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Domestic Worker Inequities and Rights: A Mixed-Methods Analysis

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Abstract: This paper uses a mixed-methods approach to explore the increased use of domestic workers in the United States and the political economy around reforms to protect these workers from labor standards violations. Domestic workers are predominantly female with a high proportion of immigrants. Labor force survey data indicate that the number of home health aides has surpassed housekeepers and child care providers, and qualitative evidence points to multiple problems with wage and hour violations and poor working conditions. Case study evidence for New Jersey from a representative household survey indicates that the majority of household employers are unfamiliar with legislation that governs the wages and hours of their domestic workers. More in-depth interviews suggest that wage theft is the main concern among advocates for low-wage workers, which could be addressed by a "domestic worker bill of rights" as passed in eight other states or by targeted wage theft legislation that includes increased employer liability in wage recovery lawsuits.

I. Introduction

Paid care workers in private households around the globe have faced multiple challenges that are typically more severe than they are for other occupations due to the low value attached to care work and the difficulty of regulating work that occurs in private homes. Labor law violations, no benefits, lack of social protection, and precarious terms of employment are endemic among paid care workers (commonly referred to as domestic workers). Low wages and poor working conditions are problematic not only for domestic workers, but also the people and households they care for since the quality of care may be compromised. These concerns have gained increasing attention around the world as higher-income countries with aging populations outsource more of their paid care work to migrant workers, especially women, from lower-income countries. Globally, domestic workers are predominantly female, and large numbers migrate across national borders to earn higher wages. In this global chain of care, paid and unpaid care work are closely linked in that domestic workers are doing the care work that makes other women's paid employment possible. This substitution of paid for unpaid care work typically performed by women applies not only to child care, but also to the care of elderly, sick, and disabled family members. Foreign domestic care workers have become an increasingly important alternative to institutional care in economies as diverse as Lebanon (Fakih and Marrouch 2014); Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Singapore (Wang *et al.* 2018); and Greece (Lyberaki 2011).[1]

Domestic workers around the globe earn some of the lowest wages among all occupations and experience a host of poor working conditions and labor violations (ILO 2018). A big issue is wage theft, in which domestic workers receive wages below the minimum, have their wages withheld arbitrarily and without recourse, or are not paid overtime.[2] Lack of formal

contracts and unpredictable work schedules are also common problems. The growing importance of the "gig economy" and employers' use of internet-based technology to hire care workers and housekeepers has contributed to the insecure nature of domestic work, and workers without access to the internet have been placed at a disadvantage in access to jobs (Ticona *et al.* 2018). Moreover, tax evasion is rampant among household employers of nannies and housekeepers (Haskins 2010). When household employers fail to pay payroll taxes, this weakens the economic security of domestic workers when they retire. Sexual harassment, sexual abuse, and other forms of physical abuse also plague domestic workers. Their vulnerability to sexual harassment and abuse is compounded by the fact that their work takes place in the private sphere. This issue has gained increasing attention in the wake of the global Me Too movement.

Like every other industrialized economy, the United States employs a large number of domestic workers to perform care work and housecleaning. Most domestic workers are female (92 percent) and about one third are immigrants, which is high compared to other occupations. Remittances sent home by immigrant domestic workers can account for a substantial portion of total remittances at a time when remittances are increasingly considered a sustainable source of funding for developing countries. Total remittances have grown dramatically in recent decades just as international migration flows have become increasingly feminized (Le Goff and Salomone 2016). Also similar to other countries, domestic workers in the U.S. experience low pay, job insecurity, few benefits, and labor law violations (Burnham and Theodore 2012). In response, eight states to date have passed some version of a domestic worker bill of rights in which domestic workers are guaranteed the minimum wage, overtime, rest periods, paid vacation time, disability benefits, and/or protection from sexual harassment and discrimination.

This paper uses a mixed-methods approach to examine trends in the number and characteristics of domestic workers globally and in the U.S., violations to their labor rights, and the political economy of new legislation to protect domestic workers. The study focuses specifically on nannies and home-based child care providers, housekeepers, and care givers for the elderly and disabled. An analysis of descriptive statistics is used to provide a comprehensive account of trends in the number of domestic workers and how the U.S. compares with other countries as a destination country for immigrant domestic workers. The analysis also describes their origins, demographic characteristics, working conditions, and remittances. This assessment updates and consolidates the results found in several published reports on domestic workers.

The study also uses qualitative evidence to examine the political economy of legislative reforms to protect domestic workers in the U.S. We use a case study approach and focus on New Jersey, which constitutes an interesting case not only because it has one of the largest immigrant populations in the U.S., but also because it has typically taken a lead in implementing progressive labor market legislation. In fact, New Jersey is often considered the "incubator state" for progressive policies that can then be scaled up. However, in the case of domestic workers, New Jersey has no domestic worker bill of rights even though several nearby states (New York, Connecticut, and Massachusetts) do. We conduct a representative survey to collect original household data on the employment of domestic workers and the extent to which household employers are informed about labor laws covering their domestic workers. We also conduct a more in-depth set of interviews of low-wage worker advocates to explore the demand and need for a domestic worker bill of rights in New Jersey as well as the sources of resistance.

Much has been written in the development economics literature on women's work in the informal sector and the constraints that keep them from higher quality jobs (e.g. Kantor 2009).

Similarly, there is a large literature on women's unpaid work and the expectation that women perform a relatively larger portion of child care and domestic work. Less empirical evidence exists, however, changes in the demand for paid care workers in industrialized countries and the working conditions they face. This study reviews the evidence we do have and helps to fill the gap. The analysis also helps to better understand the discourse around a domestic worker bill of rights in the U.S. and why this legislative course of action may be more politically feasible in some states than others.

II. Domestic Worker Rights: Background

Advocacy for a domestic worker bill of right at the state level marks a new chapter in a long history of organizing efforts among domestic workers in the United States. Often considered one of the earliest catalysts of this movement, in 1881 close to 3000 predominantly African American women in Atlanta went on strike to protest their low pay as washerwomen. Atlanta's washerwomen's strike led to higher pay and more autonomy for the city's domestics, and it encouraged women in other low-pay caregiving occupations to use similar tactics to obtain better wages and working conditions. Over the years, despite preconceptions that housekeepers, nannies, and personal assistants were unable to organize, various groups formed and mobilized to advocate for higher pay and better working conditions (Boris and Nadasen 2008). Frustration over the exemption of domestic workers from federal and state-level labor codes helped to fuel these advocacy efforts, as did numerous high-profile stories of worker rights violations (Hondagneu-Sotelo 2007).

Historically, domestic workers in the U.S. have been excluded from major pieces of legislation to protect workers, including the 1935 Social Security Act (which gave workers the

right to a pension and unemployment insurance), the 1935 National Labor Relations Act (which gave workers the right to organize into trade unions and bargain collectively), and the 1938 Fair Labor Standards Act (FLSA), which granted workers the right to a minimum wage and overtime pay for hours beyond a 40-hour work week. The FLSA originally excluded domestic service employees in private households, but after more than thirty years of increasing pressure from advocacy groups, Congress amended this legislation in 1974 to grant most domestic workers the right to earn the minimum wage and overtime pay, including undocumented immigrants. However, certain categories of domestic workers were exempted from the minimum wage and overtime regulations, including casual babysitters and workers who provided "companionship services" to the elderly and to disabled, sick, or injured individuals. Live-in domestic workers were also exempted from the right to overtime pay, although they were entitled to earn the federal minimum wage for all hours worked.

The U.S. Department of Labor further amended the FLSA in 2015 to expand coverage to more types of direct care givers, including home health aides, personal care assistants, nursing aides, and other professional caregivers (U.S. Department of Labor 2018). The definition of "companionship services" was thus narrowed considerably in an effort to reduce the ability of employers to exempt their domestic workers. Moreover, the exemption of workers providing "companionship services" could no longer be taken by agencies, only by private individuals and households. Live-in domestic workers remained exempt from overtime regulations. Domestic workers would also have been affected by a proposed amendment introduced in Congress in 2016 to prevent wage theft and to increase employer liability in lawsuits filed by workers to recover stolen wages (the "Wage Theft Prevention and Wage Recovery Act"), but the legislation did not move past the committee stage.

Any further expansion of labor standards or higher hourly wages than stipulated under the FLSA would thus need to be mandated through state and local governments. Inadequate coverage for domestic workers in the FLSA and in state legislation as well as poor enforcement of labor standards that do cover domestic workers has contributed to the growth of community-based groups (also known as "worker centers") that aim to organize domestic workers and provide support along a number of dimensions, including education, training, consciousness-raising, health, and legal assistance (Fine 2006; Milkman and Ott 2014). Notably, a number of these worker centers along with other domestic worker advocacy groups and community organizations came together in 2007 to form the National Domestic Workers Alliance (NDWA). This group has proven instrumental in pushing for more inclusive labor laws and stronger enforcement at the state level to protect domestic workers, and in calling for more research documenting the need for such protection. Some of the solutions that the NDWA has pushed for include contracts for domestic workers, the ability of domestic workers to organize, methods for reporting sexual harassment and receiving compensation, methods for checking in, and requirements for employers to keep formal hour and wage logs. Advocacy efforts through social media have helped to strengthen the political will for these changes.

Increased legal protection for domestic workers is a thorny issue. One complexity is the aging U.S. population and the growing need for long-term care for the elderly and disabled. Care comes in the form of a patchwork system, with care provided predominantly by unpaid family caregivers, for-profit establishments, and home health aides. As discussed in Osterman (2017), these health aides are the least visible and least respected among care providers for the elderly and disabled. Closely related, discourse on labor rights for home health aides has become an increasingly contested terrain, especially in the case of labor rights groups versus

disability rights groups. As labor rights groups and unions have argued for higher wages and more benefits for home health aides, disability rights groups have raised concerns that people with disabilities will not be able to afford personal assistants in the face of shrinking Medicaid budgets, thus raising the risk of the disabled being institutionalized (Bagenstos 2016).

These complexities have contributed to a charged political environment around labor laws at the state and local levels to protect domestic worker beyond the requirements of the FLSA. Eight states have passed and implemented a domestic worker bill of rights: New York (2010), Hawaii (2013), California (2014), Massachusetts (2015), Oregon (2016), Connecticut (2017), Illinois (2017), and Nevada (2018). Pioneering pieces of legislation at the local level include bills of rights in Montgomery County, MD and Seattle, WA (Cantor 2010; Seattle City Council 2018). Interestingly, these states and localities have varied considerably in the content of their bills and in the duration of efforts to formulate and pass the legislation. For example, the domestic worker bill of rights in Massachusetts passed relatively quickly (18 months) after it was first introduced in the state legislature in January 2013. In contrast, activists and worker rights groups spent seven years in New York campaigning for a domestic worker bill of rights, and in California the campaign lasted ten years (Burnham and Mercado 2018). Several states – including Illinois, Oregon, and California – have also instituted reforms in which domestic workers are covered by collective bargaining agreements and through those agreements are able to bargain directly with state and local governments (the employer on record) to obtain pay increases, access to health insurance, and training programs. Funding through public insurance (Medicaid and Medicare) in these states helped private employers to continue to afford quality care (ILO 2018).

III. Domestic Worker Summary Statistics

Paid domestic work is a global phenomenon that features a marked gender dimension and also accounts for substantial flows of migrant workers. Globally, 70.1 million people work as domestic workers in private households, accounting for 2.1 percent of total global employment on average (ILO 2018). The first panel of Figure 1 shows that the most domestic workers (36 million) are found in Asia, with China accounting for the majority of these workers (25 million). This region is followed by North and South America, with 16.5 million domestic workers. Globally, domestic work is highly feminized: 70 percent of domestic workers are women. This global average masks considerable variation across regions though, with North and South America exhibiting the highest representation of women among domestic workers (92 percent) and the Middle East the lowest (54 percent). The second panel of Figure 1 shows that domestic work is generally a more important source of employment for women than it is for men. On average, 4 percent of all female employees globally are domestic workers, compared to just 1 percent of male employees. In the Middle East, 21 percent of all women employees and 3 percent of all men are domestic workers, far higher than any other region.

Richer countries are the destination for large numbers of migrant workers from lower-income countries seeking work as paid care providers in private households. In fact, 17 percent of domestic workers globally are migrant workers, suggesting that a substantial portion of household caring labor is being met by workers from other countries (ILO 2015). Globally, just over half of all migrant domestic workers are employed in Europe, North America, and the Middle East, generally in higher-income countries with aging populations and growing care needs. Destination countries with the largest numbers of migrant domestic workers tend to have not only wealthier populations than can afford to outsource their unpaid care work to less

affluent populations, they often have guest worker programs specific to care work as well as tax-based incentives to help private households recruit paid care workers. Lax or nonexistent labor regulations around domestic work also help to boost the demand for migrant domestic workers (ILO 2015).

Remittances sent home by migrant workers constitute an important source of household income in developing countries. Global remittances have risen substantially in the past four decades both in levels and as a share of GDP. Women have transferred about half of all remittances even though on average they earn less than men, with the implication that they are remitting a higher portion of their income than men (Lopez-Ekra *et al.* 2011). Women also tend to remit more regularly than men and for longer durations. The largest recipients of remittances – India, China, the Philippines, and Mexico – are also sending countries of large numbers of women migrants. Although remittances account for a substantial portion of GDP (about 15 percent in smaller developing countries, and even more in countries such as Nepal, the Kyrgyz Republic, and Tajikistan), the transfer cost of sending remittances can be relatively high due to regulatory restrictions, level of competition, and financial infrastructure. Women migrants may face higher remittance transfer fees than men due to gender differences in asset ownership and access to financial markets (Hennebry *et al.* 2017). In the U.S., the average cost of sending remittances is 6 percent of the transfer amount; this percentage is less than the global average (8 percent) but is still greater than the 3 percent target set in the Sustainable Development Goals (World Bank 2016).

The United States is the top destination country for female migrants, and many of these migrants seek paid care work. Data in Hennebry *et al.* (2017) indicate that in 2015, the United States attracted 23.8 million female migrant workers, almost 4 times the number of female

migrants in the next largest destination country (Germany). Not far behind were Russia, the U.K., Canada, and France. With its high income and lack of labor regulations around domestic work, the U.S. has a strong demand for domestic workers in private households, even though domestic workers constitute a fairly small share of total employment at 0.5 percent (ILO 2018). Survey data of migrant domestic workers indicate that sending money home and saving for education purposes serve as the top two motivations for savings patterns among migrant domestic workers in the U.S. (UN Women 2017).

To take a closer look at domestic work in the U.S., the analysis continues with an examination of trends in the number of domestic workers, their demographic composition, and trends in their hourly wages using U.S. labor force survey data from 2003 to 2017.[3] This analysis is based on microdata from the Current Population Survey Merged Outgoing Rotation Group (Bureau of Labor Statistics various years; Flood *et al.* 2018). This subsample of the CPS is restricted to adults who are engaged in paid employment and were interviewed in the fourth and eighth month of the CPS survey rotation. Our employment sample retains all workers ages 18 and above, and we compare individuals who are employed in private households (labeled "Domestic Workers" with all other workers who are employed outside of households (labeled "Non-Domestic Workers"). Domestic workers are further divided into five categories: housecleaners, nannies, home-based daycare providers, non-agency-based home health aides, and agency-based home health aides.[4] This definition of domestic workers is somewhat broader than that in other studies such as Burnham and Theodore (2012) and ILO (2018) that examine only workers employed directly by private households. That said, our estimates are still likely to underestimate the true number of domestic workers given the inherent difficulties in the CPS in surveying domestic workers, especially undocumented immigrants.

Our wage sample is further restricted to all employed individuals with positive reported hourly wages or weekly earnings. Home-based daycare providers are excluded from the wage sample because they are self-employed and do not report hourly wages or weekly earnings. Similar to the precedent set by Shierholz (2013), we construct an hourly wage measure by taking weekly earnings, which includes overtime and tips, and dividing it by usual hours worked per week. If this measure is less than a respondent's reported hourly wage, then we use their reported hourly wage.[5] Finally, the hourly wage measure is deflated by the annual Consumer Price Index for all Urban Consumers (CPI-U) to construct real wages with base year 2003.

As shown in Figure 2, the absolute number of domestic workers in the U.S. has risen steadily, from 1.7 million in 2003 to over 2.3 million by 2015, with a small dip thereafter. Growth in the number of home health aides, especially those who are employed by an agency, accounts for all of this increase. In fact, both the share and the absolute number of nannies, housecleaners, and home-based daycare providers have fallen over time. By 2017, agency-based home health aides comprised 61 percent of all domestic workers, up from just 35 percent in 2003. In contrast, the proportion of domestic workers who are housecleaners and home-based daycare providers both dropped from about one quarter to 10-13 percent during the period.

As domestic workers are increasingly becoming agency-based home health aides, they are also becoming slightly less feminized. As shown in Table 1, while 95 percent of all domestic workers were women in 2003-05, this share dropped to 92 percent by 2015-17. Not only do home health aides exhibit the lowest percent of workers who are female among the five categories, they also showed more of a drop in the percent female over time. That said, all these occupations are still highly female dominated, ranging from 88 percent female for non-agency home health aides to 98 percent for nannies and home-based child care providers. These female

representations are also considerably higher than the global average of 70 percent female among domestic workers (ILO 2018). In the U.S., about one third of domestic workers are immigrants, either naturalized or not naturalized. This share is higher than the global average. Another pattern in Table 1 is the increase in the proportion of domestic workers who are naturalized U.S. citizens, while U.S. born and non-naturalized immigrants have both exhibited a small decline in representation among all domestic workers. The increased representation of naturalized U.S. citizens holds across the five categories of workers, although it is smallest for nannies. Also of interest is the relatively high representation of non-naturalized immigrants among housecleaners (53 percent) relative to the other job categories (18 percent or less) in recent years. Cleaning work is generally the least valued and most invisible, and it is this category that draws proportionately more immigrants who are not naturalized.

Domestic workers earn substantially less than other paid employees. As shown in Figure 3, nominal wages for domestic workers are roughly three to four dollars per hour lower than non-domestic workers. Note that even with the three-year period averages (which were calculated in other to report smoothed hourly wage trends), hourly wages for domestic workers still show relatively more instability compared to non-domestic workers, whose nominal wages have risen fairly steadily since 2003-05. In terms of real wages, on average most hourly wage workers have seen no increase in take-home pay since 2003-05. Only nannies and non-agency based health aides are slightly ahead by 2015-17 in terms of their real wage growth compared to the beginning of the period.

Not only do domestic and non-domestic workers exhibit substantial differences in their hourly wages, workers within these job categories also report large differentials depending on their gender, citizenship status, and race. Table 2, which reports average hourly wages in 2003

constant dollars, shows that among all domestic workers, women earn about $1 per hour less than men, and this gap is the largest for housecleaners. In contrast, female nannies actually earn more than their male counterparts. Somewhat surprisingly, U.S. citizenship does not generate much of a wage premium for domestic workers: non-naturalized immigrants earn a little more ($9.33) than U.S. born workers but slightly less than naturalized immigrants ($9.68). Most of the wage advantage that non-naturalized immigrants experience over U.S. born workers is coming from home health aides, both agency-based and non-agency based. Within the race and ethnicity categorization, wage patterns are similar between domestic and non-domestic workers, with Asian domestic workers earnings the highest average hourly wage in real terms ($9.93 per hour) and Black workers earning the least ($8.82 per hour). These racial patterns generally hold up across the types of domestic workers, with some exceptions including relatively high hourly wages among housecleaners of other races and relatively low wages among Hispanic agency-based home health aides. The final point of interest in Table 2 is the lack of strong real wage growth over time since 2003-05, with this lackluster real wage performance holding across most job categories and racial groups.

We also explore the extent to which domestic workers in the U.S. experience violations of labor standards. There is not much published data on labor law violations and working conditions among domestic workers in the U.S. One exception is a 2012 report from the National Domestic Workers Alliance, which sampled 2,086 domestic workers across 14 cities (Burnham and Theodore 2012). Results from this survey indicate high rates of wage theft through various forms of underpayment and non-payment of wages and overtime pay that workers were legally owed. As shown in Panel A of Figure 4, about one quarter of respondents earned less than the minimum wage, although this rate was higher for live-in domestic workers

who had the value of room and board deducted from their cash wages. Almost 90 percent of domestic workers were not guaranteed overtime. Domestic workers also reported pressure from employers to engage in extra work: 24 percent were assigned work beyond their job description, and of these workers, two thirds were not paid for the additional work. These percentages were even higher for live-in workers and undocumented immigrants. Lack of respect and no recognition for the value of their work are also common issues reported by domestic workers. Deeply intertwined with wage theft and lack of respect for domestic work are common perceptions that care work should be provided out of altruism and generosity rather than a desire for financial compensation.

Non-payment of wages and underpayment of wages impact families' economic stability, and it is the low-wage workforce that is most vulnerable to wage theft. Precariously employed immigrant workers experience even greater risk for wage theft violations, and undocumented immigrant women are the most likely to experience minimum wage violations. Undocumented workers who typically have limited access to emergency assistance and government subsidy programs because of their immigration status – and who may avoid leveraging law enforcement and other government agencies for fear of arrest or deportation – are often left with limited recourse to mitigate the impact of wage theft on their households. Wage theft can lead to a number of negative outcomes for individuals and households, including financial hardship, depression, food insecurity, and lack of adequate health care. In terms of economic insecurity, according to Figure 4, 37 percent of domestic workers experienced housing insecurity (could not pay their mortgage or rent on time at least once in the past year) and 20 percent experienced food insecurity (did not have enough to eat in the past month). These percentages are both higher than the national average. Moreover, about two thirds of domestic workers remain uncovered by

health insurance, even though injuries on the job are quite common. Over 60 percent of domestic workers reported an on-the-job injury in the year prior to the survey. These injuries included back injuries, wrist and shoulder pain from repetitive motion, and skin irritations due to prolonged exposure to toxins from cleaning products.

Results in Figure 4 point to a number of other violations. Very few workers (less than 10 percent) have written contracts, and even those who do have contracts often reported that the contracts were incomplete and served more as a list of the worker's responsibilities rather than terms of employment. Roughly 20 to 35 percent of domestic workers reported different kinds of abuses: long working hours without breaks, lack of uninterrupted sleep for live-in workers, illegal retribution by employers if a worker had complained or protested about working conditions, and some sort of verbal abuse.

Another useful source for information on labor standard violations among domestic workers is Bernhardt *et al.* (2013), a study based on a survey of 4,387 low-wage workers across 16 job categories conducted in 2008 in three U.S. cities (Chicago, Los Angeles, and New York). This sample represents a population of about 1.6 million low-wage workers, and home-based child care, health care, and personal service providers constituted about 15 percent of the sample. Even though the sample and methodology differ from the NDWA report, the reported rates of wage theft and other violations are quite similar. As shown in Panel B of Figure 4, high percentages of eligible workers reported issues related to wage theft, especially sub-minimum wage payments, insufficient or lack of pay for overtime, and lack of compensation for off-the-clock work. Overall, two-thirds of eligible low-wage workers experienced some sort of a pay violation in the week prior to the survey. Workers also reported a number of other violations related to breaks for rest and meals, illegal retaliation from employers for complaining or

organizing, and obstacles to receiving workers' compensation for workplace injuries. Regression results indicate that certain workers are statistically significantly more likely to experience a violation of their right to get paid the minimum wage: women, Hispanics, undocumented immigrants, and high school dropouts. Of all the occupations examined, child care and health care providers in private households had the highest odds of experiencing minimum wage violations (Bernhardt *et al.* 2013).

The United States is not alone in these reports of wage theft, poor working conditions, and other labor standard violations. Information on working conditions published in ILO (2018) indicates that domestic workers around the globe experience extremely low pay, long working hours, harassment, insufficient breaks and rest, unpredictable schedules, and lack of social protection. Across countries, domestic workers often earn less than half of the average wage (and sometimes as little as 20 percent of the average wage). More than half of all domestic workers in four European countries (Germany, Italy, Luxembourg, and Spain) as well as the U.S. worked on a casual basis with unpredictable schedules and often bouts of unemployment in between jobs – rates that exceeded other occupations and industries in these countries. The U.S. is also similar to other countries in the very low share of workers who are covered by social protection; on average, only 10 percent of domestic workers globally have access to social security. Across countries, poor working conditions are explained by the exclusion of domestic workers from most labor laws, discriminatory attitudes and social norms around women's care work, and the lack of visibility of work occurring in private households. That said, advocacy efforts from worker organizations, women's rights groups, scholars, and international agencies have contributed to a growing awareness of these issues among domestic workers and increased

pressure on policy makers to implement and enforce labor standards that protect domestic workers.

IV. Household Employers of Domestic Workers: Survey Results

To better understand the extent to which households rely on domestic workers, we administered a survey to New Jersey residents through the Eagleton Center for Public Interest Polling at Rutgers University.[6] The Rutgers-Eagleton Poll was conducted by telephone using live callers October 12 to 19, 2018, with a scientifically selected random sample of 1,006 New Jersey adults, ages 18 and older. Of this total sample, a subsample of 353 New Jersey adults have hired a maid, housekeeper, nanny, caretaker, home health aide, or similar type of domestic worker to regularly perform household services in their home. Persons without a telephone could not be included in the random selection process. Respondents within a household are selected by asking randomly for the youngest adult male or female currently available. The poll was available in Spanish for respondents who requested it. This telephone poll included 451 adults reached on a landline phone and 555 adults reached on a cell phone, all acquired through random digit dialing.

The data were weighted to be representative of New Jersey adults. The weighting balanced sample demographics to population parameters. The sample is balanced to match parameters for sex, age, education, race/ethnicity, region, and phone use. All surveys are subject to sampling error, which is the expected probable difference between interviewing everyone in a population versus a scientific sampling drawn from that population. Sampling error should be adjusted to recognize the effect of weighting the data to better match the population. In this poll, the simple sampling error for 1,006 New Jersey adults is +/-3.1 percentage points at a 95 percent

confidence interval. The design effect is 1.36, making the adjusted margin of error +/- 3.6 percentage points. Thus if 50 percent of New Jersey adults in this sample responded that they have hired a domestic worker, we would be 95 percent sure that the true figure is between 46.4 and 53.6 percent (50 +/- 3.6) if all New Jersey adults had been interviewed, rather than just a sample. Within the subsample of 353 adults who have hired a domestic worker, the simple sampling error is +/-5.2 percentage points at a 95 percent confidence interval. The design effect is 1.38, making the adjusted margin of error +/- 6.1 percentage points. Thus if 50 percent of New Jersey adults in this subsample said they were familiar with the Fair Labor Standards Act, we would be 95 percent sure that the true figure is between 43.9 and 56.1 percent (50 +/- 6.1) if all New Jersey adults who have hired a domestic worker had been interviewed, rather than just a sample.

As shown in Table 3, results from the poll indicate that 31 percent of New Jersey households have hired some type of a domestic worker to regularly perform household services. White respondents and higher-income respondents were more likely to have hired a domestic worker than non-white and lower income respondents. Also of note, of the households that had hired a domestic worker, they were almost twice as likely to have hired someone directly rather than through an agency, with this differential being even greater for male respondents than female respondents. The frequency with which domestic workers perform services in the home varies substantially: only 11 percent of households use someone to perform household work every day, and another 33 percent of households use a domestic worker at least once a week. In contrast, about 40 percent of households have a domestic worker come only once or a few times per month.

A rather small percent of households (10 percent) gave their domestic worker a scheduled break, although in the majority of cases the respondents said that the person did not work enough hours to warrant a break. That said, the majority of households (54 percent) were unfamiliar with the Fair Labor Standards Act. This lack of familiarity could help to explain why their workers did not get breaks and why only 37 percent of respondents replied that their domestic workers were covered by the FLSA. Very few households (8 percent of households that had hired a domestic worker) relied on live-in domestic workers, and of those who did, most said that they did not deduct lodging and food from their worker's pay. Overall then, these survey results suggest that hiring domestic workers is fairly common in New Jersey, although live-in arrangements are more the exception than the rule. Despite the prevalence of domestic workers visiting homes to perform domestic services, the majority of employers who hire them are unfamiliar with the laws that govern domestic workers' hours and wages.

V. Non-Profit Organizations Advocating for Domestic Workers: Interview Results

To explore the political economy behind legislative reforms covering domestic workers, we conducted a set of interviews with 12 leaders from 10 non-profit organizations that advocate for domestic workers, low-wage workers, and immigrants in New Jersey.[7] A list of interview questions is provided in the Appendix. New Jersey constitutes an interesting case study for several reasons: it has a relatively large immigrant population; the state ranks among the top ten states in employing domestic workers; and the state is considered a leader when it comes to progressive labor market legislation (it is one of four states to offer paid family leave, one of the few to provide paid sick leave, the first state to pass pay equity legislation requiring equal pay for substantially similar work, and one of few states to forbid employers from asking applicants for

salary history). However, unlike other states considered to have progressive labor market policies, New Jersey does not have a domestic worker bill of rights. New Jersey's state labor laws do not offer much additional protection to domestic workers beyond the Fair Labor Standards Act, and the reasons for the lack of action on a domestic worker bill of rights are not so clear. Resistance shown by the conservative Chris Christie administration from 2010 to 2018 is one possible reason; another is the lack of organizing by domestic workers for such a bill within the state.

Our interviews made clear that most non-profits advocating for low-wage workers in New Jersey are concerned about wage theft and are pushing for legislation that protects workers from wage theft and helps them to recover back pay. These groups are placing less priority on passing a comprehensive domestic worker bill of rights, largely because they want to promote legislation that most effectively targets the needs of their constituents. Therefore, they are most interested in wage theft legislation that would impact not only domestic workers but also landscapers, day laborers, and other immigrant workers. For example, one of our key informants stated: "There are a lot of informal arrangements out there, and all those workers are only getting eight hours of the minimum wage when they should be getting overtime." This emphasis on wage theft as a crucial issue is consistent with results from a survey of low-wage workers that one of the non-profits conducted in 2018 with its constituents. Of the 90 workers who participated in the survey, 70 percent reported that they thought their wages were unfair and that they were not paid enough (Solis 2018).

Domestic workers want stronger wage theft damages and see this approach as more politically feasible. Among the low-wage workers represented by the non-profit organizations were undocumented migrants who had expressed fears of deportation if they report employer

violations. Stronger enforcement of existing labor laws and new wage theft legislation, including stiffer penalties and a longer claim period, would help to reduce employer violations, thus reducing the likelihood of repeated offenses.

The non-profit leaders we interviewed agreed that domestic workers employed by agencies or informal brokers sometimes experienced violations that differed from those employed directly by the household. However, our interviewees believed these two types of domestic workers were equally vulnerable to abuse because of their immigration status, the intimate nature of the work, and the obstacles to taking legal action:

> "The biggest concern is that there is not an actual record of the person doing the domestic work, this is mostly older domestic workers that came to the U.S. a long time ago and are undocumented. … They were a nanny, did housekeeping, and lived there and were always paid under the table. They were younger and healthier, and now that they are older, the work has taken a toll. … In order to make a report or adjust your immigration status, you don't have a record of how long you've been in the country."

Some of the organizations that provide legal services believe wage theft is a focal point among domestic worker advocates because it can be addressed by legal means. Workers may be more interested in gaining respect or dignity despite the low-wage work they do, but in most cases they can only receive legal recognition through the enforcement of wage and hour laws. One informant stated: "Wage theft is the thing that people have a remedy for… people can get some kind of relief through filing a claim."

Wage theft appears to be more common among undocumented workers who are employed in what one interviewee described as "fly by night operations." Undocumented workers are also frequently asked to work additional hours off the books without compensation.

Another interviewee stated that a number of employers of live-in workers were "only compensating workers eight hours when they are living overnight, and frequently those workers are immigrant workers that are vulnerable. A lot of workers in the state are working 16 hour days... there is this view that they should only be compensated for eight hours." Some of our interviewees were able to help their constituents win back stolen wages, but the process was slow: "We have become known in the region for helping people to file wage theft claims. Filing the claims is very simple but it takes a really long time to get paid. Most of the time, pressure and a letter from our organization, or a show of force, are successful."

The non-profit leaders were generally familiar with a domestic worker bill of rights because they collaborate with national organizations or advocates from other states that have worked on these campaigns. One of the more experienced organizers shared that they had luck passing legislation locally because the conditions in the area were particularly bad for domestic workers. The worker advocacy group had originally begun organizing in the area because of a large population of day laborers, and they became aware of the many domestic workers. The group helped to pass a municipal resolution to support a bill of rights mandating that workers receive regular breaks while cleaning houses. When asked if this might lead to a statewide bill of rights, the leader of this organization stated that workers were skeptical that a domestic worker bill of rights would address their needs:

> "The bill of rights was geared to nannies and people working in one home. It wasn't really applicable to their reality in Lakewood. So there are things we would like to support but we need to see how much of their reality can be reflected in a statewide bill of rights… The bills of rights are created to have domestic workers covered by what they were excluded from under FLSA which is overtime and the minimum wage. For overtime

they would not be able to accrue it. They're not cleaning one employer's house for 40 hours a week. They are not live-in either."

Other non-profit leaders we interviewed echoed this view that the workers served by their organizations do not sound hopeful that things will change, and they are reluctant to challenge the status quo.

When asked about New York's domestic worker bill of rights, some of our key informants distinguished between the needs of domestic workers in New York versus those in New Jersey. In their eyes, New York (especially New York City) appears to have a larger proportion of live-in domestic workers employed directly by private households. This relatively higher concentration of live-in workers makes the domestic worker bill of rights – with its focus on days off, breaks, and overtime pay – appear more relevant in New York than in New Jersey. This view was not universal however, as some of our key informants did have experience with live-in domestic workers. One key informant stated "I think part of the issue is that there isn't a union or an entity pushing a bill of rights or organizing, combined with the fact that in New York there is a greater density of people working in that industry."

While not all organizations were actively involved in campaigning for such legislation, they were clear that other campaigns in New Jersey directly connect to the needs of domestic workers. The majority of advocacy groups were in favor of stronger protections against wage theft, increasing the minimum wage, helping undocumented workers obtain a driver's license, and passing and strengthening paid sick day legislation. In fact, New Jersey's state government approved new paid sick leave legislation at the time of our interviews in October 2018. This state-level sick day policy is an example of a recent victory for advocacy groups that had campaigned for the legislation by passing a version of the policy in many progressive New

Jersey municipalities. Passing progressive legislation at the local level is a strategy that groups often use to gain momentum for a statewide bill on a variety of issues, from banning fracking to increasing the minimum wage (Philips 2018; Riverstone-Newell 2017).

Several interviewees spoke to the difficulty of organizing domestic workers for campaigns. Some organizers are able to find workers by offering other services like health and safety training or classes in English as a Second Language. However, the nature of domestic work poses difficulties for organizers, especially the spread of single workers across different households and their relative isolation: "This is not something that we can do on our own. We have reached out to national organizations to learn more about their experiences, but we need the support of other organizations around the state. … There also seems to be little information about domestic workers in New Jersey. … Instead of organizing one workplace or workers in one workplace, people are employed by individual households."

Our interviewees frequently noted that domestic workers were tired of harassment and disrespect. In one municipality, workers were constantly being asked to scrub the floor on their hands and knees, a practice that workers believed to be extremely demeaning. "You have to get people to focus on their rights. The biggest issue historically, when you went to work as a Latino, they required you to get on your knees and scrub the floors, and they refuse to do the work on their knees." Our key informants consistently emphasized that the low-wage workers they represent are concerned not only with wage theft but also with formally gaining dignity and respect. Closely linked with this problem was a desire among workers to have stronger enforcement of labor laws and explicit assurances of the ways in which labor laws will be enforced. Domestic workers view labor law enforcement as a means toward commanding more respect for their work.

VI. Conclusion

This paper has used a mixed-methods approach to explore the increased demand for domestic workers to provide paid caring labor in the United States and the political economy around legislative reforms to protect domestic workers. The U.S. is the largest destination country for female migrants, many of whom seek paid care work. As argued by Evelyn Nakano Glenn (2010: 5), "the social organization of care has become preeminently a public issue, one that is integral to questions of economic and social justice, gender inequality, race inequality, class inequality, and citizenship rights." More evidence is needed on how this care is organized, who performs the care, and how paid care workers fare in terms of wages and working conditions.

This study's analysis of labor force survey data for the U.S. indicates that the number of home health aides has surpassed housekeepers and child care providers among domestic workers, and qualitative evidence points to multiple problems with wage and hour violations and poor working conditions. The growth in the number of health aides reflects the changing demographic composition of the U.S. population and the increasing need for people to care for the elderly and disabled. However, the low value assigned to care work and lack of labor law protections may prove to be a large obstacle to finding sufficient care workers in the future to meet this demand.

Household survey evidence presented in this paper for New Jersey indicates that more than half of household employers of domestic workers are unfamiliar with the labor laws that cover the people who work in their homes. This finding helps to explain why wage theft is such a problem in New Jersey, a finding that is supported with more detailed data from interviews

with non-profit leaders who advocate for domestic workers and low-wage workers in New Jersey. This issue can be addressed by a domestic worker bill of rights as passed in eight other states or by legislation designed specifically to prevent wage theft and increase employer liability in wage recovery lawsuits. However, as made clear by the experiences of other states and our interviews, crucial for the success of a campaign for legislation to protect domestic workers is a strong organizing capacity within a state. Not only do organized campaigns help advocates and workers to navigate the political climate to push new legislation and stronger enforcement, they also help to educate employers and workers about labor laws and to change social norms around the value of paid care work.

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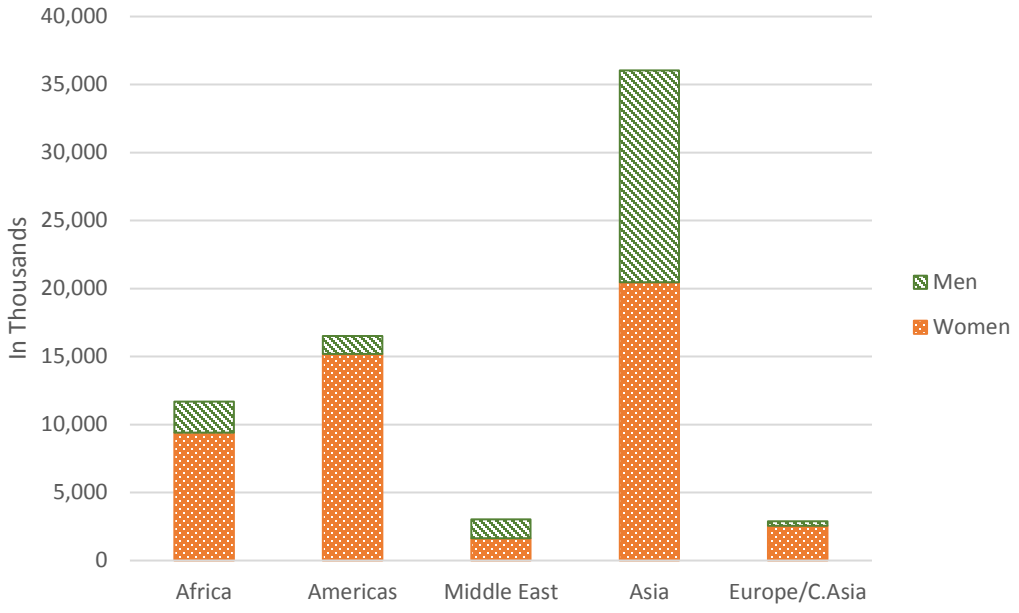
Appendix: Interview Questions for Leaders of Non-Profit Organizations

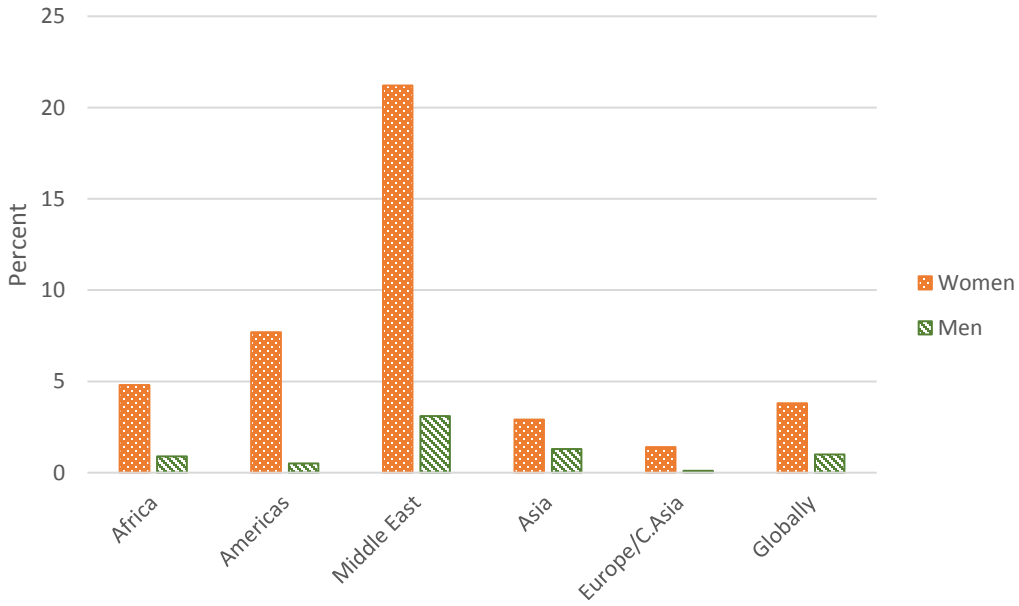
1. What is your position at (Name of Organization)?
2. When did you start to work at (Name of Organization)?
3. How does the mission of your organization relate to domestic worker rights?
4. Are you familiar with the New York domestic worker bill of rights?
5. Have you and/or your organization been involved in previous discussions around legislating a domestic worker bill of rights in New Jersey?
6. Are you or is your organization involved in any current discussions around legislating a domestic worker bill of rights in New Jersey?
7. What is your understanding of why New Jersey has not legislated a domestic worker bill of rights to date?
8. What is your understanding of current efforts in New Jersey to legislate a domestic worker bill of rights?
9. Do the domestic workers with whom your organization has contact demonstrate a need for a domestic worker bill of rights? That is, do they talk about violations of their rights and the lack of current legal protection in New Jersey?
10. What are some examples of worker rights violations you have heard about from workers that could be prevented with a domestic worker bill of rights?
11. What stands out in your mind as best practices among states that do have a domestic worker bill of rights?

Figure 1. Domestic Workers Globally by Gender, 2018

Panel A: Total Number of Domestic Workers, by Gender

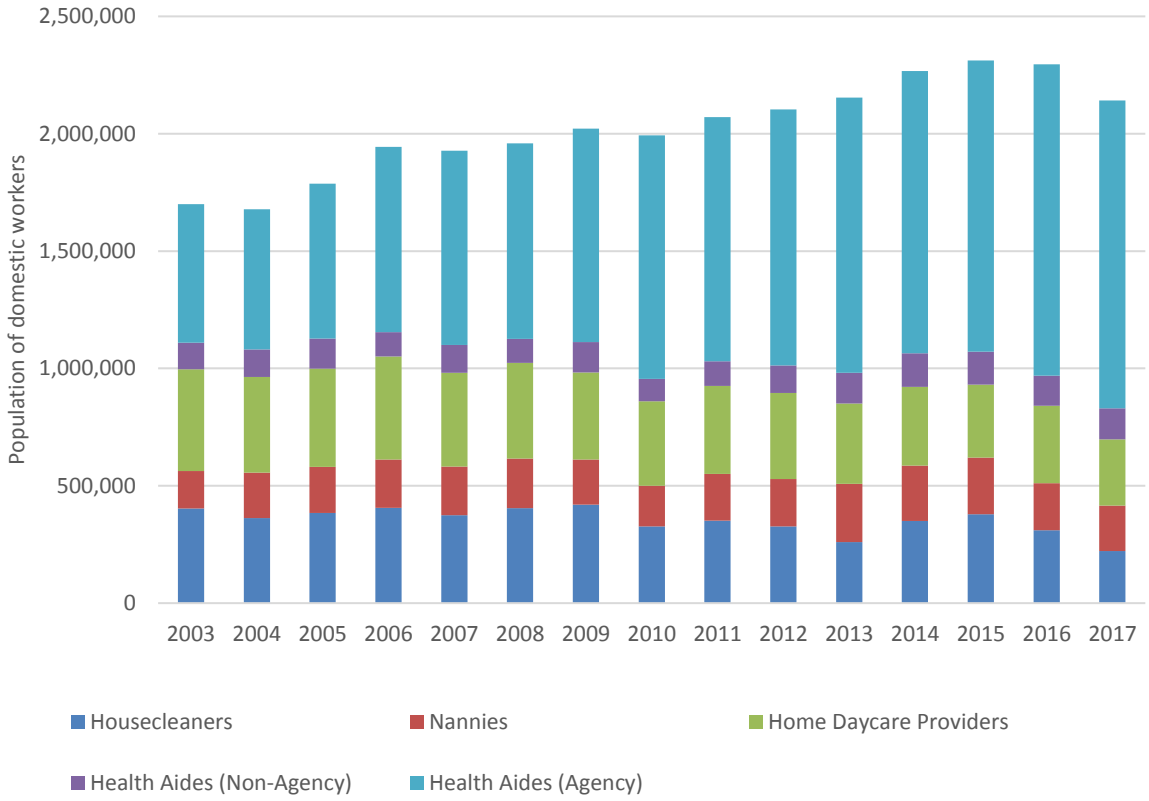


Panel B: Domestic Workers as % of Total Employment, by Gender



Source: International Labor Organization (2018).

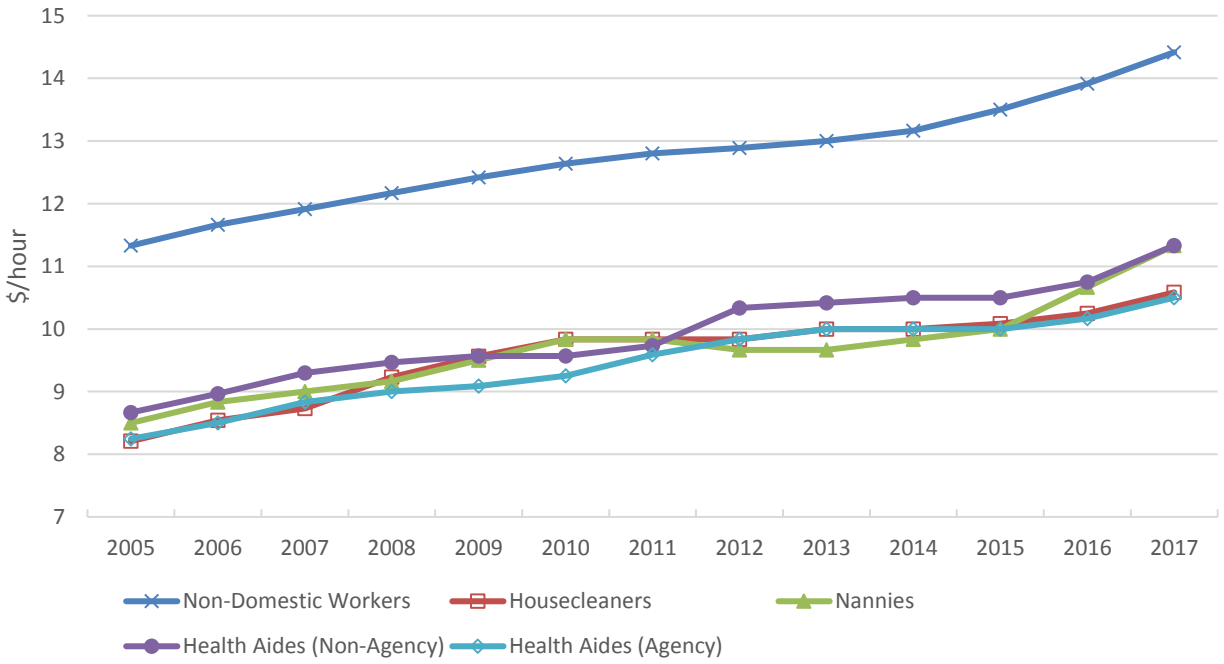
Figure 2. Number of Domestic Workers in the U.S. by Category, 2003-2017



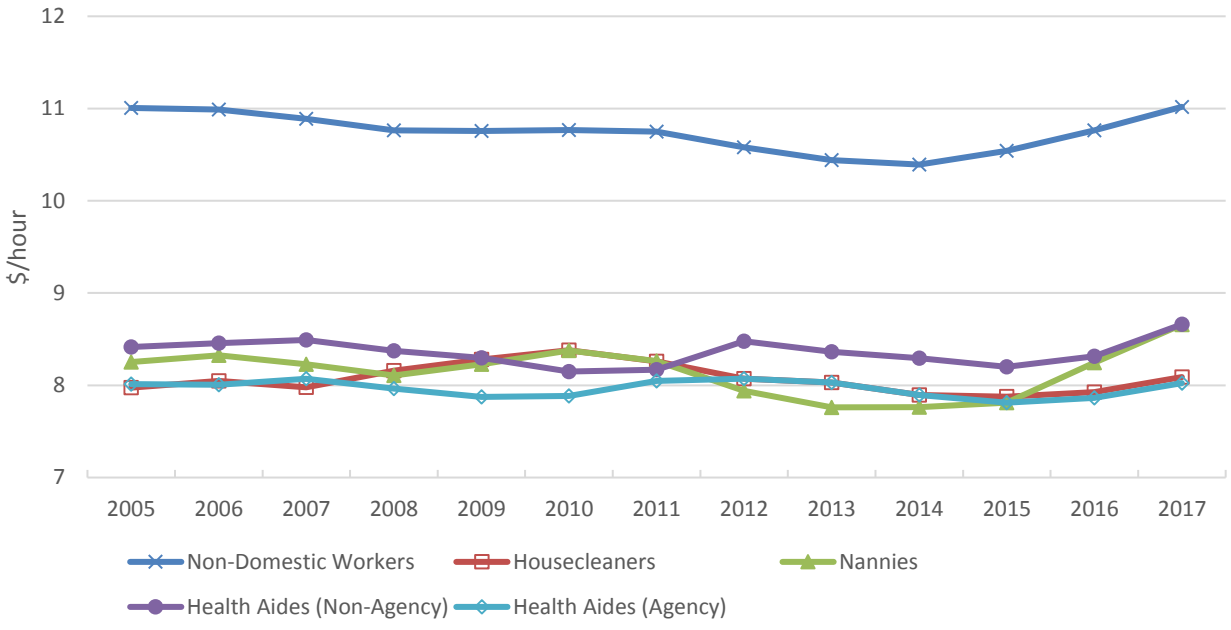
Source: Constructed using Current Population Survey Outgoing Rotation Group microdata for 2003-2017.

Figure 3. Median Hourly Wages, 2003-05 through 2015-17

Panel A: Nominal Hourly Wages



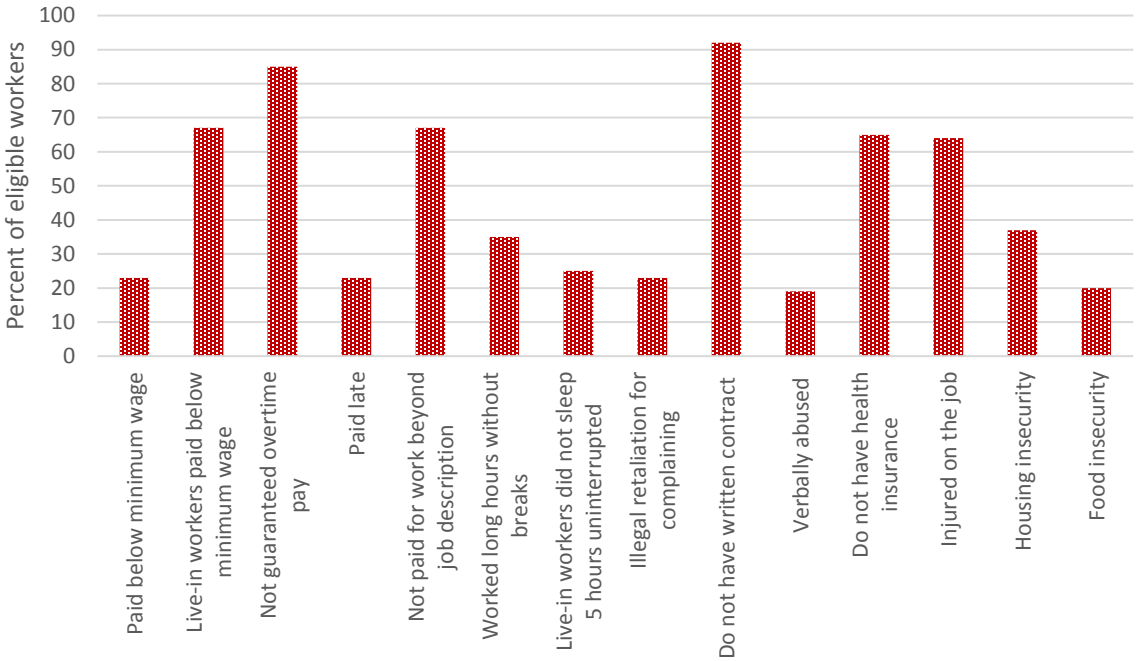
Panel B: Real Hourly Wages



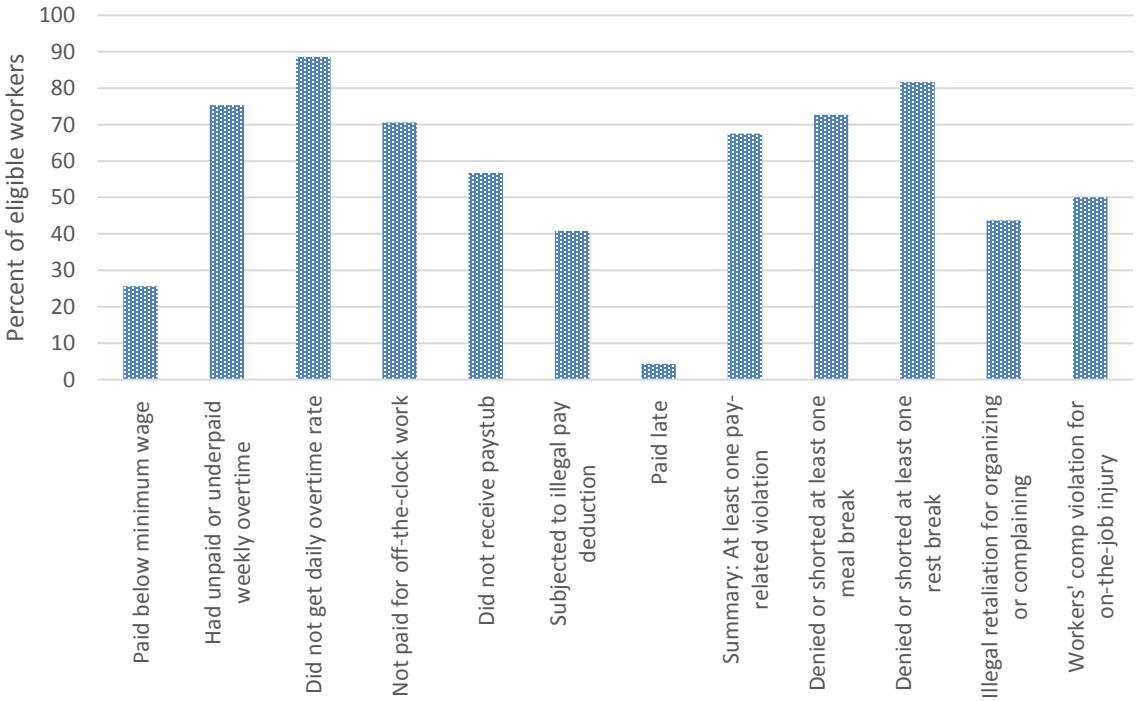
Note: Each data point represents the median hourly wage of 3 years of pooled microdata from the CPS (so 2005 is constructed with 2003-05 data, 2006 is constructed with 2004-06 data, and so on). Real wages deflated using the annual CPI-U with base year 2003. Wage data unavailable for home daycare providers.

Figure 4. Labor Standard Violations among Domestic Workers in the United States

Panel A: Sample of 2,086 Domestic Workers



Panel B: Sample of 4,387 Low-Wage Workers Including Domestic Workers



Sources: Panel A - Burnham and Theodore (2012); Panel B - Bernhardt *et al.* (2013).

Table 1. Domestic Workers in the U.S. by Gender, Citizenship Status and Race, 2003-2017 (In percent).

	Non-Domestic Workers	*Domestic Workers*	*House-cleaners*	*Nannies*	*Home Daycare Providers*	*Health Aides (Non-Agency)*	*Health Aides (Agency)*
Panel A: 2015-17							
Gender							
Women	46.1	91.9	95.5	98.0	98.4	87.9	88.9
Men	53.9	8.1	4.5	2.0	1.6	12.1	11.1
Nativity							
U.S. born	83.1	66.7	31.7	74.7	73.9	68.4	71.8
U.S. naturalized	8.1	13.5	15.5	7.7	11.3	13.5	14.4
Immigrant not naturalized	8.8	19.8	52.8	17.6	14.9	18.1	13.8
Race/ethnicity							
White	64.3	44.4	28.4	69.0	56.7	50.0	40.7
Black	11.1	20.9	5.1	4.7	12.2	16.9	29.7
Hispanic	16.5	26.0	62.4	20.2	25.8	19.0	19.2
Asian	5.9	6.2	2.9	2.6	3.2	9.9	8.0
Other	2.3	2.5	1.2	3.6	2.1	4.3	2.5
Panel B: 2003-05							
Gender							
Women	45.8	95.1	96.7	96.7	98.0	91.6	92.4
Men	54.2	4.9	3.3	3.3	2.0	8.4	7.6
Nativity							
U.S. born	85.5	70.0	44.5	73.2	85.7	75.6	73.1
U.S. naturalized	5.9	9.0	10.0	7.2	4.7	8.5	11.8
Immigrant not naturalized	8.6	21.0	45.5	19.6	9.5	15.9	15.0
Race/ethnicity							
White	70.9	51.3	37.7	64.3	64.8	57.6	45.4
Black	10.4	17.9	9.4	9.9	13.8	18.9	28.1
Hispanic	12.7	25.6	49.6	19.4	17.4	17.3	19.7
Asian	4.3	3.1	1.9	4.4	1.7	3.7	4.4
Other	1.7	2.2	1.4	2.0	2.3	2.5	2.5

Source: Constructed using Current Population Survey Outgoing Rotation Group pooled microdata for 2003-05 and 2015-2017.

Table 2. Real Hourly Wages in the U.S. by Gender, Citizenship Status, and Race, 2003-17

	Non-Domestic Workers	*Domestic Workers*	*House-cleaners*	*Nannies*	*Health Aides (Non-Agency)*	*Health Aides (Agency)*
Panel A: 2015-17						
Overall	$13.30	$9.25	$9.73	$9.41	$9.83	$9.01
Gender						
Women	$12.43	$9.16	$9.65	$9.43	$9.72	$8.89
Men	$14.17	$10.19	$11.64	$8.45	$11.05	$10.01
Nativity						
U.S. born	$13.46	$9.14	$10.13	$9.40	$9.72	$8.89
U.S. naturalized	$14.16	$9.68	$9.40	$10.74	$10.23	$9.63
Immigrant not naturalized	$11.36	$9.33	$9.55	$8.91	$9.98	$9.06
Race/ethnicity						
White	$14.12	$9.41	$10.00	$9.40	$9.97	$9.22
Black	$11.64	$8.82	$9.04	$9.12	$9.33	$8.76
Hispanic	$11.79	$9.15	$9.51	$9.70	$9.43	$8.67
Asian	$14.75	$9.93	$9.97	$9.55	$10.09	$9.92
Other	$12.58	$9.48	$15.87	$8.40	$11.95	$8.46
Panel B: 2003-05						
Overall	$13.25	$8.90	$9.20	$8.77	$8.99	$8.72
Gender						
Women	$12.27	$8.87	$9.18	$8.72	$9.00	$8.69
Men	$14.25	$9.31	$9.56	$13.18	$8.83	$9.18
Nativity						
U.S. born	$13.52	$8.76	$9.16	$8.67	$8.91	$8.60
U.S. naturalized	$14.03	$9.27	$9.25	$8.27	$8.03	$9.51
Immigrant not naturalized	$10.85	$9.14	$9.23	$9.44	$9.96	$8.72
Race/ethnicity						
White	$13.95	$9.07	$9.45	$8.76	$9.56	$8.86
Black	$12.03	$8.81	$9.32	$9.14	$8.26	$8.73
Hispanic	$11.24	$8.57	$8.93	$8.80	$7.58	$8.14
Asian	$14.16	$9.33	$8.79	$7.31	$9.50	$9.68
Other	$12.90	$9.79	$11.23	$9.36	$9.06	$9.63

Source: Constructed using Current Population Survey Outgoing Rotation Group pooled microdata for 2003-05 and 2015-2017. Real wages deflated using the annual CPI-U with base year 2003. Wage data unavailable for home daycare providers.

Table 3. New Jersey Household Survey Results

1. Have you or someone in your household ever hired a maid, housekeeper, nanny, caretaker, home health aide, or similar type of domestic worker to regularly perform household services in your home?

	Total	Gender		Race		Income	
		Male	Female	White	Non-white	<$100K	$100K+
Yes	31%	29%	34%	35%	26%	23%	46%
No	69%	71%	66%	65%	74%	77%	54%
Sample size	998	524	474	683	294	489	333

2. As for domestic worker who has most recently worked – or is currently working – in your home, did you hire this domestic worker directly or through an agency?

	Total	Gender		Race		Income	
		Male	Female	White	Non-white	<$100K	$100K+
Directly	61%	64%	58%	61%	58%	57%	71%
Through an agency	34%	26%	41%	35%	34%	38%	26%
Don't know	5%	10%	1%	4%	8%	5%	3%
Sample size	353	177	176	262	86	135	160

3. Did this person perform domestic services at your home every day, a few times a week, once a week, a few times a month, once a month, or less often than that? Or has it been so long ago that you can't recall?

	Total	Hired Type		Gender		Race		Income	
		Directly	Agency	Male	Female	White	Non-white	<$100K	$100K+
Every day	11%	7%	17%	14%	8%	10%	10%	13%	8%
A few times a week	22%	18%	26%	25%	20%	15%	38%	26%	17%
Once a week	11%	13%	8%	15%	8%	13%	8%	8%	15%
A few times a month	29%	32%	27%	24%	34%	34%	21%	20%	38%
Once a month	11%	17%	4%	9%	13%	14%	6%	11%	13%
Less often	10%	8%	14%	8%	12%	10%	10%	16%	3%

Too long ago to recall	4%	3%	3%	4%	4%	3%	7%	5%	5%
Don't know	1%	1%	1%	0%	2%	1%	0%	0%	1%
Sample size	698	221	115	176	176	261	87	134	160

4. Thinking about this same domestic worker, did you typically arrange for them to take a scheduled break during the work day, or not? Or did they not work long enough to need a scheduled break?

	Total	Gender		Race		Income	
		Male	Female	White	Non-white	<$100K	$100K+
Yes	29%	30%	27%	24%	37%	40%	22%
No	10%	11%	10%	8%	15%	7%	11%
Did not work long enough	58%	58%	58%	64%	48%	51%	63%
Don't know	3%	1%	5%	5%	0%	2%	4%
Sample size	219	109	110	167	48	79	114

5. How familiar are you with the federal law known as the Fair Labor Standards Act? Very familiar, somewhat familiar, not very familiar, or not familiar at all?

	Total	Hired Type		Gender		Race		Income	
		Directly	Agency	Male	Female	White	Non-white	<$100K	$100K+
Very familiar	12%	15%	9%	17%	9%	12%	13%	13%	13%
Somewhat familiar	34%	36%	32%	34%	33%	36%	29%	33%	36%
Not very familiar	18%	17%	20%	20%	17%	18%	19%	12%	19%
Not familiar at all	35%	31%	38%	29%	40%	34%	38%	42%	30%
Don't know	1%	1%	1%	0%	1%	1%	1%	0%	1%
Sample size	353	221	115	177	176	262	87	135	160

6. Thinking again about this same domestic worker, and to the best of your knowledge, was your domestic worker covered by the Fair Labor Standards Act, or not?

	Total	Hired Type		Gender		Race		Income	
		Directly	Agency	Male	Female	White	Non-white	<$100K	$100K+
Yes	37%	31%	51%	34%	39%	38%	32%	36%	37%
No	15%	23%	0%	18%	13%	14%	17%	13%	20%
Don't know	48%	46%	48%	48%	48%	48%	50%	51%	43%
Sample size	348	218	114	175	173	258	86	134	158

7. Have you ever had a domestic worker living in your home?

	Total	Hired Type		Gender		Race		Income	
		Directly	Agency	Male	Female	White	Non-white	<$100K	$100K+
Yes	8%	7%	8%	6%	10%	8%	9%	9%	5%
No	91%	93%	92%	92%	90%	92%	89%	91%	95%
Don't know	1%	0%	0%	2%	0%	0%	2%	0%	0%
Sample size	352	220	115	176	176	261	87	135	160

8. Thinking about the domestic worker who has most recently lived with you, did you deduct the cost of each of the following from your domestic worker's pay:

	Lodging	Food
Yes	11%	7%
No	71%	75%
Don't know	19%	19%
Sample size	32	32

Endnotes

[1] In contrast, reduced care services coupled with insufficient inflows of foreign domestic workers in China have constrained women's ability to participate in paid employment, especially in China's rural areas (Connelly *et al.* 2018).

[2] Estimates in Kim (2018) indicate that wage theft is a problem that goes well beyond domestic workers; as many as 30 percent of low-wage hourly workers experience these types of pay violations.

[3] Our period of analysis starts with 2003 because occupation and industry codes changed substantially in 2003, causing a discrete break in the coding of the detailed domestic worker categories.

[4] Using the definitions in Shierholz (2013), housecleaners are coded as occ="maids and housekeeping cleaners" and ind="private household"; nannies are occ="child care workers" and ind=("private household" or "employment services"); home-based daycare providers are occ="child care workers" and ind="child daycare services" and emp status="self-employed, not incorporated"; non-agency-based home health aides are (occ="nursing, psychiatric, and home health aides" and ind="private household"), or (occ="personal care aides" and ind=("private household industry" or "employment services")); and agency-based home health aides are (occ="nursing, psychiatric, and home health aides" and (ind="home health care services" or "individual and family services), or (occ="personal care aides" and ind=("home health care services" or "individual and family services")).

[5] To deal with outliers and top and bottom coding in the earnings sample, we dropped workers if their constructed hourly wage was less than 2, and we dropped workers whose weekly earnings and/or usual hours worked were NIU (Not In Universe). We also dropped an outlier with a constructed hourly wage that exceeded $2000. Finally, we multiplied weekly earnings at the top code ($2884.61) by a factor of 1.4.

[6] Dr. Ashley Koning, assistant research professor and director of the Eagleton Center for Public Interest Polling (ECPIP) at Rutgers University–New Brunswick, and Dr. Cliff Zukin, Professor Emeritus of Political Science and Public Policy and Senior Survey Advisor to ECPIP, prepared the survey questionnaire and performed analysis of the results in consultation with the co-authors. William Young assisted with analysis and preparation of results.

[7] The interviews were approved by the Rutgers University Institutional Review Board and included the provision that interview subjects would remain anonymous (Protocol # 2018001923).