers that offer to give us a ride if they live close to us" (P17). Another person talked about how they help each other during work saying, "…when you have a good coworker, and sometimes you fall behind because your groove has a lot of this and that. And sometimes they find you so you can get out quickly and we all leave together" (P36). Others shared how coworkers even help emotionally by checking in on them or making them laugh. A farmworker stated, "Well sometimes you find coworkers that are, are funny (*both laugh*)

well they make you laugh, or they make small conversation…" (P17). Another participant said:

> We support each other at work …because something is going on with the colleague's personal situation, so we call him on the phone, "How are you?" And so on and so forth, we feel the emotional support. That's the good thing about emotional support because if you feel alone, in this pandemic, imagine that (P20).

Lastly, some farmworkers also shared how they provide each other with information about resources or anything that may be helpful to a person's situation. One participant said, "Yes there were also some coworkers that were infected (*by COVID*)… I even shared the number for the labor relief from PCUN…because there is where there is help and yeah they also didn't pay them" (P16). Another participant explained that when talking to a coworker, they thought a relief program was not going to support them, but they explained to them how to apply, stating, "I told them that I had already applied, 'You're not wasting your time... but if you don't apply, how is the government going to give you anything ... they aren't going to send it to your house'" (P15). Although there were points made about the contentions between them, their solidarity and resource sharing seemed to be equally important, and they demonstrated a desire for others to realize this. After coding interview 32, I wrote, "I think it's interesting this person has mentioned a couple of times that their coworkers are united…it seems like they stand up well for each other which may contribute to their protection" (Appendix B).

While farmworkers' working experiences seemed to be filled with many diverse experiences, what was clear to us was that they did often experience conflict and mistreatment from those with more power (i.e., employers, supervisors, and contractors);

and it was important for them to see this change so that they could have support from them. When discussing changes they wanted to see, many farmworkers expressed wanting those in charge to go through training and for OSHA to regulate them better. For example, one participant voiced the following:

> There are many things that could be improved if the managers would help, but sometimes it's not their fault because they don't receive the training, so there are people who are only put in charge because they are doing their job well, but they have no training on how to be a manager or how to be a leader, so this affects the worker because the manager has no way to protect the worker…(P03).

Similarly, another participant shared an instance when a colleague had fainted, but their supervisor did not know what to do in that situation. The participant was able to help their colleague, but they would like that "…the people in charge are a little bit more prepared when a person faints or something like that. I don't see much preparation" (P14). Others also expressed wanting to trust that their contractors can take care of the well-being of workers, with one participant saying:

> I would like the contractors to be people that help you, that help you when you are going to fall in a place, when you fall, they quickly take care of you, they take you to the hospital, they help you get by, they have water for you, they have clean bathrooms… (P23).

Throughout the interviews, farmworkers expressed the crucial role that employers, contractors, and supervisors play in their work. Their stories show that there is a great need to provide leadership and safety training and regulation for individuals

who are in power so that they can better protect the well-being of farmworkers and contribute to their desire of being more in community and solidarity with one another.

Theme 3: "Tiene que aplicar la ley."

The third theme that was uncovered translates to "The law has to be applied" (P16). Many farmworkers also vocalized their current experiences with OSHA, finding that they often felt that these agencies played a more passive role in protecting them as workers, or even sided with employers instead of workers. Some participants shared that they do not see OSHA visit their worksite often or are unaware of how they may be a helpful resource. One participant shared their frustrations with how employers are often given a warning of a visit ahead of time, and they only speak to the supervisors but not the farmworkers:

> What I'm most curious about is that OSHA comes in and goes straight to the owners. What are they going to tell them? Nothing. They never talk to the people. They never ask them anything, and the day they come in everything is clean. They leave and go right back to it (P21).

Another participant also shared that when they did try to report something, nothing was done, saying, "Well sometimes we say, 'I can complain here,' but then I complain and they don't listen to me, or we call OSHA and they don't come (*short pause*) and you say, 'Where do I complain?'" (P17). Someone else also mentioned how it is only when OSHA comes that they start to follow some rules: "When they tell them that OSHA is coming, they start cleaning up all the work…I remember one time that OSHA was going to go, and they started cleaning and dusting everything" (P45). Another participant speculated on why OSHA visits less often saying, "It may be because in

smaller places.... they are not as vigilant maybe…there was only one person that came in, a lady, and um that time she told us, well, she made us get organized somewhat" (P32).

While talking to participants, there seemed to be less understanding and experiences with OSHA or any other government agencies. However, several farmworkers expressed wanting there to be more regulation from the government and more labor laws that could protect them. One participant said, " No well I see that one option would be that they visit us so that the rancher also feels some pressure, I mean, they have to follow the law, and what they are establishing (*OSHA*)" (P16). When asked about changes in OSHA they'd like to see, another farmworker felt that they need to be more attentive with workers saying, "If they (*OSHA*) answer when we call and that they pay attention and that they do more site visits and to truly pay attention and interest in the workers, in the situations that are reported" (P17). More generally, another participant expressed wanting to see equity with farmworkers stating:

> Well, I just wish that in the future, hopefully not too far away, there could be different rules not against us but in favor of us. Not that they only focus on one person, like they say, white people. That we also have rights and that we can also do what a white man can do, a black man can also do it. (*long pause*) That is the only thing I would hopefully in the future see, see the change and with pride say, "Uh I work for this company because they take care of me, they protect me, they give me benefits like they give it to them as well." That is what I would like to hear one day (P05).

Theme 4: "Para nosotros que somos indocumentados, pues la verdad si es un poco más porque no tenemos otra alternativa."

The fourth theme translates to "For us who are undocumented, the truth is, it is a little more because we have no other alternative." This theme captures many of the farmworkers sharing how they lack access to resources outside of the workplace (e.g., unemployment benefits, driving licenses, healthcare) especially when undocumented. They expressed that having access to these resources would make a positive change in their life— helping them connect with their family, improving their health, and more generally opening the doors to other opportunities. During the interviews we made sure not to ask about documentation status given the sensitivity of the topic, but perhaps given our interviewer demographic and proximity to people in our own lives with these experiences, participants may have felt safe and comfortable to express the challenges that come from being undocumented. This was similarly experienced by Ayón & Naddy (2013). After coding interview 41, I wrote, "…It also makes me wonder how we can continue to hear these stories but also protect them, it feels like these things are naturally brought up without us having to necessarily ask" (Appendix B). To further protect their confidentiality and privacy, I will be removing participants' interview numbers in this section.

When they shared their stories of being undocumented or seeing others who are undocumented, participants talked about the harsh reality of living with this status because it limits them and further contributes to the injustices and inequalities they face in the U.S. One participant said, "When you aren't legal, well you have so many things against you, lots of things you can't apply for." Without having the privileges of being a

citizen or resident, they cannot obtain many other resources that would allow them to improve their life. Another participant shared, "You can't because you don't have the legal documents. And you miss out on a lot of really good opportunities." In the context of COVID, someone expressed their inability to receive the stimulus checks that were provided during the pandemic saying, "I am not a legal resident (*short pause*) so we have not had any help from COVID." One participant explained their frustration with this, especially while still having to contribute to this country and their jobs:

> You have to pay your taxes and everything else…And I didn't miss a single day. I worked every day. And they never told me, "Okay, there's a lot of smoke today, we're going to end today and pay you for the day…." We don't get that privilege like others.

Others described the emotional toll that being undocumented takes on them and their families. One participant shared, "…you're in a hole here… you're free but I also feel stuck because…one can't manage." Another participant reflected:

> As I explained, it affects you emotionally (*short pause*) when a person is not safe in this country you always have the fear…if we get deported and more so when (*short pause*) emotions are what affect us a lot… we don't know how to act, and we get depressed and frustrated, and so many things happen in our mind that sometimes we affect our children emotionally too.

Another participant shared the difficulties of being apart from family, sharing how they were unable to say goodbye to their loved ones who passed away, saying, "…I lost my mom, she passed away in 2016, I couldn't see her" Prior to the interviews I had anticipated that topics around documentation would have emerged but not to the level of

depth in which they did. This theme demonstrates how having documentation becomes a catalyst for many other resources, making it virtually impossible to improve their working and living conditions when someone is undocumented.

In addition to the challenges experienced by those who are undocumented, participants

more generally expressed not having access to other resources, especially healthcare. One participant shared, "And you don't get any help from anyone. No medical, insurance, or housing assistance, or food stamps. Nothing, completely nothing." Many also lack insurance or any additional support that would allow them to cover their time visiting the doctor and getting their health checked, even when several of them experienced injuries at work. One participant shared, "…if we ask for a day off to go to the doctor …we do not have privileges so if we go we lose those days." The same participant also shared having to use alternative ways to help with their pain:

> Because going to a chiropractor is very expensive and they charge a very high price to check you without insurance or for the same reason and then we stay as I said we stay the same and try to solve it with something natural like ointments.

The lack of access to healthcare becomes especially challenging and neglectful because farmworkers shared experiencing or witnessing injuries at work with employers often denying that their injuries occurred. A participant shared how difficult it was to receive help after being injured: "I fell and hurt my knee…they (*HR*) said that they won't be responsible because supposedly I didn't get hurt at work…" Another participant said, "I didn't have social security, and the insurance company didn't want to accept me and since that day I have been sick. I almost can't work much with that arm, but I have

worked because you need money." Although they are injured, they are unable to receive the assistance needed to ensure their recovery and health and therefore go back to working, further damaging their health.

When asked about the changes they would like to see, a couple farmworkers discussed wanting to have access to healthcare. One participant said, "… I would like for them to bring an insurance company where it would be accessible for someone undocumented as well." The same participant also expressed how essential it is that Latino immigrants be given citizenship status, sharing, "Why? Only because of your status. And that for me I think would be something primordial and essential for any person." Similar to others, another participant said, "…as one who is undocumented, we always have to think that at any moment we can be fired and also it is not so easy to look for a job because they ask for papers."

Our fourth theme uncovered the struggle that many undocumented farmworkers (and other Latino immigrants) live through because they lack nine numbers tied to their name even though many of them still pay taxes without receiving funds or government help. Not having *papeles* (papers) was reported by participants as a main contributor to their difficulty accessing many other resources.

Resource Experiences in Proximal Environments

Theme 5: "Pues seguirle echando ganas a vivir la vida. Y pues seguirle. Seguirle."

Our fifth theme translates to "Well, keep trying to live life. And well, keep going. Keep going" (P42). This theme captures many of the different aspects of farmworkers' lives that uplift them and provide them with the motivation and willingness to keep persisting through challenges in their life, especially the ones that come from their work.

As demonstrated above, farmworkers are experiencing many obstacles created by others that place them in poor working and living conditions. Although they expressed these challenges frequently, they also shared how their families, friends, fellow farmworkers, community organizations, and God allow them to *seguir adelante* (move onward).

Receiving support from their families was incredibly important for participants. Many shared how their families are giving them both instrumental and emotional support and are their primary reason for wanting to work hard. Many participants shared that the most important thing to them is that their families are okay and provided for. When asked what gets them through the difficult aspects of work, one participant said, "Well, more than anything else... my family, my daughters" (P33). Similarly, another farmworker shared, "But then I think, thank God I have the support of my family. That is very important to me, because, well without their support, I think, I would not do as much" (P36). Others also talked about times when they received examples of emotional support. One participant shared the following:

> Well, my children, the only thing they tell me, thank God that I managed to get my children moving forward, which was my main goal…And they tell me not to worry, that in some way or another we have to keep going, to not to not stress out, or be in bad mood, or to not worry, I tell them, but it's just impossible. (P05).

Similarly, other farmworkers discussed how their families also allow them to vent and feel hopeful and encouraged. One participant stated:

> Well, my husband tells me that everything is going to work out, we need to work hard and that little by little we are going to get there…Talking to other people on the phone and saying that we are not the only ones going through this…through

> COVID, that we have to work hard because the government does not know us, life will go on (P26).

Another participant also shared:

> My wife here at work, because sometimes I go with her and she asks me every day, "How was your work?", and you feel that they are supporting you…It went badly, it went well, today we did well at work, we completed the workday, we left well, we talked about these things for tomorrow." And everything is better because you feel that you can let off some steam about what happened during the day, during your work day (P20).

Many farmworkers also described how their families support them instrumentally by helping them with childcare, paying bills, or sharing food. A participant described how their siblings came to help them when they were sick, sharing:

> …I couldn't even get up, you feel so tired…my brother would bring some (*food*) and then my other brother would bring some and they would take turns…they would leave me a pot of food for all day (*laughs*) and well it's, well it's beautiful right, to set aside and well they'd also give or still give, I don't know, the boxes for food, there were potatoes and milk, so well it's a huge help and that's it (P43).

Others also shared how essential their families are in providing them with financial support. One participant described how their children help them cover their bills, saying, "And when my children come to me and say, 'Give me a bill, I'll help you with this'… that is how I am surviving… they do not leave me behind as they tell me, 'We are never going to leave you behind'" (P05).

Apart from the support they receive from family, many farmworkers expressed how seeing their children be in better positions than themselves fulfilled them. One participant shared, “Because I have a son who's a teacher…I sent him to college, and I don't owe any money because we paid for all the classes.” (P39). After reading this interview, I wrote, “I just felt that proudness of them and their son…although they are in these working conditions, they seem at peace in a way because their kids went further and they are okay” (Appendix B). Another participant talked about wanting their family to be better off, saying, “…but you see the family, and you have to move forward and be the strongest of the family and …yes, you have to be strong to get ahead and that they get ahead…” (P09).

Interestingly, we also found a sense of inner acceptance and drive expressed by farmworkers expressed that allowed them to get through the difficult aspects of their work and non-work life. Many of them discussed what Julissa and I named *seguir adelante* (move onward). Although some may want to name this as resilience, we felt like there was more to this pattern that we noticed. It was more of a general attitude that we have also experienced first-hand in our own families—that regardless of the hardships you face, you have to keep going. There are no other options but to move forward as best you can. *Seguir adelante* reminded us of *si se puede* (yes we can) and this type of resistance that the Latino community has expressed for many decades because the outside world has proven itself to be unreliable and unpredictable despite the many promises of politicians including providing immigration reform. One participant shared, “And well, the truth is that, because why live lamenting over something that's not in our hands? That has no solution?” (P41). This drive also represented how they wanted their families to go

beyond and work outside of manual jobs, a participant expressed, "…like I always tell my kids, I work, I have money because of my efforts, and I would like, I would feel proud, that you all *salieran adelante* (kept going), and you would get money because of your mind, because of your intelligence, because you're capable" (P03).

Outside of themselves and their families, a couple of farmworkers described how their friends or their faith provided them with emotional support, the motivation to keep going, and the belief that things were going to be okay. One participant shared the following:

> At first, she was also alone like me, but she's been alone longer, so she would always tell me, "Don't worry, everything is possible, you're going to *seguir adelante* (move onward) and I will too, I was like that and still." So I found like encouragement with that friend…well I kept learning… (P16).

Another participant said, "Well you know before yes, I was worried about insecurity that…but now that, now that, well God will provide, and God will provide" (P44). Similarly, another farmworker shared, "What can we can do in those situations, but to deal with it. And wait for God's will. The good thing is that it was for a short period and now we are doing better" (P28).

Regarding work specifically, some participants also shared positive things they enjoyed about their work like the nature and others that had flexibility and stability. For example, our 41st participant shared what they enjoyed about this type of work, saying:

> P41: Oh, I feel free!
>
> Interviewer: Yes, being outside breathing with nature, taking care of plants!
>
> P41: Yes, I love it, I love that.

Another participant shared, “I liked it because in the morning you get up early and it's fresh, it's beautiful” (P26). In terms of flexibility with their hours, one participant expressed, “…then I have my boss, (*they*) give me permission to go in until I send my child to school…” (P22). Another participant said, “Here where I work, they give us the opportunity that if we miss weekdays for the children's appointments or school, we can go on Saturday and make up the hours we missed…they are paying us overtime so that helps too” (03). When discussing these experiences, we appreciated that farmworkers also shared the good things that they enjoy about work. I felt like this reflected what I know and what I was taught; it reminded me of how my parents would share that you have to find the good and the hope to get through.

Farmworkers also talked about how they are able to stay afloat or keep going because of the information, job opportunities, and encouragement they receive from other contractors, farmworkers, and especially from their local community organizations. When participants shared about the structure of agricultural work, they discussed how many of the job opportunities come from word of mouth. This is best summarized by a participant who shared the following, “That you again get comfortable over there, lining up with people you know, your friends, where there could be work where they work, no. Because it’s how you search, there is no other way” (P02).

Moreover, when talking about community organizations and the services they provide, participants shared how essential they are for them, especially in receiving funding, food, materials, and information about programs and their labor rights, especially during the COVID-19 pandemic. One participant shared:

> Well from there I asked PCUN for help, I was sick with COVID, they did help me for the labor relief…My kids too, all the family...I was at home for a month and a half without working, but then I found PCUN and well they told me…they gave me the number that the state was giving labor relief…That if you didn't have (*money*) to pay for rent, well they could help you too with rent payment. Thank God there was that help…(P16)

Similarly, another participant said:

> We received support from Mano a Mano… yes it was an economic help that they gave us because we were coming from work…and there were some girls who told us that if we wanted to go there for a COVID talk, and they gave us some fliers.... and they explained to us that we could apply for help and when I arrived there. I contacted one of the girls who gave us the flier ... and they put me on hold and I did receive help from them. (P15)

In terms of obtaining information about their labor rights, a participant described how advocates from these community organizations would visit their worksite: "A guy came and left us some brochures…it was something good because we started to read them and 'Look, if they do this, if they don't pay you, you can talk here. And they disrespect you'" (P14). Another participant said, "Puentes y Cultura was one that supported us…because they (*bosses*) didn't spend any of their money…they convened a meeting and there they gave us face coverings. They also gave us hand sanitizer, like liquids, like water" (P28).

With how vital family is to their well-being and motivation, many farmworkers expressed wanting to have more flexibility from their work to be able to spend more time

with their families, distract themselves from the stress, and be able to pour back into these support systems. For example, one participant shared, "That would be the change I would make so that I wouldn't be thinking and that my life wouldn't be as stressful…to do activities with my family to keep us busy and that there wouldn't be so much stress" (P34). Another participant shared that they wanted, "To be more in the family, with the family and not to think so much about the problems we have. Because that helps a lot" (P20). Similarly, another farmworker expressed, "For example, as I have 2 smaller children, to have a little more time to care for them (*short pause*) and because it is the most, sometimes it is what one worries about the most, for the little ones" (P10).

This theme highlights the communal value within Latino communities, and how the majority of farmworkers expressed the ways in which their family, friends, God and community help them *seguir adelante* (move onward) and lean into their inner strength. They also let us peek into the things they enjoyed about their work, which often focused on nature.

Theme 6: "Porque nos vamos a dejar? No, tenemos nuestros derechos."

Our sixth theme translates to "Why do we have to tolerate? No, we have our rights" (P36), illuminating how many farmworkers expressed the importance of speaking up for themselves and those who do quit because of the working conditions they witness and experience. Our participants shared the experiences they encounter when speaking up in the workplace, demonstrating how often they are met with retaliation, fear from others, and barriers like a lack of information and language barriers. Unfortunately, many farmworkers shared instances of having decided to speak up but were left unheard, rejected, and met with retaliation. For example, one participant shared, "Like I've always

said, if you talk or you try to say something, they'll let you go. They call you and they say, 'You know tomorrow there won't be anymore (*work*)…'" (P16). Another participant expressed the impact that working with pesticides had on their health, and they tried to express this but were ignored, saying, "…they did not give much importance about our complaints, same, this grape company, that I also worked at… we complained and we told him, no one should work in those conditions, and the supervisor told us that nothing could happen that the chemical used was not (*harmful*)…" (P17). Many others shared the fear that many farmworkers feel from speaking up. For example, one participant shared the following:

> Because I can't stand to see someone who treats people like that, and I speak up…the employer gets angry with me and in the end he makes me angry and then you come out arguing to defend your rights, but there are many people…When they protest about something, the employer makes them afraid (*short pause*). They say that in the end they prefer to work just like that without saying anything, putting up with what the employers do (*short pause*) well, it's sad…(P01).

Similarly, another participant shared how fear prevents others from feeling empowered, saying, "And sometimes, even though the conditions are the same for everyone, many people tend to be more afraid of raising their voice or complaining, so sometimes we end up keeping quiet because we won't have the support of our coworkers" (P03).

They also discussed how essential it was that they knew about their rights to feel empowered to speak out. Many farmworkers expressed how many of them remain unaware of what they can stand up for, expressing the language barriers, and the need for

more information on advocacy and labor rights. For example, one participant said, "I have been informing myself a bit because I have participated in a volunteer group…where they've given us information about things like this…I know to defend myself a bit… Many people don't know, and they are afraid to say something" (P06). Another participant shared how they now are able to understand more because of PCUN, saying:

> There are times when they (*employers*) don't even tell us that they applied (*pesticides*) or something, you go to work like that, without knowing, and worst of all is that we don't know the type of pesticides that they put, because PCUN like right now, I get informed, before I didn't know, they said there was a type of pesticide that is more dangerous than others…and they are applying a pesticide that is against the trees, that is more dangerous, that can kill a person (P16).

Another participant shared how they have to serve as a translator to ensure their mom is aware of what is going on: "My mom works there too, so when they tell us something, some new labor policy or some new law to protect the worker, I try to explain it to her in her words so that she understands how it's going to work. Because if I explain it to her in uh... normal terms she won't understand. She's not going to understand" (P03).

On the other hand, a few participants did share examples of positive outcomes when they speak up saying:

> So we started to talk to the foreman so that he could take the news to the general manager…That also helped us a lot because…we felt valued. Hearing that, "Oh, okay, what do you need? Write it down for me, I'm going to get a person to tell us what we need and to come and do it" (P20).

Others shared how those that speak up impact the protection of others and does help empower others, saying:

> Well, my friend still knows more than me…But she doesn't get embarrassed…she's more like that, mhm. "Why do we have to tolerate? No, we have our rights." And I agree, yes, yes, yes, I know that we have our rights. "Well, don't forget, what we must do for ourselves" (P36).

Physical and Psychological Health Experiences

Theme 7: "Pues mucha gente no quiere dejar de piscar, por ir a (tomar agua.)"

Our final theme translates to "Well, many people don't want to stop picking to go (*drink water*)" (P36). This theme exposed how the working conditions and pressure of gathering product to make enough earnings forces farmworkers to sacrifice taking care of their bodies. The majority of farmworkers described how the hardest part of their job was how *pesado* (heavy/difficult) their work is both because of the physical demand and the performance pressure. Several participants shared how pressured they are to work quickly and with great intensity. One participant said, "There has been a lot of pressure and because of that pressure people have been hurting themselves" (P33). Similarly, another farmworker shared, "…she (*supervisor*) wanted me to carry heavy things…it was 13 gallons or bigger…she wanted to have four in each hand to be fast and quick…That was more stressful for me than it was (*short pause*) for me mentally" (P21). Another participant described how they weren't allowed to rest, sharing:

> Once more Mexican and more Mexican started to go, they (*employers*) didn't let them use the benches to sit on. So (*laughs*) that's what made the work there so heavy because it was just (*short pause*) the 8 hours standing there with the break

> and one hour of lunch and all that, but at least 3 hours of standing there and your hands dying (P02).

Due to how demanding this work is, many participants expressed both the immediate and long-term impact on their physical health. One participant described, "Field work like this is tiring, the body gets very tired, and well sometimes there is no understanding or support from the manager or managers…They just want you to get the job done" (P06). Another farmworker shared:

> …Sometimes like your shoulder it starts to hurt or if you make a movement very abruptly…And well, there are times when you say no, well, this is a little pain, then it goes away, you go to work the next day that way anyways. You don't pay any attention to it there (P12).

Other participants also described the long-term health issues, including our first participant who shared, "I have problems like hip and back pain. I have a lot of hip pain (*short pause*) and honestly with me going to the chiropractor to get checked to see if they really have a solution or something…" (P01). Another participant described how they used to work hard:

> I worked really fast…now turns out I can't anymore because if I start working a little hard, um, I get tired. I get tired because of my sickness…I start to sweat and I get a cough. And um I start losing my breath and my heart starts going faster. I mean I can't, I can't right now (P11).

Many farmworkers also shared feelings of unsafety and experiencing or witnessing injuries. One participant shared, "I have seen people who have fallen, like from the ladders of the machines" (P14). Another farmworker said, "It was on another one, lifting

a heavy metal and I, it crushed my finger and in fact it broke it a little bit of nail, it hurt a little bit but I'm recovering, resting and it's fine now" (P20). When further probed about their safety, several participants described that they receive minimal to no training, explaining, "Training, no, I have never been trained to work with machines or tractors…but for the first time they throw me in and now I do the things that I pay attention to or that make them want to work." (P33).

Farmworkers also talked about how they experience stress and anxiety because of the pressure of this work. One participant said, "No no no of course, of course you get stressed you know because, as I say there is hard work and stressful work also in the field" (P07). Another participant shared, "The stress of the job that sometimes, ah, we don't get it out on time, we don't get it right, things don't go well" (P20). Someone else described how the instability of work and housing makes them worried saying, "I am worried…it's always worrying not to think (*short pause*) and even more the instability of the house if I were to fall behind. I know that it is very difficult to find another rental, it is worrying to know that there is no other option" (P35).

Many farmworkers also described more generally not being able to prioritize their health because of the barriers and pressure at work, including bathrooms and water being too far away or not provided; insufficient break times; and not being given the flexibility to visit the doctor. For example, one participant shared, "You had to travel for the bathrooms…the bathrooms were up a hill. You had to go up and then you had to go down. And you had to walk the whole trail…" (P36). Another participant described the impact of this saying, "…they did not give us water, and the restrooms were too far, and we would hold it…there were some ladies that got sick…the doctor said it was urinary

tract infection because they hold it and did not use the bathroom…" (P17). Others described how they have to rush through their breaks because if they take too long they lose out on hours and the amount of product they collect. One participant explained:

> No, they like see how much time you take…And if you go to the bathroom, you take long from coming back, when you come back, the other workers are way ahead, and you take your spot but you're behind, you took too long (P16).

Within the context of the COVID-19 pandemic, farmworkers had a range of experiences with how employers and government policies ensured their safety and protected their health. Some of the farmworkers expressed receiving adequate resources during the pandemic while others did not. The farmworkers who did receive help shared that everyone took the precautions necessary to make sure people stayed safe. For example, one participant stated, "…we used a face covering, each person uses their own machine, their own tractor to spray, but they wanted us to work at a safe distance. Well, they care about us, and they were being cautious" (P31) Another participant expressed a similar experience:

> …There is more discipline…they have face masks, distancing, frequent handwashing…this is how it is where I am working, but I do not know about other jobs. Like where I am right now, they give us water, cold water to drink, when it was hot, they provide water and soap to wash our hands and the restrooms are clean (P17).

Another participant also shared how their workplace helped bring vaccinations to the site, saying, "They took some people to get vaccinated so if the person felt sick from the vaccination, they paid them for the days they missed" (P12).

However, a few others did express not receiving resources during the pandemic like not being provided face masks or not getting paid when being exposed to COVID. Many farmworkers shared that they lost hours; and without the stimulus checks for undocumented workers, they experienced anxiety and stress about not being able to cover their expenses. One participant shared the following:

> I talked to an employer when COVID was at its peak and I told him, "Hey (*name*) do you have a mask for the people?" I told him that we need to have masks now because there are many and he said, "No, people don't even use it, nothing will happen" he said (*short pause*). He didn't care about it, so I told him that it was unfair because it was an injustice, people were getting sick too often…in the end it was me who was in the wrong for talking and for telling him to provide us with masks (P01).

As farmworkers talked about their health, many asked that employers provide them with closer and clean bathrooms, water, snacks or food, shade, and adequate breaks. One participant said, "Some Gatorade, some water, some sodas, because it is something a little bit sweet that helps the body a lot" (P26). This participant also recommended for employers to allow them to bring in their own food and water saying:

> They should let you bring in a yogurt with water so that when you are thirsty you can drink it right there. Because the benches are very far away. And it is very far to go to the bathroom. I think they should let them put water in there, and they put their ice cubes in it and just drink the water right there. Because sometimes people get very thirsty because it is so far away (P26).

The stories participants shared about their health revealed that many farmworkers often neglect and sacrifice their well-being in order to bring in as much money as possible to handle their expenses. As such, many experience having poor health and feel stressed or worried. Employers intensify this by pressuring farmworkers to work faster and rush through their breaks. Efforts by OSHA or BOLI should be made to change regulations around accessibility to bathrooms and/or enforcing break times to be respected so that farmworkers feel more at ease when needing to replenish their body with food or water.

Chapter 6: Discussion

The current study aimed to understand what resources are important to Latino immigrant farmworkers in helping them with their health, motivation, access to additional resources, and information about their employment rights. It affirms and expands the current knowledge of the working experiences of Latino immigrant farmworkers by demonstrating how they still have many unmet basic needs but also how they persist through difficult working experiences because of the communities that support them. In line with previous research, their distal environments (e.g., work organizations and macrosystem) perpetuate oppressive conditions by providing fewer resources (Areguin & Stewart, 2022; Terrazas & McCormick, 2018; Snipes et al., 2017), while their proximal environments (e.g., microsystems and community organizations) serve as protective spaces and provide numerous resources to these workers (Arcury et al., 2017; Castellano et al., 2022; Dueweke et al., 2015).

Not only does this study uphold previous work but it also expands literature by highlighting several new insights into how Latino farmworkers perceive their individual and collective empowerment as well as their perceptions of labor agencies, legislation, and enforcement. To my knowledge, many scholars in various disciplines have captured how different ecological levels contribute to the discrimination and disenfranchisement of farmworkers, but fewer have investigated or found how farmworkers are speaking up in their workplaces, would like to interact more closely with labor agencies, and are wanting more legislative protection related to their work (c.f. Kim et al., 2016; Thompson, 2021). This study provides a holistic understanding of how Latino immigrant farmworkers are

interacting or would like to interact with their different ecological levels to gain a safe and healthy working environment.

As described previously, farmworkers discussed a wide array of resources they find valuable from the most basic needs to legislative protection. They demonstrated continued difficulties accessing water, bathrooms, work materials, transportation, supervisor support, documentation status, healthcare, labor information, and labor laws that protect them. In this final chapter, I will first situate the findings in the research questions of this study, COR theory, and the ecological levels of analysis. I will then provide important implications for theory and various stakeholders (e.g., U.S. citizens, community organizations, employers of Latino farmworkers, politicians). Afterwards, I will discuss the limitations of the current study. Finally, I will end this chapter by providing scholars with insight on future work that can further help understand and support the experiences of Latino immigrant farmworkers.

Linkage to Research Questions and Theory

The findings presented in the previous chapter address many components of the four research questions posed by this study as well as various facets of COR. However, the findings and stories shared by farmworkers also demonstrated several gaps and potential areas of growth for COR literature especially when considering racially and occupationally marginalized groups. Farmworkers were outspoken and candid about their current experiences and the types of changes they hope to see in the future. The experiences, challenges, and suggestions they shared provide various stakeholders in all the environments they are embedded in with clear directions on which resources can be

provided and should continue so that their work and non-work lives can be valued, protected, and prioritized.

Research Question 1

My first research question asks: what are the non-work domain resources that Latino immigrant farmworkers find especially valuable? Themes 4 and 5 address this first research question (see Table 2), as they focus on the resources farmworkers do not receive but would like to have from their distal domains such as the macrosystem (e.g., lacking opportunity to gain documentation status and lack of access to healthcare), as well as the current non-work resources that participants do receive and value from their proximal domains such as their microsystems (i.e., family, friends) and organizations (i.e., local community organizations).

Theme 4 revealed how the current macrosystem fails to provide adequate resources, negatively impacting their mental and physical health. Many farmworkers expressed feeling frustrated, upset, stressed, or anxious because they feel unprotected more generally in society. Latino immigrant farmworkers who are undocumented are excluded from accessing many other resources; and because of this status, they feel stuck in a vulnerable position unable to take advantage of other opportunities. Therefore, they value obtaining documentation status because it would provide them with resources such as a driver's license, unemployment benefits, health insurance options, better job opportunities, and government emergency funds. Many farmworkers also shared the importance of having access to healthcare or health insurance because of the physical demand that comes from working in agriculture and how often they have to continue working despite experiencing pain or injuries.

This fourth theme provides an important insight into COR theory from the perspective of a group that is marginalized. Firstly, this theme illustrates central principles of COR in that farmworkers want to acquire resources from the macrosystem that will further protect them and their families. Secondly, when considering context, the current racist and anti-immigrant legislation in the macrosystem is likely contributing to the salience of documentation status and healthcare needs described by this community. This experience demonstrates an example of more negative resource caravan passageways in that the current macrosystem is *hindering* other resources that could otherwise be accessible to Latino immigrant farmworkers. Lastly, this theme also demonstrates Corollaries 1 and 2, which describe that the starting point of an individual's resources matters and that those who lose resources are likely to experience resource loss cycles. It appears that farmworkers who do not start at a point of having documentation status or access to healthcare describe experiencing losses in other resources.

On the other hand, Theme 5 demonstrated how valuable their proximal environments currently are for them because they are the ones to provide them with additional resources that work organizations and the macrosystem denies. Farmworkers strongly expressed how important their family, friends, and community organizations are to them in providing them with emotional and instrumental support because it motivates them to *seguir adelante* (move onward). Many farmworkers discussed the various ways people from these domains provide them with *porras* (encouragement), validation, motivation, financial help, food and many more. This theme reveals examples of Corollary 3 from COR theory, where farmworkers are also experiencing resource gain spirals. Through their proximal communities, they can acquire other resources that

contribute to their well-being (including work related resources, which I will describe in more detail in Research Question 4). Farmworkers shared that by having people to support them, they feel comforted, heard, and cared for. While this support was described by farmworkers as being helpful, it is important to remember that they highly emphasized the need for changes in legislation which may also demonstrate COR's first principle, where the impact of resource loss is more salient than resource gains.

While several facets of COR are present within Themes 4 and 5, COR can benefit from acknowledging and expanding on how systemic racism impacts resource processes. Hobfoll et al. (2018) recognize that experiences at various ecological levels will impact individuals, and also that stressful events are "complicated sequences that occur over time" (p. 105). However, there is missing context on *who* is more likely to begin without resources, experience resource loss cycles, and also experience multiple stressful events overtime and *why* that is. Hobfoll et al. (2018) briefly mention how the broader culture can impact individuals' resources processes especially among "women and ethnic minorities" (p. 107). However, they frame many of COR's principles within the evolutionary perspective describing that individuals are motivated to protect and acquire resources for survival. While this may be true, it also fails to acknowledge how marginalized communities are systematically placed in stressful situations and could be motivated beyond survival (I describe this further in Research Question 2). As such, COR theory scholars should continue to examine resource experiences among marginalized communities through critical lenses.

Research Question 2

The findings from this study also provide great insights into my second research question which asks: what are the work domain resources that Latino immigrant farmworkers describe as potentially improving their working conditions and which they find especially valuable? Themes 1, 2, 3, and 7 demonstrate the many resources that continue to be inaccessible for farmworkers and are therefore valuable to and necessary for them in their work domain (see Table 2). These themes reveal that Latino farmworkers value having food; water; bathrooms; free transportation; work materials provided by employers; financial stability; supportive supervisors and coworkers; implementation and enforcement of labor laws dedicated to farmworkers' well-being; and labor rights information.

Similar to the above research question, these themes further demonstrate negative examples of resource caravan passageways, where agricultural working environments mirror the way the macrosystem mistreats Latino immigrants. The exploitative nature of this work continues to *hinder* their resource experiences. Due to this, farmworkers are experiencing multiple environments (e.g., macrosystem and work organizations) where they do not have access to important resources, further exhibiting resource loss cycles (i.e., Corollary 2). For example, by not having work materials provided by employers, they are losing other resources like money and time.

Themes 5 and 6 also contribute new insights into what farmworkers might value in their work domain (see Table 2). Parts of Theme 5 uncovered that some farmworkers may enjoy working with nature, as well as having more flexibility to prioritize their families and their health. Additionally, Theme 6 shows that farmworkers also value being able to have autonomy and collective power (e.g., working alongside coworkers to have

solidarity and create positive changes) in their workplace; wanting to speak up and be respected when they do. Although they have their own voice, they are not empowered to use it, often being met with retaliation, which forces individuals to need to protect themselves and makes them unable to contribute to their collective voice and power.

The findings from Themes 5 and 6 such as their enjoyment in working with nature, having flexibility, and using or wanting to use their voice may display some insight into the complexities of *why* these work resources are important to them. In line with COR theory principles, these work resources are potentially important because they could provide protection or acquirements of other resources. However, when talking about these resources, farmworkers often described their desire to be present and in community with others, revealing that Latino farmworkers potentially value work resources that are also rooted in collectivist and Indigenous beliefs. As mentioned by Hobfoll et al. (2018), cross-cultural studies show similar complexities among immigrant populations in other countries, such as Israel. However, there is a need for scholars to also examine the conflict in values among immigrant populations in the U.S. For example, the descriptions of several participants of abusive Latino supervisors and contractors may relate to these contrasting values. At the core, Latino immigrants may be driven by collectivist and Indigenous beliefs, but because they are embedded in a microsystem that is more individualistic and capitalistic, they may be pressured to move away from those communal roots. Indeed, the new insights related to their valued work resources illustrated by Themes 5 and 6 further demonstrates the need for COR scholars to incorporate how systemic racism may shape the resource processes of marginalized

individuals. It may not just be about what is inaccessible to them, but rather what will fulfill them and empower them as a collective.

Research Question 3.

My third research question asks: how do the non-work resources of Latino farmworkers help them deal with their work stressors? Theme 5 is closely tied to this question (see Table 2). While describing the non-work resources they find valuable, farmworkers further provide insight into *how* these resources are helping them navigate their challenges at work. In line with previous research, many farmworkers expressed that they were able to lean on their families which encouraged them and allowed them to vent, helping them destress (Ayón & Naddy, 2013). For example, several participants described how talking to their spouses, children, or friends provided them with hope and motivation. Farmworkers also expressed how people in their microsystems provide instrumental support (e.g., bringing food and helping pay for bills), which also helped their psychological health, illustrating how useful these actions were for them. Furthermore, participants also shared how God and seeing their families thrive provided them with strength and encouragement. For example, they described how seeing their families, especially their children, be in better positions—working with their minds rather than their bodies—allowed them to feel that their work paid off in some way. Lastly, we identified *seguir adelante* (move onward), which captured an inner drive expressed by farmworkers. Due to the circumstances they are in, they feel like they have to accept this reality and keep going as best as they can. This could potentially be a personal or communal resource among this community and should be further investigated.

As described above, Theme 5 reveals aspects of COR including resource caravan passageways and resource gain spirals. Their non-work domains, particularly their homes and community organizations, seem to foster many beneficial resources for them which provide them with some additional resources (described further below when discussing Research Question 4). Also mentioned previously, Theme 5 demonstrates how Latino farmworkers value resources that are rooted in community and collectivist ideals. As illustrated by them feeling fulfilled in seeing their children succeed, Latino immigrant farmworkers may not be motivated by individual goals but rather goals that reflect the well-being of their families and larger Latino community. Additionally, through this research question and theme, it is evident that there is an integration of their microsystems (e.g., family) and organizations (e.g., work) occurring, where their microsystems are greatly contributing to their work experiences. Examples of this can be seen when their families help them destress from work or when community organizations provide them with labor rights information (see Research Question 4). However, when we review what they value from their other domains (e.g., the macrosystem), examples of the many things they do not have access to arise, uncovering that their microsystems and community organizations are contributing more to improving their well-being than their work organizations and macrosystem.

Research Question 4

Lastly, my fourth research question asks: how do the non-work resources of Latino farmworkers provide them with additional resources regarding information about their work, labor rights, and safety? Themes 5 and 6 address this research question because farmworkers expressed how fundamental receiving support from family, friends,

and local community organizations is to increasing their knowledge about their working rights (see Table 2). Many farmworkers described how people in their communities are helping them understand the laws or even helping them learn about relief programs that could help them. This is done by providing translations of the laws or connecting them with organizations and additional resources. Theme 6 in particular demonstrates how knowledge is power and having an understanding of their work rights is able to empower farmworkers to use their voice and speak up against unsafe or stressful working conditions. Again, this continues to demonstrate that Latino farmworkers and potentially other marginalized groups may not only be driven by what individually benefits them, but rather what can benefit them as a collective, whether that be their families, their work colleagues, or the larger Latino immigrant community.

As described previously, Themes 5 and 6 demonstrate examples of resource caravan passageways and resource gain spirals with their proximal communities fostering the acquisition of many additional resources. However, Theme 6 also reveals a potential gap in COR theory, where marginalized groups may be more willing to lose resources for themselves or their communities. Several farmworkers expressed having to quit their job because of the way they were treated or the conditions they witnessed. Despite other farmworkers feeling afraid or discouraged from using their voice, many still mentioned the importance of speaking up for themselves. The first principle in COR is resource loss salience, where an individual is more greatly impacted by the loss of resources and will therefore behave in ways to avoid that loss. However, this may be less applicable to marginalized groups where they are willing to lose resources for a greater purpose. This continues to demonstrate the importance for scholars to incorporate critical lenses and

acknowledging how systemic racism is impacting resource processes and decision making for these workers.

Implications

Theoretical

As described above, the current study has many important theoretical implications for scholars investigating the psychosocial experiences of marginalized workers. Latino immigrant farmworkers are an especially important population to inform our understanding of resources and motivation given their intricate experiences, where they lack power and control in many domains but simultaneously have strong community support. They vary greatly in their demographics, are often employed in precarious work, have limited access to structural resources, but can also build strong social networks. Our findings expand several areas of COR theory but also of other resource and motivation theories applied in the organizational sciences.

While our findings demonstrated some concepts of COR theory that were applicable to Latino immigrant farmworkers, it also highlighted where these tenants were less relevant. For example, I found instances of resource caravan passageways, resource loss cycles, and resource gain spirals. Most importantly, I found that many of their valued resources were indeed driven by the inaccessibility of resources and their cultural beliefs. As noted in our findings, many of the participants discussed experiences of calling out injustices in the workplace, explaining that they could not allow for the continued mistreatment of others to occur. They demonstrated times where workers of color may be willing to sacrifice resources because they are motivated by a greater purpose and prioritize community well-being. Many Latino immigrant farmworkers also expressed

wanting resources that would not only help themselves but their families and community at large demonstrating their community and collectivist values. However, many current resource and motivation theories fail to capture these perspectives. Rarely are culture, critical lenses, and systematic racism incorporated as foundational pieces showing a great area of growth for scholars investigating the experiences of marginalized workers.

Several theories continue to prioritize individualistic and capitalistic perspectives. For example, Bandura's (1977) self-efficacy theory describes the factors in an individual's own belief in accomplishing their goals. Although the theory may include some contextual influences, for instance verbal persuasion (i.e., others being encouraging or discouraging), it does not address how oppressive structures may impact self-efficacy nor how an individuals' goals may be embedded in community. Another example is found in Hobfoll et al.'s (2018) focus on evolutionary perspectives for developing COR theory, they state that people want to "build, protect, and invest resources for the survival and propagation of humans as a species" (p. 120). However, this dismisses how many workers of color lack control or autonomy in many spaces. For example, among immigrant communities, there are likely to be challenges in what values, behaviors, and attitudes are respected and followed because they are forced to assimilate in their new home country. While Latino immigrant farmworkers value collectivist norms, they may be pressured by the U.S. macrosystems to uphold more individualistic and capitalistic norms. This experience is perplexing and most likely differently impacts the resource and motivation processes of these individuals when compared to white citizens.

Future scholars need to incorporate critical theories alongside existing psychological resource and motivation theories to more accurately investigate the

experiences of marginalized people. The current study creates many important questions for organizational scholars to address such as: What are the goals of marginalized groups (both at work and outside of work)? If marginalized workers had access to basic resources would their valued resources change? How might current resource and motivation theories be overly focused on an individualistic and capitalistic lens? What collectivist factors would a resource or motivational theory include? The current study demonstrates that scholars need to widen the current understanding of how resources and motivation are defined and measured among communities of color.

Practical

Practically, this study also has important implications for many different stakeholders that contribute to agricultural work, and also for relevant legislation. U.S. citizens, employers, contractors, government agencies such as OSHA, legislators, and politicians need to contribute in various ways to be able to improve the physical and psychological health of Latino immigrant workers. Firstly, it was evident from farmworkers' stories that documentation is a macrosystem resource needed for this community. Lack of documentation status leaves these workers vulnerable to resource loss cycles, deteriorating their well-being. With current and rising looming threats to undocumented individuals in this country, this implication is especially important to highlight. As we approach the 2024 presidential election, immigration has been a strong focal topic. Presumptive Republican nominee Trump continues to use racist anti-immigrant rhetoric, running his platform on the promises of mass deportations and building camps to detain people (Savage et al., 2023). Meanwhile, our senators are

working on compromising and addressing migrants by finding ways to limit how many people can seek refuge and asylum in the U.S. (Demirjian, 2024).

Current legislative efforts are doing the opposite of what farmworkers in this study have asked for. The pathway to citizenship among Brown immigrants has been a struggle and a place of contention for many decades, despite them paying taxes, contributing to social security programs, and having large spending power (New American Economy, 2020). Many immigrant families have asked and continue to ask for immigration reform that will provide them with many other resources necessary to thrive. The findings from this study demonstrate this notion, and it is alarming that the current political state of immigration is so unaligned with the stated needs of immigrants. Many Latino immigrant workers and their families need individuals that are U.S. citizens and have the ability to vote to use their own voice to advocate for their citizenship and protection. The U.S. public and its politicians must create a pathway to residency or citizenship for these workers, as it is vital to their health.

Additionally, these findings also demonstrate a massive gap between what proximal communities provide and what employers and government agencies provide for them. This study calls for employers of Latino immigrant farmworkers to provide basic necessities to this workforce such as a livable wages, paid time-off, overtime pay, food, water, work equipment and clothing, health insurance, transportation, supervisor training, and access to information about their worker rights. Without these changes, employers continue to play a role in the oppression of these workers. Furthermore, politicians at the state and federal level need to create and enforce labor policies that will ensure that farmworkers are not exploited but, rather, protected. For example, there should be

policies in which farmworkers are protected from wage-theft, retaliation, and abusive supervision. Similarly, agencies such as OSHA should make more efforts to enforce practices that protect and listen to farmworkers by showing up to their workplaces and talking to farmworkers directly about their working conditions. They should also consider finding alternative ways to inform farmworkers of their services and should create ways to build trust with the community so that farmworkers can feel supported and heard.

Given that farmworkers in this study expressed how important their local community organizations are in connecting them to resources and information about their working rights, organizations that serve Latino farmworkers should continue to inform these workers so that they feel empowered to protect themselves and others. This can be done by providing workshops, handing out informative pamphlets, and providing information about who they can contact if an issue occurs. Additionally, funding should be allocated to continue helping the work that these organizations do because many farmworkers expressed their gratitude toward them and how it improved many aspects of their lives. Currently, Julissa and I have provided PCUN with quotes illustrating several of the themes of this study to inform their legislative work to better protect farmworkers. We are working in collaboration with PCUN to disseminate the findings of this study.

Limitations

While the proposed study has many strengths, it is not without limitations. Firstly, the usage of phone interviews rather than face-to-face interviews is a potential limitation worth noting. Although qualitative interviews conducted over the phone have some strengths (e.g., participants feeling more comfortable in talking about sensitive topics; Novik, 2008), it also has some limitations. Phone interviews may have impacted the

information received and the relationship and rapport built with participants. For example, in face-to-face interviews, interviewers can gather information from non-verbal expressions (e.g., facial gestures); and they can create a space for participants that allows for trust, openness, and authenticity, which enriches the data (Carr & Worth, 2001; Knox & Burkard, 2008; Polkinghorne; 2001).

Relatedly, another limitation of this study was the research teams' unfamiliarity with agricultural work. Although some of us held insider status because of our racial identity and our own proximity to people in the fields, there were still many gaps in what we originally knew and what we heard. Through the interview process, it was clear we were ignorant to many aspects of this type of work, such as the structure, payment, jargon, tasks, and locations. This gap could have impacted the interviews because there may have been moments where interviewers were not sure how to best follow up or create probing questions that were relevant to what participants shared. Furthermore, participants may have picked up on this making them less willing to share important insights. The research team could have greatly benefited from additional training or ongoing collaboration with PCUN to learn more about agricultural work before conducting the interviews and to ensure we captured what was being shared. This limitation impacts the credibility and confirmability of the study because we were unable to have member checks with community members and had limited knowledge of this work.

A third limitation was the translation of our interviews. As expressed by Inhetveen (2012), in analyzing participants' meanings and experiences, challenges around language is imperative of to discuss. The translation process poses many challenges and

decisions that may result in the loss of tone, meaning, structure and cultural references or nuances, making it difficult to fully represent what participants shared (Inhetveen, 2012, Van Nes et al., 2010). The translation of our own interviews to English may have shifted what participants intended to share or express. Although we attempted to retain the original meaning, there may have been instances where our translations did not capture what a participant expressed. Throughout my own writing of the stories and findings, I felt constrained and unable to explain certain aspects of what we heard, making it difficult to provide the reader with an accurate account of these themes.

Another limitation of this study is the usage of data collected previously for a broader study. Since the purpose of the original study was to examine Oregon farmworkers' experiences during the pandemic and the height of environmental threats (e.g., wildfires), the themes uncovered may have been constrained to a small portion of their work experiences during this time. For example, since the pandemic and environmental threats were recent, their experiences with resources may have been intensified making it challenging to assert that the findings are reflective of their typical daily experiences. As shown in previous studies, Latino communities expressed being disproportionately impacted by the pandemic (Castellon-Lopez et al., 2022; Revens et al., 2023) which could have magnified the results of this study. Additionally, this study was conducted with farmworkers in a specific location in Oregon, further constraining the transferability of these findings. The majority of farmworkers also worked in specific types of harvest given their location, which may make it difficult to transfer findings to other farmworkers in Oregon and in different states working with different harvests. Lastly, the questions asked during interviews were broad to capture the many stressors

they were experiencing at the time and may not have been able to fully capture the resource experiences of farmworkers. If the interview questions had been developed to ask about resources specifically, it is possible that different themes would have emerged, or others may have been more or less salient.

Lastly, an additional limitation of this study may be the demographic and personality characteristics of the participants themselves. Although all identified as Latino/Hispanic, the majority of the sample identified as Mexican, making it more challenging for the findings of the study to be transferable to all Latino communities and workers. In addition, none of our participants identified as Indigenous. In missing representation of individuals from different Latin countries and those who are Indigenous, it may have restricted the findings of the data to only be applicable to Mexican immigrant farmworkers. Lastly, it is possible that those who chose to participate in the interviews may have higher levels of self-efficacy, self-esteem, and openness, which could impact the experiences they hold in their workplaces. They were all connected and recruited from PCUN, so they may have been more aware than other farmworkers on some of the legislative issues. This may result in missing information about workers who are less connected to resources, are not comfortable or who do not feel safe speaking up in their place of work, or are unaware of reporting to governmental agencies.

Future Directions

The findings of the study provide an extensive pathway for future research with Latino immigrant farmworkers and possibly Latino immigrant workers in different work sectors. In this final section, I will provide several different streams for future research.

Firstly, based on the findings of this study, I recommend that scholars continue to investigate the general working experiences of Latino immigrants, especially those who are Indigenous and from Central and South America. There is much unknown about the perspectives they hold regarding their workplace and what they find beneficial. The majority of our participants identified as Mexican, and it is important for scholars to incorporate the voices of other Latinos because this is an incredibly diverse population. For example, Bloss et al. (2021) conducted a literature review on migrant and seasonal farmworker health finding that there was little research on farmworkers by race, nationality, and indigeneity. They also suggest that future research examine differences between this community. Although Latinos are often treated as a monolithic group, there may be different perspectives and experiences happening with each group. This could be especially true when examining inter-group discrimination in the workplace. As noted in our findings, several participants expressed discrimination happening within the Latino community especially toward those who were darker, undocumented, or Indigenous.

Additionally, it is possible that the working experience of Latino immigrants changes over time as they settle into their new home country. For example, on the topic of resources, it is possible that the resources farmworkers rely on and value may change over time, especially when considering the number of years they have stayed in the United States. Due to the challenges that newly immigrated Latinos experience, they may be more in need of resources such as information about job opportunities, housing, food access, and safety. It may be that over time, as they settle, their needs change, thus changing the resources they rely on. I recommend that scholars utilize longitudinal

approaches to investigate how time plays a role in the resources needed by Latino immigrant farmworkers.

Future research should also investigate a broader range of topics pertaining to their working experiences. As shown through our themes, Latino farmworkers value working with nature and helping to empower one another; but they are also in oppressive working environments that often conflict with these values. Future scholars should continue to investigate these intricate experiences, including the following: reporting of workplace violations; impact of legislation; what workers enjoy about their work and why; the goals and desires of this community; and how information sharing or unionization occurs. There is also a great need to explore how characteristics of agricultural work create oppressive environments that prevent farmworkers from feeling safe and empowered.

Lastly, I also suggest that researchers investigate the experiences of family members. Given the reliance farmworkers have on their family and friends, as findings from this study made clear, they may hold important knowledge on the well-being of farmworkers. By incorporating family members into research, there is a potential to expand our understanding of farmworkers' experiences and needs. While further research is needed, the findings from this study have important implications and inform future avenues for both scholars, community organizations, employers, and government officials to help improve the well-being of Latino immigrant farmworkers.

Table 1

Overview of Themes and Their Respective Codes

Themes & Higher Order Codes	Description
Theme 1: "Les cobran por llevarlos a su trabajo, ay no es un robo."	
Lack of compensation	Participant expresses not receiving enough or fair compensation for their work or having issues with their pay.
Having to pay for work equipment or transportation	Participant talks about not having access or not being provided with protective equipment/transportation and having to pay for it.
Having to work out of necessity	Participant expresses having to work in this work because of the need to provide for their families.
Wanting fair wages	Participant mentions that fair wages would make their life better, and they deserve to get paid more.
Theme 2: "Tratamos de sobrellevar."	
Experiences with coworkers	Participant describes their relationships and instances when they interact with their coworkers.
Experiences with employers, supervisors, contractors	Participant describes their relationships and instances when they interact with their employers/supervisors/contractors (includes farmowners, mayordormos, anyone in an upper position).
Wanting supervisor regulation and training	Participant explains that their managers are not well trained in leadership, safety, or other workplace procedures and they would like for them to be better trained and equipped to be leaders.
Theme 3: "Tiene que aplicar la ley."	
Current experiences with OSHA or anything government related	Participant expresses the experiences they have had with OSHA or any other agencies.
Wanting for others to create protection laws	Participants mentions that laws should be created to protect them and help them (e.g., weather, supervisors, wage theft, deportation).

Themes & Higher Order Codes	Description
Theme 4: "Para nosotros que somos indocumentados no tenemos otra alternativa."	
Having papers vs not	Participant discusses how having papeles/SSN/documentation makes a difference. They discuss the difficulties that come from not having access to this and how it impacts their lives.
Not having access to resources outside of work	Participant expresses not having access to healthcare, food, or money to cover their needs or the needs of the family. Anything that they lack of that contributes to their stress (e.g., healthcare, financial help, food insecurity, childcare, housing).
Wanting access to healthcare	Participant mentions needing access to health care and other health related resources.
Theme 5: "Pues seguirle echando ganas a vivir la vida. Ypues seguirle. Seguirle."	
Receiving family support	Participant expresses how their family (immediate or from afar) provide them with support to get through work, struggles, and for motivation. Participant expresses how their family play role in them feeling at ease and able to get through the tough times.
Receiving friend support	Participant expresses how their friends provide them with support to get through work, struggles, and for motivation. Participant expresses how their friends have provided them with tangible support like helping with finances, food, helping with home tasks, helping with childcare, offering rides. Includes emotional support: being there for them to listen to their concerns, being able to vent to them, getting advice, etc.
Connections with contractors and other farmworkers help	Participant explains how they found jobs, expresses finding work through coworkers or other people they know to be farmworkers.
Community support	Participant expresses how people in their community have provided support for them (e.g., community organizations).
Coping through spirituality	Participant expresses how God or religion play a role in their life. They express how their belief in God/church/their religion allows them to get through the tough times. They also discuss how members in their religious community provide support for them.
Wanting flexibility	Participant expresses that if their job were more flexible their life would improve.

Themes & Higher Order Codes	Description
Seguir adelante	Participant explains how it is important for them to keep going, that it is what it is, they have accepted this is their life and there is no other way but to keep trying and working, they express just accepting that they have to keep moving forward. They internally try to push themselves forward even with the obstacles around them.
Theme 6: "Porque nos vamos a dejar? No, tenemos nuestros derechos."	
Speaking up	Participant expresses examples of when they have spoken out at work about their working conditions, changes they'd like to see, etc.
Lack of knowledge on how to advocate	Participant expresses they or their coworkers don't understand or have no knowledge of information regarding their work such as rules or laws that are applicable to them. They express not being aware of their rights or rules around speaking out about issues they face at work.
Language/cultural barriers	Participant expresses when they or their coworkers have had issues with not being able to understand or express themselves to their supervisors or coworkers due to different languages (Spanish/Indigenous languages). Participants express times in which they feel their coworkers or supervisors don't understand their culture.
Theme 7: "Pues mucha gente no quiere dejar de piscar, por ir a (tomar agua)."	
Trabajo pesado	Participant expresses that tasks/work require high levels of exertion or effort. Describing the work as being heavy/pesado (both in the physical sense but also in general the work they are involved with is difficult because of many different aspects). Heavy lifting, repeated movement, bending over for long periods of time, long work hours, etc.
Minimal to no training for their work	Participant expresses not receiving enough training on their tasks but being expected to do them or perform well.
Not being able to prioritize their health and well-being	Participant expresses how their work conditions don't allow them to take care of their health. They mention not being able to use the bathroom because of long distances/dirtyness, not being able to take breaks and rest, not feeling like they can get time to get checked, etc.

Themes & Higher Order Codes	Description
Resources provided for COVID	Participant provides examples of how their supervisors/farmers/contractors DID provide COVID specific resources for them to be able to work safely (given masks, PPE, socailly distanced)
Wanting to be provided food, water, and closer bathrooms	Participant expresses how they would like to have access to water, food, things that are refreshing to them and would like be able to take of their bodies

Table 2

Theme Translations and Research Questions Answered

Theme	RQ 1	RQ 2	RQ 3	RQ 4
Theme 1: *"Les cobran por llevarlos a su trabajo, ay no es un robo."* "They (*employers/contractors*) charge them (*farmworkers*) to take them to their work, oh no, it's theft."		x		
Theme 2: *"Tratamos de sobrellevar"* "We try to overcome it."		x		
Theme 3: *"Tiene que aplicar la ley."* "The law has to be applied."		x		
Theme 4: *"Para nosotros que somos indocumentados, pues la verdad si es un poco más porque no tenemos otra alternativa."* "For us who are undocumented, the truth is, it is a little more because we have no other alternative."	x			
Theme 5: *"Pues seguirle echando ganas a vivir la vida. Y pues seguirle. Seguirle."* "Well, keep trying to live life. And well, keep going. Keep going"	x	x	x	x
Theme 6: *"Porque nos vamos a dejar? No, tenemos nuestros derechos."* "Why do we have to tolerate? No, we have our rights."		x		x
Theme 7: *"Pues mucha gente no quiere dejar de piscar, por ir a (tomar agua.)"* "Well, many people don't want to stop picking to go (*drink water*)."		x		

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Appendix A
Interview Script & Questions – English Version

Introduction
(Share as much information about yourself as you feel comfortable to create a more conversational tone)

"Hi, my name is ___. I am a researcher working at Portland State with Dr. Larry Martinez. We are interested in learning more about your experiences as farmworkers in Oregon and stories you have working during COVID and extreme weather. As I ask you questions, please feel free to share as much or as little as you feel comfortable sharing. Your participation is voluntary and you can quit at any time. The interview consists of 8 questions with short follow-up questions for each. The interview will start with me asking about you and the work that you do and end with a few questions about your demographic information. The interview should last about an hour. At the end of the interview I will collect your address so we can send your $50 gift card. Do you have any questions about the interview?"

Consent

"Before we begin, I would like to ask if you consent to being recorded? We record your answers to make sure we accurately interpret and represent your stories and responses. We will use your stories to help PCUN's efforts and conduct research on the experiences of farmworkers in the US. Your responses will be kept safe and secure. We will not share your identity with anyone."

If yes, "Okay thank you, I am going to begin the recording and ask you that question again so that your consent is on record"

**** Start recording now ****

"Thank you ____, I have started the recording. I will ask again, do you consent to be a participant in this study and having your responses recorded? - Thank you!"

Interview
(Please read bolded questions to the participant. Use follow-up questions if needed. Sample follow up questions are in *italics)*

1) **Tell me a little bit about yourself and your job.**
   a) *What do they do for work?*
   b) *How long have they've been working for?*

2) **What are some of the hardest parts of your job (physically/mentally/emotionally)?**
   a) *Job control, support, interpersonal experiences*
   b) *Working conditions: sun/climate, pesticides/chemicals, machinery, safety training*
   c) *Language barriers*

3) **What factors make you worried about losing your job?**
   a) *Discrimination based on skin color, gender, immigration status, family status*
   b) *Lack of opportunities due to mechanization and competition*
   c) *Health issues, injuries*

4) **How would losing your job impact you and your family?**
   a) *Financial concerns, immigration status*
   b) *Self-concept and self-esteem*
   c) *Health and well-being*

5) **How was your work life affected by the COVID-19 pandemic?**
   a) *Mental health, anxiety, worry, stress*

6) **How has your work life been affected by increasing temperatures and the wildfire smoke?**
   a) *Mental health, worries about physical health*

7) **How do you manage the aspects of job (in)security, job hazards, family/financial concerns all at once?**
   a) *Worry impacting job, self, sleep, happiness*

8) **What would be the best change that could make your job/life easier/more fulfilling/safer (better)?**
   a) *Changes in policies, relationships with others at work, supervisor support*

9) **Before you go, can I ask you a few demographic related questions?**
   a) *Age, Gender, Race/Ethnicity, Did you immigrate? Where from?, Number of hours worked per week, Number of years working in agriculture, Wildfire smoke/heat/COVID exposure, Education level, Marital status, Number of children*

**** Stop Recording ****

Conclusion
Thank them for their time and ask if they have any questions about the interview process.

Ask for a name and address that they would like the gift card to be sent to. Record information and verify with the participant that you have written down the correct information.

Give contact information if they have any other questions or concerns about the project.

MEMOS
(Fill out after interview)

1) What are the key things that stuck out to you from this interview?
2) What went well?
3) What went poorly?
4) Is there anything that could be done differently next time?

Interview Script & Questions – Spanish Version

Introducción

"Hola, mi nombre es ___. Soy un investigador que trabaja en Portland State con el Dr. Larry Martinez. Estamos interesados en aprender más sobre sus experiencias como trabajadores agrícolas en Oregon y las historias que tiene trabajando durante COVID y el clima extremo. Mientras le hago preguntas, no dude en compartir cuanta información se sienta cómodo compartiendo. Su participación es voluntaria y podemos parar la entrevista en cualquier momento. La entrevista consiste de 8 preguntas y también consiste de breves preguntas de seguimiento. La entrevista comenzará preguntándole sobre usted y el trabajo que realiza y terminará con algunas preguntas sobre su información demográfica. La entrevista debería durar alrededor de una hora. Al final de la entrevista, tomaremos nota de su dirección para que podamos enviarle su tarjeta de regalo de $50. ¿Tiene alguna pregunta sobre la entrevista?"

Consentimiento

"Antes de comenzar, me gustaría preguntarle si da su consentimiento para ser grabado. Registramos sus respuestas para asegurarnos de que interpretamos y representamos con precisión sus historias y respuestas. Usaremos sus historias para ayudar los esfuerzos de PCUN y realizar investigaciones sobre las experiencias de los trabajadores agrícolas en los Estados Unidos. Sus respuestas se mantendrán seguras y protegidas. No compartiremos su identidad con nadie."

Si aceptan, "De acuerdo, gracias, voy a comenzar la grabación y volver a hacerle esta pregunta para que su consentimiento quede registrado".

****Empieza a grabar ahora****

"Gracias ____, he comenzado la grabación. Volveré a preguntarle, ¿acepta participar en este estudio y que se graben sus respuestas? - ¡Gracias!"

Entrevista

1) **¿Háblеme un poquito de usted y de su trabajo?**
   a) *¿A qué se dedican en el trabajo?*
   b) *¿Cuánto tiempo lleva trabajando?*

2) **¿Cuales son las partes más difíciles de su trabajo? (físicamente/ mentalmente/ emocionalmente)?**
   a) *Control del trabajo, apoyo, experiencias interpersonales*
   b) *Condiciones de trabajo: Sol/clima, pesticidas/químicos, maquinaria, capacitación en seguridad*
   c) *Barreras del idioma*

3) **¿Cuales son las cosas que le preocuparían si usted perdiera su trabajo?**
   a) *Discriminación por color de piel, género, situación migratoria, situación familiar*
   b) *Falta de oportunidades por mecanización y competencia*
   c) *Problemas de salud, lesiones.*

4) **¿Cómo les afectaría a usted y a su familia si usted perdiera su trabajo?**
   a) *Preocupaciones financieras, estatus migratorio*
   b) *Autoconcepto y autoestima*
   c) *Salud y bienestar*

5) **¿Cómo le afectó la pandemia de COVID-19 en su trabajo?**
   a) *Salud mental, ansiedad, preocupación, estrés.*

6) **¿Cómo le está afectando el aumento de temperatura y el humo de los incendios forestales en su trabajo?**
   a) *Salud mental, preocupaciones por la salud física.*

7) **¿Cómo maneja usted los aspectos de (in)seguridad del trabajo, los peligros del trabajo, familia/ preocupaciones financieras, todo al mismo tiempo?**
   a) *Preocupación que afecta al trabajo, a uno mismo, al sueño, a la felicidad, etc.*

8) **¿Cual seria el mejor cambio que haría su trabajo/ vida/ mas facil/ satisfactorio completa/ o segura (mejor)?**
   a) *Cambios en leyes, relaciones con otros en el trabajo, supervisor*

9) **Antes de ir, ¿puedo hacerle algunas preguntas relacionadas con su demografía?**
   a) *Edad, Género, Raza/Etnia, ¿Emigró? ¿De dónde, Cuantas horas trabaja por semana, Cuantos años ha trabajafo en agricultura, Exposición a incendios forestales/humo/calor/COVID, Nivel educativo, Estado civil, Número de hijos*

****Para de Grabar****

Conclusión

Agradézcales por su tiempo y pregúnteles si tienen alguna pregunta sobre el proceso de la entrevista.

Pida un nombre y una dirección a la que le gustaría que le enviaran la tarjeta de regalo. Registre la información y verifique con el participante que ha escrito la información correcta.

Dales información de contacto si tienen otras preguntas o inquietudes sobre el proyecto.

MEMOS (columns N and O in Interview Tracker)
Fill out after interview

1) What are the key things that stuck out to you from this interview?
2) What went well?
3) What went poorly?
4) Is there anything that could be done differently next time?

Appendix B
Reflexive Notes Examples

03/08/2022
Team Meeting Notes: Team Member

First off, I LOVE this code. I think it is important that we are not fitting these interviews into our academia standards. I do not think that resources or coping captured this at all. I actually think fitting it would be really harmful to these populations, and not truly reflect their experiences. I think often of my dad who grew up working on the fields and know that he wouldn't call it a resource/coping mechanism.

05/11/2023
Coding Notes: Faviola

(*About Seguir Adelante*) There are no other options but to push through, do what you have to do to survive. Accepting that's where you are at. The more I reflect on this, the more I feel like it is its own theme, but we would need to decide if we are seeing it enough in the interviews.

07/05/2023
Coding Notes: Faviola
Interview 01

We may need to add a subcode under "taking care of their body" to discuss how they are unable to go to the doctor because they can't miss work. Or add another code that includes the need to keep working.

11/07/2023
Coding Notes: Faviola
Interview 32

When I was editing the formatting, I read the last portion where the participant is talking about his son going to college and paying it off with no debt, I just felt that proudness of him and his son. It made me think about how others may have expressed how their kids are doing and how they are grateful they are okay. I think this may be important and interesting to capture because although they are in these working conditions they seem at peace in a way because their kids went further and they are okay. Something to reflect on!

12/13/2023
Coding Notes: Faviola
Interview 28
Having to spend money for their materials, similar to earlier interview that mentioned this, it makes me so frustrated to hear that they are having to provide their own safety materials, it's ridiculous.

12/13/2023
Coding Notes: Faviola
Interview 32

I think it's interesting this person has mentioned a couple of times that they their coworkers are united in what they want to do, and from my perspective it seems like they stand up well for each other which may contribute to their protection.

12/16/2023

Coding Notes: Faviola
Interview 41

I appreciated them following up about being undocumented, it also makes me wonder how we can continue to hear these stories but also protect them, it feels like these things are naturally brought up without us having to necessarily ask.

12/16/2023
End of Coding Reflection: Julissa

There's so much, biggest takeaway is how much farmworkers are being impacted by so much neglect in various environments, supervisors, etc. bottom of everything. The interviews were hard to finish because you knew it was going to be mentally and emotionally hard. Finances was some of the biggest stories that stood out, having to take care of their health, their safety materials, transportation etc. The ways they were being impacted. No free time to rest and recover, hard all around.