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"It's Wrong because It Could Be My Sister, Wife, or Mother": Workplace Sexual Harassment among Men and Women Farmworkers in USA and Mexico

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ABSTRACT

These findings from focus groups explore attitudes, beliefs, perspectives, and experiences relevant to workplace sexual harassment (WSH) among men and women farmworkers in California, USA, and Michoacán, Mexico. Focus groups are stratified by country and gender, with two in California (10 men and 10 women) and two in Michoacán (8 men and 5 women). This community-based participatory research includes Community Advisory Boards (CABs) consisting of farmworkers, academicians, non-profit organizations, attorneys, industry personnel, and community leaders who took part in strategy and the development of materials. Themes are related to the experience of, responses to, and farmworkers' recommendations for prevention of WSH. Although men and women faced WSH, women's experiences were more severe and frequent. Participants condemned WSH as contrary to principles of *caballerosidad, cortesía, respeto* – cultural values promoting respect for others and protection for vulnerable persons. Participants endorsed the notion that women are responsible for WSH. Although farmworkers try to resolve WSH on their own with help from co-workers, family, and leadership, they face significant barriers that silence victims and allow WSH to persist. All farmworkers recommended that management set a good example and enforce consequences for offenders. Implications include directly appealing to cultural values (emphasizing respect), incorporating bystander education, and countering the myth that women are responsible for WSH in workplace training. WSH is a recognized occupational hazard that affects all directly or indirectly exposed workers. We emphasize that employers are ultimately responsible for their workers' safety, supported by a governmental regulatory role. Enforcement of existing policy is needed in California , whereas awareness and policy development is needed in Michoacán. These findings will support the researchers, agricultural community, educators, and organizations working to prevent WSH.

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Introduction

Workplace sexual harassment in the United States and Mexico

Workplace sexual harassment (WSH) of farmworker women is important yet understudied.[1] Limited research reveals this occupational hazard[2,3] is widespread .[4] Figure 1 illustrates empirical findings on WSH of women farmworkers in the United States (US) and Mexico (MX).

Men are the major perpetrators and women are their major victims .[5,6] However, perpetrator and victim can be of either gender .[6] Published studies on the WSH experience of men farmworkers do not exist. Women farmworkers' risk for WSH is compounded by race, class, and gender in ways that placed them at greater risk than women in other sectors of employment .[5] Figure 2 illustrates documented consequences of WSH for the victim, crew, and organization.

Occupational setting, power, and gender inequalities

The hierarchical employment structure in US and Mexico agriculture leads to power imbalances .[7] Mexico is a neighboring country to the US and the country that most frequently sends farmworkers to California and the rest of the US .[8] *Foremen* typically are Spanish-speaking farmworkers who oversee workers directly. In the absence of a foreman, farmworkers report directly to the

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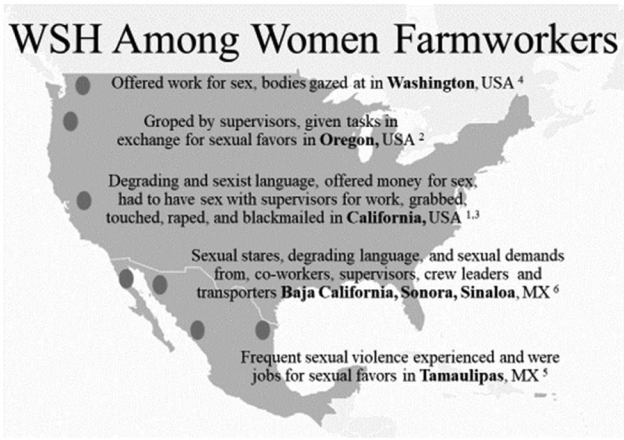

Figure 1. WSH of Women Farmworkers in U.S. and MX. [1]Tamayo 1999 [2]Murphy, Samples et al. 2015 [3]Waugh 2010 [4]Kim, Vásquez et al. 2016 [5]Andrade-Rubio 2016 [6]Arellano Gálvez 2014.

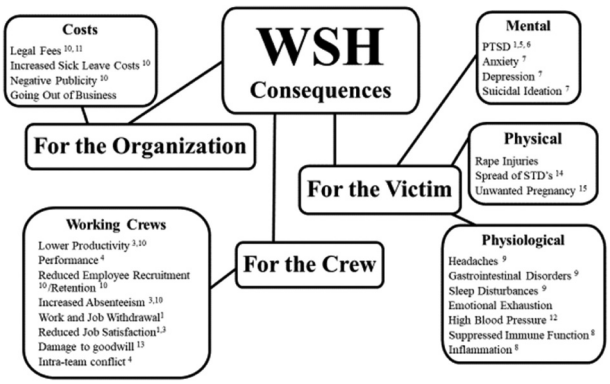

Figure 2. Consequences of WSH for the victim, crew, and organization. [1]Willness et al. 2007; Pina and Gannon 2012 [2]Street et al. 2008; O'Leary-Kelly et al. 2009; Pina and Gannon 2012 [3]Macdonald 2012; Pina and Gannon 2012 [4]Raver and Gelfand 2005 [5]Avina and O'Donohue 2002 [6]Basile, Smith et al. 2015 [7]Kim, Vásquez et al. 2016 [8]Smith 2006 [9]Magley, Hulin et al. 1999, Wasti, Bergman et al. 2000 [10]Lengnick-Hall 1995 [11]Tamayo 2009 [12]Krieger, Waterman et al. 2006, Smith 2006, Willness, Steel et al. 2007, Krieger, Chen et al. 2008 [13]Murphy, Samples et al. 2015 [14]Addison 2014 [15]Cohen and Caxaj 2018.

supervisor .[9] *Farm labor contractors (FLCs)* serve as intermediary between farmworkers and managers of the agricultural operation. FLCs are the employers of record who select workers, organize *crews*, and oversee tasks. FLCs are more prevalent in US, and in California they must register with the local labor commissioner's office and abide by obligations such as WSH training. Crews are often comprised of family members .[5] *Transporters* bring workers from the community in which they live to the agricultural workplace .[10] Sometimes, the same person functions as FLC, transporter, and foreman. As in the US, the hierarchical structure in Mexico's agriculture organizations produce an unequal power relationship between field owner, supervisor, and farmworker.

Power imbalance and social factors lead to gender inequities. Women farmworkers receive less work, pay, promotions, [11] are more likely to work for a FLC and rely on *transporters* compared to men .[12] Precarious legal status, poverty, limited access to health care, and workplace insecurity increase gender-based disparities .[13] Lastly, woman in this culturally male-predominant work environment face increased risk of WSH because the environment reinforces gender roles .[14]

Mexico has a strong patriarchal culture that leads to stricter gender roles than in the US,[15] Aggravating gender-based power imbalances in both countries. Mexico's historic legacy of oppression and colonization in a patriarchal culture is revealed in male bravado and *machismo*, contrasted with women's self-sacrifice and submissiveness .[16] Indigenous women farmworkers' avoid conflict in both countries.[17,9] As a result, strategies among women farmworkers for avoiding WSH include defeminizing with loose-fitting clothing, deepening the voice, adopting masculine behavior, and intentionally misrepresenting oneself as lesbian .[6] Gender inequities amid power imbalances in agriculture make WSH and other violence possible .[7,18]

Farmworker men and WSH

Little is known about WSH of men, [19] and no information exists on the WSH of farmworker men. Although major perpetrators, men may also be victims, bystanders, or allies of victims. Not all men harass, and it is critical to involve men in preventive efforts. Increasing Hispanic men farmworkers "buy in" improves their engagement against violence .[20]

The majority of farmworkers and those in power are men, [8,21] increasing the likelihood of harassment of women subordinates .[22] Some supervisor men may intercede and reprimand perpetrators, [9] however, many perpetrate WSH .[5,6,9] Some men supervisors leave it to victims to resolve WSH incidents .[10] Some supervisors may also prefer to fire women victims instead of the men perpetrators .[23] Supervisors confronted by

a victim's husband may also fire both her and her husband .[5]

Husbands can be a source of support for their wives, [9] which may protect against WSH .[6] Yet husbands may also be a source of vulnerability and risk. Some perpetrators threaten to kill an employee's husband to coerce compliance with sexual demands .[23] Some husbands may blame their spouses for provoking sexual attention or cause additional problems by violently attacking the perpetrator .[5]

Our study

We conducted focus groups on attitudes, perspectives, beliefs, and experiences related to WSH to address two research gaps. First, we explore WSH among both women and men farmworkers in California and Michoacán. Secondly, we compare binational findings offering a transcultural approach between the US and Mexico on WSH. To our knowledge, this is the first study to explore WSH among both women and men farmworkers and the first to compare differences transculturally in WSH experience between farmworkers in USA and those in Mexico.

Methods

Community-based participatory research (CBPR)

Researchers at the University of California, Davis (UCD) and the Universidad Michoacana de San Nicolás de Hidalgo (UMSNH) collaborated with local stakeholders through community advisory boards (CABs), consistent with principles of CBPR .[24] All researchers were fluent in Spanish and English. CAB members in both study locations consisted of farmworker women, community advocates, academicians, non-profit representatives, attorneys, industry personnel, and community leaders. CABs met in the winter of 2016 and 2017. Researchers met with CABs to develop trust, formulate research questions, strategy, methodology, materials, and address problems prior to submission to our respective Institutional Review Boards (IRB) .[25] CABs helped interpret preliminary data and in disseminating findings and materials .[26–27]

Focus group guide

The focus group guide (Table 1) included material adopted from validated instruments[28,29] and sought responses to images, vignettes, myths, definition of WSH, perceived prevalence, and recommendations. The 2-hour semi-structured format encouraged participants to express their views and opinions .[30]

Participants

We selected a purposeful sample[31] of participants in Tangancícuaro, Michoacán, Central Valley, and northern California. Participants were farmworkers aged 18 and older. In Michoacán, some participants spoke Purhépecha, a local Indigenous language. A Purhépecha interpreter from UMSNH facilitated the discussion for these speakers. The final study sample comprised 10 men and 10 women in California and 8 men and five women in Michoacán.

Data collection

Focus groups, held in February and May of 2017, were facilitated in Spanish and in private locations not associated with workplaces. Groups were separated by country and gender. Informed consent was obtained, and discussions were recorded. Only researchers accessed electronic and paper documents. California participants received a gift card, and Michoacán participants received a suitcase of equivalent value.

Analysis

Audio recordings were transcribed verbatim. Analysis was conducted in Spanish. Spanish analysis of codes, category, and theme development employed standard methods .[32]

Researchers independently reduced data (participant commentary) into topical *codes* .[33,34] Intercoder disagreements were resolved by review and consensus. Codes were then grouped into *categories* reflecting broad topics and experiences.-[35,36] Finally, categories were organized into overarching *themes* characterizing participant experiences.[34,37–39] Peer debriefing, independent

Table 1. Workplace sexual harassment focus group guide.

Images (4 items)
Tell me about what you see and what you think of these images?




Vignettes (7 items)
What does this make you think of and feel?
" … Looking firmly at the new workers hips … "
" … Cell phone filming women inappropriately … "
" … Admiringly staring and asking if she has a boyfriend … "
" … Gay worker receives unwanted hugging … "
" … Crew leader gropes worker while training … "
" … Supervisor sexually assaults worker in field truck … "
" … Male co-workers describing women's bodies during lunch … "

Sexual Harassment Myths (5 items)
What are your thoughts on these statements?
1. Sexual harassment is part of working in agriculture.
2. If a woman is sexually harassed, she must have done something to provoke it.
3. It is inevitable that men notice women that they work with in a sexual way.
4. Almost all types of sexual harassment would stop if the women would simply tell the man to stop.
5. Sexual harassment is only when a man bothers a woman.

Workplace Sexual Harassment Definition and Prevalence
EEOC definition presented.
Have any of you known about any sexual harassment cases in your place of work?

Barriers and Recommendations
Why do you think some victims do not speak up?
What in the workplace, and from leadership could help with prevention?

*This table displays a shortened version of the focus group guide. Please contact researchers and visit https://aghealth.ucdavis.edu/ for more details.

coding, transparent analysis, and reflexivity enhanced rigor with respect to credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability .[40]

Results

We identified three overarching themes – WSH experience, response to WSH, and prevention recommendations – comprising six categories and 25 codes (Table 2).

Experiencing WSH

Testimonies

Women's WSH experiences were severe and frequent. Regardless of age or marital status, women faced sexualized stares, stalking, assault, jokes, and sexual demands from persons at all levels of the employment organization. One California woman described persistent harassment.

> *"All that man did was follow behind us and look at us and our hips. One woman got mad and asked, 'And you, mister, why are you following behind us? Why don't you go stare at the others over there in the other line?' He said, 'It's because you have pretty hips.'"* – Woman USA Farmworker

Although clearly experiencing WSH, women participants called it *morbosidad* (unhealthy and demeaning sexual interest), *vulgaridades* (vulgar language), *falta de respeto* (lack of respect), and *abuso de poder* (abuse of power). California women stated the covering of faces helps girls hide their youth from predators. girls were seen as extremely vulnerable to WSH. Women in Michoacán shared they covered up their bodies to avoid sexualized staring and that the risk of WSH increases when strangers are included in work crews (as opposed to family-based crews).

Compared to women, men experienced moderate and infrequent WSH. Men felt harassed by smiles, laughter, jokes, and conversation from

Table 2. Codes, categories, and themes from focus groups that explore attitudes, perspectives, beliefs, and experiences regarding workplace sexual harassment (WSH) in agriculture among women and men farmworkers in Michoacán, Mexico and California, USA.

				USA		Mexico	
				Men	Women	Men	Women
Themes	**Theme 1: Experiencing WSH**						
Theme 2	**Categories**	**Category 1: Testimonies**					
Theme 3		**Codes**	Unwanted sexual attention	X	X		X
			Sexual assault		X		X
			Quid pro quo		X		X
			Men experiencing WSH	X	X		
		Category 2: Contributing factors and effects on bystanders					
		Codes	Lack of respect for person and job	X	X	X	X
			Lack of education	X	X	X	
			Misinterpretation of social interactions	X	X	X	
			Victim blaming	X	X	X	X
			Abuse of power	X	X	X	X
			Vulnerable groups		X	X	
	Theme 2: Responding to WSH						
	Categories	**Category 3: Reacting to WSH**					
		Codes	Call on leadership	X	X	X	X
			Sharing what happened	X		X	X
			Confront		X		X
			Leave job		X	X	X
		Category 4: Barriers to help seeking					
		Codes	Fear, threats of job loss, and deportation	X	X	X	
			Leadership fails to help	X	X		X
			Husband violence or blaming spouse victim			X	X
			Defeat and helplessness	X	X	X	X
	Theme 3: Farmworker recommendations						
	Categories	**Category 5: Preventing WSH**					
		Codes	Taking care of oneself/cover yourself up	X	X	X	X
			Working among family	X		X	X
			Rules and sexual harassment prevention programs	X	X	X	
		Category 6: Workplace changes needed					
		Codes	Group talks	X	X	X	X
			Leadership setting an example	X	X	X	
			Management enforcing consequences	X	X	X	X
			More reporting options in the workplace	X	X	X	X

women farmworkers. Men said that some workers ignore the harassment but others perceived it as an invitation to sexual pursuit. The quote below illustrates misinterpretation of a smile.

> *"There are men who, with one small smile, begin to move forward and begin to engage … They begin to be closer to the women or something like that. And there are some who don't even notice [the smile], and nothing more happens at work."* – Man Mexico Farmworker

One farmworker man said sexual advances were permissible if the woman assented to them by not speaking up.

Contributing factors and effects on bystanders

All participants exposed directly or indirectly to WSH said that it bothered them and caused anxiety. All farmworkers believed that WSH was fueled by lack of respect, education, and unchecked power. Michoacán men emphasized women were vulnerable because of lack of education and low literacy. As bystanders, participants were empathetic towards vulnerable victims. Men said that WSH is wrong because the woman victim could be their sister, daughter, or wife. California women said gay victims face strong discrimination, sexual coercion, and rape in MX, and men stated that WSH makes gay workers feel uncomfortable. Neither men nor women farmworkers in Michoacán addressed WSH perpetrated against gay persons.

All groups blamed victims. Michoacán men thought women were harassed because they failed to establish respect for themselves; women who

did not report WSH incidents were "complicit" and "permissive." Most participants agreed with the myth that women must have done something to provoke WSH. All California participants stated they disagreed with this myth, yet still opined that women instigated WSH.

Responding to WSH

Reacting to WSH

All participants expected women victims to report WSH. Michoacán men expected women to complain or report to leadership. California men expected women to contact Human Resources (HR) and Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA). Victims were also expected to report to family, quit, and/or confront the perpetrator. Only Michoacán participants openly considered quitting, however, they later said this was actually unfeasible because of limited employment options. Michoacán men believed that victims help spread the word and convince others to leave that field. One Michoacán women said she scolded her perpetrator. Two California women said they threatened perpetrators with reporting. One Califoria women who was assaulted said she never went back.

WSH discussions revealed a feeling of defeat and helplessness among all farmworkers. Reasons for this included experiences of reprisal, perceiving WSH as part of the job, a belief that perpetrators will never stop, and leadership's failure to believe reports. For example, a man farm worker shared how victims will never be able to stop perpetrators.

> *"I don't think that sexual harassment would end if the woman tells the man to stop … these things would keep happening … they are always going to keep happening."* Man USA Farmworker

Barriers to help seeking

Women faced greater barriers to seeking help than men. Everyone said women victims stay silent because of power imbalances, threats, shame, and job loss. The quote below details barriers to reporting.

> *"She doesn't want to speak up and say anything because of embarrassment, fear they're going to take her job away, or because she doesn't have documents. It can also be because they threaten you, and the men might say that the boss is going to take away your job, and he's going to send immigration police for you."* – USA Women farmworker

California men stated they ignore WSH directed at them and forgo reporting because the crew would laugh at them and no one would believe them. Women in California mentioned that reporting is often fruitless because HR and leadership cover for themselves.

Reporting or sharing WSH made matters worse. Men said victims of WSH face shame from family and communities. Michoacán farmworkers said that wives who confide in their husbands run the risk that the husband may blame his wife, suspecting infidelity or sexual attention-seeking. They also said husbands may violently attack the perpetrator. For one woman farmworker in USA, confronting her perpetrator who was a supervisor ended the WSH, but she suffered reprisal in the form of reduced work hours.

Farmworker recommendations

Preventing WSH

Farmworkers said that some employers are acknowledging WSH, introducing relevant trainings, and farmworkers are showing more respect and willingness to speak up. However, one male farmworker in USA stated that this study's focus group was the first time he had ever heard of the topic. Farmworkers identified efforts they believe reduced WSH, such as family-based crews, women covering up, gender segregation, explicit rules, and educational talks. All men expressed how rules are fundamental to a good labor environment and that talks on behavioral expectations, boundaries, and WSH education are important for establishing and maintaining good behavior.

Workplace changes needed

Farmworkers recommended that employers provide a safer work environment and enforce consequences. All women recommended consistent punishment for offenders and firing repeat offenders. Men also requested that leaders set good examples.

> *"The boss or the supervisor has to respect the people … so that then they give the example to the rest of the*

workers … so that afterwards everyone doesn't say 'If the boss doesn't respect the work, then why should I? That boss doesn't respect.' He should demand total respect for the people." – Man Mexico farmworker

All men described a need for reporting alternatives such as having a company management officer for women and direct reporting to a level above supervisors and FLCs.

Workers emphasized a top-down approach to the issue, with improvements in leadership's behavior and organizational accountability. All participants requested education and group talks. California women recommended larger fines for employers. All stressed the importance of training every level of the organization since WSH can arise anywhere on the job. Young men (believed to perpetrate WSH) and recent arrivals in California (that have limited knowledge of US laws and cultural norms) were said to need additional guidance.

Discussion

We report here on attitudes, beliefs, perspectives, and experiences relevant to WSH among men and women farmworkers from focus groups conducted in California, USA, and Michoacán, Mexico. They offered critical feedback with requests for support, training, leadership's modeling good behavior, and enforcing consequences, especially for those organizations lacking or not effectively enforcing anti-harassment polices .[5] Our results confirm that men may also be victims of WSH, yet their experience differs quantitatively (less frequent) and qualitatively (usually limited to occasional leering glances and comments) from that of women.

Quitting in response to WSH was broached only among Michoacán participants. Possible reasons for this difference could include a regulatory regime that does not facilitate reporting (thus leaving few other options apart from quitting) and sociocultural factors in Mexico such as conflict avoidance (by leaving objectionable employment) among women .[17] Farmworkers in Mexico may also feel less vulnerable than those in the U.S. to adverse impacts related to immigration status. Reduced awareness of avenues for preventing WSH in Mexico may also contribute to increased quitting in response to WSH .[41]

Our participants blamed victims and supported the myth that woman are responsible for harassment .[21,29] Wives feared husbands would blame them in Michoacán. This factors among farmworkers[6,9,10] causes social isolation and shame. Such fears and myths enable WSH[42,43] by inhibiting reporting and causing victims to withdraw from work (i.e., absenteeism, tardiness, and other unfavorable job behaviors) .[44]

California men identified leadership as major perpetrators. Consistent with previous research, perpetrators included supervisors and coworkers, [5,9,45] iliterates were targets, [10] and all farmworkers said supervisors threatened victims with violence, job loss, and deportation .[6] Imbalance of power, poverty, lack of alternative employment, and limited knowledge of one's rights and protections increase vulnerability and facilitate sexual coercion .[6,9] Despite supervisors perpetrating WSH, workers still relied on leadership to resolve WSH.

Farmworkers gave recommendations such as covering up and gender segregation. Covering up is a common but imperfect defense .[5,46] CAB members opined that covering up and gender segregation reinforce systemic discrimination, noting that men occupy leadership positions in US and Mexico .[11,21] Additionally, the expectation that women, but not men, must cover up to protect themselves is itself a form of discrimination and victim blaming. Moreover, it distracts from everyone's responsibility to refrain from WSH and employer's responsibility to prevent WSH.

Findings offer new information and context to previous studies. We demonstrate that WSH, direct or indirect, effects all farmworkers. Though discussed in California, Michoacán participants didn't discuss the WSH of gay workers, perhaps because they may have no experience with it or were reluctant to discuss the topic in the group setting. We document recommendations direct from farmworkers. Farmworkers mention valuable

information on the fear and vulnerability of undocumented immigrants .[5] Lastly, terminology and language are critical when querying women about WSH because they did not use standard terms to describe it .[6,9] Our findings offer language farmworkers use that can help in assessment of complaints and development of educational materials.

Conclusion

Addressing myths and gender needs is important. Our participants victim blaming perpetuates WSH .[47] Debunking myths reduces harassment .[48] Women are an increasingly important labor source, and their unique risks and needs must be acknowledged .[11] Women need reporting alternatives above leadership and a dedicated complaint officer.

More women are needed in management. Our participants want an organization that acknowledges the existence of WSH and responds effectively. This is more likely to occur in organizations where power and management are balanced between men and women. Women are less likely than men to accept "harassment myths" and think they have overreacted or are planning extortion .[49–51] Manager training, a more hospitable workplace for women, and more women in management are important means for preventing WSH .[52]

Promoting positive cultural values offers men a productive role in prevention. Participants condemned WSH as contrary to cultural values. *Caballerosidad*[53] (a code of chivalry in Spanish culture emphasizing responsibility and emotional connectedness that contrasts with the hypermasculinity of *machismo), respeto* (respect), and *cortesía* (courtesy), [54] promote respect for others and protection of vulnerable persons. Trainings could recognize and encourage these constructs to reinforce these values. Behavior change may occur when it's actively promoted in farmworker men, but it can also be achieved by self-reflection through facilitated discussion .[20]

Trainings must include bystander education. Traditional trainings can send the simplistic message that men are potential perpetrators rather than allies and may result in backlash[52] and increased harassment .[55,56] Bystander education can increase Hispanic male participants' willingness to intervene in incidents .[57] Bystander trainings[58–61] offer all workers a role as allies with victims.

A top-down approach is required. Employers are ultimately responsible for worker safety and must shape the work environment accordingly. In the US, federal and state labor law has been the driver for WSH prevention. WSH has appeared over the years as a long-standing fact of life seen as a social problem[62] and is now recognized as an occupational hazard .[3,63] Despite California's requirement for WSH prevention training for FLC license renewal, WSH persists. Participants request leadership that believes employees reporting WSH, that set a good example, establishe expectations, enforce consequences, and that educate workers.

Policy and government agencies must play a bigger role in WSH prevention. The US Department of Labor (DOL) could provide a stronger regulatory framework through the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA), which currently does not have workplace guidance or standards for WSH. These would require employers to conduct hazard assessments and put preventive programs in place before there is an incident. Non-governmental regulatory programs can also play an important role[64] that ensures good labor relations practices, a code of conduct, mechanisms for workers to report WSH, and a monitoring system to assure compliance.

Prevention implications differ by country. Enforcement of existing policy is needed in the US, whereas awareness and responsive policy development is needed in Mexico. Distance to the fields, crop type, and crew composition modify vulnerability and risk in both countries. Transcultural studies prove gender roles are more patriarchal in Mexico than in the US, [15] suggesting that women in Mexico are at greater risk of WSH than women in the US. How these and regulatory differences influence WSH risk and prevention should be a focus in future studies. Research can also evaluate leadership's attitudes, perspective, beliefs, and experiences related to WSH among farmworkers by country. Additional studies would benefit from the use of surveys and interviews for an in-depth look at this sensitive topic.

Limitations of our study include small sample size, sparse demographic data for participants, and limited geographic scope. We believe the limited demographic data did not impair findings because the nature of focus groups is to identify issues, questions, and perspectives, rather than to generate quantitative estimates. Limited resources restricted sample size and geographic scope, which may limit the depth and generalizability of our findings.

Though our main interest was farmworker perception of WSH, participants may have been reluctant to share sensitive information in the focus group setting. Open and honest conversations were facilitated by moderators, drawn from the same demographic groups as the participants, and by the stratification of country and gender. These groups permitted understanding the collective vision of this phenomenon, which would not have been possible with individual interviews. Responses were analyzed in the Spanish language to reduce the loss of cultural nuances. However, the Purhépecha transcripts were translated into Spanish, potentially causing some loss of cultural nuances.

Strengths of this study include its focus on both women and men farmworkers, a CBPR approach, and a transcultural view in its binational comparisons. Including men, a heretofore unstudied group, is necessary for fuller understanding of WSH and development of effective preventive policies. A comparison of the US and Mexico experience is important because of the interconnectedness between these agricultural labor economies. Understanding differences and similarities between these two groups helps to identify relevant strengths and weaknesses in both settings and informs development of policies and interventions on the local, national, and international levels. Lastly, this study adds to our understanding of an important and understudied problem in a vulnerable and marginalized group.

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