



**LaMP**  
Labor Mobility Partnerships



# ANNUAL REPORT 2023

## Worker Voices: Enhancing H-2A Recruitment through Migrant Perspectives

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# ... Executive Summary

This annual report describes the findings of the H-2A Worker Voice Survey conducted by Labor Mobility Partnerships (LaMP) in 2023. The survey was designed to garner new insights into the experiences of migrant workers within the U.S. H-2A visa program, focusing on the recruitment phase. It aims to illuminate the aspects of the program that work well, in addition to providing actionable insights for employers and recruiters, thereby contributing to the overall efficacy and integrity of the H-2A program.

## Key Findings:

- **Strong Overall Satisfaction with Recruitment Process:** A large majority of participants expressed satisfaction with their recruitment experience. Notably, 96.3% of workers confirmed that their actual salaries matched or exceeded the amounts initially agreed upon, and more than 97% reported that their job roles were accurately described prior to employment.
- **Issues with Recruitment Fees:** Despite the predominantly positive feedback, the survey highlighted concerns regarding illegal recruitment fees, with 2.9% of respondents indicating they had incurred such fees. This number is likely higher in reality, given the risk workers face when reporting recruitment fees, underscoring the need for actionable insights to eliminate exploitative practices within the program.
- **Survey Methodology and Worker Engagement:** Employing an innovative, cost-effective survey distributed through WhatsApp, the project achieved extensive reach (almost 10,000 workers) and high worker engagement, evidenced by a 32.2% response rate. This provides new evidence that H-2A workers can be reached easily and cost effectively.



## Way Forward:

- **Smartphone Application Development:** In response to challenges identified through the survey, LaMP is developing a smartphone application intended to directly connect H-2A workers with recruiters and employers. This solution aims to reduce reliance on intermediaries and diminish the occurrence of recruitment fees by providing a transparent and alternative recruitment pathway.
- **Expansion of Survey Reach:** LaMP seeks to extend the scope of the survey in upcoming years, to include a broader spectrum of employers and recruiters. Expanding the survey's coverage is essential to acquiring a comprehensive understanding of the H-2A program's operational dynamics and effecting widespread improvements. Employers and recruiters of all types are encouraged to contact us and get involved.<sup>1</sup>



## Introduction

The U.S. H-2A visa program is one of the largest circular mobility programs in developed countries, with massive potential for poverty reduction. H-2A represents a critical solution to growing labor shortages in U.S. agriculture and a life-changing source of income for migrant workers and their communities. However, the promise of H-2A is threatened by instances of abuse of workers, from misinformation to forced labor in extreme cases. Without mechanisms to eliminate exploitative labor practices and accelerate positive growth, H-2A cannot fulfil its impact potential or serve as a positive example to other countries.

Starting in 2021, with support from the Walmart Foundation, LaMP has implemented a project to strengthen responsible recruitment within the H-2A program. Our work has focused on responsible practices in the earliest stages of H-2A recruitment, as the first step in a worker's journey can have a cascading effect on their well-being throughout their migration and employment experience.

A major part of this project has been the development of a low-cost smartphone-based survey designed for easy deployment to an unlimited number of workers. The survey uses WhatsApp as the primary means of contact, leveraging high smartphone ownership among H-2A migrant workers. Workers anonymously report on the quality of their recruitment experience without jeopardizing their job security. Questions cover a range of issues related to 1) the completeness and accuracy of contract information, and 2) recruitment expenses incurred by workers and corresponding reimbursements. Survey results shed light on workers' experiences and reveal areas where improvements can be made.

Currently, there are few affordable ways to gain visibility into agricultural workers' recruitment experiences on a large scale. Top-down enforcement typically relies on worker grievances, but workers have little incentive to report issues because 1) this jeopardizes current and future economic security if

they are found out, and 2) resolution can take years. Even recruiters and visa processors often have little visibility into what happens to workers at the earliest stages of recruitment. Workers are often connected via referrals and recommendations from third parties, who may charge illegal recruitment fees. We have designed our tool to fill these gaps, aiming to improve the detection of breakdowns or problems in the recruitment experience and provide a foundation for continuous improvement of recruitment systems.

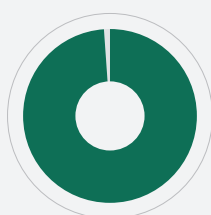
The tool was codesigned in collaboration with CIERTO, a company specializing in responsible H-2A recruitment and a pioneer in leveraging worker voice, as well as two large and well-established H-2A industry players. This enabled us to immediately deploy the survey at substantial scale even during the first year, sending the survey to 9.4k workers recruited by three different recruitment companies in 2023<sup>2</sup>. The average response rate was 32.2%, high for any voluntary online survey, and we believe this is a strong indication that workers appreciate the opportunity to share their recruitment experiences.

All survey results in this report are presented as aggregates in order to protect the anonymity of participating industry players, as results are primarily meant to be used for internal diagnosis and process improvement.

Our results show that, on the one hand, workers are overall highly satisfied with the services provided by their recruiters. 99.6% said their salaries were the same or higher than agreed and over 97% said their job roles were the same as agreed. On the other hand, 2.9% of our respondents said they paid recruitment fees<sup>3</sup>. While the fees are mostly relatively low (large majority under USD \$230), a small number of workers (9) reported having paid much more. Recruitment fees remain an illegal practice which exposes workers, employers, and recruiters to increased risk.

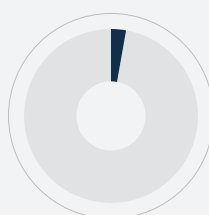
<sup>2</sup>Non-disclosure agreements were signed with all participating recruiters and employers and as a result they will remain anonymous in this report.

<sup>3</sup>We define these as fees paid in return for a job offer or contract. Usually paid to the recruiter, employer or someone representing them. See e.g. <https://www.dol.gov/agencies/whd/h2a-compliance-review>



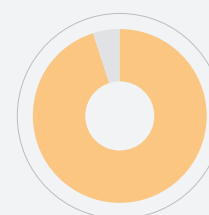
98.9%

of workers said they were highly satisfied with information provided by recruiters



2.9%

said that they paid a recruitment fee to ensure an H-2A job



95.0%

said that they were reimbursed for some, almost all or all expenses

**Figure 1** Key results

Complementing the quantitative survey results, we conducted focus groups with 21 H-2A workers in Mexico to gain a deeper understanding of emerging patterns. These interviews indicate that, due to the reliance on referrals and recommendations, even H-2A workers with over a decade of relevant experience are unable to secure jobs with a new employer without a referral. The lack of alternative avenues to an H-2A contract places enormous power in the hands of those who control referrals. Thus, the importance of recruitment and employment alternatives for workers cannot be overstated. Providing viable routes to employment alternatives is critical for worker empowerment, and for their ability to speak up in the face of unfair treatment.

In light of these results, we have started developing a technology solution to minimize gatekeeping power, driving out recruitment fees by providing workers with an alternative avenue to H-2A jobs. This is a smartphone app that directly connects recruiters and employers with new or experienced H-2A workers.

Workers will create an app profile where they showcase relevant skills and experience. Employers and recruiters will access a database to filter and select workers with pre-vetted documentation and the right experience, lowering recruitment costs and search frictions. While not the focus of this report, we feel it important to mention solutions underway to address one of the primary challenges surfaced by worker voice surveys.

The rest of this report describes our worker voice survey development and deployment efforts during the year 2023. The first section covers our survey methodology, providing details on our sample composition, questionnaire development, implementation mechanisms and the main considerations when analyzing the results. The second section describes our results and the third section concludes.



# ... Methodology

## Questionnaire Development

Survey questions were developed in collaboration with CIERTO and several industry partners, aiming to strike a balance between survey length and capturing all important information relevant to the worker recruitment experience. Qualitative phone interviews were conducted with around 30 randomly selected H-2A workers to ensure all questions were fully and easily understood.

Developing questions related to illegal recruitment fees was particularly challenging, as different workers' understanding of what does and what does not constitute a recruitment fee varies widely. For example, the U.S. consulate in Mexico charges a visa application fee of USD \$205, which some recruiters ask workers to pay. While this is a legitimate practice, some workers perceive this as a recruitment fee, as it is usually coordinated by the recruiter. As a result, asking directly how much workers paid in recruitment fees would have led to inaccurate results, with some workers bundling legitimate costs into their answers.

After several iterations, the final version of the questionnaire starts by asking workers how much they paid for their visa and followed up by asking “¿Además del pago de la visa, ¿cuánto pagó en pesos como cuota de reclutamiento o para asegurar su trabajo H-2A?”, which translates to “Aside from the visa costs, in pesos, how much did you pay to secure/ensure your H-2A job?”

The final version of the survey contains 26 multiple choice questions and takes, on average, 8 minutes to complete. The questions are focused on two broad themes: 1) Completeness and accuracy of contract information, and 2) Recruitment costs and repayments. Please see Annex 1 for the full questionnaire.

## Survey Medium: Rapid Prototyping

Before launching this worker voice initiative, we were unsure which methodology would result in a good balance between cost, response rates and data validity (which we proxied as respondent likelihood of reporting having paid recruitment fees). We conducted interviews with a broad range of industry experts, who gave varying and sometimes conflicting advice. Some said internet surveys would be challenging as most workers would not have internet access and as a result, in-person surveys were required. Others claimed workers would not respond truthfully to in-person surveys as they lack anonymity, while still others said the complete opposite was true – workers would only respond truthfully to in-person surveys because trust had to be built between workers and the surveyor.

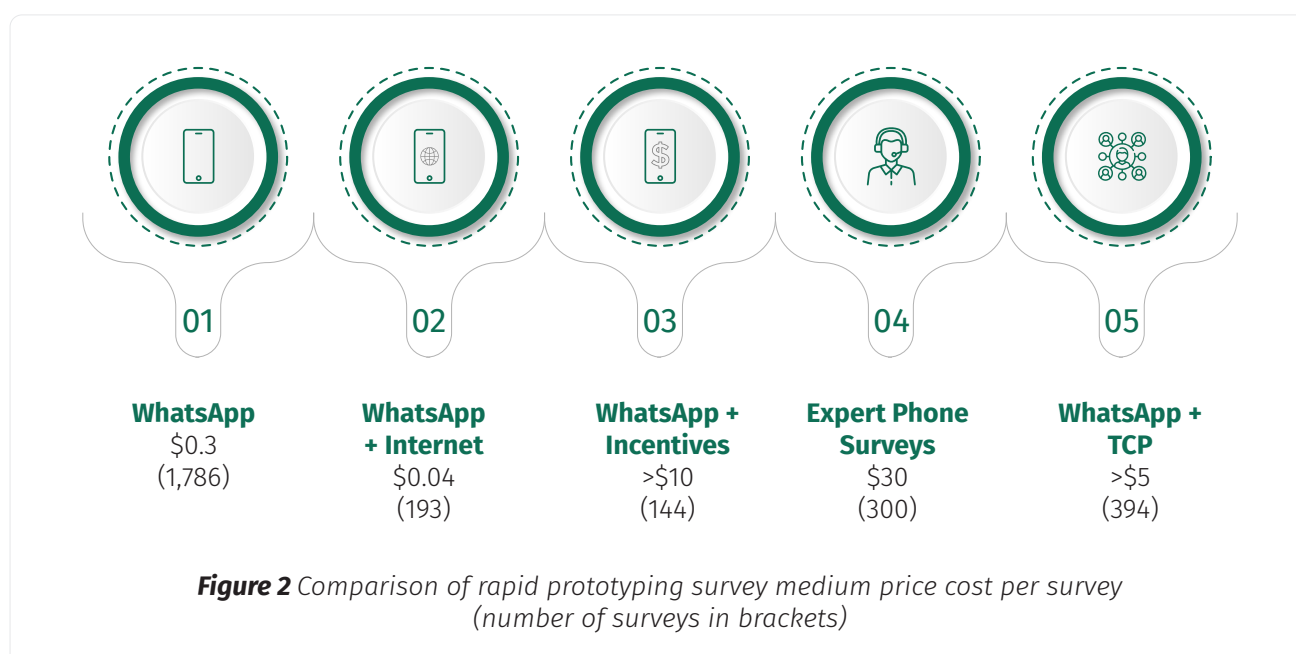
In light of this uncertainty, we decided to do “rapid prototyping” – quickly testing several different survey mediums with small worker samples before deciding on a single one.





We tested 5 different combinations (see Figure 2):

- **WhatsApp:** Survey implemented fully through an automated WhatsApp based system.
- **WhatsApp + Incentives:** Before completing the survey, respondents were informed they would be entered into a lottery with small winnings in exchange for answering the survey.
- **WhatsApp + Browser:** Survey was initiated via WhatsApp and workers then given a weblink, where they completed the survey using a browser-based interface. Browser-based surveys are less costly than WhatsApp based ones.
- **WhatsApp + In-Person information sessions:** Workers attended in-person information sessions conducted by a neutral third party (CIERTO staff) the day before they crossed the border into the U.S., where they were given information about the survey and its purpose. This was done in an attempt to increase worker trust in the survey, in turn increasing data validity.
- **Phone:** Same quantitative survey as above, but conducted by phone.



Our results showed no significant correlation between survey medium and data validity. Meanwhile, the least costly medium – surveys initiated through WhatsApp but completed through a browser-based interface, had an average response rate of 32% during the prototyping, which we deemed sufficiently high, resulting in that medium being chosen for scaling.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup>We choose not to publish rapid prototyping response rates as sample sizes were small and non-random.





## Sample and Data Collection

During 2023, LaMP collaborated with one medium sized recruiter and two large recruiters<sup>5</sup>, who collectively provided the phone numbers for 11,822 current H-2A workers, affiliated with 237 farms located mainly in the states of Washington and Oregon. As a result, our results cannot be generalized to represent the views of H-2A workers as a whole.

In an effort to increase response rates, most workers were informed about the survey by their recruiter, at the time of receiving their job offers. In order to control the messaging, this was done using an infographic (see Figure 3), sent through WhatsApp, as that is the usual way participating recruiters communicate with workers.

LaMP administered the survey and analyzed the survey data independently.

**ENCUESTA H-2A: CUÉNTANOS SOBRE TU EXPERIENCIA DE RECLUTAMIENTO Y CONTRATACIÓN**

**AYÚDANOS A MEJORAR PRÁCTICAS DE RECLUTAMIENTO**  
Entender tu experiencia al momento de solicitar y ser reclutado para un trabajo de H-2A nos ayudará a mejorar nuestras prácticas de contratación.

**CUÉNTANOS SOBRE TU EXPERIENCIA DE CONTRATACIÓN**  
Para entender mejor tu experiencia de contratación, la encuesta incluirá preguntas sobre la información que recibiste durante el proceso y los tipos de costos que hayas tenido.

**TUS RESPUESTAS SERÁN CONFIDENCIALES Y ANÓNIMAS**  
Una organización independiente que se llama LaMP recopilará las respuestas y las mantendrá confidenciales. Tus respuestas no estarán conectadas a ninguna información de identificación. Además, tus respuestas se combinarán con las respuestas de muchos otros trabajadores. Nadie podrá saber tu identidad ni lo que respondiste.

**¡CONTAMOS CONTIGO!**  
La encuesta es voluntaria, pero esperamos puedas responder a la encuesta cuando la recibas.

**¡GRACIAS POR AYUDARNOS A MEJORAR EL PROGRAMA DE H-2A!**

Para dudas escribe a LaMP por Whatsapp al **+1 202 590 3672**

**Figure 3** Explainer infographic for workers

## Survey Timing

Workers received the survey either during and after their H-2A contracts, but not before. We found no significant difference in response rates or data validity based on survey timing.

There are two reasons why we did not send surveys to workers before they started their contracts. First, workers may not yet have paid all relevant recruitment costs and second, workers may be less likely to be honest in their answers, believing there is more at stake at that point in time. For example, if workers report having paid recruitment fees and that leads to their employer and/or recruiter facing legal consequences, it might jeopardize their contracts.

## Survey Limitations

The recruitment fee-related questions in our survey are particularly sensitive, as charging recruitment fees is prohibited by U.S. law. If a recruiter or employer is found to have charged such fees, their H-2A contracts may be canceled by the U.S. government, resulting in lost jobs for workers. As a result, current workers have a strong incentive not to report having paid fees. This applies not only to reporting directly to the authorities in the United States but also on our survey, as workers may fear that such reports will lead to negative consequences.

<sup>5</sup>We define large recruiters as processing over 10,000 workers annually; mid-sized recruiters as processing 2,000 to <10,000 workers annually, and small recruiters as processing fewer than 2,000 workers annually. In all cases, we refer to formal businesses.



We tried to strengthen worker trust by clearly explaining the survey anonymity through an explainer video sent to all workers. In addition, both the recruiter and employer directly encouraged workers to answer the survey honestly, explaining its purpose is to identify problems so they can be addressed internally, in turn helping protect their current and future H-2A jobs and the integrity of the H-2A program as a whole.

While we believe these efforts may have helped, it is likely recruitment fees remain underreported given the strong disincentives to accurate reporting. In an effort to gain greater insight into recruitment fees, we asked respondents additional questions about recruitment fees within H-2A in general, rather than related directly to themselves individually, their employer or their recruiter. Answering these general questions candidly poses less direct risk to respondents and as a result we believe results are more reliable.

We are currently in the process of running the survey for a second time with workers who have returned to work for the same employer for an additional season on a new H-2A contract. Our hypothesis is that after observing that answering the survey had

no negative consequences the first time, workers will be more likely to answer candidly the second time around.



## ... Main Results

### Overview

Participating  
recruiters:

**3**

Participating  
employers (farms  
/ work locations):

**237**

Worker phone  
numbers received  
from recruiters:

**11,822**

Surveys sent, after  
discarding invalid  
numbers:

**9,409**

Survey  
responses:

**3,031**

Response  
rate:

**32.2%**



## Worker Profile

The majority of respondents were on their first H-2A contract and learned about the job mainly from their physical and online social networks.

- 66.8% new workers and 31.7% returning workers.
- 66.1% learned about the job from family and friends, 13.7% from recruiters and 12.0% from social media and the internet. 6.9% learned about the job from their employers.

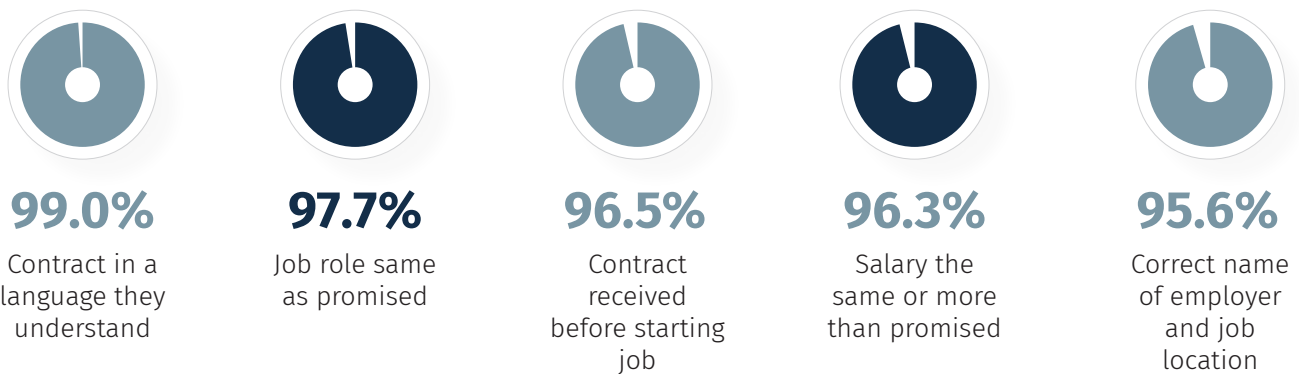


## Contract Information

A large majority of respondents, or 98.9%, said they were very satisfied overall with the contract information provided by their recruiter. Only 0.8% said they felt the information was unclear or insufficient. Figure 4 summarizes key aspects of workers' experience regarding contract information.

**Figure 4** Worker responses by type of experience

### Positive experience:



### Negative experience:





## Expenses

Workers may incur a wide range of expenses related to their H-2A recruitment, including those related to transportation, accommodation, training, licenses, visas and recruitment fees. Gatekeepers, for example recruiter field agents or pre-selected hotels or bus companies, may take advantage of workers by inflating costs or introducing new ones. Our survey questions attempt to quantify these costs and understand who charges them and how.

**Visa:** The U.S. Consulate charges a visa application fee of USD \$205 per applicant. This fee should ultimately be paid by the employer, but it is legal for employers to have workers prefund this expense as long as they are reimbursed before half of their contracts have been completed. Some recruiters choose to pay these visa fees for workers, then passing them on to employers, while others ask workers to pay this fee directly with the understanding they will be refunded later by their employer.

Most of the workers in our sample, or 65.1%, said they paid the correct official amount for their visas (<USD \$230) and 25.4% said they paid nothing - 90.5% combined. 5.1% said they paid up to USD \$600 for their visas, which is more than double the official cost, and 13 individuals (0.4%) said they paid

more. This indicates some fraud may be taking place when workers pay for their visas, although some respondents may have interpreted this question as referring not only to visa costs, but also more broadly to recruitment fees or other associated costs<sup>7</sup>.

When asked who they paid visa payments to, 37 workers (1.5%) said they paid directly to individuals rather than to the government or into official bank accounts as they should. 22 said they paid directly to a recruiter, 11 to an employer and 4 to a coworker or manager.



**Figure 5** Question 10 In pesos, how much did you pay to obtain the H-2A visa?

Answer Choices	Number of workers	%
I paid nothing	913	25.4%
Less than USD \$230	2,342	65.1%
Between USD \$231 and \$575	182	5.1%
Between USD \$576 and \$2,300	6	0.2%
Between USD \$2,301 and \$4,600	5	0.1%
More than USD \$4,600	2	0.1%
I prefer not to answer	44	1.2%
Not sure / other	102	2.8%
<b>Total</b>	<b>3,596</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

<sup>7</sup>All financial questions were asked originally in Mexican Pesos. See Annex 4 for original questions and amounts. This report presents amounts in U.S. dollars, using the exchange rate of 1 USD = 17.3913 MXN as for January 2024 ( see Annex 3). Numbers are rounded for legibility.



Of those who said they paid into a bank account, around half said they paid into an account that was in the recruiter’s name, while 32% said the account was not in the recruiter’s name. This partly reflects the fact that some of our participating recruiters ask workers to pay into an account in their company name, while others ask workers to pay directly to an account provided by the U.S. Consulate. At the same time, 7.9% said they were not sure who they paid to, and our qualitative interviews confirm there is confusion related to visa payments. This creates opportunities for fraudulent practices where workers can send money to the wrong accounts or be asked to pay extra fees.

The source of this confusion seems to be twofold:

- First, the bank transfer process lacks clarity. Bank payment instructions in Mexico include only an account number, not a name, so it can be challenging for payers to know who they are transferring to. After giving a bank teller

the account number, it is possible to ask under which name the account number is registered – but not all workers know this, and tellers may in some cases refuse to give this information.

- Second, the U.S. Consulate uses a third-party service to process visa payments. As a result, the account workers transfer to is registered under “CSRA Mexico”<sup>8</sup> rather than being registered under the Consulate name. Workers have no accessible way of verifying if this name is associated with the consulate – creating additional room for confusion.

We are recommending the U.S. Consulate explores ways to improve this situation (e.g. by publishing the account details on the consulate website), so workers can have an official source to verify if the account name and number are correct and if the amount they are being charged matches the official visa cost.

**Figure 6** Question 12 How did you make this payment?

Answer Choices	Number of workers	%
Deposit to an account in the recruiter’s name	1,034	54.8%
Deposit to an account that was NOT in the recruiter’s name	604	32.0%
Prefer not to answer	100	5.3%
Not sure / other	150	7.9%
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,888</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

**Figure 7** Quotes from worker phone interview related to visa payment



*In the visa payment, they commit fraud. They told me not all banks can be “trusted”. For instance, payments to accounts at ‘Oxxo’ aren’t safe, there is fraud there. Recruiters didn’t help provide that confidence (to know they were depositing into the correct account). There are banks where you deposit, and they can defraud you; the money doesn’t reach the government*

<sup>8</sup>CSRA Mexico is part of GDIT- General Dynamics Solution, an official vendor of U.S Consulate.



**Transportation, accommodation, and other expenses:** Similar to visa fees, transportation and accommodation can be paid either directly by recruiters/employers or workers can prefund these expenses and then get reimbursed by their employer.

48.9% said they paid no related costs, 31.7% less than USD \$230, 15.0% between USD \$230 and USD \$575 and 0.6% up to \$2,400. Five workers (0.1%) said they paid more, which indicates that within our sample,

some isolated cases of overcharging may be taking place. 30 workers (2%) said they paid directly to a recruiter, employer, supervisor or coworker – also an indicator of isolated areas of concern.

Finally, workers were asked about other expenses such as medical examinations, advisory or skills tests. 91.4% said they paid nothing, 5.6% less than USD \$230 and 33 workers (1.0%) said they paid more. 10 workers (5%) said they paid to a recruiter, employer or coworker.

## Recruitment Fees

95.6% of our respondents said they did not pay recruitment fees, while 2.9% said they did. 2.1% paid less than USD \$230 and 0.5% said they paid between USD \$230 and \$575. 9 workers said they paid more than that, with 5 saying they paid up to USD \$2,300 and 4 even more than that. 24 workers (0.7%) refused to answer this question.

These numbers are different from previous reports, which paint a darker picture. The most referenced study<sup>9</sup> is based on interviews with 100 workers where 43 said they were paid less than they

had been promised, and 26 said they had paid recruitment fees of up to \$4,500. This difference can probably be explained by the fact that the workers we surveyed have for the most part arrived through large, professional agencies with long-established reputations, processing close to a third of all H-2A workers. Large players are less likely to mistreat workers, as evidenced by DOL data on H-2A<sup>9</sup> and labor violations<sup>10</sup>, showing the 50 largest employers between 2017 and 2021 hired 30% of all workers while committing only 5% of all violations.

**Figure 8** Question 13 Aside from the visa cost, how much did you pay as a recruitment fee or charges to ensure/secure your H2A job?

Answer Choices	Number of workers	%
I paid nothing	3,251	95.6%
Less than USD \$230	71	2.1%
Between USD \$231 and \$ 575	18	0.5%
Between USD \$576 and \$2,300	5	0.1%
Between USD \$2,301 and \$4,600	3	0.1%
More than USD \$4,600	1	0.0%
Prefer not to answer	24	0.7%
Not sure / other	28	0.8%
<b>Total</b>	<b>3,401</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

<sup>9</sup><https://www.dol.gov/agencies/eta/foreign-labor/performance>

<sup>10</sup>[https://enforcedata.dol.gov/views/data\\_summary.php](https://enforcedata.dol.gov/views/data_summary.php)

<sup>11</sup>[https://cdmigrante.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/02/Recruitment\\_Revealed.pdf](https://cdmigrante.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/02/Recruitment_Revealed.pdf)



When asked to whom they paid recruitment fees, 44 workers said they transferred money into an account shared by the recruiter or recruiting agency and 7 said they paid to the government. This may indicate some workers misunderstood the question in some

way, or that they had a difficult time distinguishing between the cost of the visa and the recruitment fee. Six workers said they paid directly to a recruiter and 5 to the employer, manager or coworker. 15 workers refused to answer this question.

**Figure 9** Question 14 To whom did you pay this money – recruitment fee?

Answer Choices	Number of workers	%
To an account shared with me by the recruiter or recruiting agency	44	50.0%
Directly to the recruiter	6	6.8%
To the employer (e.g. or the ranch where I am working)	2	2.3%
To the supervisor or field manager	1	1.1%
To another co-worker, other than a supervisor or crewmember	2	2.3%
To the government	7	8.0%
I prefer not to answer	15	17.0%
Not sure / other	11	12.5%
<b>Total</b>	<b>88</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

As recruitment fees are illegal and admitting to having paid them can be perceived as risky, we attempted to lower workers' perceived risk by asking them about their perception of how common recruitment fees are in H-2A. These questions focused on H-2A workers in general, rather than only those recruited or employed by the same parties as the respondent.

240 workers (7.7%) said they think almost all workers pay recruitment fees; a disproportionate number compared to the 2.9% who admitted to having paid fees themselves. 5.5% said some workers pay, 11.9% said almost no workers pay and 59.1% said no workers pay. Interestingly, 224 workers (7.2%), refused to answer this question – the highest proportion of all the financial questions in the survey.

**Figure 10** Question 24 In your opinion, how common is it for workers to have to pay recruitment fees or charges to secure their H-2A job (not including visa fees)?

Answer Choices	Number of workers	%
No workers pay	1,843	59.1%
Almost all workers pay	240	7.7%
Some workers pay	170	5.5%
Almost no one pays	370	11.9%
I prefer not to answer	224	7.2%
Not sure / other	271	8.7%
<b>Total</b>	<b>3,118</b>	<b>100.0%</b>



Perceived recruitment fee amounts are similar to what we found at the self-reported level with 83.0% thinking most people pay relatively low fees - under USD \$575.

**Figure 11** Question 25 On average in pesos, how much do you think people pay for recruitment fees or charges to secure their H-2A job (not including visa fees)? Please give an estimate, even if you are not sure.?

Answer Choices	Number of workers	%
Pay nothing	1,945	66.5%
Less than USD \$230	267	9.1%
Between USD \$231 and \$575	205	7.0%
Between USD \$576 and \$2,300	82	2.8%
Between USD \$2,301 and \$4,600	10	0.3%
More than \$4,600	3	0.1%
Prefer not to answer	128	4.4%
Not sure / other	284	9.7%
<b>Total</b>	<b>2,924</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

Lastly, workers think recruitment fees are charged by a wide range of people including recruiters (12.9%), the government (6.3%), employers or supervisors (4.2%) or co-workers (2.8%). 30.6% preferred not to answer this question, most of which (66%) had previously responded they do not think workers pay any recruitment fees.

**Figure 12** Question 26 To whom do you think this money is usually paid?

Answer Choices	Number of workers	%
To recruiters or recruiting agencies	366	12.9%
To employers	55	1.9%
To a supervisor or crew member	66	2.3%
To a co-worker, other than a supervisor or crew member	81	2.8%
To the government	178	6.3%
I prefer not to answer	872	30.6%
Not sure / other	1,230	43.2%
<b>Total</b>	<b>2,848</b>	<b>100.0%</b>





**Figure 13** Quotes from worker phone interviews related to recruitment fees



*There are people who pay the “cabo” or manager to be called back the next year, and that is a fraud because those who do not work, who are lazy workers, know that by paying, they will be called again. So, they don’t work during the season, this is wrong because we should be selected based on our work. This affects the recruitment agency because they might not have job opportunities for others later on.*

*I have heard that some recruiters or the companies they work with asked for money to be “brought back next season.”*



*They charge between \$270 and \$534 dollars. There is a company where the “cuadrilleros” ask for money from the workers at the end of the season to secure a spot for the next season.*

*We know it happens, but they (supervisors) have never charged my relatives or me.*



*They charge about USD \$1,000 dollars. I have heard that they pay the recruiters or workers that know people in the agencies. ... in cash or by wire transfer, whichever way the money comes in. You have to pay before the season starts to secure a “space/place” in certain companies that supposedly pay better.*





## Reimbursement and Debt

**Reimbursement:** Workers were asked if they had been reimbursed for any of the expenses mentioned in the survey. While these may include recruitment fees, which are illegal and thus not reimbursable, employers are, at a minimum, responsible for reimbursing workers any costs they incurred related to their visa application or the worker’s travel to their place of work, including transportation, meals, and accommodation. While employers are obligated to reimburse these expenses no later than when a

worker completes 50% of the work contract period, most of our respondents had only recently crossed the border and started their contacts.

Despite this, 76.7% of our respondents said they had already been reimbursed for all or most of their expenses. 18.3% said they had been reimbursed only for some expenses and 2.8% said they had not paid anything. Seven workers said they had been reimbursed for none or almost none of their expenses at the time of the survey.

**Figure 14** Question 20 Have you been reimbursed for any of the expenses mentioned in this survey?

Answer Choices	Number of workers	%
I was reimbursed for all or most of my expenses	2,460	76.7%
I was reimbursed only for some expenses	586	18.3%
I was reimbursed none or almost none of my expenses	7	0.2%
Not applicable because I did not pay anything	89	2.8%
I prefer not to answer	32	1.0%
Not sure / other	33	1.0%
<b>Total</b>	<b>3,207</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

**Debt:** Our results show that almost half (45.5%) of workers borrowed money to cover their H2A expenses. This is a significant share, indicating the total expenses workers incur are a substantial investment relative to their financial positions before starting their contracts. In most cases, the loan amounts are relatively low, with 84.8% saying

they borrowed under USD \$575. However, 8.6% said they borrowed up to USD \$2,300 and 16 individuals even more. Borrowing large amounts of money can have significant implications for workers during their contracts, as they may be unable to leave abusive employment situations knowing they need to repay their loans<sup>12</sup>.

**Figure 15** Question 21 Did you have to borrow money to pay for any of the expenses mentioned in this survey?

Answer Choices	Number of workers	%
Yes	1,447	45.5%
No	1,596	50.2%
I prefer not to answer	116	3.6%
Not sure / other	22	0.7%
<b>Total</b>	<b>3,181</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

<sup>12</sup>For a deeper discussion see, for example, <https://polarisproject.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/07/Labor-Trafficking-on-Specific-Temporary-Work-Visas-by-Polaris.pdf>



**Figure 16** Question 22 How much money did you borrow to pay for the expenses mentioned in this survey?

Answer Choices	Number of workers	%
Less than USD \$230	369	25.7%
Between USD \$231 and \$575	849	59.1%
Between USD \$576 and \$2,300	123	8.6%
Between USD \$2,301 and \$4,600	7	0.5%
More than \$4,600	9	0.6%
Prefer not to answer	34	2.4%
Not sure / other	22	1.5%
I did not pay anything	23	1.6%
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,436</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

Most workers said they borrowed from friends or family (66.5%), but a significant proportion (20.1%) preferred not to answer this question – a disproportionate share relative to the rest of the survey.





## ... Conclusions

The first year of implementing the worker voice tool has provided meaningful insights into the recruitment experiences of H-2A workers processed and hired by large industry players. Our approach, utilizing a low-cost, smartphone-based survey, has allowed us to gather data on a significant and unprecedented scale, revealing both positive aspects and areas for improvement in the H-2A program.

The majority of survey respondents reported a high level of satisfaction with the recruitment process, particularly in terms of contract accuracy and job role expectations. This positive feedback underscores the potential of the H-2A program to effectively address labor shortages in U.S. agriculture while offering significant economic opportunities to migrant workers.

However, the survey also illuminated areas of concern, notably the incidence of recruitment fees and the financial burdens associated with visa acquisition and other pre-employment costs. Although a relatively small percentage of workers reported paying recruitment fees, any occurrence of such fees is problematic, given their illegality and the potential for exploitation.

In response to these findings, our project has initiated the development of a smartphone app designed to facilitate more direct connections between workers, recruiters, and employers. This tool aims to reduce dependency on intermediaries and mitigate the risk of exploitative practices, contributing to a more transparent and equitable recruitment ecosystem.

Reflecting on the progress and findings of our project, it is clear that while significant strides have been made towards improving the transparency and fairness of the H-2A recruitment process, challenges remain. The persistence of recruitment fees points to the need for ongoing vigilance and innovative solutions to protect workers from exploitation. To this end, the worker voice survey provides a foundation for greater transparency and continuous improvement.

The high engagement rate with our survey indicates a strong desire among workers to share their

experiences and contribute to efforts aimed at enhancing the recruitment process. This engagement is a valuable asset in our ongoing efforts to refine and improve our approach.

Looking ahead, we plan on expanding the survey to include more employers and recruiters in 2024 and 2025. Our ultimate goal is to have the voices of all H-2A workers heard, an achievable goal considering the low cost and easy implementation of the survey tool we have created. We encourage interested parties to get in touch with us – anyone is welcome.

More broadly, we will continue to focus on identifying and addressing gaps in the recruitment process, with an emphasis on leveraging technology to empower workers and provide actionable insights for employers and recruiters. Direct collaboration with industry partners and stakeholders will remain a cornerstone of our strategy, ensuring that our interventions are grounded in the realities of the agricultural sector and the needs of H-2A workers. Through continued research, innovation, and collaboration, we aim to contribute to the well-being of migrant workers and their families, the prosperity of U.S. farms, and the integrity of the H-2A program as a whole.

### About Philanthropy at Walmart

Walmart.org represents the philanthropic efforts of Walmart and the Walmart Foundation. By leaning in where our business has unique strengths, we work to tackle key social issues and collaborate with others to spark long-lasting systemic change. Walmart has stores in 27 countries, employing more than 2 million associates and doing business with thousands of suppliers who, in turn, employ millions of people. Walmart.org is helping people live better by supporting programs that work to accelerate upward job mobility for frontline workers, address hunger and make healthier, more sustainably-grown food a reality, and build strong communities where Walmart operates. To learn more, visit [www.walmart.org](http://www.walmart.org) or find us on Twitter @walmartorg.



# ...Annex 1. Questionnaire

## ENCUESTA SOBRE EXPERIENCIA DE RECLUTAMIENTO

Las primeras preguntas son para entender cómo se informó usted sobre el trabajo de H-2A y que información le dieron al respecto.

1. **¿Este es su primer trabajo de H-2A en los Estados Unidos?**
  - 1) Sí
  - 2) No
  - 3) Prefiero no responder
  - 4) No estoy seguro/ otro
2. **¿Para su contrato ACTUAL de H-2A, cómo se enteró de la oferta de trabajo?**
  - 1) Redes sociales o internet
  - 2) Reclutador o agencia reclutadora
  - 3) Familiar, amigo o conocido
  - 4) La empresa misma
  - 5) Prefiero no responder
  - 6) No estoy seguro / otro
3. **¿El reclutador era empleado de (recruiter's name) o fue contratado por (recruiter's name)?**
  - 1) Sí
  - 2) No
  - 3) Prefiero no responder
  - 4) No estoy seguro/otro

Las siguientes preguntas están relacionadas con la información que usted recibió o no recibió de parte de (recruiter's name) antes de llegar a los Estados Unidos.
4. **¿El nombre de su empleador y el lugar de trabajo, son los mismos que se le informaron?**
  - 1) Sí
  - 2) No
  - 3) No recibí esta información
  - 4) Prefiero no responder
  - 5) No estoy seguro/ otro
5. **¿El salario base que le están pagando es el mismo que se le informó?**
  - 1) Es el mismo
  - 2) Estoy recibiendo más
  - 3) Estoy recibiendo menos
  - 4) No recibí esta información
  - 5) Prefiero no responder
  - 6) No estoy seguro/ otro
6. **¿Las funciones que hace en su trabajo son las mismas que se le informaron?**
  - 1) Sí
  - 2) No
  - 3) No recibí esta información
  - 4) Prefiero no responder
  - 5) No estoy seguro/ otro
7. **¿Usted recibió un contrato de empleo por escrito antes de salir de México para empezar su trabajo actual en los Estados Unidos?**
  - 1) Sí
  - 2) No
  - 3) Prefiero no responder
  - 4) No estoy seguro/otro
8. **¿El contrato, o la información de su contrato, fue proporcionada en un idioma que usted pueda entender?**
  - 1) Sí
  - 2) No
  - 3) Prefiero no responder
  - 4) No estoy seguro/otro
9. **En general, ¿usted cree que (recruiter's name) le dio información clara y completa sobre el empleo y las condiciones de trabajo de H-2A (incluyendo lugar de trabajo, salario, jornada laboral, y actividades)?**
  - 1) Sí
  - 2) No
  - 3) Prefiero no responder
  - 4) No estoy seguro/otro

¡Ha llegado a la mitad de la encuesta!  
¡Gracias por su tiempo hasta ahora! Las siguientes preguntas se enfocarán en costos y gastos que usted tal vez haya realizado durante el proceso de reclutamiento.



**10. En pesos, ¿cuánto pagó para sacar la visa H-2A?**

- 1) No pagué nada
- 2) Menos de \$4,000
- 3) Entre \$4,001 y \$10,000
- 4) Entre \$10,001 y \$40,000
- 5) Entre \$40,001 y \$80,000
- 6) Más de \$80,000
- 7) Prefiero no responder
- 8) No estoy seguro / otro

**11. ¿A quién le pagó este dinero?**

- 1) A una cuenta que me compartió el reclutador o la agencia reclutadora
- 2) Directamente al reclutador
- 3) Al empleador (e.j. el rancho donde estoy trabajando)
- 4) Al supervisor o cuadrillero
- 5) A otro compañero de trabajo, que no sea un supervisor o cuadrillero
- 6) Al gobierno
- 7) Prefiero no responder
- 8) No estoy seguro / otro

**12. ¿Cómo realizó este pago?**

- 1) Depósito a una cuenta a nombre de (recruiter's name)
- 2) Depósito a una cuenta que NO estaba a nombre de (recruiter's name)
- 3) Prefiero no responder
- 4) No estoy seguro / otro

**13. Además del pago de la visa, ¿cuánto pagó en pesos como cuota de reclutamiento o para asegurar su trabajo H2A?**

- 1) No pagué nada
- 2) Menos de \$4,000
- 3) Entre \$4,001 y \$10,000
- 4) Entre \$10,001 y \$40,000
- 5) Entre \$40,001 y \$80,000
- 6) Más de \$80,000
- 7) Prefiero no responder
- 8) No estoy seguro / otro

**14. ¿A quién le pagó este dinero?**

- 1) A una cuenta que me compartió el reclutador o la agencia reclutadora
- 2) Directamente al reclutador
- 3) Al empleador (e.j. o el rancho donde estoy trabajando)
- 4) Al supervisor o cuadrillero

- 5) A otro compañero de trabajo, que no sea un supervisor o cuadrillero
- 6) Al gobierno
- 7) Prefiero no responder
- 8) No estoy seguro / otro

**15. ¿Cómo realizó este pago?**

- 1) Depósito a una cuenta a nombre de (recruiter's name)
- 2) Depósito a una cuenta que NO estaba a nombre de (recruiter's name)
- 3) Prefiero no responder
- 4) No estoy seguro / otro

**16. En pesos, ¿cuánto pagó por transporte y alojamiento para tramitar su visa o viajar a los Estados Unidos (por ejemplo, gastos para viajar al consulado)?**

- 1) No pagué nada
- 2) Menos de \$4,000
- 3) Entre \$4,001 y \$10,000
- 4) Entre \$10,001 y \$40,000
- 5) Entre \$40,001 y \$80,000
- 6) Más de \$80,000
- 7) Prefiero no responder
- 8) No estoy seguro / otro

**17. ¿A quién le pagó este dinero?**

- 1) A una cuenta que me compartió el reclutador o la agencia reclutadora
- 2) Directamente al reclutador
- 3) Al empleador (e.j. el rancho donde estoy trabajando)
- 4) Al supervisor o cuadrillero
- 5) A otro compañero de trabajo, que no sea un supervisor o cuadrillero
- 6) Directamente al hotel, empresa de transporte o restaurante
- 7) Prefiero no responder
- 8) No estoy seguro / otro

**18. En pesos, ¿cuánto pagó por otros gastos para obtener el trabajo en los Estados Unidos (por ejemplo, gastos para exámenes médicos, asesoría, pruebas de habilidades laborales)?**

- 1) No pagué nada
- 2) Menos de \$4,000
- 3) Entre \$4,001 y \$10,000
- 4) Entre \$10,001 y \$40,000
- 5) Entre \$40,001 y \$80,000
- 6) Más de \$80,000
- 7) Prefiero no responder
- 8) No estoy seguro / otro



**19. ¿A quién le pagó este dinero?**

- 1) A una cuenta que me compartió el reclutador o la agencia reclutadora
- 2) Directamente al reclutador
- 3) Al empleador (e.j. o el rancho donde estoy trabajando)
- 4) Al supervisor o cuadrillero
- 5) A otro compañero de trabajo, que no sea un supervisor o cuadrillero
- 6) Al gobierno
- 7) Prefiero no responder
- 8) No estoy seguro / otro

**20. ¿Le han reembolsado su dinero por algún gasto mencionado en esta encuesta?**

- 1) Me reembolsaron todos o casi todos mis gastos
- 2) Me reembolsaron solo algunos gastos
- 3) No me reembolsaron nada o casi ningún gasto
- 4) No aplica porque no pagué nada
- 5) Prefiero no responder
- 6) No estoy seguro/ otro

**21. ¿Usted tuvo que pedir dinero prestado para pagar cualquiera de los gastos que acaba de mencionar en esta encuesta?**

- 1) Sí
- 2) No
- 3) Prefiero no responder
- 4) No estoy seguro/ otro

**22. En pesos, ¿cuánto dinero pidió prestado para pagar los gastos mencionados en esta encuesta?**

- 1) Menos de \$4,000
- 2) Entre \$4,001 y \$10,000
- 3) Entre \$10,001 y \$40,000
- 4) Entre \$40,001 y \$80,000
- 5) Más de \$80,000
- 6) Prefiero no responder
- 7) No estoy seguro / otro

**23. ¿A quién pidió prestado LA MAYORÍA del dinero?**

- 1) Familia o amigos
- 2) Una institución financiera (e.j. un banco)
- 3) Una casa de préstamos
- 4) La compañía que me contrató (e.j. el rancho donde estoy trabajando)
- 5) El reclutador
- 6) Prefiero no responder
- 7) No estoy seguro / otro

**¡Quedan pocas preguntas para terminar!**

**24. En su opinión, ¿qué tan común es que los trabajadores tengan que pagar cuotas de reclutamiento o cuotas para asegurar su trabajo H-2A? (No contemplar pago de visa)**

- 1) Casi todos los trabajadores pagan
- 2) Algunos trabajadores pagan
- 3) Casi nadie paga
- 4) Ningún trabajador paga
- 5) Prefiero no responder
- 6) No estoy seguro/ otro

**25. En promedio en pesos, ¿cuánto cree usted que las personas paguen por cuotas de reclutamiento o cuotas para asegurar su trabajo de H-2A? (No contemplar pago de visa). Por favor dar un estimado, aunque no esté seguro.**

- 1) No pagué nada
- 2) Menos de \$4,000
- 3) Entre \$4,001 y \$10,000
- 4) Entre \$10,001 y \$40,000
- 5) Entre \$40,001 y \$80,000
- 6) Más de \$80,000
- 7) Prefiero no responder
- 8) No estoy seguro / otro

**26. ¿A quién piensa que se suele pagar este dinero?**

- 1) A reclutadores o agencias reclutadoras
- 2) A los empleadores
- 3) Al supervisor o cuadrillero
- 4) A otro compañero de trabajo, que no sea un supervisor o cuadrillero
- 5) Al gobierno
- 6) Prefiero no responder
- 7) No estoy seguro / otro

**¡Gracias por completar la encuesta y ayudarnos a mejorar el programa de H-2A!**



## Annex 2. Suspected Levels of Underreporting<sup>10</sup>

Survey question category	Examples of topics covered	Sensitivity of questions	Suspected level of underreporting
Worker Profile	First time or returning worker, how did they learn about the job	Not sensitive at all	Low
Transparency and accuracy in information provided to workers	Employer, salary, type of work, written contract, contract language.	Issues are not severe - workers unlikely to think they would get into serious trouble for reporting, even if not anonymous.	Low
Travel expenses, refunding and debt practices for those expenses	Visa cost, travel & accommodation costs, other costs, loans taken.	Some costs as visa costs could be prefunded, and that is legal and common practice. However, not all workers know that, making all financial questions more sensitive.	Medium
Payment of recruitment fees by workers	Question about others and general perception	To lower the risk factor, we ask workers if others pay fees in general - not necessarily asking about colleagues .	Medium
Payment of recruitment fees by workers	Question about yourself	Charging recruitment fees is illegal - can lead to job loss if found out. Workers are aware of this (e.g. due to usual consulate interview questions).	High

<sup>10</sup>This table is Authors' interpretation and should be interpreted as such





## ... Annex 3. Data Analysis Considerations

- **Data Analysis:** Data from the final version of the survey is presented as is, without omitting outliers or partially completed surveys. Data from 579 test surveys is omitted because questions were phrased differently, rendering them incompatible with the final survey.
- **Limited Response Timeframe:** Respondents were given at least 8 days to complete the survey, before it became inactive. Approximately 95% of responses were received within the initial three days.
- **Exchange Rate** – All our questions were asked in Mexican pesos (MXN). This report includes values in American dollars (USD) based on the exchange rate of (1USD = 17.3913 MXN).

## ... Annex 4. Results Per Question

**Q1. ¿Este es su primer trabajo de H-2A en los Estados Unidos? / Is this your first H-2A job in the United States?**

Answer Choices	Number of workers	%
Yes	2,639	66.8%
No	1,250	31.7%
I prefer not to answer	38	1.0%
Not sure / other	22	0.6%
<b>Total</b>	<b>3,949</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

**Q2. Para su contrato ACTUAL de H-2A, ¿cómo se enteró de la oferta de trabajo? / For your CURRENT H-2A contract, how did you hear about the job offer?**

Answer Choices	Number of workers	%
Social networks or internet	459	12.0%
Recruiter or recruiting agency	523	13.7%
Family member, friend or acquaintance	2,519	66.1%
The company itself (employer)	261	6.9%
Prefer not to answer	28	0.7%
Not sure / other	20	0.5%
<b>Total</b>	<b>3,810</b>	<b>100.0%</b>



**Q3. ¿El reclutador era empleado de (Nombre del Reclutador) o fue contratado por (Nombre del Reclutador) ? / Was the recruiter an employee of (Name of Recruiter) or was he/she hired by (Name of Recruiter)?**

Answer Choices	Number of workers	%
Yes	409	80.2%
No	50	9.8%
I prefer not to answer	7	1.4%
Not sure / other	44	8.6%
<b>Total</b>	<b>510</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

**Q4. ¿El nombre de su empleador y el lugar de trabajo, son los mismos que se le informaron? / Is your employer's name and place of work the same as the one you were informed of?**

Answer Choices	Number of workers	%
Yes	76	2.1%
No	24	0.6%
Not sure / other	52	1.4%
I did not receive this information	3,540	95.6%
I prefer not to answer	10	0.3%
<b>Total</b>	<b>3,702</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

**Q5. ¿El salario base que le están pagando es el mismo que se le informó? / Is the base salary you are being paid the same as you were told?**

Answer Choices	Number of workers	%
It is the same	3,475	94.5%
I am receiving more	64	1.7%
I am receiving less	51	1.4%
I did not receive this information	36	1.0%
I prefer not to answer	27	0.7%
Not sure / other	23	0.6%
<b>Total</b>	<b>3,676</b>	<b>100%</b>



**Q6. ¿Las funciones que hace en su trabajo son las mismas que se le informaron? / Are the functions you perform in your job the same as those you were told?**

Answer Choices	Number of workers	%
Yes	3,581	97.7%
No	39	1.1%
I did not receive this information	34	0.9%
I prefer not to answer	7	0.2%
Not sure / other	4	0.1%
<b>Total</b>	<b>3,665</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

**Q7. ¿Usted recibió un contrato de empleo por escrito antes de salir de México para empezar su trabajo actual en los Estados Unidos? / Did you receive a written employment contract before leaving Mexico to start your current job in the United States?**

Answer Choices	Number of workers	%
Yes	3,526	96.5%
No	76	2.1%
I prefer not to answer	24	0.7%
Not sure / other	26	0.7%
<b>Total</b>	<b>3,652</b>	<b>100%</b>

**Q8. ¿El contrato, o la información de su contrato, fue proporcionada en un idioma que usted pueda entender? / Was the contract, or your contract information, provided in a language you understand?**

Answer Choices	Number of workers	%
Yes	3,504	99.0%
No	22	0.6%
Not sure / other	7	0.2%
I prefer not to answer	8	0.2%
<b>Total</b>	<b>3,541</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

Answer Choices	Number of workers	%
Yes	409	80.2%
No	50	9.8%
I prefer not to answer	7	1.4%
Not sure / other	44	8.6%
<b>Total</b>	<b>510</b>	<b>100.0%</b>



**Q9. En general, ¿usted cree que (nombre del reclutador) le dio información clara y completa sobre el empleo y las condiciones de trabajo de H-2A (incluyendo lugar de trabajo, salario, jornada laboral, y actividades)? / In general, do you believe (recruiter's name) gave you clear and complete information about H-2A employment and working conditions (including place of work, salary, working hours, and role and activities)?**

Answer Choices	Number of workers	%
Yes	3,548	98.9%
No	27	0.8%
I prefer not to answer	8	0.2%
Not sure / other	3	0.1%
<b>Total</b>	<b>3,586</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

**Q10. En pesos, ¿cuánto pagó para sacar la visa H-2A? / In pesos, how much did you pay to obtain the H-2A visa?**

Answer Choices	Number of workers	%
Less than \$4,000	2,342	65.1%
Between \$4,001 and \$10,000	182	5.1%
Between \$10,001 and \$40,000	6	0.2%
Between \$40,001 and \$80,000	5	0.1%
More than \$80,000	2	0.1%
I paid nothing	913	25.4%
I prefer not to answer	44	1.2%
Not sure / other	102	2.8%
<b>Total</b>	<b>3,596</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

**Q11. ¿A quién le pagó este dinero? / Who did you pay this money to?**

Answer Choices	Number of workers	%
To an account shared with me by the recruiter or recruiting agency	1,942	79.5%
Directly to the recruiter	22	0.9%
To the employer (e.g. the ranch where I'm working)	11	0.5%
To the supervisor or field manager	2	0.1%
To another co-worker, other than a supervisor or field manager	2	0.1%
To the government	313	12.8%
I prefer not to answer	53	2.2%
Not sure / other	97	4.0%
<b>Total</b>	<b>2,442</b>	<b>100.0%</b>



#### Q12. ¿Cómo realizó este pago?/ How did you make this payment?

Answer Choices	Number of workers	%
Deposit to an account in the recruiter's name	1,034	54.8%
Deposit to an account that was NOT in the recruiter's name	604	32.0%
Prefer not to answer	100	5.3%
Not sure / other	150	7.9%
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,888</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

#### Q13. Además del pago de la visa, ¿cuánto pagó en pesos como cuota de reclutamiento o para asegurar su trabajo H2A? /Aside from the visa costs, how much did you pay in pesos as a recruitment fee or to secure your H2A job?

Answer Choices	Number of workers	%
Less than \$4,000	71	2.1%
Between \$4,001 and \$10,000	18	0.5%
Between \$10,001 and \$40,000	5	0.1%
Between \$40,001 and \$80,000	3	0.1%
More than \$80,000	1	0.0%
I paid nothing	3,251	95.6%
I prefer not to answer	24	0.7%
Not sure / other	28	0.8%
<b>Total</b>	<b>3,401</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

#### Q14. ¿A quién le pagó este dinero? /Who did you pay this money to?

Answer Choices	Number of workers	%
To an account shared with me by the recruiter or recruiting agency	44	50.0%
Directly to the recruiter	6	6.8%
To the employer (e.g. or the ranch where I am working)	2	2.3%
To the supervisor or field manager	1	1.1%
To another co-worker, other than a supervisor or field manager	2	2.3%
To the government	7	8.0%
I prefer not to answer	15	17.0%
Not sure / other	11	12.5%
<b>Total</b>	<b>88</b>	<b>100.0%</b>



**Q15. ¿Cómo realizó este pago? / How did you make this payment?**

Answer Choices	Number of workers	%
Deposit to an account in the recruiter's name	31	72.1%
Deposit to an account that was NOT in the recruiter's name	7	16.3%
I prefer not to answer	5	11.6%
<b>Total</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

**Q16. En pesos, ¿cuánto pagó por transporte y alojamiento para tramitar su visa o viajar a los Estados Unidos (por ejemplo, gastos para viajar al consulado)? / In pesos, how much did you pay for transportation and lodging to process your visa or travel to the United States (e.g., expenses to travel to the consulate)?**

Answer Choices	Number of workers	%
I paid nothing	1,647	48.9%
Less than \$4,000	1,066	31.7%
Between \$4,001 and \$10,000	505	15.0%
Between \$10,001 and \$40,000	21	0.6%
Between \$40,001 and \$80,000	1	0.0%
More than \$80,000	4	0.1%
Prefer not to answer	23	0.7%
Not sure / other	99	2.9%
<b>Total</b>	<b>3,366</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

**Q17. ¿A quién le pagó este dinero? /Who did you pay this money to?**

Answer Choices	Number of workers	%
To an account shared with me by the recruiter or recruiting agency	119	8.0%
Directly to the recruiter	19	1.3%
To field manager	1	
To the employer (e.g. the ranch where I am working)	6	0.4%
To another co-worker, other than a supervisor or field manager	4	0.3%
Directly to the hotel, transportation company or restaurant	1,081	72.5%
I prefer not to answer	110	7.4%
Not sure / other	152	10.2%
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,492</b>	<b>100.0%</b>



**Q18. En pesos, ¿cuánto pagó por otros gastos para obtener el trabajo en los Estados Unidos (por ejemplo, gastos para exámenes médicos, asesoría, pruebas de habilidades laborales)? / In pesos, how much did you pay for other expenses to obtain the job in the United States (e.g., expenses for medical exams, counseling, job skills testing)?**

Answer Choices	Number of workers	%
I paid nothing	2,970	91.4%
Less than \$4,000	183	5.6%
Between \$4,001 and \$10,000	29	0.9%
Between \$10,001 and \$40,000	4	0.1%
Prefer not to answer	22	0.7%
Not sure / other	43	1.3%
<b>Total</b>	<b>3,251</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

**Q19. ¿A quién le pagó este dinero? / Who did you pay this money to?**

Answer Choices	Number of workers	%
To an account shared with me by the recruiter or recruiting agency	25	12.5%
Directly to the recruiter	5	2.5%
To the employer (e.g. or the ranch where I am working)	2	1.0%
To another co-worker, other than a supervisor or field manager	3	1.5%
To the government	38	19.0%
I prefer not to answer	52	26.0%
Not sure / other	75	37.5%
<b>Total</b>	<b>200</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

**Q20. ¿Le han reembolsado su dinero por algún gasto mencionado en esta encuesta? / Have you been reimbursed for any of the expenses mentioned in this survey?**

Answer Choices	Number of workers	%
I was reimbursed for all or most of my expenses	2,460	76.7%
I was reimbursed only for some expenses	586	18.3%
I was reimbursed none or almost none of my expenses	7	0.2%
Not applicable because I did not pay anything	89	2.8%
I prefer not to answer	32	1.0%
Not sure / other	33	1.0%
<b>Total</b>	<b>3,207</b>	<b>100.0%</b>



**Q21. ¿Usted tuvo que pedir dinero prestado para pagar cualquiera de los gastos que acaba de mencionar en esta encuesta? / Did you have to borrow money to pay for any of the expenses you just mentioned in this survey?**

Answer Choices	Number of workers	%
Yes	1,447	45.5%
No	1,596	50.2%
I prefer not to answer	116	3.6%
Not sure / other	22	0.7%
<b>Total</b>	<b>3,181</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

**Q22. En pesos, ¿cuánto dinero pidió prestado para pagar los gastos mencionados en esta encuesta? / In pesos, how much money did you borrow to pay for the expenses mentioned in this survey?**

Answer Choices	Number of workers	%
Less than \$4,000	369	25.7%
Between \$4,001 and \$10,000	849	59.1%
Between \$10,001 and \$40,000	123	8.6%
Between \$40,001 and \$80,000	7	0.5%
More than \$80,000	9	0.6%
Prefer not to answer	34	2.4%
Not sure / other	22	1.5%
I did not pay anything	23	1.6%
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,436</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

**Q23. ¿A quién pidió prestado LA MAYORÍA del dinero? / From whom did you borrow MOST of the money?**

Answer Choices	Number of workers	%
Family or friends	2,083	66.5%
A financial institution (e.g. a bank)	112	3.6%
A loan firm	35	1.1%
The company that hired me (e.g. the ranch where I am working)	17	0.5%
The recruiter	2	0.1%
I prefer not to answer	629	20.1%
Not sure / other	255	8.1%
<b>Total</b>	<b>3,133</b>	<b>100.0%</b>





**Q24. En su opinión, ¿qué tan común es que los trabajadores tengan que pagar cuotas de reclutamiento o cuotas para asegurar su trabajo H-2A? (No contemplar pago de visa) / In your opinion, how common is it for workers to have to pay recruitment fees or fees to secure their H-2A job (not including visa fees)?**

Answer Choices	Number of workers	%
Almost all workers pay	240	7.7%
Some workers pay	170	5.5%
Almost no one pays	370	11.9%
No workers pay	1,843	59.1%
I prefer not to answer	224	7.2%
Not sure / other	271	8.7%
<b>Total</b>	<b>3,118</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

**Q25. En promedio en pesos, ¿cuánto cree usted que las personas paguen por cuotas de reclutamiento o cuotas para asegurar su trabajo de H-2A? (No contemplar pago de visa). Por favor dar un estimado, aunque no esté seguro. / On average in pesos, how much do you think people pay for recruitment fees or fees to secure their H-2A job (not including visa fees)? Please give an estimate, even if you are not sure.**

Answer Choices	Number of workers	%
Pay nothing	1,945	66.5%
Less than \$4,000	267	9.1%
Between \$4,001 and \$10,000	205	7.0%
Between \$10,001 and \$40,000	82	2.8%
Between \$40,001 and \$80,000	10	0.3%
More than \$80,000	3	0.1%
Prefer not to answer	128	4.4%
Not sure / other	284	9.7%
<b>Total</b>	<b>2,924</b>	<b>100.0%</b>



**Q26. ¿A quién piensa que se suele pagar este dinero? / To whom do you think this money is usually paid?**

<b>Answer Choices</b>	<b>Number of workers</b>	<b>%</b>
To recruiters or recruiting agencies	366	12.9%
To employers	55	1.9%
To a supervisor or field manager	66	2.3%
To a co-worker, other than a supervisor or field manager	81	2.8%
To the government	178	6.3%
I prefer not to answer	872	30.6%
Not sure / other	1,230	43.2%
<b>Total</b>	<b>2,848</b>	<b>100.0%</b>