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Migrant and seasonal farmworkers are subjected to structural violence, which is the result of social structures and institutions inflicting harm by inhibiting the ability of farmworkers to meet their basic needs such as safe housing, food, and healthcare. Structural violence removes power from these populations and limits their opportunities. Much of the literature surrounding farmworkers has focused on their physical health, and there is a lack of focus on their mental health. Mental health provides a way of deepening our understanding of the impacts of structural violence as well as Latino migrant and seasonal farmworker health and wellness. This study aims to address these gaps by examining the lives and mental health of farmworkers through a structural violence lens. Utilizing the “Sort and Sift, Think and Shift” methods, a secondary analysis of qualitative data was conducted to operationalize structural violence and demonstrate how it is connected to the mental health of Latino migrant and seasonal farmworkers. Structural violence is created and reinforced by forces and institutions at the highest level of social organization. The results suggest that like many phenomena at the higher levels of the social ecology, structural violence is experienced at the individual level as well. It also suggests that we cannot rely solely on individual-level solutions for something that is a product of structures.

A QUALITATIVE STUDY EXPLORING STRUCTURAL VIOLENCE AND MENTAL
HEALTH AMONG LATINO MIGRANT AND SEASONAL
FARMWORKERS IN NORTH CAROLINA

by

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CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

Statement of the Problem

The United States has one of the highest crop outputs per agricultural worker in the world (Fuglie & Wang, 2012). There are more than 2 million farms and roughly 2.4 million farmworkers currently in the United States (Guild & Figueroa, 2018). About 10% of US farmworkers are part of the H2A temporary visa program specific to agricultural work (Costa, 2023); the majority of H2A farmworkers are male and from Mexico. The U.S Department of Labor issued about 370,000 H2A visas during the 2022 fiscal year and 7% of those were for jobs in North Carolina (Castillo, 2023). The remaining 90% of farmworkers (“non-H2A farmworkers”) are a somewhat more diverse group. According to the 2019-20 National Agricultural Workers Survey, which collects data on non-H2A farmworkers, about 63% of this group are immigrants, primarily from Mexico. About 56% of non-H2A farmworkers are authorized workers (36% were U.S. citizens, 19% were lawful permanent residents, and 1% had work authorization through some other visa program) and 44% are unauthorized workers (JBL International, 2022).

Much of the literature to date surrounding farmworkers has focused on their physical health; there is a dearth of research on farmworkers’ mental health. For example, rural populations in much of the U.S. face many existing barriers and challenges to health care access, and Latino migrant and seasonal farmworkers experience compounded challenges to health care access. Migrant and seasonal farmworkers are subjected to structural violence, the result of social structures and institutions inflicting harm by inhibiting the ability of farmworkers to meet their basic needs such as safe housing, food, and healthcare. Some examples include, but are not limited to, poor living conditions, occupational and safety hazards, low wages, stigma, threat of

deportation, long hours, labor segregation, and limited access to resources. Structural violence removes power from these populations and restricts opportunities. A focus on farmworker mental health deepens understanding of the potential impacts of structural violence and expands the breadth of the concepts of health and wellness among Latino migrant and seasonal farmworkers.

This dissertation study will contribute to the literature by operationalizing structural violence and demonstrating how it is connected to the mental health of Latino migrant and seasonal farmworkers.

Research Questions

This study aims to address gaps in the extant literature by examining the lives and mental health of farmworkers through a structural violence lens. Specifically, the overarching aim of this study is to describe the ways that structural violence is associated with mental health among Latino male migrant and seasonal farmworkers, using a qualitative approach. The two central research questions are:

RQ1: How does structural violence shape Latino migrant and seasonal farmworkers' experiences in North Carolina?

RQ2: What are the connections between the life and work experiences of Latino migrant and seasonal farmworkers in North Carolina and their experiences related to mental health?

CHAPTER II: REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Structural Violence

Structural violence describes the embedded injustices that remove power and limit an individual's ability to reach their full potential due to higher risks for diseases and injuries (Farmer, 2004). The forms of structural violence—persistent poverty, lack of living wages, substandard housing, limited access to health care, patterns of worker rights and safety violations—are injustices because they are intentional, yet also avoidable. Johan Galtung originally introduced this term in 1969 and described it as avoidable harms that can manifest as unequal power and unequal human potential (Galtung, 1969). This construct has been widened to include the domination that has been exerted systematically on everyone within particular social categories (Gamlin, 2016). This domination can be demonstrated through power differentials among various social locations and identities. Structural violence has been observed and described in various areas of health-related research including intimate partner violence (Sinha, 1999; Sinha et al., 2017; Raguz, 2019; St. Cyr, 2021), the experiences of people who inject drugs (Haritavorn, 2014; Nelson, 2022; Sarang, 2010; Shannon et al., 2008), human immunodeficiency virus (HIV) transmission and mortality (Farmer, 1996, 2004; Farmer et al., 2016; Jackson et al., 2023; Lane et al., 2004), and neonatal and infant outcomes including low birth weight (Bridgeman-Bunyoli et al., 2022; Lane et al., 2008; Schwebel & Christie, 2001), and infant death (Scheper-Hughes, 1993). It has been acknowledged and discussed in many fields such as anthropology, public health, nursing, psychology, clinical medicine, and social work.

Structural violence is deeply embedded into the foundations of the United States. Since the founding of our country, segregation, immigration restrictions, and racism have persisted and manifested in the inadequate access to various resources described as the social determinants of

health (Burton et al., 2021). The term “social determinants of health” refers to the economic, social, and political conditions in which we live and work, which shape our opportunities, behaviors, and health outcomes (Solar & Irwin, 2010). The social determinants of health (SDOH), including healthcare access, community context, built environment, education, and economic stability can have direct and indirect impacts on health. The construct of the SDOH was developed to guide work in health equity and to address the social gradient in health (Herrick & Bell, 2020). One of the construct’s originators, Sir Michael Marmot, described his “vision to create a better and fairer world where people’s life chances and their health will no longer be blighted by the accident of where they happen to be born, the colour of their skin, or the lack of opportunities afforded to their parents” (Marmot et al., 2008, p. 1668). Yet our society continues to have a system of stratification that determines our social order.

These two core constructs—structural violence and the social determinants of health—go beyond the biologically-determined health of individuals, to include the societal arrangements that exist upstream (Macassa et al., 2021). Structural violence identifies social, economic, and political systems as the “causes of the causes” of poor health (De Maio & Ansell, 2018; Link & Phelan, 1995). The key difference between the two is that structural violence emphasizes that these injustices and inequities are an *act of violence* against affected parties. Structural violence has earned that name because the mechanisms that cause injury to people are so deeply embedded within our society. This is not to diminish the importance of the social determinants of health; it is to simply state that the term, by itself, is too passive for some of the injustices that exist. Structural violence more accurately demonstrates the powers at play by framing these features as acts of violence.

Some researchers object to using a powerful term like “violence” in structural violence. In response, Quesada proposes using a more neutral term—structural vulnerability—which implies a positionality of physical and emotional suffering on specific population groups and individuals in patterned ways (Quesada et al., 2011). Quesada argues that the term “violence” focuses too much on political-economic elements and fails to include cultural and idiosyncratic elements. Structural vulnerability is similar to structural violence because it emphasizes how social order and power relations affect vulnerability. However, including the explicit “violence” portion of the term does not exclude cultural and idiosyncratic elements. It embodies the entire experience that has become accepted as normal within society. This powerful term is needed because it fully demonstrates the harm that is being done to the victims. Structural violence cannot be quantified, which makes it difficult to clearly recognize whether something can be identified as violent (Scheper-Hughes, 2007). It can sometimes be identified by forcing individuals into making impossible decisions between life and death (McLean & Panter-Brick, 2018).

The work of two anthropologists has fundamentally shaped structural violence research: that of Paul Farmer and that of Nancy Scheper-Hughes. Farmer demonstrates that structural violence research must combat against the silencing of suffering and the erasure of history (Farmer, 2004). Structural violence is embodied as adverse events; much of his work focuses on genocide, disease, and violations of human rights in Haiti. Haiti is a prime example of a country that has severely suffered from HIV, tuberculosis, and cholera despite our knowledge surrounding how to prevent and treat these diseases. Haiti has suffered legacies of slavery, international debt, and United States imperial control and together these have prevented this country from developing a sufficient infrastructure (Farmer, 1994, 2004). These structural

injustices can be observed by looking at individual experiences. It has been demonstrated that the poor are more likely to suffer as well as more likely to be silenced (Farmer, 1996). So, a key goal of structural violence research must be to help give a voice to the vulnerable populations that have had their suffering silenced.

The work of Scheper-Hughes has deep roots in various forms of violence among different vulnerable populations. One of her prominent studies is centered on the lives, and deaths, of infants in Brazil. She observed the social indifference that many community members showed in Brazilian shantytowns (Scheper-Hughes, 2004). Structural violence allows harm and injustices to persist because no one is held accountable for these naturalized incidences. Her work exposed that structural violence has sturdy roots behind everyday violence and that its visibility is purposely obscured by dominant hegemonies. These same hegemonies have allowed structural violence to be socially permitted without consequence,

Scheper-Hughes has also theorized that structural violence is linked with the devaluation of human life, refusal of social support, militarization of daily life, and social polarization (Scheper-Hughes, 2007). These linkages can create an “othering” effect that separates specific groups from the general population. There are many abuses and injustices that occur with organ trafficking that helps this “othering” effect to persist. These abuses have been described as the illegal harvesting of organs, kidnapping, and additional barriers for minority women to be eligible candidates for organ transplantation (Scheper-Hughes, 2007). The illegal harvesting of organs has occurred in various locations including morgues, prisons, and hospitals. This system steals organs from vulnerable populations while catering to the needs of the wealthy.

Structural Violence and other Health-Related Terms

Structural violence and structural racism are related terms with important distinctions. *Structural violence* is any constraint on human potential caused by various structures in society. *Structural racism* is the legitimization of unfair disadvantages for people of color. Structural racism reflects how inequitable our systems are towards racial and ethnic minorities (Yearby, 2020). It allows the majority to be at an advantage while racial and ethnic minorities are at a disadvantage. Both constructs relate to the social determinants of health by potentially limiting one's access to quality education, housing, income, and healthcare access.

In my research, I use the term structural violence as a way of positioning this phenomenon in the context of other dimensions of violence. Galtung has defined 3 other dimensions of violence in addition to structural violence. *Direct violence* is the physical harming of humans with intention, where the perpetrator can be clearly identified. *Indirect violence* occurs when it is difficult to say who is exactly performing the violence. *Cultural violence* encompasses culturally based justifications for the various dimensions of violence (Galtung & Fischer, 2013). Structural violence is the embodiment of Galtung's three dimensions combined. It needs to be explicitly stated that some structures in place are violent because they can lead to additional dimensions of violence, avoidable death, illness, and injury (Rylko-Bauer & Farmer, 2016). Very rarely is a perpetrator able to be identified with structural violence, but there is certainly avoidable insult to basic human needs. In addition, intent is often difficult to determine in structural violence; because injustices are so deeply embedded, they typically occur without institutional or individual recognition of intent.

Key to the foundation of my study is Adkins-Jackson's statement, "Structural racism has produced and reinforced segregation, differential quality and access to health care, unequal

distributions of social determinants of health, and physical and psychological injury to racialized and ethnic minoritized communities,” (Adkins-Jackson et al., 2021, p. 539). This demonstrates the deep harm—the violence—that can stem from structural racism, but it is weakened because Adkins-Jackson does not explicitly use the term “violence.” In this dissertation study, I use the term structural violence instead of structural racism because these inequities are not limited to a specific racial or ethnic group; I view structural racism as one type of structural violence. To undo both structural racism and structural violence, the whole of society must be changed (Bailey et al., 2021). Structural racism works in conjunction with cultural violence to allow for structural violence to persist. Structural violence provides a lens through which social class, racism, and the social determinants of health can be understood (De Maio & Ansell, 2018).

Historical Developments Regarding Structural Violence

Historically, there have been instances where religious beliefs, gender, migrant and/or refugee status, intelligence, sexual orientation, and social class have limited a population’s ability to reach their full potential. For example, in patriarchal societies, women have lower average wages for the same work as men, and they are more likely than men to experience intimate partner violence. Another example: Racism in the U.S. resulted in policies known as “redlining,” which restricted mortgage lending to African Americans to certain, less desirable neighborhoods in cities across the country (Burton et al., 2021). In both examples, barriers such as laws, practices, and institutional policies have been put in place to not only disempower these communities but also cause them harm. They demonstrate various dimensions of violence, all of which fall under structural violence. We cannot move forward in eliminating structural violence until we address its history within our society.

In response to the history of structural violence within the United States, there have been important changes in policy. These changes often represented incomplete or halting progress. For example, the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 was meant to standardize the eight-hour day and prohibit child labor, but it excluded agricultural workers from protections offered to many other occupations (Linder, 1986). This embedded injustice surrounding wages and overtime requirements directly increases agricultural workers' risks for injury and disease while limiting the ability to reach their full potential. It is also important to mention the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (which prohibits discrimination based on certain protected categories), Title IX of 1972 (which prohibits sex discrimination), and Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990 (which prohibits discrimination based on disability). While these U.S. federal policies have not completely solved the issues they were created to address, they are steps in the right direction to protect human rights.

Operationalization and Measurement of Structural Violence

Structural violence is a term that is rich in its explanatory potential, but vague in its operational definition (De Maio & Ansell, 2018). Instances of structural violence are often hidden in plain sight because it has been accepted as the norm in society. Typically, it has been used in qualitative formats because it is often challenging to quantify, due to its pervasive nature. Here, I review four key studies from the literature on structural violence to demonstrate some examples of how it has been measured.

A 2013 study analyzed Aboriginal/non-Aboriginal inequalities in post separation intimate partner violence using a structural violence approach to challenge explanations that blame culture for high rates of victimization (Pedersen et al., 2013). This study identified colonialism as a form of structural violence and focused on two negative consequences of colonialism: gender

inequality and socioeconomic marginalization. Gender inequality was measured by male coercive control while socioeconomic marginalization was measured by education, income, and government assistance. Anticolonial and feminist theories shaped the selection of structural factors to examine while structural violence helped to incorporate historical and social contexts.

In an exploratory qualitative research study, Shannon et al. (2017) define structural violence as a “comprehensive framework to explain the mechanisms by which social forces such as poverty, racism and gender inequity become embodied as individual experiences and health outcomes” (p. 44). Their structural violence framework centered on the intersection of systemic gender-based violence and the social determinants of health. The authors used the construct of structural violence to help organize their results into five different domains: gender as a symbolic institution, systemic gender-based violence, interpersonal violence, the social determinants of health, and other health outcomes. This structural violence framework allowed the researcher to consider several levels of influence throughout the social ecology and how they interact with each other. Interviews with female sex workers in Nepal revealed they experienced structural violence in the forms of discrimination, forced choice, and limitations to health information sources (Basnyat, 2017). This framework allowed the researcher to recognize the complex interactions between an individual and the social ecology while also reflecting on how historic events have led to current inequities.

In another study, Hoivik (1977) focused on mortality disparities due to “unequal distribution” (p. 59) of resources, which they identified as part of structural violence. The study used two measures of structural violence: an index of structural violence and a measure of the quantity of structural violence. The former relates to the intensity and the latter corresponds to the number of deaths attributed to structural violence. The index of structural violence was

viewed as the difference in population size from the potential to the actual state. One important limitation of this study was its emphasis on mortality as the outcome. Structural violence is so embedded into society that the effects may not always be immediately noticed; the damage can be slow when compared to direct violence. Limiting measurement to only death obscures that important detail.

A social epidemiologic study of HIV risk delved into more detail about the differences between structural violence and more direct experiences. According to Rhodes, measuring the effects of structural violence is “not as simple as assessing phenomena such as the direct experience of physical violence or economic dislocation” (Rhodes et al., 2012, p. 210). Through case studies, the author demonstrates how structural violence affects HIV risk. First, the criminal justice system, policing practices, and the fear of policing practices perpetuate structural violence among sex workers and drug users. From here, structural violence may be internalized and then manifested as powerlessness and fatalism to risk. Structural violence does not apply only during a client interaction or an instance of injecting drugs, but rather continues to affect the individual over time. The second case study described structural violence by gender power roles and the normalization of romantic violence. Rhodes emphasizes that the goal of a study of structural violence is to “widen the public health gaze towards an awareness of the embodied effects of social positioning in order to legitimize the allocation of increased resources” (Rhodes et al., 2012, p. 227). In other words, if policy makers and advocates understand how social positioning results in structural violence, they will be more willing to commit time, money, and expertise to solutions. This is why the “violence” part of structural violence is so important.

These studies highlight the different dimensions of structural violence. While it is important that researchers include a discussion of structural violence in their work, how the

construct is operationalized or described has not been completely consistent. Although it has been helpful in connecting modern inequities to historical contexts, more research across disciplines is needed to elaborate what constitutes structural violence. In addition, both theoretical and empirical work is needed to examine the mechanisms by which structural violence results in poor physical and mental health outcomes.

Mental Health

Mental health encompasses emotional, psychological, and social well-being (World Health Organization, 2017). Mental health plays a large role in our day-to-day activities, our social interactions, our productivity, and even our physical health. Cultural, social, political, and economic factors are drivers and reinforcers of mental health. *Mental illness* refers collectively to all diagnosable mental disorders (Goldman & Grob, 2006), which can often affect mood, productivity, and thoughts (Grohol, 2020). Mental illness is characterized by impaired functioning associated with changes in our thoughts and actions while mental health is characterized by positive mental functioning skills while adapting to change (Primm et al., 2010). Mental health, much like physical health, can fluctuate based on a person's environment, relationships, and experiences. It becomes an illness when it impacts ability to function over a prolonged period. Some common examples of mental illnesses are anxiety disorder, depression, and substance use disorder. Anxiety disorder is characterized by excessive worrying, and depression as a persistent sadness (Timulak & McElvaney, 2016). Substance use disorders can change one's normal behaviors due to a dependency on drugs and alcohol. These disorders all have varying degrees of severity, but they can all significantly affect one's life. Mental illness has been associated with risk factors for communicable and noncommunicable diseases while also contributing to unintentional and intentional injuries (Prince et al., 2007).

Discrimination, racism, and marginalization are features of structural violence because they all involve the removal or exclusion from power. Several studies have examined the relationship of these constructs with mental health. A meta-analysis of the literature found that the association between discrimination and mental health is stronger than the association between discrimination and physical health (Paradies et al., 2015). French psychiatrist and political philosopher Frantz Fanon suggested that systemic oppression is a precursor to mental illness and a part of this systemic oppression is the denial of human rights (Anchuri et al., 2021). It is important to understand the relationships between these features and mental health because medical professionals need to understand the plight of their patients to properly assess and treat them. Otherwise, they would just be treating the surface problems which is not beneficial for anyone because it allows the harm to persist. Medical professionals have sworn an oath to “do no harm,” so they must be a part of the changes that are necessary to stop structural violence from persisting (Anchuri et al., 2021).

Cultural norms also can facilitate and sustain structural violence in various ways. For example, cultural norms around gender, property ownership, and family decision making in diverse global settings are linked to human rights violations against women including female genital mutilation, forced marriage, and some dowry practices. These practices have been embedded into some cultures (Montesanti & Thurston, 2015) with physical and mental health consequences including self-harm, suicide, and post-traumatic stress disorder (Husain et al., 2006; Klein et al., 2018; Rauf et al., 2013). These practices become routine, normalized, quotidian; in this way structural violence is legitimized and people can “look the other way.”

Mental health deserves to be a public health research priority because of its ripple effects on other aspects of health. Moreover, mental health should be examined and addressed from a

socio-ecological perspective. Such a perspective calls attention to the factors at the individual, interpersonal, community, and structural levels of society that contribute to or reinforce poor mental health. In doing so, this approach shifts the focus, and the burden, from the individual. This shift to focus on the structural influences on health is critical because structural violence can be just as damaging as physical violence (Sturgeon, 2012). Structural violence can act as a contributor and a reinforcer of poor mental health.

Latino Migrant and Seasonal Farmworkers

The United States is a world leader in crop production, producing roughly \$223 billion of the gross domestic product (USDA Economic Research Service, 2024). Several sectors, including textiles and manufacturing, rely on agriculture to contribute to the economy. About \$40 billion is spent on workers in this industry and they are highly desired because crops must be harvested during small specific timespans (Bier, 2020). There are more than 2 million farms and an estimated 2.4 million farmworkers in the United States, excluding workers brought to farms by labor contractors (Costa, 2023; Guild & Figuero, 2018).

Approximately 10-12% of the total U.S. farmworker labor force is made up of foreign-born people who are in the U.S. on a special program for temporary farm labor known as the H2A visa program (Costa, 2023). The program was designed to help agricultural employers who were anticipating a shortage of workers and had experienced dramatic growth in recent years (USDA Economic Research Service, 2023). In FY21, about 258,000 H2A visas were issued, and this number increased to about 370,000 in FY22. Over the past decade, the H2A visa program has more than quadrupled over the past decade (Costa, 2023). Unfortunately, there are relatively few reliable sources of data on the characteristics of H2A visa holders. More information is available on the remaining 90% of the farmworker labor force, including the National

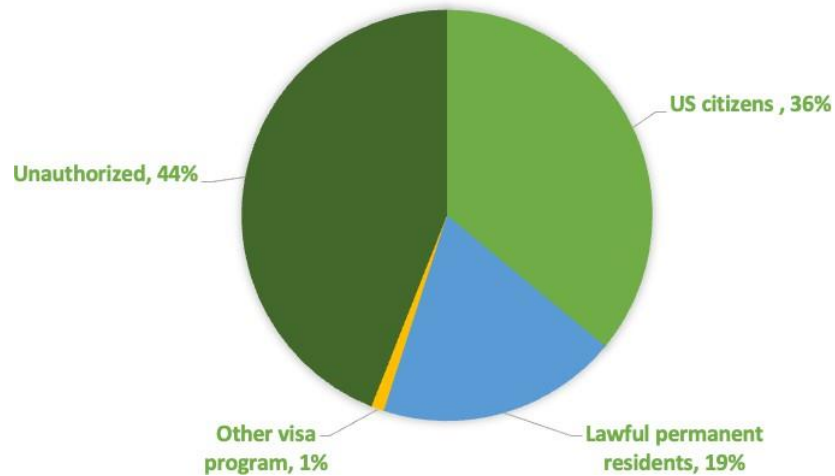
Agricultural Workers Survey (NAWS). The 2019-2020 NAWS estimates that among non-H2A farmworkers, 56% were authorized to work in the United States [36% were U.S. citizens, 19% were lawful permanent residents, and 1% had work authorization through some other visa program] and 44% had no U.S. work authorization (JBL International, 2022). This survey also provides additional information regarding these workers, including countries of origin, years spent in this industry, gender, age, education levels, and who has access to health insurance.

Many farmworkers are not continuous wage-earners at a single farm because most are migrant or seasonal. There are different types of farmworkers depending on where they work and if they travel. A *seasonal farmworker* is an individual who is (1) not employed year-round by the same employer, (2) worked at least 25 days in farmwork, and (3) earned at least half of their earned income from farmwork (Migrant Clinicians Network, n.d.). A *migrant farmworker* is a specific type of seasonal farmworker who travels for work and is unable to return to their permanent residence the same day. The NAWS defines a migrant farmworker as an individual that has jobs at least 75 miles apart or who moves more than 75 miles to obtain a job (Migrant Clinicians Network, n.d.).

Figure 1. Non-H2A Farmworkers in the United States between 2019 and 2020: Proportion Legally Authorized to Work



Figure 2. Non-H2A Farmworkers in the United States between 2019 and 2020: Details of Work Authorization Status



North Carolina, the area of focus of this dissertation study, is home to roughly 41,000 farms, producing \$13.3 billion of agricultural output (USDA National Agricultural Statistics Service, 2022). Although the number of farms in North Carolina has been slowly decreasing from 46.4 thousand to 45.1 thousand between the years of 2017 and 2021, North Carolina has the ninth highest agricultural output in the United States. The leading North Carolina counties in crop output are Mecklenburg, Sampson, Wilson, Duplin, and Johnston. Some of the crops that are produced include tobacco, sweet potatoes, cucumbers, tomatoes, Christmas trees, and blueberries (North Carolina Agricultural Statistics, 2022). These crops contribute to 22% of the state's income (USDA National Agricultural Statistics, 2022).

This industry relies on over 150,000 farmworkers to work and harvest these crops. This number of farmworkers ranks North Carolina in 6th place when compared to the rest of the Nation. Of all H2A visas issued in 2022, about 7% were issued to agricultural workers in North Carolina (USDA Economic Research Service, 2024). Although the total number of farmworkers in North Carolina has been decreasing over the past 20 years, the number of migrant workers has

almost doubled in this same time (USDA National Agricultural Statistics, 2022). Many of these farmworkers are unaccompanied males that have left their families in their home country (USDA National Agricultural Statistics, 2022).

Farm work can be difficult and even dangerous. Farmworkers report experiences of long hours in extreme weather conditions (Mac & McCauley, 2017) and with potentially dangerous farming equipment (Kearney et al., 2015), as well as exposure to toxic chemicals (Gamlin, 2016; Snipes et al., 2009) and plants (e.g., tobacco harvesting exposes workers to nicotine) (Schmitt et al., 2007). They also can face significant challenges beyond the fields, including overcrowded and unsanitary housing (Arcury et al., 2012; Benson, 2008; Vallejos et al., 2011), low wages and wage theft (Fernandez-Esquer et al., 2021), labor segregation (Holmes, 2013), separation from family (Holmes, 2013; Ward, 2010) and limited access to resources like transportation (Hoerster et al., 2011) and health care (Lambar & Thomas, 2019). Migrant and seasonal farmworkers' negative experiences are patterned in ways that suggest structural violence is at play.

One of these negative experiences is labor segregation, or division of work, which can be based on occupational status, ethnicity, and documentation status (Holmes, 2013). Occupational status is based on workers that have a H2A visa and those that do not. With the H2A visa, the worker is in servitude to the owner of the farm. It binds them to that specific location that leaves them in a position that they do not have any other choice but to deal with harsh conditions in place. Alternately, if a migrant farmworker is working without a H2A visa, they have the option to move around to different sites, but with different risks. This is not to say that one way of working is better than the other, but rather to note the differences that exist among these groups. Farmworkers can even be divided into working sections for farmworkers that have a H2A visa and those that do not. This can lead to receiving differential treatments while at work such as

inadequate housing facilities (Vallejos et al., 2011). From housing quality standards to numbers of hours worked, discrimination exists on the farm.

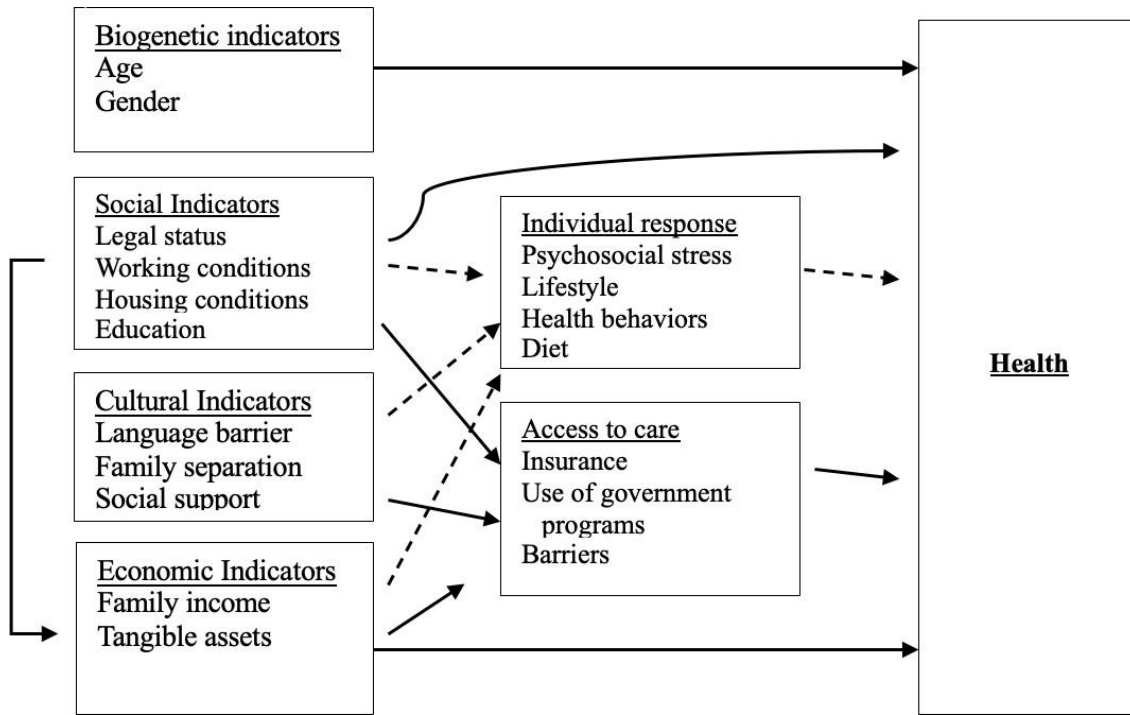
Theory and Conceptual Models

In this section, I describe an ecological model that has been used to explain the complex etiologies of farmworker health and a conceptual model that describes how structural violence manifests and persists.

The Hispanic Farmworker Health Model

The Hispanic Farmworker Health Model (Ward, 2007) centers four broad categories of health determinants of farmworkers: biogenetic, social, cultural, and economic indicators (see Figure 3). These indicators were determined by the questions that are asked on the National Agricultural Workers Survey (NAWS). Biogenetic indicators are the farmworker's age and gender. Social indicators used NAWS questions that asked about legal status, number of years as a farmworker, payment required by farmworker for equipment and transportation, housing, education level, and literacy. The cultural indicators are based on questions surrounding family separation, presence of social support, and English-speaking ability. The economic indicator section of the model was based on questions related to family income and tangible assets.

Figure 3. The Hispanic Farmworker Health Model (Ward, 2007)



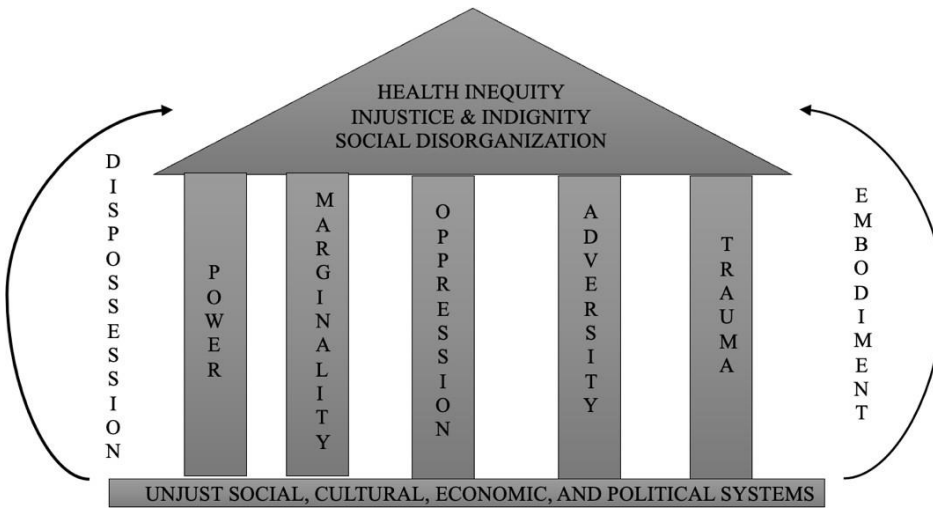
There are two intermediate categories that connect the main indicators to farmworker health. Individual response was not based on questions from the NAWS survey, but it was included because it was believed to still have an important influence on individual health (Ward, 2007). Farmworker access to care was determined by the NAWS questions surrounding health insurance, use of government programs, and barriers the medical assistance. The goal of this model is to help reveal the complex determinants of farmworker health to provide effective interventions.

Structural Violence Model

To date, structural violence has not been clearly defined or measured. In response to this, Jackson and Sadler (2022) synthesized structural violence literature in a conceptual model that demonstrates its primary components as well as both the drivers and the effects of structural

violence (see Figure 4). The authors describe the promise of their conceptual model to improve understanding of structural violence, and “to contribute to clinical practice reform, policy revision and research development that directly addresses the biopsychosocial harms perpetuated by structural systems of oppression; [to develop] interventions that offer support for marginalized communities, whilst simultaneously mitigating root causes of health inequities,” (Jackson & Sadler, 2022, p. 3496).

Figure 4. Structural Violence Model (Jackson & Sadler, 2022)



This structural violence conceptual model is visually represented as a physical structure. At the base of the structure is deeply rooted unjust social, cultural, economic, and political systems. Standing atop this base are the five core attributes of structural violence: power, marginality, oppression, adversity, and trauma. These attributes are not independent forces because they are intertwined and synergize to support consequences. The roof of the structure is comprised of health inequities, injustice and indignity, and social disorganization (Jackson & Sadler, 2022). This conceptual model is new and has been used in a limited number of published

studies (c.f. Alwi et al., 2022; Porter-O’Grady, 2023). No study to date has used this conceptual model to organize or explain the drivers and effects of structural violence.

Limitations in the Literature

Structural Violence

There is a gap in the research literature surrounding the construct of structural violence and its application to the life experiences of farmworkers. Structural violence is a term that is used in research, but not as often as it could be. Many times, barriers, disempowerment, and inequitable access are discussed, but the term structural violence is not always used explicitly nor is it acknowledged as a determinant. It is critical that researchers, advocates, and policymakers use this term to underscore the severity and the avoidability of these injustices. There have been studies that examine the many hardships that farmworkers face, especially surrounding working conditions, but the experience of these hardships is not given a name. There have been limited studies of mental health among farmworkers, and none to date has included the context of structural violence.

There is also a gap in the operationalization of structural violence because it is such a vague term. In contrast, several tools have been developed to measure the related construct, social determinants of health. County Health Rankings, AARP Livability Index, Opportunity Indices, and the National Equity Atlas are just some of the 65+ resources available for measuring the social determinants of health (Elias et al., 2019). These resources are beneficial, but they have not explicitly integrated structural violence, and this is an issue because the construct of social determinants of health does not fully emphasize the impact or potential risk. Tools like this do not necessarily exist for structural violence, although an attempt was made to estimate the effect of structural violence instead of the intensity of the structure. A study asked “How many

deaths would be avoided if all countries enjoyed the same living conditions as Sweden?” to estimate how many deaths could have been avoided with equalized living conditions (Kohler & Alcock, 1976, p. 344). Because Sweden had the highest life expectancy of all countries at the time, if other countries had the same living conditions, they would be thriving just as much. While this may be one way to approach structural violence, I do not believe that life expectancy is enough to fully demonstrate the outcomes of structural violence because it does not always lead to immediate death. Structural violence is an indirect form of violence so only taking deaths into account would not be an accurate measure.

When considering when to use a specific term, several things need to be noted. *Structural racism*, *health inequalities*, and the *social determinants of health* can be used in many of the same instances as structural violence. These terms are not exclusive, and they have many overlapping features. I argue that structural violence is unique because it is an explanatory framework to help understand the violent impact structures have on individuals. The experience of structural violence in a given population group can be described, which implies a need for qualitative data.

While all of these demonstrate that structural violence are structural arrangements that cause harm, there is not a lot of uniformity in the operationalization of this term. Beyond this, there needs to be a clear operationalization of structural violence experienced by Latino migrant and seasonal farmworkers. There is also a gap in general surrounding the types of studies conducted regarding structural violence. In the leading medical journals, when structural racism is addressed, it is typically in commentaries and editorials rather than peer-reviewed empirical research (Bailey et al., 2021).

Latino Migrant and Seasonal Farmworkers

Although there is not a great body of research that discusses the effects of structural violence on migrant and seasonal farmworkers, inferences can be drawn based on the operationalization of the term. Farmworkers face economic hardships, language barriers, difficulties, and discrimination during the acculturative process (Hovey & Magaña, 2002). Prior to migrant workers arriving in the United States, they can be subjected to smuggling, kidnapping, and extortion (Vogt, 2013). Migrant and seasonal farmworkers without authorization to work in the US may be at risk for traumatic experiences involving extreme heat, dangerous animals, criminals, and border patrol in the process of coming to the United States (Holmes, 2013). Being identified as “undocumented” or “illegal” creates an unjust and dangerous hierarchy. Not only does this separate farmworker from the rest of the general population, but it also stratifies the farmworker community and tags on a title that can cause many social disadvantages.

Structural violence occurs in the United States, but it can also be a driving force for workers to leave their home country. Motivations to migrate to the United States from their home country have been cited as deep structural conditions of economic insecurity and chronic violence (Vogt, 2013). Once they arrive in the United States, they also face many different features of workplace victimization such as wage theft, abandonment, verbal abuse, and poor labor conditions (Negi et al., 2020). Housing is a major feature of their life that impacts their mental health. Crowding is one of the main housing-related factors that contribute to poor mental health outcomes (Marais et al., 2013). Even with housing regulations in place, housing environments may not be beneficial to their health because adherence is very limited. Migrant farmworkers are not always valued as human beings, instead they become useful objects of

exchange and exploitation (Vogt, 2013). Their human rights continue to be violated throughout their time here.

During workplace conflicts, farmworkers report that threats of deportation are brought up as a bargaining tool (Harrigan et al., 2017). Whether these conflicts are based on working conditions, injuries, or salary, they are all affected by migration status. This is a feature of structural violence because they are not able to speak up and advocate for themselves. The “Job Strain Model,” which discusses how high job demands and low decision latitudes affect health poorly, is applicable here as well (Stansfeld, 2002). Individuals that are pushed into demanding jobs where they may not have the power to make decisions can increase stress as well as have many other effects on health. These embedded injustices force them to stay silent and endure to maintain their position and retain their income. The lack of power and control in one’s life can take a toll on their mental health. Migrant workers often have temporary housing that is regulated by federal and state regulations (Mora et al., 2016). This same study found that there was an association between a high level of depression and not feeling secure or feeling somewhat secure.

Another study suggested a need to examine anxiety, burnout, and resilience among farmworkers (Hagen et al., 2019). Burnout may have some relation to the amount of experience a farmworker has on their lived experiences and the specific conditions they faced. Anxiety is a term that does not necessarily translate well between English and Spanish so instead of studying anxiety directly, features of anxiety could be examined. When examining structural violence among migrant and seasonal farmworkers, it is important to consider their age and the amount of experience they have. A study in the Midwest found that young farmers and ranchers may be at

an increased risk for mental health disorders such as anxiety and depression (Rudolphi et al., 2020).

There is a large body of research that describes the lives and hardships of Latino migrant and seasonal farmworkers. Through this documentation, we can see the very clear power dynamics in place and how poorly they are treated in this country. Structural violence removes power from these populations and subjects them to wage theft, abandonment, verbal abuse, and poor labor conditions. These conditions can remove their choices and force them to deal with a lower quality of life. Structural violence also reinforces these conditions and allows them to persist.

CHAPTER III: METHODOLOGY

Positionality and Reflexivity

As a Black woman who does not speak Spanish and has had very little experience working on farms, I am an outsider in relation to male Latino migrant and seasonal farmworkers. This positionality may in some ways limit my understanding of terms used by members of this population to explain their experiences. At the same time, my outsider perspective may help me see things that may have become normalized within the culture of this population.

I was drawn to conduct a study on male Latino migrant and seasonal farmworkers for two main reasons. First, after enrolling in my doctoral program, I met with a professor that was conducting research at a farmworker camp in Maryland. He spoke about the harsh conditions that he witnessed, which prompted me to do my own research. Secondly, the summer prior to enrolling in my doctoral program, I had an internship where I was working in various gardens and small-scale farms. The conditions there were nothing like what I have since read regarding migrant and seasonal farmworkers. I was always paid on time, I went home each day to my family, and I was able to take breaks as needed. I reflected on the fact that even with many protections in place for me and the volunteers I supervised, this was still very hard work. I could not imagine working even harder for longer hours, less pay, and less protections for my health and safety.

After some discussions with local researchers working with migrant and seasonal farmworkers, I began volunteering at several events hosted by farmworker advocacy groups. This is where I learned about the archived collection that I used for this dissertation. Even before I knew about this collection, I knew I wanted to do something that would demonstrate my commitment to fulfilling my promise of working towards health equity. I typically do not like to

accept the status quo, simply because “that is just the way things are.” I wanted to challenge the norm and question the acceptance of a given phenomenon, in this case structural violence, when we know that it is not fair.

Conceptual Model

This study is guided by the conceptual model of structural violence from Jackson and Sadler (2022); see Figure 4. This model depicts a building with a base, supporting pillars, and a roof. The base of the structure is a foundation that represents the social, cultural, economic, and political systems that support injustice. Standing atop this base are the five core attributes of structural violence: power, marginality, oppression, adversity, and trauma. Power can be demonstrated by the domination and control of individuals with lower status. Marginality is characterized by the ostracization of individuals or entire communities. Oppression can be intentional and unintentional, but ultimately, it is demonstrated by the exclusion of benefits. Adversity is the complex summation of barriers blocking a person’s full potential. Trauma can be exhibited by physiological and/or psychosocial injury and its effects are rarely short-lived. These supporting pillars are intertwined, build on each other, and synergize to support the roof of the building.

The roof represents health inequities, injustice, indignity, and social disorganization (Jackson & Sadler, 2022). Health inequities are demonstrated when marginalized persons have compromised health. Injustice and indignity occur via the violation of basic human rights which can lead to a poor outlook on life. Social disorganization arises from community incoherency which can affect relationships and environments leading to poor health outcomes. Additionally, there are two arrows that demonstrate the driving forces behind structural violence: embodiment and dispossession. Embodiment is the personification of structural violence. This phenomenon

can persist in society due to its influence over our thoughts, policies, and practices. When policies are implemented to characterize an entire community as criminals, stigma and discrimination can arise. Dispossession is demonstrated by keeping vulnerable populations in inferior positions to maintain social stratification.

I use the pillars of this model (power, marginality, oppression, adversity, and trauma) to help identify experiences of structural violence in the lives of Latino migrant and seasonal farmworkers. Mental health is the outcome of focus, and this can be situated into the roof of this conceptual model. The attributes of structural violence impact the mental health of these farmworkers; in this study, I am interested in learning *how*.

Data Source

Student Action with Farmworkers (SAF) is non-profit organization based in Durham, N.C. whose mission is to bring students and farmworkers together to learn about each other's lives, share resources and skills, improve conditions for farmworkers, and build diverse coalitions working for social change. Their work originated in the 1970s; products of and artifacts from their work have been archived at David M. Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library. The collection consists of 148 boxes of audio recordings, videos, photographs, interviews, narratives, creative projects, official documents, and other digital records. High school and college-age interns, many of whom come from farmworker families, collected these records (in Appendix A and B). Major themes in the collection include: "history, working conditions, and abuses of migrant farmworkers in the U.S.; education and outreach efforts; housing, health, and pesticide safety; leadership development for migrant youth; grassroots theater; labor organizing and boycotts; and service learning" (Student Action with Farmworkers records, n.d.).

Data Analysis

I used these diverse archival materials to answer my two identified research questions through a critical phenomenological qualitative analysis. Phenomenology focuses on commonality of lived experiences within a group (Creswell & Creswell, 2018; Merriam & Tisdell, 2015) while critical phenomenology seeks to understand issues of power and marginalization (Guenther, 2020). Guenther explains that critical phenomenology “is a way of pulling up traces of a history that is not quite or no longer there ... that has been rubbed out or consigned to invisibility ... but still shapes the emergence of meaning” (Guenther, 2020, p. 15). As with many populations, the social structures that are in place shape our experiences. This study design seeks to understand the specific perspectives of migrant and seasonal farmworkers.

I focused on the data that SAF collected between 2008-2020, covering the presidential administrations of Obama (2008-2016) and Trump (2016-2020). The sample is adult (18+) male Latino migrant and seasonal farmworkers who were working in North Carolina during the time of their interviews. Within this collection, there are 148 archival boxes of materials that are split between online and in-person viewing availability. To sort through these boxes, I searched the collection’s website for key words to help narrow down my selection. To identify mental health within the data, I looked for several situations: (1) reactions to stressful situations, (2) relationships/connections with other people, (3) thoughts about personal self, (4) thoughts/reflections about the future and the past, and (5) religion/faith-based thoughts and discussions. I also used Spanish mental health glossaries that have words and phrases that do and do not directly translate to English. For example, “Ese vive en las nubes” translates to “That one lives in the clouds” which could be attributed to an individual “spacing out” and closing themselves off (Perez, 2017). For structural violence, I searched for the following themes: (1)

power [control over people or domination by those with wealth/status], (2) marginality [actual or perceived inferiority/disadvantage], (3) oppression [systematic exclusion of benefits], (4) adversity [physical injuries and suffering], and (5) trauma [disturbing or distressing experience]. These themes are based on the attributes of structural violence determined by Jackson and Sadler (2022). Structural violence has not been clearly operationalization which can make it hard to identify. The Jackson and Sadler study performed a literature review to help provide conceptual clarity to improve its application within research (Jackson and Sadler, 2022).

Sort and Sift, Think and Shift

My data analysis utilizes the “Sort and Sift, Think and Shift” approach. This process consists of taking a dive into the data to deeply understand its contents and dimensions to assess/reflect on what was learned and determine what the next steps will be (Maietta et al., 2021). These steps allow the researcher to combine their existing knowledge with the data content. The main elements of this approach consist of two key shifts that occur during the data analysis. The first shift occurs when the research adjusts their plans from their initial thoughts before engaging with the data, to then letting the data guide the process via quotation identification and data inventory, diagramming as an analysis tool, memoing, episode profiles, and topic monitoring (Maietta et al., 2021). The second shift occurs once the researcher is no longer engaging with individual pieces of data, but instead across all data documents while keeping in mind how this data will be presented via mining, bridging and threading, story evolution tools, concept combination tools, and reflection tools (Maietta et al., 2021). An important aspect of “Sort and Sift” is to not try to force the data. Especially when discussing the personal experiences regarding mental health, I allowed the data to be my guide. When considering structural violence, I can appreciate that flexibility is another important feature of the

data analysis process. This construct is vague because it is so all-encompassing, so I did not want to force it into a box, rather I wanted the data to guide me so that I was able to see how much it flows and permeates throughout experiences.

Data Immersion

Data immersion begins with an “Initial Learning Period” of reviewing a set number of data files (~5) to establish a level of understanding of the experiences utilizing a variety of tools including quotation inventories, diagramming, and memoing (Maietta et al., 2021). Quotations were helpful in developing episodic profiles and providing context for a holistic picture. I kept a quotation inventory in Microsoft Word, which included each quote and why I deemed it important along with some personal thoughts. I started off with viewing documents in-person at the Duke Rubenstein Rare Manuscript Library and scanned any relevant documents so I could view them outside of the library. Of the 148 boxes that exist in this collection, I went through 18 boxes. I was able to narrow down the number of boxes that I went through, by using the search function on the library’s website and by working with library’s employees. Some of the data was already separated into categories on the website and there is also a list of themes found throughout this collection. I used those themes (working conditions, abuses of migrant farmworkers in the U.S., housing, and health) to figure out which specific boxes to select. Some documents were partially or entirely in Spanish, so I utilized Google Translate at this stage for a rough translation of the documents. In the end, 17 documents (8 interviews and 9 narratives) were utilized and 7 of those documents needed to be professionally translated.

During this first read-through, I highlighted different things such as emotion evoking quotes, thoughts about the future, specific working and living conditions, and farmworkers describing their own emotions. The next step involved diving into the data and starting the

process of creating memos and organizing quotes. I reviewed the data from the previous steps while taking much more detailed notes. The purpose of this was to help monitor and document topics as they emerge, including such as “housing, social support, fears, hopes, stress.” As I repeated this phase, which Maietta et al. (2021) refers to as the “Initial Learning Process,” each time was slightly different based on any adjustments that were made. These adjustments included making more notes on why I thought something was important, skimming a document first before highlighting anything, and color coding my notes. Skimming allowed me to have better context during this process because I had a general overview of the document before singling out specific portions. Changes to my notetaking ultimately made it easier to refer to what a document was saying instead of having to re-read the document in its entirety every time I needed to view a note. Flexibility is a large part of this approach because it is meant for the researcher to start by working with “what I know” then eventually shifting to allowing the data to guide the work.

Quotation Inventory

The next step involved diving into the data and starting the process of creating the quotation inventory. The purpose of this was to help monitor and document topics as they were observed. I went through the same documents again but now I recorded quotes while labeling which document each quote came from in Microsoft Word. Microsoft Office Suite was selected for two reasons: (1) it is a tool supported by the Sort and Shift method and (2) it was an affordable option for the Mac that did not require PDF documents to be recognizable as text. I also included any additional thoughts, feelings, and comments, which is known as memoing. The first shift of the “Sort and Sift, Think and Shift” method occurred here by not limiting myself to the initial structural violence themes. This allowed me to find and include quotes that ended up being important for making connections between different themes.

Episode Profile and Topic Monitoring

While building my quotation inventory, I started working on topic monitoring and visually displaying the data as Episode Profiles in Microsoft PowerPoint. Topic monitoring is an active approach to discovering and learning from topics that define, describe, and direct the lived experiences and perspectives of participants (Maietta et al., 2021). Topic monitoring takes details from lived experiences and demonstrates how they interact with each other across different stories. The overall goal of an episode profile is to tell a holistic story using individual pieces of data (Maietta et al., 2021). The episode profiles consisted of three components: a “Day in the Life,” a word cloud, and a topic web (in Appendix C) connecting different topics with lines. The topic web consisted of topics within circles connected to each with lines to demonstrate relationships. The word cloud was created by entering in various quotes into an online word cloud generator. It displays words in different sizes based on how frequently they are mentioned. This is where the second shift occurred. At this point, I stepped back and reflected on the data that I viewed so far. Instead of viewing individual documents, I was able to look across all the data for themes. I also went back to review some documents to double check things like context and accuracy of quotes.

Themes

I used the information gathered from the episode profiles to form the basis of a thematic analysis. This method is flexible in granting the researcher freedom in the determination of themes as long as the researcher remains consistent. I used the themes from the initial phase to build a more comprehensive picture of what the data was revealing. Thematic analysis allowed my constructivist approach to help understand how the data described the ways in which

structural violence shapes Latino migrant and seasonal farmworkers' experiences and the connections between those experiences and mental health outcomes.

CHAPTER IV: STRUCTURAL VIOLENCE AMONG MALE LATINO MIGRANT AND SEASONAL FARMWORKERS IN NORTH CAROLINA

Abstract

Structural violence describes the embedded injustices that remove power and limit an individual's ability to reach their full potential due to higher risks for diseases and injuries. Male Latino migrant and seasonal farmworkers are subjected to structural violence because of social structures and institutions inflicting harm by inhibiting the ability of farmworkers to meet their basic needs such as safe housing, food, and healthcare. Structural violence is a very widespread construct that has not yet been operationalized or integrated into our understandings of determinants of health among farmworkers. Utilizing the "Sort and Sift, Think and Shift" methods, a secondary analysis of qualitative data was conducted to examine the experiences of male Latino migrant and seasonal farmworkers through a structural violence lens. The results suggest that structural violence can be identified through individual experiences at every level of the social ecology. By examining the personal experiences of male Latino migrant and seasonal farmworkers in North Carolina, this study provides examples of how to identify structural violence and potential solutions to address them.

Introduction

Structural violence is rich in its explanatory potential but can also be vague in its operational definition (De Maio & Ansell, 2018). A literature review found that there are several different definitions for this term, many of which come from qualitative studies (Macassa et al., 2021) because it is less likely to be quantified. The construct has strong potential for use in theories to help explain or predict health or other outcomes. This is because structural violence research allows us to see how these societal forces can be translated into individual-level

experiences. These experiences can be identified in many ways, but it is important to understand that structural violence can impact an individual through various routes with numerous outcomes.

A cohort study (Hoivik, 1977, p. 59) discussed how “the loss of life from an un unequal distribution is an aspect of structural violence.” Using this definition, Hoivik applied an index of structural violence and measured the quantity of structural violence by the difference between actual and potential conditions (avoidable deaths). The index is considered the intensity of structural violence, while the quantity of structural violence is the number of excess or avoidable deaths. While this approach demonstrates that structural violence is harmful enough to lead to death, it has its limitations. Using a country’s death rate is not a sufficient measurement for structural violence because so many other things are affected by it. A main feature of structural violence is that it is not limited to physical violence/harm because it is pervasive through our social ecology. This approach fails to consider impacts that can be harmful but may not directly lead to death. Just because a country has a lower death rate, does not mean the citizens are free from structural violence.

The work of Scheper-Hughes has deep roots in various forms of violence among different vulnerable populations. One of her prominent studies is centered on the deaths of infants in Brazil and the social indifference that many community members showed Brazilian shantytowns (Scheper-Hughes, 2004). Structural violence allows harm to persist because no one is held accountable for these naturalized incidences. A 2012 social epidemiologic study stated that measuring the effects of structural violence is “not as simple as assessing phenomena such as the direct experience of physical violence or economic dislocation,” (Rhodes et al., 2012, p. 210). This is because once an individual experiences a structural violence event, it continues to affect

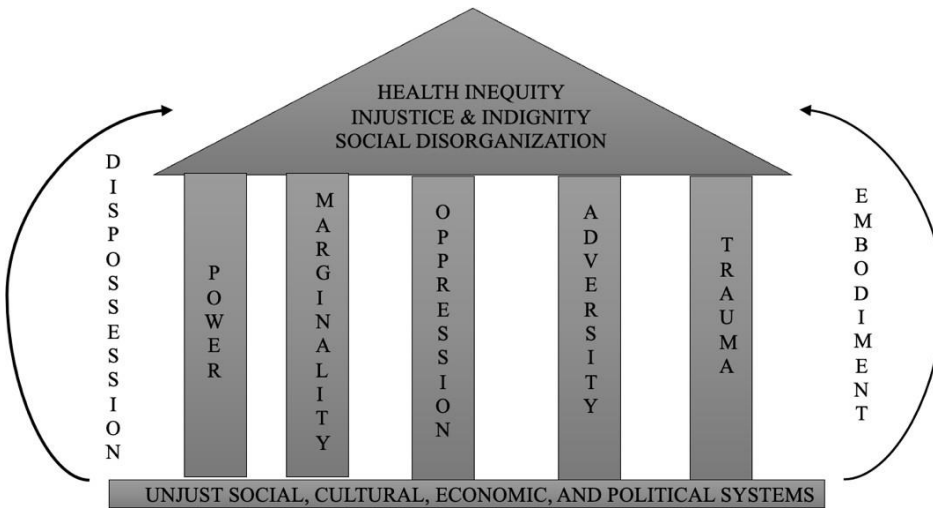
them over time and it may not have a specific endpoint, like death. Instead, it can manifest as powerlessness, normalization of violence, and fatalism to risk. This study contributes to our understanding of the operationalization of structural violence by acknowledging that it does not end after some specific event, but instead we must also consider the aftermath. Increasing policy makers and social justice advocates awareness of structural violence and its impact on health and wellbeing, could lead to a greater commitment to time, money, and expertise to prevention effort. This is why the “violence” part of structural violence is so important.

It is highly unlikely that a single measure for structural violence will emerge anytime soon. It may emerge within a specific context, based on the theory that is driving its operationalization, but it may continue to be used more in an explanatory manner. While it is important that researchers include a discussion of structural violence in their work, it has not been consistent. There is neither a consistent way to measure it, nor is the term being fully operationalized. The term “structural violence” possesses a broad applicability, necessitating its alignment with a theoretical or conceptual framework to ensure its efficacy.

In response to this uncertainty, Jackson and Sadler developed a model to depict how structural violence is utilized in the literature. This model defines the “key attributes, antecedents, consequences, and characteristics” of structural violence to help clarify its meaning (Jackson & Sadler, 2022, p. 3495). This model in Figure 5 (Jackson & Sadler, 2022) is visually represented as a building with pillars. At the base of the structure is unjust social, cultural, economic, and political systems. Standing atop this base are the five core attributes of structural violence: power, marginality, oppression, adversity, and trauma. These attributes are intertwined and work with each other to support consequences. The roof of the structure is comprised of health inequities, injustice & indignity, and social disorganization (Jackson & Sadler, 2022). This

model also includes embodiment as an arrow connecting from the base to the roof. Here, embodiment is the personification of structural violence antecedents described as various “-isms” and phobias such as racism and transphobia. These antecedents allow structural violence to influence various policies and practices while allowing them to persist.

Figure 5. Structural Violence Model (Jackson & Sadler, 2022)



Although there are several studies that explore the lives and environments of Latino migrant and seasonal farmworkers, there is a shortage of studies that explicitly use the term structural violence. Thus, the purpose of this study is to identify how structural violence exists within the experiences of male Latino migrant and seasonal farmworkers in North Carolina. The state of North Carolina has an estimated 46,000 farms and is a major (\$70 billion-a-year) producer of crops including tobacco, cucumbers, sweet potatoes, tomatoes, Christmas trees, and blueberries (North Carolina Agricultural Statistics, 2022). North Carolina’s farms and farm labor brokers employ over 150,000 farmworkers that are essential for the production and harvest of these crops (The NC Farmworkers’ Project, 2020). Farmwork is a very dangerous and difficult profession, and farmworkers are exposed to structural violence in many ways. By identifying

specific instances of this occurrence, we can explicitly label it as structural violence to help bring what has been hiding in plain sight, to the foreground.

Methods

A secondary analysis of qualitative data was conducted to examine the experiences of male Latino migrant and seasonal farmworkers through a structural violence lens. The main research question that guides this research is: how does structural violence shape Latino migrant and seasonal farmworkers' experiences in North Carolina?

Theoretical and Methodological Framing for the Current Study

This study utilizes critical phenomenology because structural violence involves many instances of power and marginalization. Critical phenomenology is a philosophy that allows traces of an invisible history to come to the foreground (Guenther, 2020). Structural violence includes intentional, yet avoidable injustices and critical phenomenology explores an intentional act on an intentional object. The goal of this philosophy is not to interpret the world, but to take it a step further by changing it (Guenther, 2020).

Ethical Approval

The UNCG IRB determined that this submission does not constitute human subjects research as defined under federal regulations and does not require IRB approval.

Data Set

The data used in this study is from an archived collection from Student Action with Farmworkers (SAF). SAF is a non-profit organization located in Durham, NC. This organization works with students and farmworkers to build diverse coalitions for social change. The David M. Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library holds 148 boxes of various records including interviews, videos, audio recordings, narratives, and photographs from 1960 to 2022. These

interviews were conducted by college students through various North Carolina counties with the goal of educating them on various farmworker issues. This study utilized data collected between 2008-2020, covering the presidential administrations of Obama (2008-2016) and Trump (2016-2020). The inclusion criteria comprised of adult (18+) male Latino migrant and seasonal farmworkers that were working in North Carolina at the time of the interview.

Measures

In order to sort information from the collection's 148 boxes of data, key search terms were identified and used to select data for inclusion. In order to identify structural violence within the data, the following themes from Jackson's model of structural violence were utilized: (1) power [control over people or domination by those with wealth/status], (2) marginality [actual or perceived inferiority/disadvantage], (3) oppression [systematic exclusion of benefits], (4) adversity [physical injuries and suffering], and (5) trauma [disturbing or distressing experience].

Data

The first step of the "Sort and Sift, Think and Shift" approach involved reviewing documents to establish a base level of understanding. This started with viewing documents in-person and scanning important documents to be examined more in-depth. After applying inclusion and exclusion criteria, 11 documents (6 narratives and 5 interviews) were used. Interviews were conducted by college-aged interns that were working for SAF and the narrative were their own recounts and reflections of those same interviews. The interviews did not follow a specific set of questions nor did the narratives. The interviews varied but several of them asked about the farmworker's past, their current life, and about their future. The narratives provided an opportunity for the interviewer to reflect on their emotions and some of the topics discussed and

the setting of the interview. Some narratives also included additional notes about body language and facial expressions that are not included in the interview portion. Seven of those documents were translated by a trained professional. An initial review was completed via Google Translate to help select documents for translation.

Data Analysis

This study uses the “Sort and Sift, Think and Shift” approach. This analysis method allows the researcher to dive into their data to deeply understand its contents and dimensions to assess what was learned to determine what the next steps will be (Maietta et al., 2021). It is comprised of two important shifts that occur during the process: once when the researcher adjusts from their initial thoughts and again when the researcher looks across all data instead of focusing on individual pieces. For structural violence, the flexibility is an important feature of the data analysis process because it allows the shift from what the researcher knows to letting the data guide the process.

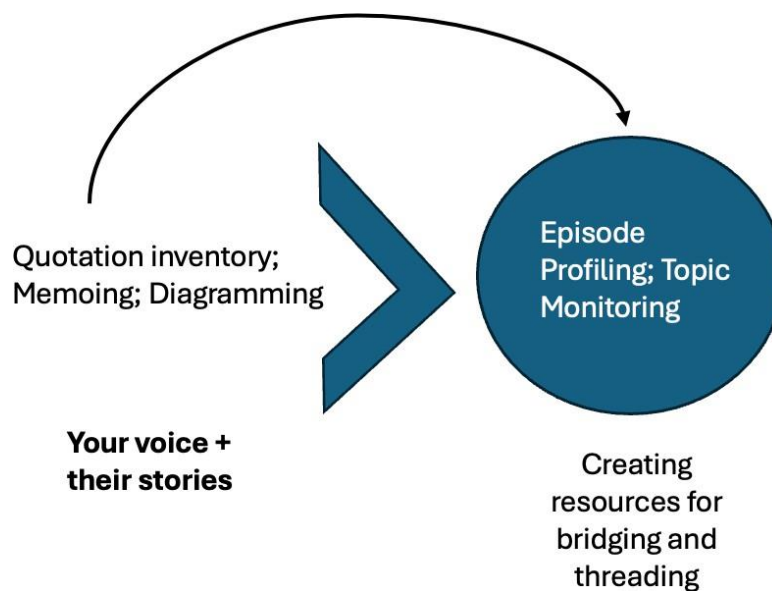
Data Immersion

This first step in the Sort and Sift process consists of data immersion, during which the researcher becomes deeply familiar with the data. During the first read-through, interviews and narratives were reviewed while taking minimum notes in the margins of the document. These notes were limited to the researcher’s thoughts and feelings rather than interpretations. To maintain reflexivity, passages were highlighted, and reflective notes were made without making any assumptions. Reflecting on the data led to the creation of more memos that discussed the general tone and any other information deemed important. Notes about why something was important, the emotions it evoked, and the general tone of the transcripts and narratives were all included.

Quotation Inventory

The quotation inventory process allows for documenting various topics. This “Initial Learning Process” was repeated a few times with adjustments to highlighting and the phrasing and organization of notes. The Sort and Sift approach is not meant for a single run-through, instead, it is an iterative process that changes based on how the data guides it. The quotes from the interviews and narratives were organized into a quotation inventory using Microsoft Word along with additional thoughts and comments. I was able to make connections between different topics in the data. This is where the first shift occurred because this process looks beyond these five pillars of structural violence to include additional quotes that may have otherwise been overlooked. These steps allow the transition into Episode Profiling and Topic Monitoring.

Figure 6. Sort and Sift Initial Learning Period Phase (Maietta et al., 2021)



Topic Monitoring and Episode Profiling

Topic monitoring, the creation and management of topics, is a tool that is helpful in connecting various themes later in the process. This is an inductive process of documenting any topics that emerged from the data. Memoing occurred at this step as well, to provide context for how these topics are representative of the lived experiences. Episode profiles provide a way to visually display the data and to help organize results. For this study, the episode profiles consisted of three components: multiple short “Day in the Life” vignettes, topic webs, and a word cloud. The topic web consisted of topics within circles connected to each with lines to demonstrate relationships. The word cloud was created by entering in various quotes into a Word Cloud Generator. It displays words in different sizes based on how frequently they are mentioned. The topic webs were the most important piece for this study because it illuminated connections between the themes, including pain, suffering, and withholding resources.

At this point, all the data was able to be viewed together instead of individual pieces and this is where the second shift of Sort and Sift occurred. Instead of looking at each interviewee’s experiences individually, they can be analyzed as a whole to make connections and prepare for presenting the data. This was important because it allowed for an assessment of how the various topics appear across the entire dataset. The quotation inventory, memos, and episode profiles were all used to organize the data and create the final “Day in the Life.” It is important to note that using the structural violence attributes was more limiting than helpful in organizing the findings. The topics that emerged did not always translate well to these attributes, so a third shift occurred. This was not necessarily a part of the Sort and Sift method, but it happened due to the pervasive nature of structural violence. This model was helpful in providing a starting point for identifying some instances of structural violence but as data analysis continued, it was revealed

to be not quite enough. There were some topics and quotes that didn't fit into a single attribute category which led to some changes in how the data is presented.

Initially the data was organized by the pillars of structural violence that are in Jackson and Sadler's structural violence conceptual model. The change was made to instead use the inductive themes from the data. The Findings section was ultimately organized by the topics based on what was reported by farmworkers themselves; this change is examined further in the Discussion section.

Findings

With Jackson and Sadler's (2022) model, experiences of male Latino migrant and seasonal farmworkers were examined through a structural violence lens. The five pillars (attributes) were highlighted through these experiences and presented in two ways: first, as extracted quotations and second, as a compiled vignette—a Day in the Life.

“Forced to Work Long Hours Every Single Day”

Farmwork is a very difficult and dangerous profession. Structural violence is embedded throughout the experiences of Latino migrant and seasonal farmworkers, and it can often be observed during their time in the fields. This theme was extracted directly from one of the quotes. When asked about his work in the United States, one farmworker responded:

[In Mexico], everyone goes home after they're done and they don't feel threatened or taken advantage of – in the US, it is like slavery. (Interviewee, Box 142, Life & Work of “David”, 2015)

In this statement, the respondent compares working in the United States with working in Mexico. This individual experienced better working conditions in Mexico. In the United States, he was forced to work long hours, whereas in Mexico, he was able to take breaks as needed. The usage

of the word “slavery” demonstrates the severity of the power dynamics. Daily, this individual felt threatened and taken advantage of by his supervisors. These are individuals in the field that manage and watch over the labor of farmworkers; this role was explained by one farmworker:

They [*mayordomos*/crew supervisors] are always telling us to work hard even though we are already working our hardest. (Interviewee, Box 142, Life & Work of “David”, 2015)

This focuses on how the *mayordomos*, or crew supervisors, can exert their power over the farmworkers. Visible power is a type of power that includes formal rules and structures in place can be observed (Gaventa, 2006). The crew supervisors are causing harm by being so demanding of the farmworkers while also making threats. An interviewer noted how working in the United States compares to working in Mexico for one farmworker he spoke with.

He does not like it here in the United States ... the chemicals they use on the crops negatively affected his health when he first came here and he hates how they are forced to work long hours every single day, including Sunday. He talks fondly of Mexico where he was able to take breaks when he needed them, and he was able to be his own boss.

(Interviewer, Box 142, Life & Work of “David”, 2015)

Together, these quotes demonstrate the ways that those in higher positions use the power they possess to inflict harm and fear into those without power. Power is described as the ability to affect the actions and thoughts of others (Gaventa, 2006). In the context of structural violence, power can be demonstrated by control over persons, and the power imbalance creates a cycle that allows the domination by those with status and wealth to persist. Power imbalances can be inflicted in the workplace in various ways, including threats to invoke fear and inferiority. Farmworkers neither have control in the days worked nor the hours worked. The findings

demonstrate farmworkers' assessments that while Mexico sometimes has better working conditions, the pay is much better in the United States.

Strict adherence to Jackson and Sadler's conceptual model in the initial analytic stages resulted in quotes grouped together by the attribute "power". While this attribute applies to these quotes well, it does not capture the entire story that is being told. Agricultural workers have been excluded from laws that would have provided protections against working these extremely long hours. This embedded injustice surrounding wages and overtime requirements via the Fair Labor Standards Act directly increases agricultural workers' risks for injury and disease while limiting the ability to reach their full potential.

Withholding Protections and Resources

The Fair Labor Standards Act (Fair Labor Standards Act, 1938) is just one example of how Latino migrant and seasonal farmworkers have been excluded from benefits. When asked about his experiences on the field, this farmworker responded with:

Sometimes there is sufficient water, but when the sun is harsh, it goes fast—water doesn't always get replaced. (Interviewee, Box 142, Life & Work of "David", 2015)

Farmworkers work outdoors in varying conditions, including extreme heat, so the need for water can become very prevalent. Whether or not it is intentionally withheld, demanding more work in harsh heat without supplying sufficient water is an example of structural violence because it is preventable and causes direct harm. It even has the potential to lead to dehydration and heat stress. It creates an environment that removes the opportunity for farmworkers to have a choice about taking care of themselves. Withholding important information that could allow individuals to protect themselves is also harmful. Farmwork involves the utilization of various chemicals on crops and when asked about safety training, a farmworker stated:

No, I did not [receive any training about chemicals and pesticides]. (Interviewee, Box 142, Life & Work of “David”, 2015)

This is an occupation that is known to be dangerous. Supervisors’ and farm owners’ decisions about providing this training is a decision they make for the farmworkers’ health. Proper training can help to educate and prevent unnecessary injuries and harm but excluding them from this resource completely removes that opportunity. Another farmworker compared the laws and regulations from California to Mexico:

On those orange groves [in California], there are some 300-400 acres, and lots more ranches. And state inspectors are everywhere ... But was it like that in NC? Because Cali is famous for its laws and inspectors, etc. ... Did you see inspectors in NC? Well in NC we didn’t see them much ... because if I’m working there [in California], they don’t care if I’m legal or not, they care about the health of the person. (Interviewee and Interviewer, Box 137, Retorno 360, 2012)

According to this farmworker, North Carolina was much laxer in the enforcement of regulations regarding pesticides. This farmworker stated that he did not see many inspectors in North Carolina, but they had a prominent presence in California. In this scenario, farmworkers are being excluded from proper inspections to enforce laws and policies that are meant to protect them.

Other exclusion of benefits can include withholding earned money. The interviewer’s narrative stated:

[This farmworker] said that he has buddies back home that told him about how if they got accepted to work for a company that the company would pay for him to travel to the

United States, but that isn't true in his case. The company only paid half. (Interviewer, Box 142, Life & Work of "Daniel", 2015)

When a farmworker was promised an amount of money for traveling to the U.S. and then receives less than that amount, it is an exclusion of benefits. The decision to take the job may have been based on the promised amount of money, so for the employer to pay lower wages is unfair and potentially fraudulent. Receiving less than fair wages is an ongoing, systematic exclusion of benefits. Within the structural violence model, oppression is identified as the systematic exclusion of benefits or imposition of harm in individuals, while marginality is based on the creation of boundaries between people and their environment (Jackson & Sadler, 2022). These concepts are very similar because they both discuss the exclusion groups from benefits or resources.

When organizing these findings, it was discovered that centering analysis on the pillars of the structural violence model was limiting. The agricultural industry is incredibly profitable, but this is not reflected in the care of its employees. Although oppression and marginalization do describe the exclusion of benefits, the initial analysis did not to reflect the lack of care (of farm owners, supervisors, and the agricultural industry as a whole) whereby farmworkers are continually placed in harm's way. An element of structural violence is that instances are intentional, yet avoidable. Not receiving water, proper training, protections from inspectors, and promised wages are all instances of structural violence with simple solutions. Trainings and informational documents should be provided to farmworkers and posted onsite in different languages. These documents and trainings should focus on the signs of heat stroke, how to protect against pesticides and other chemicals, and reminders to hydrate throughout the day.

Suffering in Silence

A key goal of structural violence research is to give a voice to the vulnerable populations who have had their suffering silenced. The next set of extracted quotes presented discuss how some Latino migrant and seasonal farmworkers suffer in and out of the fields. Starting at the beginning, the trek from Mexico to the United States can be very dangerous. One interviewer summarized it in this way:

In the first few months of his departure from [Mexico], he spent a numerous amount of weeks walking through the desert with only a certain amount of food and water. At one point he felt like turning around because he thought the sacrifice, the sweat, the starvation was not worth it ... He kept walking until eventually he arrived to North Carolina.

(Interviewer, Box 136, The Farmworker Community, 2013)

In this situation, the farmworker was driven into a traumatic situation in an effort to provide a better life for his family. In this data, there were many instances of farmworkers discussing how their sole reason for coming to the United States was to earn money. This motivation pushes them to simply deal with other hardships while they are here, including physical injuries. During an interview, a farmworker stated:

When you get here, it's not easy. You suffer. You get a lot of scratches or bruises ... I don't want to be a farmworker my entire life because of the health risks. (Interviewee, Box 136, The Farmworker Community, 2013)

This farmworker has acknowledged the suffering that comes with this job. Injury is expected and the physical effects can be long-lasting. It has become an accepted aspect, but this farmworker knows that he will not stay in this position long. Another farmworker attests to the risk of injury by stating:

In fact, the last time I suffered an accident in the sweet potato. It was an accident because when I was taking one of the sweet potato out of the ground on the moment I put my fingers in to quickly get the sweet potato out, and with my fingers I hit a sweet potato and my finger bends backwards and it twists and I couldn't work anymore. Then at that moment the rain came, and everybody thought that I left because of the rain and they ask me why I had gone out and that the boss was going to report me ... I told him that I came to work and everything went wrong. I left because I couldn't handle it anymore and it wasn't necessary for me to continue working and lose what I did the entire season, just for losing one day. He agreed with me and sent the report to the boss. Either way the next day I had to continue working. I spent a week with pain working with pain, but that's what you experience here. (Interviewee, Box 142, The Life of a Farmworker, 2015)

This farmworker experienced an injury on the job and was expected to keep working through the pain so as not to miss losing payment. Instances of hardships and suffering like this can make farmworkers struggle with if they will keep working or if they will leave and go home. It is common for a farmworker to be unsure of how long they plan to stay in the United States once they arrive because various factors can play a role. One farmworker reflected on what he lost after making the decision to leave his home country:

Now that I came, everything ... everything was lost due to the distance. I had a relationship with a person. She is very important in my life, four years of relationship as a couple. We were engaged this year and everything was lost due to the fact that I came here and she stayed there. The distance was stronger. In fact, the sense of having lost her hurts me a lot. But I said that won't stop me from coming here. All the time I have said

and my father told me “Don’t fall apart, go ahead and whatever it costs you can do it.”

(Interviewee, Box 142, *The Life of a Farmworker*, 2015)

This farmworker speaks on his loss since migrating to North Carolina for work. He left his fiancé behind to find work and to earn money and it is causing him a great deal of pain. He and his father agree that he must sacrifice and endure whatever is necessary to keep going. These farmworkers have been silenced do not often of the opportunity to speak up and advocate for themselves because they will risk retaliation from the job site.

Adversity can be identified as the experience of hardship via various challenges and oppositions while trauma is the result an intensely distressing experience which can stem from uncertainty about the future (Jackson & Sadler, 2022). Based on the data, these hardships could be financial, physical, and even emotional. Farmworkers can face adversity in their home country as well as in the United States. Economic hardship and poverty can be drivers for traveling to the U.S. for work. In this data, adversity was experienced by physical pain, injuries, loss of loved ones, and sacrifice. In this study, trauma was demonstrated by the culmination of various distressing experiences. Adversity and trauma apply to these quotes, but they do not represent the data well enough. By labeling these instances as suffering in silence, it calls attention to the fact that structural violence works to hide these injustices.

Day in the Life

To continue centering the real, lived experiences of these farmworkers and to bring these experiences into the social ecology, some of the data has been organized into a “Day in the Life.” These data were selected from the quotation inventories and episode profile and written as a narrative. This compilation of various farmworker experiences, or a vignette, demonstrates how structural violence can manifest in the lives of farmworkers. The purpose of this vignette is to

provide a short descriptive sketch of real-life experiences to evoke a reaction (Schoenberg & Ravdal, 2000). Quotations and narrative statements were organized into a short story to present a detailed insight into a full day of a male Latino migrant and seasonal farmworker.

Daniel is a pseudonym selected by the researcher for the purpose of this narrative and does not represent any of the individual men. This format is not to suggest that every male Latino migrant and seasonal farmworker in North Carolina has this same experience. Instead, its purpose is to help operationalize the construct of structural violence, which is so pervasive yet underdetermined. Structural violence can be viewed as “something in the water,” or something that has so many instances that there must be a common root cause.

Daniel is from a small town in Mexico and currently works at a farm in Lillington, North Carolina. He wanted to find a job available to immigrants that would allow him to earn money fast and send it back home to his family. He works well over 60 hours a week to accomplish this.

He wakes up on a Tuesday morning, gets ready, and heads to the van that will take him to the fields. He earns \$3.50 per box of blackberries that he picks, and each box has an 8-count of 6 oz plastic clamshells. It's almost impossible for him to take a break while working, because the work adds up and he knows that he'll end up staying out there alone all evening. He reflects on how work was in Mexico and although the pay is better here, he did not feel like a slave there.

While working, he realizes that he has been bitten by a spider so he is taken to the hospital where he can barely speak. Turns out, he suffered from a heat stroke and was so dehydrated that his kidneys started shutting down and he imagined that a spider bit him. He returns to camp with his fellow farmworkers that are dealing with similar problems.

They spend their free time talking, singing, and doing other activities together to help ease the pain of not being with their families. They notice that everyone's clothes have a bunch of small purple splotches because they've been stained by the fruit.

Back in bed, he dreams of starting a business so he can have the best of both worlds: financial support and the freedom to live his life with the people he loves. This is his third year here and he's unsure of how many more years he'll continue this.

Examples of structural violence are embedded throughout this "Day in the Life."

Farmworkers are not protected by the Fair Labor Standards Act, so they can often have long hour workdays without guaranteed breaks. In this example, the farmworker thought that a spider bit him when actually, he was working so long in the heat that he became dehydrated and suffered a heat stroke. In this Findings section, marginality and oppression were discussed regarding farmworkers not always having an available supply of water and it applies to this situation as well. Although the pay is greater in the United States, so is the suffering. These injustices are avoidable and put farmworkers at a greater risk for injury and disease.

Discussion

Structural violence has been used as a framework to help contextualize how social forces become embodied as individual experiences and health outcomes (Shannon et al., 2017). It has not yet been operationalized or integrated into our understanding of the determinants of health among farmworkers. Structural violence is created and reinforced by forces and institutions at the highest level of social organization. But, like many phenomena at the higher levels of the social ecology, structural violence is experienced at the individual level as well. The outcomes of structural violence are often experienced individually, but structural violence can target entire communities because it is embedded within the social matrix. Even with different members of a

given community being exposed to the same injustices, it will be important to note how they may experience these injustices differently.

In this study, structural violence was identified with the assistance of the five pillars discussed in the previously stated model. Jackson and Sadler's (2022) structural violence model was selected because initially it seemed to efficiently encapsulate the construct. It appeared to be a great guide to help navigate this phenomenon that has been made invisible by society, while also preventing the researcher from becoming overwhelmed by the data. The initial plan was to take the topics that emerged inductively during topic monitoring to deductively categorize extracted quotes into the five pillars (attributes) of structural violence. In the induction of this analysis, it was discovered that many of the topics did not fit into singular categories, so strictly adhering to this model would be a limitation. These attributes (power, marginality, oppression, adversity, and trauma) are not mutually exclusive; they have overlapping elements. For example, it is not simple to clearly distinguish when something is only an act of oppression because it may also have elements of power imbalances and adversity. This has led to sorting some of the extracted quotes into a singular category when they are also applicable to other categories.

In response to this, a shift occurred and the researcher moved to a more inductive approach. The following themes were used as thematic categories, instead of the Jackson and Sadler (2022) model's attributes: "Forced to Work Long Hours Every Single Day", "Withholding Protections and Resources", and "Suffering in Silence." These themes are not meant to replace the structural violence attributes in the original model. They were developed after realizing that the attributes were limiting the discussion of structural violence. Farmworkers described experiences of being forced to work long hours without breaks while feeling threatened and taken advantage of. One farmworker even compared the severity of working

conditions to slavery. Lack of protections from policy, for example, exclusion from the Fair Labor Standards Act, has also positioned these farmworkers to be in harm's way. *Withholding Protections and Resources* described the exclusion of things such as water, especially while working in extreme temperatures, fair wages, and breaks during the day. There was also the exclusion from receiving knowledge regarding pesticides and safety training, which can directly cause harm and unnecessary injuries for these farmworkers. *Suffering in Silence* was identified as the hidden experiences relating to the dangerous trek to get to the United States, physical harm, and overall suffering.

Some solutions for structural violence among this population will require restructuring policies. This includes the protections that are not given to agricultural workers through FLSA. Other solutions are simpler and can be implemented much faster. Trainings and informational documents should be provided to farmworkers and posted onsite in different languages. These documents and trainings should focus on the signs of heat stroke, how to protect against pesticides and other chemicals, and reminders to hydrate throughout the day. A study conducted in Georgia discovered that many farmworkers had not received training on preventing heat-related illness despite temperatures peaking around 108 °F (Fleischer et al., 2013). The results from another study suggested that language and cultural barriers prevent farmworkers from effectively receiving occupational safety and health information, but training could help counter this (Caffaro et al., 2018). To resolve this, a case study found that using symptom symbols and traffic light colors to demonstrate varying levels of toxicity could help improve information dissemination (LePrevost et al., 2013). The traffic light colors (red, yellow, and green) represent danger, warning, and caution. By doing this, they will have the tools to help prevent unnecessary injury while working.

A 2009 study evaluated the effectiveness of a program designed to teach women in Latino farmworker families about pesticide safety via lay health advisors (Arcury et al., 2009). They observed that although the intervention group had more acknowledgement of pesticide education, the knowledge measures in general did not change. It was suggested that their presentation of the information may have been too advanced for the literacy level of participants. So regardless of if a farmworker speaks English or Spanish, the literacy level must also be considered when disseminating information. There are also some solutions that depend on the actions of others, such as treatment of workers and providing basic needs such as water. This would require moving away from practices of “othering” this population to make them seem inferior. Many of these issues have become hidden in plain sight and it has become accepted by society when we truly should be working towards actively addressing and solving them.

Limitations

SAF’s database has a large variety of data pieces, which is both a limitation and a strength. To identify applicable cases and efficiently reduce data due to the large number of cases, I used the assistance of the collection’s curator and the online search tool offered within the dataset. By searching for various topics, specific box numbers and some box contents are identified. The interviews were conducted by different people throughout the years so there may be variations in the data collection methods. This makes the occurrence of any bias or study-specific nuances that occurred during the data collection hard to identify. This is common in studies that rely on secondary data (Cheng & Phillips, 2014). For this study, a secondary analysis of both interviews and interviewer’s notes (narratives) was conducted. When performing a secondary analysis, interviewer’s notes help to provide context and insight into the original

research process (Goodwin and O'Connor, 2006). As an outsider to this community, reviewing these notes offers an opportunity to deeply examine additional themes and issues.

All interviews included in this study were transcribed by the interviewers. The ones that were written in Spanish were professionally translated specifically for this study. When working with transcripts in different languages, there is a risk of losing the original meaning, especially when using metaphors or cultural slang (McKenna, 2022). To help overcome this limitation, I provided the translator with the entire transcript and provided context about the interview. This included information about the interviewer, interviewee, and the general goal of the interview. The translator translated the transcripts and provided some additional meaning to slang or terms that may not have a direct translation. Additionally, the sample size of this study is small and focused only on the experiences of men, so the generalizability of the study is limited. Despite these limitations this study contributes to the scientific literature in meaningful ways by providing examples of how future researchers can identify structural violence using individual-level experiences of a given population.

Implications

With these limitations in mind, Jackson and Sadler's (2022) conceptual model of structural violence may need adaptations to better represent the complexity of structural violence. The individual pillars demonstrate that attributes of structural violence work together to support consequences, but the separation of each one may be limiting. Further, experiences of structural violence may not always neatly match with a corresponding pillar. When using any conceptual model to guide research or organize data, it is important for the researcher to not force a model to work. Acknowledging that a model was an imperfect fit may help to identify

gaps in the model. It is understood that a conceptual model will not necessarily be able to cover every aspect of a phenomenon of interest, but it can be helpful to provide feedback.

Previously this model described embodiment as the mechanism by which antecedents of structural violence are personified (-isms and -phobias). Krieger (2005) discussed the different ways that the construct of embodiment is used in public health research. Based on those key manners of employing embodiment, I considered how it could be portrayed differently in this model. As Krieger states, “embodiment can act as a reminder of entangled consequences of diverse forms of social inequality,” (Krieger, 2005, p. 353). In this study, the construct of embodiment reminds us that a person is not one day Latino, another a farmworker, another living in poor housing conditions, or another being subjected to oppression or trauma. This model demonstrates how embodiment personifies structural violence but only for the perpetrators There is an exclusion of those who are suffering from this phenomenon.

An important goal of structural violence research is to “widen the public health gaze towards an awareness of the embodied effects of social positioning in order to legitimize the allocation of increased resources” (Rhodes et al., 2012, p. 227). By working towards identifying different ways of recognizing structural violence, a shift can occur to prevent some of these preventable experiences.

CHAPTER V: STRUCTURAL HARMS REQUIRE STRUCTURAL INTERVENTIONS: AN
EXAMINATION OF RESILIENCY AMONG LATINO MIGRANT AND SEASONAL
FARMWORKERS

Abstract

Mental health plays a large role in our day-to-day activities, our social interactions, our productivity, and even our physical health. Understanding mental health helps us to better recognize behaviors, thought processes, and feelings as well as the experiences that underlie or reinforce them. Exploring the contexts and experiences of mental health concerns in rural settings and among Latino migrant and seasonal farmworker is essential to eliminating disparities and improving the overall environment and experiences of the population. Latino migrant and seasonal farmworkers are exposed to many barriers and challenges that threaten their mental health. This study utilized secondary data analysis via the “Sort and Sift, Think and Shift” methods to explore how experiences of structural violence affect mental health. The results suggest that we cannot rely solely on individual level solutions for something that is a product of structures. A structural perspective of resiliency asks us to work at a systems level to prevent the need for individual-level resiliency. This study argues that structural violence can be explored via individual-level experiences while an individual’s mental health can be explored both as a product or result of structural inequity and as a way into a deeper understanding of structural violence. Ultimately, this piece uniquely situates mental health as structural and structural violence as individual to emphasize that structural harms require structural interventions.

Introduction

Structural violence describes the embedded injustices that remove power and limit an individual's ability to reach their full potential due to higher risks for diseases and injuries (Farmer, 2004). Experiences of structural violence—persistent poverty, lack of living wages, substandard housing, limited access to health care, patterns of worker rights and safety violations—are injustices because they are intentional, yet also avoidable. Structural violence violates human rights to the point that basic human needs are unattainable. It has been shown to negatively impact mental health; conversely, the advancement of human rights benefits mental health (Mann et al., 2016). Furthermore, understanding the experiences of marginalized groups through the lens of structural violence is essential build knowledge and compel collective action to remake the structures causing harm and to address the social determinants of health (SDOH). Once we know about farmworkers' experiences, we are compelled to act to stop the violence or else we are colluding with the system that has allowed these injustices to exist (Roberts, 2009).

Several studies have examined structural violence and mental health (Rabin et al., 2022; Kira et al., 2019; Sturgeon, 2012; Saleem et al., 2016). Mental health is defined as emotional, psychological, and social well-being (World Health Organization, 2017). Mental health plays a large role in day-to-day activities, social interactions, productivity, and even physical health. Cultural, social, political, and economic factors are drivers and reinforcers of mental health because they shape many aspects of our lives. Whether positive or negative, they determine the world around us. Structural violence can persist based on how society has been molded. Discrimination, racism, and marginalization are attributes of structural violence, and they all involve the removal or exclusion from power. Frantz Fanon, a political philosopher, suggested that systemic oppression is the denial of human rights and a precursor to mental illness (Anchuri

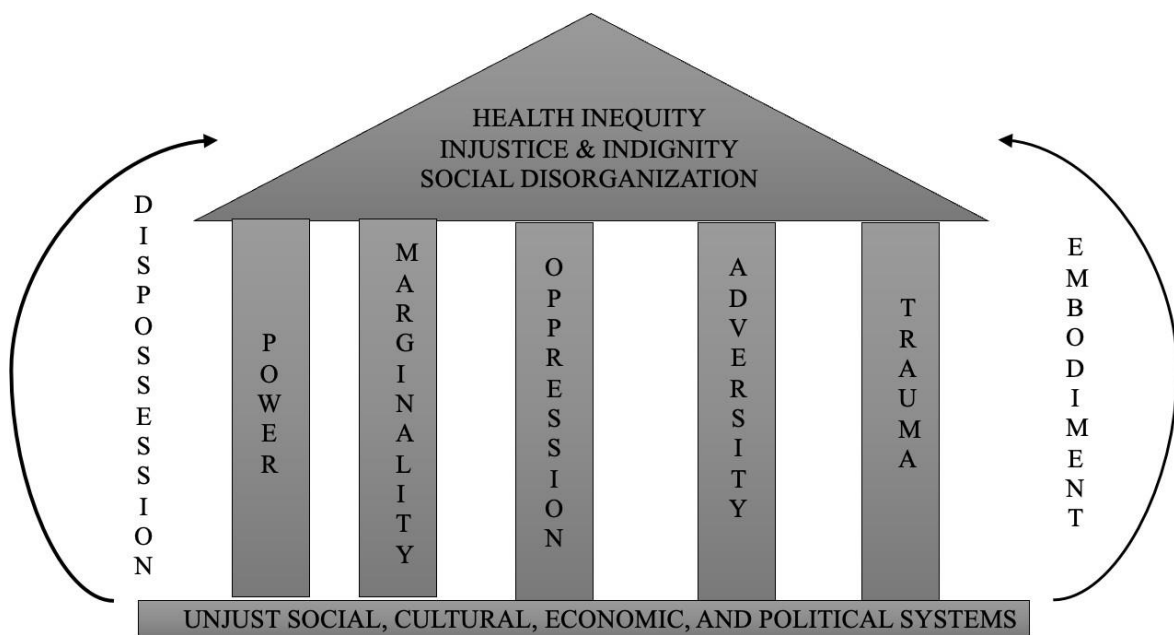
et al., 2021). There needs to be a stronger focus on the influences that structures have on behaviors and mental health while considering farmworker specific elements.

Due to limited farmworker mental health literature focusing specifically on stressors inherent to farmwork, a 2008 study sought to address this gap (Hiott et al., 2008). The authors found that social isolation was strongly associated with anxiety and working conditions were strongly linked to depression among male Latino farmworkers in North Carolina. Their findings suggest that when developing interventions and health services, it is important to consider whether they have a social support system. These factors contribute to poor mental health, but some studies have shown that economic hardship and poverty contribute as well (Grzywacz et al., 2014; Carvajal et al., 2014; Pulgar et al., 2016). Despite these drivers of poor mental health, some farmworkers are able to be resilient. In research, *resiliency* typically refers to unexpected competent functioning in response to adverse conditions (Patterson, 2004). A 2012 study that observed the role cultural values in Mexican American college student resiliency it was concluded that Latino culture, internal factors, and social support act as promoters (Consoli and Llamas, 2013).

In 2022, Jackson and Sadler published a model of structural violence that synthesizes prior research on the construct and defines the “key attributes, antecedents, consequences, and characteristics” of structural violence to help clarify its meaning (Jackson & Sadler, 2022, p. 3495). The model depicts structural violence as a building with a foundation, pillars, and a roof. Forming the foundation of the structure are unjust social, cultural, economic, and political systems. Standing atop this base are the five core attributes of structural violence: power, marginality, oppression, adversity, and trauma. The roof of the structure is comprised of the consequences of structural violence. The two arrows on either side represent embodiment and

dispossession. Here, embodiment is the personification of structural violence antecedents described as various “-isms” and phobias such as racism and transphobia. These antecedents allow structural violence to influence various policies and practices while allowing them to persist. Dispossession is demonstrated by keeping vulnerable populations in inferior positions to maintain social stratification.

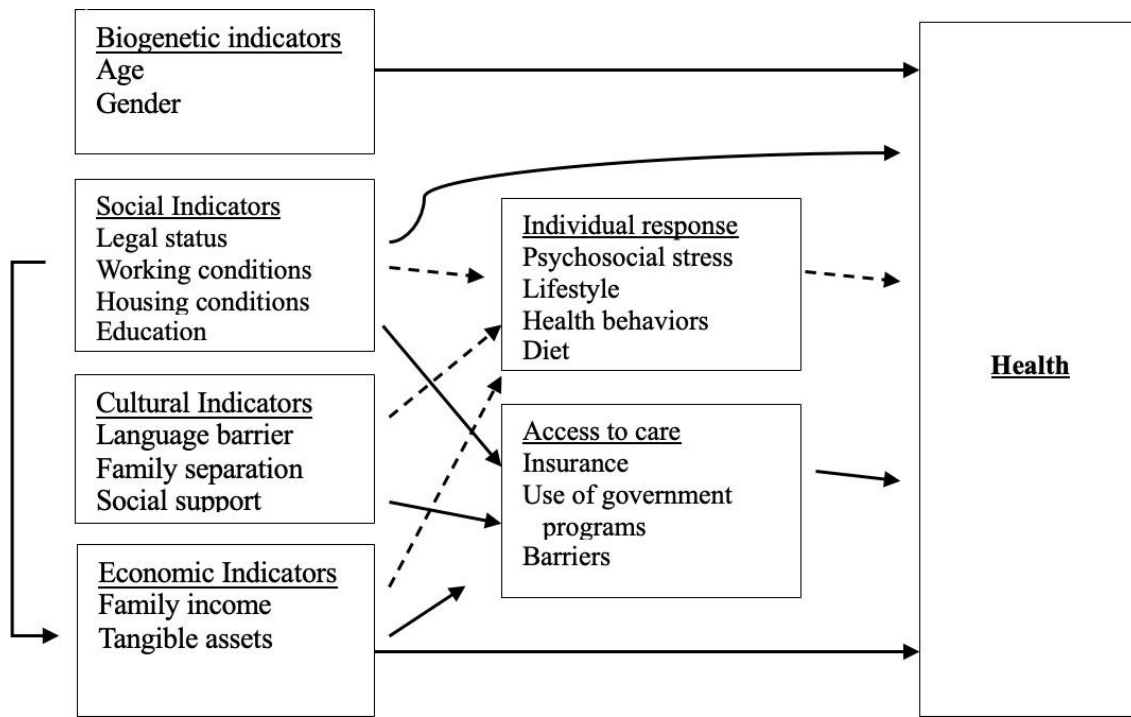
Figure 7. Structural Violence Model (Jackson & Sadler, 2022)



Another model, the Hispanic Farmworker Health Model, (Ward, 2007) (Figure 8) aims to illuminate and situate four different indicators that ultimately determine health among this population: biogenetic, social, cultural, and economic. Biogenetic indicators include age and gender, while cultural indicators can be identified as language barriers, family separation, and social support. Social indicators are identified as education level, living conditions, various working conditions, and legal status. Finally, the economic factors are measured as income and tangible assets. Within this model, there are also two intermediate categories that connect the

main indicators to farmworker health. Individual responses include eating practices, sleeping habits, stress, and substance use. By observing these factors, this model seeks to work towards predicting the health of Hispanic farmworkers. While this model captures domains of vulnerability and inequity, it does not fully reflect the ways that structural violence is operationalized. Mental health provides an example of the penetrative impact of structural violence as well as limitations within the model.

Figure 8. The Hispanic Farmworkers Health Model (Ward, 2007)



The goal of this model is to help reveal the complex determinants of farmworker health to provide effective interventions. This model demonstrates that structural violence exists for these given populations, but they do not explicitly name it or identify it as such. There are many aspects of being a Latino migrant and seasonal farmworker that cannot be individually parsed out, and these aspects directly and indirectly affect mental health. This study will add to the

literature by examining the connections between farmworker-specific experiences and farmworkers' mental health. This work was part of a larger study with a primary focus on mental health, and resiliency was an unexpected discussion piece.

Methods

This study employed secondary data analysis to explore how structural violence affects mental health. The guiding research question was: What are the connections between the experiences of Latino migrant and seasonal farmworkers in North Carolina and mental health outcomes?

Data Set

This study utilizes data from Student Action with Farmworkers' (SAF) archived collection housed at David M. Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library. SAF is a non-profit organization based out of Durham, NC that brings students and farmworkers together to share resources and improve conditions for farmworkers. This collection has 148 boxes of many different files including creative projects, interviews, narratives, and other digital records. Interviews were conducted by college-aged interns that were working for SAF and the narrative were their own recounts and reflections of those same interviews. Within this collection, the experiences of adult male Latino migrant and seasonal farmworkers between the years of 2008-2020, spanning the presidential administrations of Obama (2008-2016) and Trump (2016-2020) are of interest.

Study Design

Specific keywords were used to search the database online to help me narrow down boxes to view, which needed to be requested one at a time. To identify mental health within the data, descriptions of the following experiences were utilized: (1) reactions to stressful situations,

(2) relationships/connections with other people, (3) thoughts about personal self, (4) thoughts/reflections about the future and the past, and (5) religion/faith-based thoughts and discussions.

Data Analysis

This study utilizes the “Sort and Sift, Think and Shift” approach to allow the researcher to dive into the data to deeply understand its contents and dimensions to evaluate what was learned to determine what the next steps will be (Maietta et al., 2021). This approach consists of two key shifts that occur throughout the research process. The first shift occurs when initial thoughts start to change, and the data starts to guide the process. The second shift occurs once the researcher is looking across all the data instead of individual pieces. Since mental health and personal experiences are key features of this study, the data needs to guide the research.

Of the 148 boxes that exist in this collection, 18 boxes were requested and sorted through, and 6 documents were selected for analysis. Those documents consist of 3 interviews of different male Latino farmworkers in North Carolina and 3 accompanying narratives/interviewer reflections. Professional translation services for six of the documents and those documents were selected by a brief scanning with Google Translate because they were in Spanish. These boxes were selected because some were already separated into categories on the website and there is also a list of themes found throughout this collection. The interviews varied but several of them asked about the farmworker’s past, their current life, and about their future. The narratives provided an opportunity for the interviewer to reflect on their emotions and some of the topics discussed and the setting of the interview. Any potentially relevant documents were sent to the translator. During this “Initial Learning Process,” important excerpts were highlighted while avoiding making assumptions to allow for data immersion. The next step consisted of creating

memos, documenting quotes, and taking detailed notes. The memos focused on any notable information as well as the general tone of the transcripts and narratives. During this process, there was a deep dive into the data to start building a quotation inventory: quotes were recorded in Microsoft Word, along with personal thoughts and comments. The next step involved developing episode profiles to help monitor various topics and connections. These episode profiles consisted of a word cloud and a word web to connect various topics. The topic web consisted of topics within circles connected to each with lines to demonstrate relationships. The word cloud was created by entering in various quotes into an online word cloud generator. This tool displays words in different sizes based on how frequently they are mentioned. When viewed separately, they told a very segmented story, but these episode profiles helped to provide context and a deeper understanding of the connections. At this point, there was a shift from individual pieces of data to observing the data as a whole.

Findings

The majority of the mental health quotes were from three sets of interviews and narratives, so I organized the data using that same format in this section. They are separated by the three different farmworkers that were interviewed. Throughout these findings there is a discussion of how structural violence impacts mental health as well as a surprising theme of resilience.

Farmworker #1

Well, you come with sadness because you leave your family behind, and you don't know if you will come back or not. On the other hand, when you go to Mexico, it is so much different because you get excited to see your family, friends, and so on. (Interviewee, Box 136, Hard work and Heartbreak 2014)

This quote discusses adversity and the feelings this farmworker had when he came to the United States. He left his family with a purpose in mind but was not sure when he would see them again. His mental health was impacted by the separation from his family. It is a common experience for him and those around him to arrive in the U.S. already feeling sad.

There is no doubt that farmwork is extremely laborious work that comes with a unique set of experiences. Some of these experiences can take the form of structural violence which can cause harm in various ways. One particular interview was delayed because the interviewee just found out that his wife, the mother of their children, had committed suicide. This farmworker is away from his family nine months of the year working in the United States to earn money. He grew up with nothing, but once he had a family to take care of, he made the decision to work in the United States. He came back despite also saying:

My life is hell. Sometimes I wish that I no longer existed here in this world. The U.S. is beautiful, but it's not for everyone. It's as if I were in jail [living so far away]. This is not my life. My life is there, in Mexico. I'm only here to work. (Interviewee, Box 136, Hard work and Heartbreak 2014)

So much is communicated here. This extracted quotation demonstrates the impact that being away from his family is having on this farmworker's life and the trauma to which he is being exposed. He has been driven to deep suffering because of the weight he is bearing. He acknowledges that it takes a unique individual to be able to withstand the hardships that come with being a migrant and seasonal farmworker in the U.S. Not everyone can handle the long hours, loneliness, and harsh work environment, yet this person endures it. There is also an acknowledgement of only being here to work to earn money. There have been many instances of suffering, or the acknowledgement of hardship, accompanied by a reason to keep working.

Following this interview, the interviewer revealed:

If [he] were telling his own story, he would say that his life ended three years ago, when he came to the United States to work in the fields. Yet he's not a pessimist, nor a complainer. You wouldn't be able to tell just from looking at him that he's struggling so much, because he's wearing a huge smile. (Interviewer, Box 136, Hard work and Heartbreak 2014)

This further demonstrates the suffering that this farmworker is experiencing. He is having an internal struggle of having to choose between being with his family and being away from them to earn money for them. Even though he is in pain, he still attempts to mask his true feelings from those around him. His motivation for coming to the US is what is also pushing him to keep going each day. The farmworker then finishes the interview with the following:

Whatever life brings my way, I'll just go with it. Hopefully, it's good ... well it ain't all gonna be that way, but it would be nice. (Interviewee, Box 136, Hard work and Heartbreak 2014)

This final quote demonstrates his optimism and resiliency regarding his situation. There is a coexistence of suffering and optimism although they may not be in equal proportions. He has hopes for a better future which is also helping him to make it through.

Farmworker #2

During the interview, the interviewer noticed the farmworker's expression changes when speaking about his family and noted:

It really says a lot about him because he tends to talk about them frequently and although his brother lives and works with him right now, you could tell how much he misses the rest of his family ... Sometimes he wishes he could go back to being a child because as a

child he didn't suffer like he does now ... As the days go by, it becomes harder because he is away from his 3-year-old daughter, his treasure. "She is everything to me," he says. His only wish is to give her the happiness she deserves. (Interviewer, Box 142, 2015)

In this quote, we can see another example of adversity and suffering among farmworkers. He wishes to go back to his youth to avoid feeling the pain that he does now. Although he has a family member working with him, he desires to be with all his family. Here we can see the important role that family plays in his life, especially his daughter. His ultimate goal is to provide the best for his daughter.

Continuing through the interview, the interviewer noted:

... it amazed me how much he enjoys working in the fields. Many people see it as a job they dread but he is an exception. He tries to make the best out of everything and that is reflected in all the pranks he likes to do on his friends while they are working.

(Interviewer, Box 142, 2015)

Despite the adversity and marginality that he has been through, this man tries to make the best out of his situation. Although he is away from his family, he has formed new relationships with those around him. He is working hard to make it through each season. Towards the end of the interview, the interviewer summarized:

He loves farm work, and he likes the U.S., but in the end, the main reason he's here is to make money ... it makes him happy to be outside in nature for his job, but he isn't happy to be away from his family. Eventually, he wants to go back and start up his own business in Mexico. Then he'll have the best of both worlds—the financial support he needs, as well as the freedom to live his life with the people he loves. (Interviewer, Box 142, 2015)

Not only does he hope to give his daughter the happiness she deserves, he also has hopes of starting a business in Mexico. That business would provide him the opportunity to financially support his family and to live near them. Again, there is the co-existence of suffering and optimism. He is unhappy about being away from his family but he is hopeful for a better future.

When reflecting on the completed interviews, the interviewer stated:

To him, the United States is a different world, one with greater opportunities, but at an unmeasurable cost, which is being away from home. He has learned to live alone; he has learned to beat the loneliness he lives in because being alone is sad and very painful, especially when you are away from your family. (Interviewer, Box 142, 2015)

He, and other farmworkers, see the United States as a place to work hard and earn money. This is possible, but at what cost? He is constantly remembering his reason for being here which allows him to push through the pain each day.

Farmworker #3

During the interview, the interviewer noticed:

[This interviewee] ... seemed a little detached. He answered yes or no to most of our questions; however, when we began asking more about his family, we saw his eyes tell a different story. He told us that his wife was expecting his third child. The baby was due in two weeks so he wouldn't be able to be there for his son's birth and in fact wouldn't be able to meet his son until November when his son would already be 5 months old.

(Interviewer, Box 142, Liliana folder, 2015)

This farmworker began warming up to the interviewer once the conversation shifted from work-related questions to his family. The interviewer could feel the unmasking of his true feelings once he started to open up more. Since he is here working, he is going to miss the first couple of

months of his son's life. He is pushing himself to remember that he is here to work and earn money, so he does not just leave and return to them.

As the interview continued, the farmworker was asked about his future and the interviewer noted:

He wondered every day if the rest of his life would be like this, separated and away from his family. The room felt dense, almost like you could feel the weight that he carries. It's not just that he has to miss big and important family moments like the birth of a child, but it's knowing everyday his children are growing up, trying new things and learning about themselves and the people that they want to become, while he's not there to see or influence it. (Interviewer, Box 142, Liliana folder, 2015)

This quote expands on his feelings regarding his family. His pain goes deeper than just missing pivotal family moments. He is missing being a part of his children growing up and everything that comes with it. To have this feeling and not necessarily know when the cycle will end has seriously taken a toll on his mental health.

Finally, the interview concludes with a deeper explanation of why the farmworker is working in the United States. The farmworker says in his own words:

But life in the United States was going to be a new start, a life with work to make enough money to live by ... a life where [my family] would always have plenty of food and they would be able to eat vegetables every day. (Interviewee, Box 142, Liliana folder, 2015)

Ultimately, he wants to provide for his family. He does not have dreams of anything extravagant, he simply wants them to be able to eat every day and have vegetables. The same vegetables that he is working hard to harvest each day are the same vegetables that his family is having to go without.

Discussion

This study sought to explore how structural violence impacts the mental health of male Latino migrant and seasonal farmworkers. Structural violence was demonstrated in various ways including leaving family behind to earn money for them, long work hours, harsh work environment, and lack of access to food. Although typical research presents mental health as located within an individual and structural violence as located within social structure, these findings are the inverse: Structural violence can be located in an individual body while an individual's mental health can be located structurally. Study findings suggest that structural violence can negatively impact mental health due to the environments in which these farmworkers are placed.

Ward's Hispanic Farmworker Health model has different categories of indicators that assist in determining the health of migrant and seasonal farmworkers. The biogenetic and social indicators were not present in this data. The economic indicators that were present in the lives of these three farmworkers were focused on providing income for their families, which ultimately forced their decision to leave them behind in their home country. Despite enjoying farmwork, it was noted by Farmworker #2 that "the main reason he's here is to make money." Economic reasons are often a driving force behind why migrant and seasonal farmworkers decide to take working in the United States. Within this data, economic indicators are very connected with cultural indicators.

The farmworker experiences in this study exhibited a strong influence of cultural indicators. Of these, family separation was the most prevalent. Farmworker #2 noted that being away from his 3-year-old daughter, whom he considers his treasure, causes him to suffer. He stated, "she is everything to me." He is away from her so that he can work to provide the best for

her. The same applies to the rest of his family and his friends. He made the comparison of working in the United States to working in Mexico. With the former, you may not necessarily know when or if you will be back home to see family and friends. Farmworker #3 had a very strong experience that aligned with the cultural indicators. He is also working in the United States to be able to provide for his family, but he is also missing the birth of his child as well as the first 5 months of its life. The family separation has him wondering if “the rest of his life would be like this, separated and away from his family.” These cultural and economic indicators are strong examples of structural violence, predominantly adversity, and some of the effects can be observed by the individual responses.

Using Ward’s Hispanic Farmworker Health model, these indicators can be further observed through the individual’s response. The model suggests that stress, diet, and overall lifestyle can be responses to these indicators, but this data had a high prevalence of both optimism and suffering. Farmworker #1’s response to the economic and cultural indicators was to mask his true feelings from those around him. It is not known if his peers provided him with social support, but his response was to hide his emotions. His expression of deep suffering was demonstrated when he stated, “My life is hell. Sometimes I wish that I no longer existed here in this world.” Such power language stems from the various harms and suffering that he is enduring while in the United States. Despite this, it was noted that “he’s not a pessimist, nor a complainer.” Even with his experiences and his suffering, he still does not expect the worst; in fact, he says, “Whatever life brings my way, I’ll just go with it. Hopefully, it’s good.”

Farmworker #2’s response to the economic and cultural indicators was to try and make the best out of his situation. He even pulls pranks on some of his fellow farmworkers to help lighten the mood. He is happy with the work that he is doing, but he is not happy about having to

work away from his family. This farmworker has hopes of starting a business to get “the financial support he needs, as well as the freedom to live his life with the people he loves.” Farmworker #3’s response to the cultural indicator of family separation was a reflection on why he decided to work here in the first place. He thought that life in the United States was going to provide a fresh start that would allow him to be able to provide food for his family.

The coexistence of suffering and optimism was a major theme regarding the mental health of Latino migrant and seasonal farmworkers in this study. They do not necessarily exist in equal amounts, but they do build on each other. The data suggests among this population, optimism thrives from the negative experiences while also acting as a motivator for working in the United States. A common thread of suffering was based on being away from family. These farmworkers often leave their family behind in their home country to earn money for them. In what equitable system should this be allowed to persist? This phenomenon of surviving and enduring in the face of adversity and harm can sometimes be praised as resiliency.

Resiliency

This study suggests that structural violence can impact mental health via cultural indicators because suffering from family separation was very prevalent. This suffering was also met by a surprising amount of optimism, which acted as motivation to keep working despite many challenges that they may be facing. When someone is being beaten down by structures outside of their control, and they persevere, society sees them as resilient. Why should the individual have to be resilient while facing structural harm? Resilience can be defined as the ability to have a positive response to stressful or traumatic situations (Suslovic & Lett, 2023). Resiliency conceals the structural pieces that cause harm, and it doubles down on demanding the individual to be accountable. While resiliency can be positive for those who are empowered by

it, in the face of structural violence resiliency is not enough. The goal is not to completely eradicate resiliency. Structural harm requires structural interventions and structural resiliency means not necessitating it downstream. Resiliency places a disproportionate expectation on the individual that is typically in an oppressed or excluded populations (Suslovic & Lett, 2023). Encouraging resilience, risk normalizing structural violence.

Among Latino migrant and seasonal farmworkers, mental health can be affected by structure, and demanding individual-level resiliency strategies in the face of structural violence further burdens the people that are already being marginalized by structure. We cannot rely on individual-level solutions for something that is a product of structures. A structural perspective of resiliency asks us to work at a systems level to prevent the need for individual-level resiliency and a critical perspective helps us to deeply interrogate it. It is critical for us to examine the systems that allow this to persist because resiliency often ignores the events that predicate it (Suslovic & Lett, 2023).

Limitations

SAF's database has an extensive variety of materials which could be considered a strength and a limitation. With such a large dataset, it would take a lot of time to go through every file, so library staff and the collection's online search tool were essential to narrowing down the boxes. This dataset is full of materials collected by a variety of people over the years. The variations in data collection may also be a limitation. Also, since this is a secondary data analysis, any bias or study-specific nuances that occurred during the data collection may be unknown (Cheng & Phillips, 2014). The "Sort and Sift" methods help to minimize bias through the flexibility and steps between data immersion and memoing. Interviews from three specific farmworkers were primarily used in this study so this small sample size is a limitation. Despite

these limitations, the current study makes important contributions to the literature about structural violence and mental health, with a specific focus on Latino men working as migrant and seasonal farmworkers in North Carolina.

CHAPTER VI: DISCUSSION

Study Purpose and Key Findings

The purpose of this dissertation is to encourage and emphasize the importance of the explicit utilization of the term “structural violence.” This was done by uncovering experiences of structural violence that would have otherwise been erased and made invisible. The literature has demonstrated that there are many ways to operationalize structural violence, due to various epistemologies, which can make structural violence difficult to measure. I am not arguing that structural violence must be measured in one specific way, but instead I want to encourage researchers to be creative in their measurement of it. By figuring out different ways to measure it across different contexts and populations, together we can uncover the various ways that everyday life is shaped by historical contexts and modern injustices. By identifying forces that are working together to allow structural violence to persist, then we can start to dismantle and develop solutions.

Using Jackson and Sadler’s (2022) model for structural violence, this construct was identified in various aspects of male Latino migrant and seasonal farmworker experiences. Instances of power were identified as being forced to work long hours without breaks while feeling threatened and taken advantage of. Oppression and marginality were identified by the exclusion of things such as water, especially while working in extreme temperatures, fair wages, and breaks during the day. Adversity and trauma were identified as the dangerous trek to get to the United States, physical harm, and overall suffering. Some solutions for structural violence among this population will require restructuring policies, such as providing protections that are not given to agricultural workers through FLSA. Other solutions are simpler and can be implemented much faster through trainings and informational flyers. There are also some

solutions that depend on the actions of others, such as treatment of workers and providing basic needs such as water. This would require moving away from this “othering” effect that has been placed on this population to make them seem inferior.

Once this silence about structural violence is broken, we can see how it becomes embodied and how the individual may respond to it. Study findings suggest that structural violence can negatively impact mental health due to the environments that these farmworkers have been placed in. Using Ward’s Hispanic Farmworker Health model (Ward, 2007), indicators of structural violence can be observed through the individual’s response. Farmworker experiences in this study exhibited a strong influence of cultural indicators and family separation was the most prevalent. The model suggests that stress, diet, and overall lifestyle can be responses to these indicators, but this data had a high prevalence of optimism and suffering. The data suggests among this population, optimism thrives from the negative experiences while also acting as a motivator for working in the United States. These farmworkers often leave their family behind in their home country to earn money for them and in what equitable system should this be allowed to persist? This phenomenon of surviving and enduring in the face of adversity and harm can sometimes be praised as resiliency.

When someone is being beaten down by structures outside of their control and they can persevere, society sees them as resilient. Resiliency conceals the structural pieces that cause harm, and it doubles down on demanding the individual to be accountable. While resiliency can be great for those that are empowered by it, in the face of structural violence it is not enough. The goal is not to completely eradicate resiliency, but instead to state that structural harm requires structural interventions and structural resiliency means not necessitating it downstream. Among Latino migrant and seasonal farmworkers, mental health can be affected by structure, so

by suggesting an individual-level resiliency strategies in the face of structural violence, it further burdens the people that are already being marginalized by structure. So, by encouraging resilience, we risk normalizing structural violence. If we remove some of these oppressive forces, there will still be some challenges, but it would not be as hard as it is for those suffering from structural violence. A structural perspective of resiliency asks us to work at a systems level to prevent the need for individual-level resiliency.

Research Significance

This study consistently emphasizes and encourages the explicit use of the term “structural violence” and exposes and centers experiences of structural violence that would have otherwise been erased and made invisible. The literature has demonstrated that there are many ways to operationalize structural violence, due to various epistemologies, which can make it difficult to measure. Viewing the findings of this dissertation in the context of other structural violence literature, I reject the idea that structural violence must be measured in one specific way. Instead, I encourage more researchers across health and social science fields to measure structural violence in ways consistent with the sociopolitical contexts and the communities of interest. By developing different ways to measure structural violence, together we can uncover the various ways that everyday life is shaped historical contexts and modern injustices. By identifying these forces that are working together to allow structural violence to persist, then we can start to dismantle the injustices and develop solutions.

There are several implications surrounding resiliency among this sample of Latino male migrant and seasonal farmworkers. First, it conceals the “structural” part of structural violence and instead it doubles down on asking us to hold the individual accountable. We cannot move forward if we are stuck in this place of that being the only solution. If resiliency is working for

some individuals and helping them feel empowered, I am not invalidating that. This is why I feel it is so important to explicitly use the term “structural violence” because it directly demonstrates the harm that is being done. Resiliency is not the answer for this violence because we must remove the need for necessitating it. Family separation illuminates a prominent feature of structural violence, and it reveals an inequitable system. The fact that family separation occurs due to the need to earn money and provide for that same family, shows that these structures can restrict opportunities.

This research has implications for medical professionals because they need to understand the plight of their patients to properly assess and treat them. Without accounting for the structural violence barriers that are attributed to being a farmworker, they would just be treating the surface problems which is not beneficial for anyone. Medical professionals have sworn an oath to “do no harm,” so they must be a part of the changes that are necessary to stop structural violence from persisting. When farmworkers seek medical help, they must understand that there might be limitations that would prevent them from adhering to a traditional treatment plan. It would be helpful to learn about their lifestyles, instead of providing generic options.

Jackson and Sadler’s (2022) model of structural violence guided this work. Previously, this model described embodiment as the mechanism by which antecedents of structural violence are personified (-isms and -phobias). This focuses on the individual who inflicts structural violence and allows it to persist. There is an exclusion of those who are suffering from this phenomenon, and they need to be represented in the model. Further, embodiment reminds us that a person is not one day Latino, another a farmworker, another living in poor housing conditions, or another being subjected to oppression or trauma. This model may need adaptations to better represent the complexity of structural violence. The individual pillars demonstrate that attributes

of structural violence work together to support consequences, but the separation of each one may be limiting. Further, experiences of structural violence may not always neatly match with a corresponding pillar. When using any conceptual model to guide research or organize data, it is important for the researcher to not force a model to work. Acknowledging that a model was an imperfect fit may help to identify gaps in the model. It is understood that a conceptual model will not necessarily be able to cover every aspect of a phenomenon of interest, but it can be helpful to provide feedback. An important goal of structural violence research is to “widen the public health gaze towards an awareness of the embodied effects of social positioning in order to legitimize the allocation of increased resources” (Rhodes et al., 2012, p. 227). By working towards identifying different ways of recognizing structural violence, a shift can occur to prevent some of these preventable experiences.

Future Research

This dissertation lays a foundation that other researchers can build on, by continuing health equity research with a structural violence lens. Future research could pursue identifying and measuring structural violence among different populations. Not all suffering is equal, but it is still very important to explore ways to de-normalize structural violence for various social categories. Future research could also involve testing Jackson and Sadler’s structural violence conceptual model in other states that have had varying degrees of Latino migrant and seasonal farmworker presence. I also suggest testing this model with other, non-farmworker populations that also experience structural violence.

This work was focused on male Latino migrant and seasonal farmworkers, but future work could expand this to women and children in farmworker families. Whether or not they are actively working in the fields, they also have unique experiences that could be explored to

understand structural violence. It would also be interesting to examine how health care for both physical and mental health concerns can be improved for Latino migrant and seasonal farmworkers, considering their lived experiences. Specifically, health care providers should be aware of the forms of structural violence that farmworkers may experience and should consider ways to center autonomy and respect within treatment strategies and healthcare delivery more broadly. Instead of operating from assumptions, we should want to know how these farmworkers view their experiences to improve their health outcomes.

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APPENDIX A: EXAMPLE INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

- Describe some important moments in your life.
- Describe what a workday is like.
- What are your hobbies and interests?
- If you had complete power to change anything in the farmworker industry, what would it be?
- Can you describe the difference when you come from Mexico to the United States and when you go from the United States to Mexico?
- Will you return next year to work? Why?
- When did you come to the United States and what is the reason you came for?
- Aside from work, what is life like in the camp?

APPENDIX B: INTERVIEW FILE LOCATIONS AND KEY CHARACTERISTICS

- Life and Work of “David”, Box 142, Spanish and English, 15 pages
- Retorno 360, Box 137, English, 4 pages
- The Life of a Farmworker, Box 142, Spanish, 16 pages
- The Farmworker Community, Box 136, English and Spanish, 18 pages
- Ana – Christmas Tree Farm, Box 142, English, 2 pages
- Community, Box 136, English and Spanish, 16 pages
- Hard Work and Heartbreak, Box 136, English and Spanish, 20 pages
- Student “Sofia” Folder, Box 142, English and Spanish, 5 pages
- “Antonio” – Hector, Box 142, English, 14 pages

APPENDIX C: EXAMPLE TOPIC WEB

Figure C9. Example Topic Web

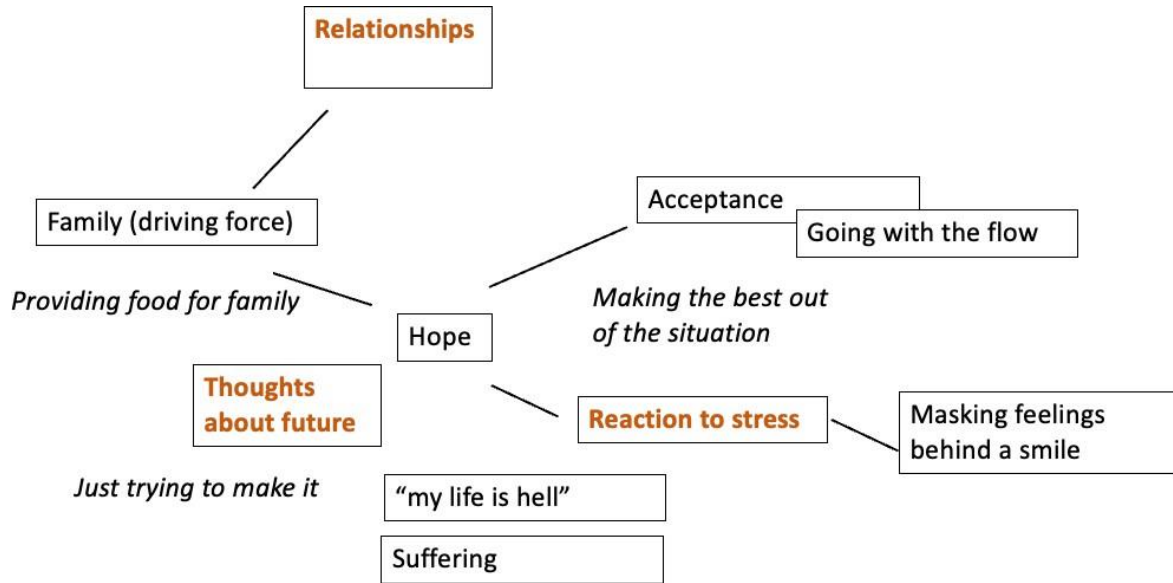


Figure C10. Example Topic Web

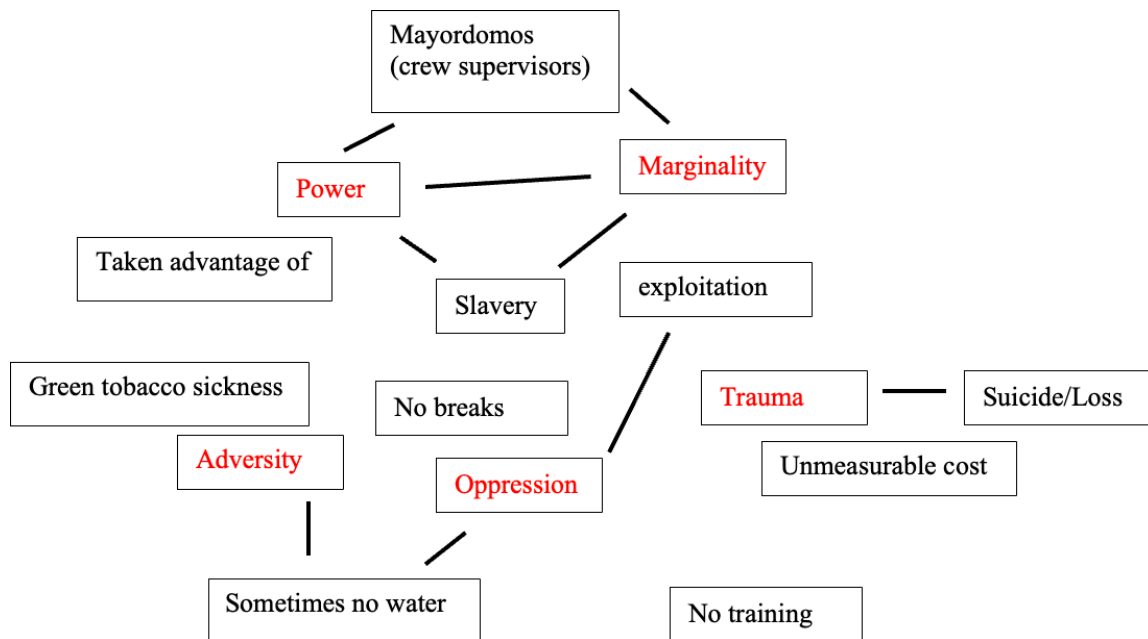


Figure C11. Example Topic Web

